A PSYCHOLOGICAL INVESTIGATION OF CONVICTED INCEST OFFENDERS BY MEANS OF TWO PROJECTIVE TECHNIQUES

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A PSYCHOLOGICAL INVESTIGATION OF CONVICTED INCEST OFFENDERS BY MEANS OF TWO PROJECTIVE TECHNIQUES

By

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A THESIS

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ABSTRACT

James O. Martin, Michigan State University. A Psychological Investigation of Convicted Incest Offenders by Means of Two Projective Techniques. Major Professor: Albert I. Rabin.

The present study represents an investigation of certain personality factors derived from psychoanalysis, and their relationship to the crime of father-daughter incest. Personality traits descriptive of the psychoanalytic concept of the "Phallic Character" were presented as hypotheses to be confirmed.

Three hypotheses suggested the continued presence of disturbances in the following psychosexual areas: Oral Eroticism, Oedipal Intensity, and Castration Anxiety. Three more hypotheses were concerned with current behavioral reactions associated with the dynamics to be found in the Phallic Character; i.e., the presence of aggressive drives, resentment toward authority, and a contempt and hostility toward women. The final four hypotheses contained predictions concerning perceptions expected from this type of individual. These included perception of the wife as unavailable sexually, a self-percept of inability to compete successfully with others, perception of the environment as hostile, and perception of young adolescent females as being interested in heterosexual activity.

The subjects used in this investigation included an Experimental Group of thirty Incest Offenders and a Control Group of forty-one other prisoners. The Controls were subdivided into one group of twenty-one men convicted of Statutory Rape against non-related minor females, and a second group of twenty men imprisoned for the felony of Breaking and Entering. All subjects achieved I.Q.'s of 80 or above. No subject had a prior history of arrest for a sexual or assaultive crime, and no subject had been previously diagnosed as psychotic or severely disturbed mentally. Analysis of the data on the subjects indicated that the Incest Offenders had a higher mean age than either of the Control sub-groups. The Incest Offenders had more children, and as a group had come into less conflict with the law prior to the commission of the crime for which they were incarcerated.

Instruments used in this investigation were the Blacky Pictures Test, six cards from the Thematic Apperception Test, and one card from the Michigan Picture Test. The latter seven cards were presented to the subjects, and scored, according to a method devised for the present study. Tests of hypotheses were made by comparing the responses of each group by means of Chi-Square.

The statistical comparisons indicated that the Incest Offender Group had a significantly greater frequency of the proposed reactions on three of the ten hypotheses tested. These differences were in the areas of Oral Eroticism, Castration Anxiety, and Oedipal Intensity. These three hypotheses were supported.

The remaining seven experimental hypotheses were rejected as the Incest Offenders did not reveal a significantly higher frequency of the responses expected by the design of the study.

The Incest Offender Group had a significantly higher number of individuals who were judged as generally disturbed in the psychosexual areas, as measured by their responses to five Blacky Pictures cards.

A discussion of the limitations of this study and of the instruments employed was presented, and the current results were compared with those found in a similar study done at Sing Sing Prison. Suggestions for further research were made.

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Finally, I would like to mention my wife, Barbara Ann, who endured the many trials common to wives of Ph. D. candidates.

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I

INTRODUCTION

Statement of the problem

The problem of the sexual offender is of great importance for those groups involved in the detection, detention, and prevention of socially deviant behavior. Motivating factors behind many such crimes are inadequately understood by those responsible for dealing with the criminal. There appears to be a dearth of scientific investigations of sexual crimes by those very disciplines whose object it is to understand human behavior. The criminal sexual offender provides an important area of study for such diverse groups as law enforcement officials, penologists, and the behavioral scientists and, secondarily, for the law-making and administrative organizations directing the control of such behavior.

The clinical psychologist is in a position to offer services and data toward the understanding of these sexual offenses. Sharing in common with other disciplines in the behavioral sciences a knowledge of personality theory - development and deviation - techniques of interviewing, and the use of case history material, the clinician can also make a unique contribution in the use of psychological tests and

projective techniques. Such techniques may bring to light material which the sexual offender wishes to cover up; they may reveal unconscious dynamics and give a greater understanding of the total personality structure of the individual.

The clinical psychologist, in attempting to understand the sexual offender, generally operates within a framework of personality theory largely developed by psychoanalysis. Therefore, the understanding, detection, diagnosis of, and prognosis for the sexual offender by the clinical psychologist would appear to be generally dependent upon the validity of this psychoanalytically-developed personality theory, and the psychologist's ability to extract material from the sexual offender pertinent to such theory.

Prominent in the hierarchy of sexually-motivated behaviors, according to psychoanalysis, is incest. This behavior, whether in conscious or unconscious fantasy, or in overt act, is of vital importance to the development of the personality. The Oedipus Complex, a psychoanalytic concept for certain parent-child relationships whose motivating force is largely sexual, is given a primary role in the psychoanalytic interpretation of incest behavior. Since incest is prohibited by law and custom in our culture, the individual convicted of such behavior becomes legally a sexual criminal.

In investigating incest behavior the psychologist must study the individual by means of psychologically-developed methods and techniques designed to clarify its basic motivations, and the possible precipitating factors.

II

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

In view of the importance of incest-motivated behavior in the formulation of personality dynamics by psychoanalytic theorists, and the acceptance of such a general theory of personality by clinical psychologists, it would seem that the investigation, verification, and validation of this theory would attract experimental psychological studies. It is surprising to discover the dearth of such studies involving the incest offender in the recognized technical psychological publications.

Review of the published literature in 1930 fails to reveal a single, specific investigation of the convicted incest offender by clinical methods.[1] One may speculate that this is a function of the lack of clinical psychologists in facilities where this type of offense may be studied, or a lack of sufficient numbers of such offenders. Ellis, Doorbar, and Johnson (5) made a multiple correlational study of the characteristics of convicted sex offenders. This

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[1] Incest offenders have, presumably, been combined into groups with other sexual offenders in some studies. In another article cited below, incest offenders formed one sub-group of six sexual offender group studies.

study did not isolate the incest offender, nor draw conclusions about him. Incest offenders were merely grouped with others as "major offense." Certain factors may be implied, mainly under the heading "Extenuating Circumstances," where it was shown that the victim was willing, or that alcohol was involved more often in this grouping of "major offense."

Lindner (12) found that the Blacky Pictures differentiated between sex and non-sex offenders, but not between sex offenders grouped as homosexual vs. heterosexual offenders.

Ellis and Brancale (6) have published a volume dealing with the investigation of 300 convicted sex offenders at the New Jersey Diagnostic Center. Of these 300, eleven were convicted of the crime of incest. In specifying the techniques employed in this investigation, they mention psychiatric interviews, frequently including drug and hypnotic procedures, case history information, and psychometric and projective testing. Some general conclusions follow: Fewer than half of these incest offenders showed, or admitted to, previous criminal acts of any sort. All were psychiatrically diagnosable, with seven showing primarily neurotic symptoms. Three were legally committable to state mental institutions. Five others exhibited signs of severe emotional disturbance. All eleven gave evidence of severe emotional immaturity.

Alcoholism as an associated or precipitating factor in the criminal act was seen in eight of the cases. None of the eleven incest cases was above average in intelligence, ten of them being in the Dull-Normal to Average range.

Turning to more general studies in the field, we find that Frosch and Bromberg (8) see alcohol as a frequent factor in incest cases. Kaufman, Peck, and Tagiuri (11), investigating the family constellation and overt incestuous relationships between father and daughter, describe the sexual relationship as a prolonged one. The fathers are characterized as poverty-stricken, alcoholic, having little education, and as being irresponsible in their occupation. Riemer (18), a Swedish sociologist, has described some of the incest offenders in that country who came to his attention. He characterizes them as coming from a low cultural level and as being a disorganized group. These offenders tended to leave home at an early age, having come from broken homes, usually with a good deal of psychological tension between the parents. Before beginning the incestuous relationship, the routine of everyday life suffered some interruption - accident, economic troubles, disease, or the like. Almost all of these cases suffered from extreme sexual frustration. Riemer concluded that incest was due to indifference toward social responsibilities, and coincided with sexual frustration.

Karpman (10) has perhaps the most complete survey of the literature in his 1954 volume on the sexual offender. In regard to incest, he states that the number of cases reported to the police is only a small fraction of those occurring. The proportion of acquittals is high, and the practice of reducing charges to one of lesser magnitude clouds accurate statistical reporting. Incest is difficult to prove. The victim is often unwilling to bring charges or to testify. The aggressor is not always the male. Although the 1951 Michigan Report, cited in Karpman, finds the intelligence and education of the average sex offender to be below that of the general population, most writers, according to Karpman, believe that the most sex offenders are of average intelligence. Low schooling, however, is common.

In describing the motivation for incest, Karpman mentions that it is often not associated with a marked degree of psychopathology. Influences are chiefly cultural and sociological, identified with a primitive family organization. Incest offenders do not have the neurotic reflections of other sexual criminals.

One of the most ambitious research studies to come to the author's attention is the report of the group studying the convicted sexual offender at Sing Sing Prison. Glueck

(9), as director and editor for this project, has issued a 400 page statistical and descriptive final report of the research findings on various sub-types of the sexual offender. This research approach to the questions surrounding the behavior and dynamics of the aberrant sexual offender utilized the classical psychiatric team approach. Psychiatrists, psychologists, and social workers comprised the principal investigators, with other social scientists as consultants for methodology and interpretation. Operating within the framework of a "psychodynamic" approach, these investigators used the training and techniques of the various disciplines, both separately and integratively, to substantiate their initial formulations.

The research techniques aimed at the inclusion of separate findings into total rating scales which included several hundred factors. There were both psychiatric schedules and rating sheets, and psychological rating scales, the latter comprising clinical tests and independent observations. Noted by the psychologists was the brevity and barrenness of the test records, a factor which, however, did not impede their usefulness as measured by agreement among interpreters and observers.

There were six sub-groups within the total sexual offender group. The entire sex offender sample consisted of 170

cases, of which twenty-three formed a body of incest offenders. The control group was taken from the general prison population, and was matched as closely as possible, with the exception of the non-sexual nature of their offenses.

In discussing his results, Glueck puts forward general formulations concerning the psycho-sexual dynamics of these sexual offenders. His research group could not demonstrate any one specific traumatic episode in the sexual development of most of the men. There appeared to be a continuously traumatic, prohibiting and inhibiting attitude toward sexual behavior throughout the developmental years that was reflected in the serious distortions of the adult sexual patterns. Glueck found an impaired ability to use fantasy, or other mechanisms involving abstracting capacity as an outlet for sexual conflicts. This condition apparently is due to a serious impairment of the general capacity for abstract thinking. There was evidence of pervasive difficulties encountered in interpersonal relationships, particularly in adult life. There appeared to be a generalized personality pattern in these sexual offenders involving striking withdrawal, isolation, timidity, and inability to utilize the ordinary channels of social intercourse.

Specific findings demonstrated a confirmation of earlier impressions that the sexual offenders are sexually inadequate,

and that the sexual offense represents a rather desperate attempt at repairing the badly damaged patterns of sexual adaptation, rather than an expression of a normal sex urge, or an expression of excessive sexual potency. The marriage patterns of these offenders were very unstable, with late marriage, separation and divorce being common. The wives were judged to be pathological, themselves, in a high proportion of the cases. Despite the difficulties of the marital relationship, many of the sexual offenders wished to carry on the marriage, probably a reflection of the dependency urges found in the majority of the group.

The social pattern of this group, in addition to the findings mentioned above, showed an almost total preference for non-intellectual activities. Fifty percent of the sexual offenders were judged and rated to be alcoholics, either to a moderate or a severe degree.

The general clinical findings indicated impairment in all areas of personality functioning. This appeared to be related to the chronic, pervasive, and severe anxiety found. The personality defenses were generally of the most primitive types, and included avoidance of anxiety-provoking situations, denial, and mechanisms of projection. None of the sexual offenders were rated as having a normally flexible

type of control - either too rigid and overcontrolled, or too impulsive and lacking in sufficient controls. There were severe generalized feelings of guilt about all aspects of personality functioning, and defects in the control mechanisms which would normally prevent behavior producing these guilt feelings. A striking amount of psychopathology was found in these sexual offenders. Seventy percent showed "definite schizophrenic patterns," as indicated by the schizoadaptive living patterns and the disturbances in ego functioning.

Summaries are presented on each of the six sub-groups of sexual offenders. Here, we shall mention only the incest offenders. This incest group - made up of offenders from several other groups who also happened to commit incest - has no special characteristics except that the pathology found in the other groups is at its maximum in this one. These men are the sickest of all the groups, even though they may have made a fairly good adjustment at some time in the past.

Enough statistical information concerning the incest offender group is reported in this article to make comparisons with the incest experimental group in the present study. This comparison will be reported in a later section under "Discussion of Results."

Turning to Fenichel (7) who may be considered as representative of the orthodox psychoanalytic school, we find only brief mention of the parents' role in the Oedipus relationship. Fenichel states, "Neurotic parents bring up neurotic children, and the children's Oedipus complex reflects the parents' unsolved Oedipus complex." Later, "The parents' unconscious sexual love for their children is greater when thier real sexual satisfaction, due to external circumstances or to their own neurosis, is insufficient. This love is felt by the children unconsciously as a sexual temptation, increasing their Oedipus complex; and sometimes it is even unconsciously felt by the parents, who then make up for it by sudden threats or frustrations, so that frequently the same children are excited and then frustrated by the same parents.

While most analytic writers discuss the Oedipus complex from the point of view of the child and the child's development, Rangell (16) cites clinical material stemming from, and having its basis in the adult or parental role in this relationship. He emphasizes that the Oedipal relationship produces effects not only in regard to the impulses coming from the child to the parents, but also simultaneously in connection with the feelings in the opposite direction, from the parent to the child. Rangell points out that the

Oedipus complex has a continuous and dynamic line of development, from its earliest origin, through the various phases in the life of the individual. It is a constantly reappearing thing which shows up in new and changing roles. The early, original complex of the phallic period goes through that stage, and is then "solved" in one way or another for a period of time. It remains dormant, but is a powerful dynamic force in the unconscious. It has cyclic history from this earlier point, characterized by rejuvenations during certain crucial periods of life.

One of these periods in which we are most interested, is when the child of the parent is emerging from puberty into sexual maturity. Prior to this, opportunities for impulse satisfaction is at its height, and maximum attainment of sexual gratification is possible. At this period of the child's coming of age, however, frustration and revived longings may occur in the parent, stimulated by both the sense of declining power, and, in contrast, by the lustiness seen in children. This time there is a reversal of the original Oedipal process. The individual looks backward, not forward. The object is now not one's own powerful parent, but one's child, grown to his zenith. It is still one's own, a narcissistic extension of the self.

For the present study, in the case of individuals who act out their Oedipal feelings directly such as incest offenders, there is the added possibility of provocative sexual behavior on the part of the daughter toward her father based on her own unresolved Oedipal strivings. Thus, we may have a reciprocal sexual attraction between father and daughter due to similar psychodynamic factors.

The universality of the incest taboo is commented upon by Murdock (14), an anthropologist. In discussing material gathered from a sample of two hundred and fifty societies from all over the world, he mentions, "In none of the 250 sample societies, nor in any other that I have ever read about, is either sexual intercourse or marriage considered possible between father and daughter, ..." He qualifies this with examples of highly exceptional circumstances, not applicable to our culture or to the general run of the population of other societies.

III

POSSIBLE UNDERLYING CAUSES IN THE CRIMINAL INCESTUAL ACT

Preliminary considerations

In reviewing the available information on imprisoned incest offenders, general areas of similarity of behavior were seen. These areas involved descriptive personality characteristics, overt behavior, and environmental situations. The similarities suggested the possibility of organizing the various components involved in the criminal behavior into separate areas which could be examined more thoroughly, in an attempt to increase our understanding of such behavior.

In developing these areas, much reliance was placed upon knowledge and experience with certain personality theories used in clinical psychology. The theoretical formulations which follow are derived from psychoanalytic theory. It was hoped that these areas would facilitate the understanding of this type of behavior, and would provide some explanation of the events and motivations leading up to the act itself. Later, definite hypotheses will be developed from these areas.

Area I: The first area involves the description of the psychosexual characteristics of the offender. This male and husband possesses genital sexuality, and such emotional conflicts as may be present do not manifest themselves as an inhibition of adult heterosexual intercourse. The male is heterosexually oriented, prefers adult intercourse, and is accustomed to such intercourse through the marital union.

The desirability of understanding this offender more completely in terms of existing personality theory leads us to an examination of the psychoanalytic formulations of the stages of psychosexual development. The descriptive material suggests that these individuals possess many of the characteristics of the Phallic Character, as described by Fenichel (7) and Blum (1). This is the theoretical psychoanalytic formulation which attempts an explanation of those people who are fixated at the phallic stage of psychosexual development. The basis of this character fixation lies in the flight from the threats of the Oedipus complex. Specifically, the threat is the fear of castration. This fear, itself, stems from the fantasies concerning the mother, and the father's feared reactions. The father is seen as punitive and rejecting, ready to retaliate upon the son for the latter's attempts to possess the mother. The mother is seen as the source of all satisfactions. She is loving and generous and is dominant

in the mother-son relationship. In dealing with his unresolved castration anxiety the phallic character must deny his desire for his mother, i.e., de-sexualize her through repression and altered perceptions. The behavior of these phallic characters is resolute, reckless, and self-assured - traits, however, which have a reactive character; they reflect a fixation at the phallic level. An intense vanity and sensitiveness reveals that the castration fears are still partially active. These individuals usually anticipate assault (castration) by attacking first. Their resentment of subordination and their tendency to dominate others are both grounded in fear. They behave aggressively as a reaction to the feelings of being helpless against feared aggression. Basically, the phallic character is extremely oral-dependent, and suffers from recurring castration anxiety. Most of his behavior can be seen as over-compensating for these deeper feelings. Finally, the male, driven to repeated attempts to demonstrate his masculinity, is nevertheless contemptuous and hostile toward women. Above, we have considered the first area, i.e., the psychosexual motivations and the underlying personality dynamics.

<u>Area II</u>: The second area deals with the existing marital situation. The males has been accustomed to regular sexual outlet with his wife. For various reasons, now, the

wife is perceived as unavailable for such outlet. There may be physical barriers to intercourse, for example, hospitalization or institutionalization which removes the wife from the home. On the other hand, the wife may reject the husband or suffer from sexual frigidity because of certain events such as environmental frustrations, dissatisfaction with the husband, physical disorders, etc. The husband, himself, may contribute to this unavailability by means of his own personality dynamics. Since he is unable to form mature, satisfactory relationships, his percepts are rather distorted, being already sensitive, having long established hostilities and defending against recurrent anxiety. The common denominator in this area is the male's perceived loss of the wife as a sexual outlet. This unavailability of outlet lowers the ordinary threshold for sexual arousal, and reinforces already existing feelings of masculine inadequacy.

Area III: This examines the offender's percepts of himself and his environment. It is an attempt to formulate more general characteristics and behavior patterns. While the first area dealt with reactions to psychosexual conflicts, the present area will develop more total behavioral patterns, which have generalized from the original conflicts, and now are habitual reactions to the environment, and including self-percepts. Since the offender is fixated on an

immature psychosexual level, his percepts still retain the flavor of the child-adult relationship. In his dealings with adults he perceives himself in the receiving situation, being the inferior partner, subject to domination by others. His reactive aggressive pattern and masculine strivings indicate a more basic concern over inability to cope with many situations. A general result of his inadequacies in dealing with adult demands and responsibilities is a feeling that he is the victim of a cold and hostile environment.

Area IV: The fourth area is concerned with the choice of sexual outlet as revealed by the crime. Where, in reality, the offender has a choice of sexual outlet in the non-related, mature female population, the actual behavior indicates that the father chose, not once, but usually repeatedly, an incestual object - his daughter. His perceptions of the daughter are sexualized. Two conditions probably contribute to the choice of the younger female. Primarily, the unconscious threats and barriers to the adult female and, complementing this, the immature self-identification of the offender which places him more on a level with younger individuals. Given the heterosexual drive of the offender, he sees adolescent females as desirable and acceptable sexual objects. He perceives them as attractive and feminine, and willing to indulge in sexual relations.

Area V: The preceding factors have attempted to bring out the background conditions making the criminal behavior probable. This needs only a final element to account for consummation of the act. We suggest that this final element is the ego control or strength of the individual. Ego control, for our purposes, shall be defined as the person's ability to control his impulses and desires, choose acceptable courses of action based on previous experiences and knowledge of social demands, and to judge or foresee the consequences of his behavior. The offender's ego control, as implied in the preceding material of this section, is not up to mature, adult strengths. It is most often further impaired by excessive use of intoxicants, during which the act frequently takes place. As a final step we may examine the offender's explanations of his behavior. Let us remark here that there does not seem to be any long-standing impairment of mental functioning in the majority of these offenders which would explain these actions as being due to the effects of psychosis or mental deficiency. The loss of ego control in our offenders is never total or complete. How, then, does the offender explain his behavior to his society which regards such actions as illegal, morally wrong, and personally abnormal? The offender's explanations, rationalizations, and denials are in keeping with his general personality structure. Being the

immature, irresponsible person, he blames the daughter for provoking him. According to him, the daughter is openly sexually aggressive and inviting. Secondly, he will deny the responsibility by blaming alcohol which has impaired his judgment. Finally, he may, like a child, choose to ignore what is painful or unpleasant by denying the sexual activity altogether, or attempt to minimize it.

Statement of hypotheses

Our first hypothesis deals with the underlying personality structure of the incest offender. It has been suggested earlier that this offender suffers from a character disorder and reveals many of the psychological traits of the theoretical phallic character as described by psychoanalysis. It is further suggested that the causes of this character fixation lie in the presence of an unresolved Oedipus complex in the incest offender. The offender still perceives the parents in terms of the childhood needs, frustrations, and fears. This first hypothesis, in testable form, deals with psychological measures of the phallic character.

Hypothesis I: Compared with the controls, incest offenders will reveal a greater frequency of occurence of:

a) strong oral-dependency reactions
b) strong castration anxiety reactions

c) strong Oedipal intensity reactions
d) aggressive drives
e) resentment toward authority
f) attitudes of contempt and hostility toward women

The second hypothesis relates to the incest offender's perception of his marital partner as unavailable for sexual outlet. Whether physically present or absent, the wife is seen as not satisfying the husband's sexual demands.

Hypothesis II: Compared with our controls, more incest offenders will perceive the wife as unavailable for sexual purposes.

The third hypothesis deals with the incest offender's perceptions of himself and of his general environment. The incest offender is generally unable to master his environment and successfully assume adult responsibilities. His environment is seen as being hostile and rejecting.

Hypothesis III: Compared with the controls, more incest offenders will:

a) reveal self-percepts indicating inability to compete successfully with others
b) perceive the environment as being hostile and overwhelming

The final hypothesis suggests choice of sexual outlet as indicated by the sexual offense. As the incest offender turns toward his daughter as a possible object for sexual

satisfaction, he perceives her as a matured female, capable and willing in sexual matters. He expects her to acquiesce to his desires.

<u>Hypothesis IV</u>: Compared with the controls, more incest offenders will perceive young adolescent females as being interested in mature heterosexual activity.

IV

PROCEDURE

Subjects

The experimental subjects were drawn from a population of offenders who were convicted and sentenced to prison for the crime of incest with their own biological daughters. Legally, this forbidden sexual behavior between father and daughter is defined as "Incest" in the State of Michigan. However, for various reasons not pertinent to this study, many of these offenders are tried, sentenced, and come to prison under other felony statutes. By far the most common felony for which these incest offenders were imprisoned is the crime of "Statutory Rape," a more general offense involving intercourse with a female under the age of sixteen. Finally, a smaller group of incest offenders was found sentenced for the crime of "Indecent Liberties." The experimental group for this study was made up of offenders sentenced under all three of these felony statutes. The basic criterion for inclusion in this experimental group was the fact that sexual intercourse between father and biological daughter was proved through legal procedures.

The experimental sample was taken from the population of incest offenders currently incarcerated at the State Prison of Southern Michigan (Jackson Prison). These subjects were not imprisoned for longer than five calendar years prior to this study to minimize the effects of institutionalization. Subjects chosen did not demonstrate, by official record, prior sexual crimes. The official prison records of incest offenders meeting the above criteria were reviewed more thoroughly, and those individuals showing signs of long-standing psychosis either before or after the present crime were eliminated.

Offenders revealing gross physical or intellectual defects were discarded. White offenders only were included in the study.

In the majority of cases there were rather complete details available in the official prison records concerning arrest, investigation of the crime and statements of participants and witnesses. Only those cases were used where the records indicated that the daughter was beyond the stage of puberty or showed definite pubescent signs. Those cases were included where there was descriptive material indicating that the daughter was at least a passively willing partner. Cases involving forcible rape were not used.

The experimental group of incest offenders met the following criteria: the offense took place with a sexually willing daughter above the age of puberty. The father possessed no recognized intellectual or emotional abnormalities which would have prevented him from recognizing the nature and possible consequences of his behavior. Finally, the offender's actions were proved beyond reasonable doubt in court.

Control groups

One control sub-group was made up of other sexual offenders. These controls were imprisoned for sexual intercourse with females - nonrelated - sixteen years of age or younger. The rationale for using this control group of sexual offenders was to equate the sexual activity with that of the incest offenders, except for the factor of legally and morally prohibited consanguinity of the victim. Screening criteria were similar to that used in the selection of the experimental group. Those offenders were used who had no prior prison convictions and who had no previous history of arrests for sexual crimes. All but one of this control group were married. A final criterion, like that for the experimental group, was that the crime did not entail violence or force against the victim. This control group will be referred to as the Control-Sex, or S group.

A second control sub-group was used to compare the facto of sex vs. non-sexual offenses. For practical purposes of selection it was most convenient to utilize one specific crime. The offense chosen was that of "Breaking and Entering," descriptive of forcible entry and stealing from an establishment or home. Individuals in this group were screened by usual criteria. The report of the crime itself was gone over most carefully and resulted in the exclusion of some cases which indicated a sexual element in the offense or showed any personal violence connected with the commission of the crime. All men with prior histories of arrests or convictions for sexual crimes were discarded. A final elimination was made of those individuals who showed a past history of violence associated with their crimes. The factor of prior imprisonment could not be eliminated, but no repeated offenders were used. This control group of non-sexual offenders will be referred to subsequently as Control-B&E, or B group.

The choice of convicts for the control groups was decided upon after due consideration of other possibilities. It was realized that the very fact that an individual is imprisoned for a felony increases the likelihood of discovering some symptoms of a personality or character disorder. This would tend to lessen possible differences between the incest

offender and a more general sample of the adult male population. However, it was felt that socio-economic and other cultural factors would be equalized by utilizing prisoners for both experimental and control groups.

Psycho-social characteristics of the groups

After a sizable number of cases was accumulated in each group to assure adequate statistical sampling, the men were placed "on call" to the writer's office for an initial interview. Since this office is in the Psychiatric Clinic of the prison, which is known as the "mental ward" or "bug ward," most of the men answered the appointment call with some degree of anxiety or reluctance. All men were initially reassured that this call was not connected with "clinic business," and the writer gave a brief explanation of his project. The actual description varied from individual to individual, but contained the information that the author was conducting this project for his Ph. D. degree at Michigan State University and that it was in no way a part of the Department of Corrections' official work. The men were then told that they were being asked to volunteer to take part in the project and that it was strictly up to them whether they wished to participate or not. A further reassurance was

given that their names or prison numbers would not appear anywhere in the report and that nothing would be made a part of any official prison records. At this point the men were asked directly whether or not they wished to take part. In most cases the individual testing was done at this first interview, although in all cases the actual testing was preceeded by an informalinterview designed to minimize the situational anxiety associated with the nature of the project.

Approximately seventy records of incest offenders were reviewed and screened. Thirty of these were rejected as having shown some of the deviancies mentioned earlier (low I.Q., psychosis, etc.). Although the cut-off point for the intelligence factor was originally planned to be an I.Q. of 70, a small pilot study indicated that an I.Q. of 60 would be a more realistic limit for this kind of personality testing. Below this point comprehension of the task and verbal ability in responding to the test was inadequate for the scoring used. Thirty-seven incest offenders were called to volunteer for this study. Seven of these men refused to participate or became so upset during the testing that they declined to go on. Thirty incest offenders were tested, and became our experimental group.

Twenty-eight men were called to participate in the Control-Sex group. Seven refused any part in the study, leaving twenty-one subjects in this sex control group. Twenty of the B&E Control group took the testing, while only two men declined.

In tabular form, the statistical data on these three groups is presented below.

TABLE 1

INTELLIGENCE, AGE, AND EDUCATIONAL LEVEL OF THE TOTAL SAMPLE

	N.	Mean I.Q.	Range	Mean Age	Range	A.G.R.
Exper. (E):	30	103.4	82-126	42.2	32-58	7.95
Cont-Sex (S):	21	105.9	80-130	37.6	30-48	8.39
Cont-B&E (B):	20	108.6	88-125	35.4	30-50	8.60

The intelligence quotients were obtained when the men first came to prison. The majority of these I.Q.'s are based on the revised Army Alpha or the Army General Classification Test. In a few cases they are Wechsler-Bellevue scores. Age at the time of the present study is reported here. The Average Grade Rating (A.G.R.) is that obtained on the Stanford Achievement Test.

Examination of Table 1 indicates that the mean intelligence of each of the three groups is in the normal or average range. Small differences are noted in favor of the B&E Control group. The Average Grade Rating is similar for all three groups, with the B&E Controls having a slightly higher mean. Larger differences are noted in the mean ages of each group. The Incest Offenders are slightly older than the other two groups. In part, this appears to be due to the design of the study, for one criterion for the Experimental group was that the daughter had to be above the age of puberty.

While all the experimental incest offenders had to be married, a very high proportion of the two control sub-groups was also married at the time of commission of the present crime or had been married at some time previously. A difference is noted in the median number of children for each group. The incest offenders averaged twice the number of children as the sex control group, and approximately three times the number of children as were found in the B&E Control group. The older age of the incest offenders is a partial explanation here.

TABLE 2

MARITAL STATUS

	Exp.	Cont-Sex	Cont-B&E
Single:	0	1	3
Divorced or separated:	0	0	8
Married:	30	20	9
Number of children:			
0 -		1	7
1 -	3	5	4
2 -	1	4	
3 -	1	3	5
4 -	5	2	2
5 -	8	1	
6 -	4	2	
7 -	2	1	
8 -	3		1
9 -	2	1	1
10 -			
11 -			
12 -	1	—	—
Median number of children:	5.6	2.8	1.8

The previous criminal histories of the three groups also indicated differences. The incest offenders showed the least amount of prior illegal activities. For forty-three percent of the experimental group the present incest offense was the first brush with the law, resulting in an arrest. Another forty percent had one arrest prior to the present charge, and only seventeen percent had had two or more arrests before being convicted of incest.

TABLE 3

CRIMINAL RECORD

	Median number of arrests (Including present crime)
E:	1.7
S:	2.6
B:	8.3

	Significance of difference[1]
E vs S:	non-significant
E vs B:	.01 level
B vs S:	.02 level

[1] As determined by the median test.

The Control-Sex group was slightly more anti-social previous to their current felony conviction. Only thirty-three percent of them had had no prior arrests, while another thirty-three percent were arrested once before the present crime, and a full third had a history of two or more arrests on previous occasions.

The B&E controls were definitely more criminal in their adjustment. Although less rigid screening criteria were used in the selection of this group, due to the absence of first offenders in the necessary age range, they roughly matched the other two groups on mental and intellectual factors. Fifty-five percent of this group had seven or more previous arrests, while forty percent of them had been in prison before.

In comparing the ages of the victims involved in the crimes of the two sexual offender groups, we find that the median ages of these girls are roughly equated, both being in the fourteenth year.

TABLE 4

AGE OF VICTIM
(sex groups)

Age:	Exp.	Cont-Sex
10 -	1	1
11 -	4	3
12 -	3	5
13 -	9	5
14 -	11	3
15 -	1	3
16 -	1	1
Median:	13.8	13.4

The final table of this section, reporting the coital frequency between the incest offender and his victim is taken from the verbatim statements in the official presentence investigation.

TABLE 5

NUMBER OF COITAL CONTACTS WITH VICTIM - INCEST GROUP

Official report:

1 time	2
3-4 times	5
6-7 "	1
10-12 "	2
several "	8
many "	2
½-2 years	5
4-5 "	5
sex with other children in family	10
victim pregnant	4

Selection of tests

The selection of testing materials to investigate clinical hypotheses is a function of the extent to which the responses to such tests can be manipulated in accordance with accepted experimental procedures. Prior work has been done in this area and there were available certain projective techniques which contain quantifiable scoring methods.

The hypotheses investigated in the present experiment may be considered as falling into two categories. First, were those hypotheses relating to basic personality characteristics and related behaviors. These characteristics are theoretically a product of the first years of life in the individual, which ultimately influence future direction of personality development. Several basic characteristics (traits) when found together may indicate the presence of a personality type or syndrome as posited by the theory. In the present experiment Hypothesis I was designed to investigate the presence of the personality type described as the phallic character.

In the selection of specific tests to investigate the first hypothesis, there was one technique which probably comes first to the minds of most clinicians. This is the Blacky Pictures test developed by Blum (2) to investigate psychoanalytic stages of psycho-sexual development. In the present experiment are statements of psychoanalytic concepts of such psycho-sexual development directly testable by Blum's technique. Hypothesis I - a, b, and c, were investigated by means of the picture cards used in Blum's Blacky Pictures test.

Behaviors associated with these traits of the phallic character are also suggested in Hypothesis I, as d, e, and f. These are certain attitudes and drives - forces which motivate actions of the individual and may be considered as associated with the personality concept of the phallic character. These behaviors were investigated by methods discussed below.

Hypotheses in the second category are those used to investigate the presence of certain perceptions. These percepts channel the current behaviors toward a direction culminating in the actions for which the individual is imprisoned. Hypotheses in this second group are titled II, III, and IV and are more specifically related to additional factors of the behavior investigated - incest.

For these hypotheses - those involving behaviors related to the phallic character and percepts leading to the crime of incest - another projective technique was utilized. This is also of the type called an apperception test, wherein the subject "reads into" certain ambiguous picture cards motives, drives, and perceptions which really are a reflection of his own personality make-up. Six of these cards came from the Thematic Apperception Test (15), hereafter referred to as the T.A.T., and one card came from

the Michigan Picture Test (13), subsequently referred to as the M.P.T. The rationale for the selection of the specific cards used is presented in the following section.

Response measures

Each hypothesis was investigated by comparing responses made by the Experimental and Control groups to a single card selected to elicit such responses as related to that hypothesis.

The Blacky Pictures test cards used in investigating Hypothesis I, sections a, b, and c, came from the Blacky Pictures series of eleven cards. Each card is designed by its author to elicit measures of a certain stage of psychosexual development as posited by psychoanalytic theory. Of direct value to the present experiment were cards I, VI, and IV of the series, corresponding to our Hypothesis I - a, b, and c, respectively. Card I is entitled "Oral-eroticism" and was used to measure strength of oral-dependency needs. Card VI is called "Castration Anxiety" and measured the strength of castration fears. Card IV is designated as "Oedipal Intensity" and was used to measure the strength of the individual's unresolved Oedipus Complex. The administration of this test in the current investigation followed

the directions given in the examiner's manual for the Blacky Test. Instructions to the subjects are standard, calling for a spontaneous story to the card, to be followed by a standard set of questions to be answered by the subject.

Scoring of the stories followed the system proposed by Blum in a revised scoring manual (3). By this system the scoring is put on a more quantitative basis, eliminating much of the subjective judgment of the clinical interpreter. The entire Blacky Test of eleven cards was given, since the scoring for any one card, following Blum, is dependent upon both the subject's responses to that particular card and upon the responses made to other cards.

This quantitative method involves scoring each subject's story in four different areas - Spontaneous Story, Inquiry, Related Comments, and Preference - following Blum's tables. Each story received an over-all score of either ++ (marked disturbance), + (mild disturbance), or 0 (neutral, or absence of disturbance signs). The final over-all score for each of the cards I, VI, and IV was used to test Hypothesis I; a, b, and c, respectively.

The author served as a judge in a reliability study of this technique conducted by another Ph. D. candidate.[2] Six Blacky Test stories from each of twelve subjects were scored independently by the two judges. Since one of the areas, Preference, merely requires tabulation, three areas in each story remained for a comparison of scoring judgments.

Using this quantitative scoring, identical over-all scores were obtained on sixty-seven out of the seventy-two separate stories, resulting in ninety-three percent agreement between the two judges for this method. In four of the five remaining stories the discrepancy was only between adjacent categories (++ and +, or + and 0).

In the present study, the men in each group were assigned to one of the three categories (++, +, or 0) according to their over-all score on the particular card being analysed. The total numbers falling into each category were then compared.

Observation of the obtained distribution showed that the numbers of individuals in each group falling into one of the disturbance categories - marked or mild - frequently was

[2]In cooperation with Dr. Mary M. Leichty, in the course of her doctoral research program.

less than five. In cases such as this accepted statistical procedure in using Chi-Square is to combine these low-frequency categories so that the resulting larger observed cell frequency may be used in the analysis. This procedure was followed in the present Chi-Square computations, the subjects being distributed according to a "disturbance" (++ or +) - "no disturbance" (0) dichotomy.

The T.A.T. and M.P.T. techniques are usually employed so as to allow the subject freedom to relate a story to a particular card, using any of an infinite number of themes which may occur to him. In interpreting such a protocol made up of several of these stories, the clinician mainly looks for the strength or recurrence of these themes.

The hypotheses investigated in the present experiment are related to certain, specific themes. Therefore, the usual presentation and interpretation of the apperception test cards would not guarantee the elicitation of these hypothesis-themes. The above mentioned choice of the Blacky Test suggested alternative ways of using the T.A.T. and M.P.T. cards.

The question arose of whether these cards could be used as elicitors of specific themes, following the rationale of the Blacky Test. The possibility presented itself of

selecting certain of these cards which, from prior clinical experience, were most likely to result in the desired themes. Since the Blacky Test included multiple choice responses as part of its administration, it was felt that a similar method could be developed for the suggested modification of the T.A.T. and M.P.T. cards.

As a result of these conditions, the following procedure was developed for the testing of Hypothesis I - d, e, f; and Hypotheses II, III, and IV, by means of the T.A.T. and M.P.T. cards. The author selected seven cards (the number of specific responses to be tested)[3] which, from prior experience, were most likely to elicit themes similar to those expressed by the specific hypotheses. These cards were carefully evaluated by the author and another psychologist in regard to the following points: the specific card was considered to be potentially a strong elicitor of the proposed theme; the card was not seen as strongly potential of eliciting a conflicting theme (there is, of course, no guarantee against this possibility, but the card was selected to minimize this chance); and the card was capable of suggesting several alternative responses all highly related to the stated theme.

The following cards were those selected:

[3]Six of these cards were chosen from the standard T.A.T. battery, and the remaining one was taken from the M.P.T. test battery, since it was felt that this card was a clearer elitor of the theme desired.

For Hypothesis I - d, card 18 BM of the T.A.T. series shows a figure popularly seen as struggling, with two hands grasping his shoulder and arm. A theme of aggression is commonly given.

Hypothesis I - e, dealing with resentment toward authority will be treated by T.A.T. card 7 BM, in which there are the faces of a younger man and an older man. The younger seems to be listening to the older.

Attitudes of contempt and hostility toward women, Hypothesis I - f, utilizes T.A.T. card 4, wherein a man seems to be turning away from a woman who is holding him.

Hypothesis II, investigating the perception of the wife as sexually unavailable, involves T.A.T. card 13 MF, showing a woman lying passively in bed, naked breasts exposed, and a man with his back to her and one forearm covering his face.

Card 1 of the T.A.T. is used for Hypothesis III - a. A boy is shown seated looking at a violin. Themes of competition or striving are commonly elicited.

Perception of the environment as being hostile is exemplified by card 11 of the T.A.T. This is an unusual drawing wherein the head of a dragon-like creature is emerging

from a hole in a cliff. Underneath, along a causeway or bridge, indistinct figures, human and animal, are going away from the dragon. This card is for responding to Hypothesis III - b.

Finally, for Hypothesis IV, measurement of perceptions of young adolescent females as being sexually aware, card 2 of the M.P.T. was shown. Two youngsters, seemingly of ages between ten and fourteen, are together. The girl has her head lowered. The boy's fly seems to be open as one button is shown exposed.

With the final procedure in mind of using these cards as a multiple-choice response test, it was decided that each card would be presented along with four possible alternatives from which the subject would choose one. These alternatives were to be descriptive statements about the action taking place in the card. Two of these statements were to be designed so as to be expressive of the theme for which the card was chosen, and the remaining two were to be "neutral" or non-expressive descriptions of the action.

The judging experiment

The author then selected ten descriptive statements for each card. Five of these statements were indicative (strongly

related to) the theme expressed in the hypothesis, and five were neutral descriptions of the action. These statements along with the cards were then presented to the judges who were to rate each statement as to its relationship to the hypothesis-theme. The judges, seventeen in all, were advanced graduate students in psychology, enrolled in a course in projective techniques, and so, presumably, were familiar with the type of interpretation usually employed in the apperception tests. The instructions to the judges were, as follows:

> "Each of these pictures to be show is usually used to elicit a story from which the person's drives, motivations or perceptions can be determined.
>
> "Instead of asking for a spontaneous story, I am giving subjects a list of descriptive statements to choose from (statements which I hope can elicit a <u>certain</u> theme). This particular theme is printed at the top of each rating sheet.
>
> "I am asking you, as clinical judges, to determine whether the choice of a particular descriptive statement by the subject would indicate the presence of the chosen theme - referred to at the top of each rating sheet - in his personality.
>
> "Each statement should be rated either 0, 1, 2, 3, or 4, depending on whether, in your judgment, choice of that particular statement would mean that the subject possessed that characteristic.
>
> "To establish a common frame of reference for your judging, here is a list of meaning for each number used in the ratings:
>
> "0 - statement is non-related to characteristic mentioned; a neutral choice

"1 - statement is slightly related to characteristic; questionable but possible

"2 - statement has some relationship; person shows some of the characteristic; but not strong

"3 - statement probably indicates presence of that characteristic; you are about 80-90% confident

"4 - statement is most likely a good indicator of the characteristic; clinically sound."

The judges were then given the rating sheets and shown the cards one at a time. The themes in respect to which each statement was to be rated corresponded to the experimental hypotheses used in the present investigation, and were as follows:

Hypothesis	Theme
I d	- indicates the presence of aggressive drives
I e	- indicates the presence of attitudes of resentment toward authority
I f	- indicates the presence of attitudes of hostility and contempt toward women
II	- indicates the feeling that the wife is unavailable for sexual purposes
III a	- indicates a self-perception as a person who is unable to compete successfully
III b	- indicates a perception of the environment as being hostile and overwhelming
IV	- indicates the perception of young adolescent females as being sexually aware.

Total ratings for each statement, for each card, were then tabulated. To test for the significance of the

the distribution of ratings for each statement the Null Hypothesis was invoked. For our purposes, the Null Hypothesis of no significance of the obtained distribution was tested by the Chi-Square technique. By this statistical procedure, the number of judges selecting each rating numeral for a particular statement was tabulated. This step can be illustrated as follows:

N = total number of judges
N_{sub} = number of judges choosing that rating

Rating	0	1	2	3	4
N:	N_1	N_2	N_3	N_4	N_5

The Chi-Square tchnique allows us to posit any theoretical frequency of choices for each cell. For the present procedure it was posited that the judge's choices would be distributed randomly among the cells, the hypothesis being that there would, by chance, result an equal distribution, twenty percent of the choices in each cell.

The experimenter was interested in the probability of judge's ratings piling up at the end of the distribution; i.e., of ratings of 3 and 4 being chosen more often by the judges for the author's "strong" statements, and ratings of 0 and 1 being more prevalent for his "neutral" statements.

This probability of the significance of the statements, either strong or neutral, was then tested by means of the Chi-Square formula.[4]

Since the author was interested in the obtained frequencies being in an expected direction (having the judges agree with him that a particular statement was related or was not related to a specific hypothesis-theme), the Chi-Square became a one-tailed test of significance.

Not being exclusively concerned with the extreme rankings, 0 or 4, respectively for the various statements, the two end categories were combined into one cell called the expected direction, and the remaining three rating categories similarly combined in a second cell, the non-expected direction. From the original five possibilities for each statement there resulted two cells - expected vs. non-expected, with expected theoretical frequencies of forty percent and sixty percent, thusly:

---

[4]This formula being $X^2 = \frac{(f_o - f_e)^2}{f_e}$ where f_o is the obtained frequency and f_e is the theoretical frequency. A correction for continuity was employed as suggested by Edwards (4).

Direction	Expected	Non-expected
Theoretical f:	40%	60%
Translated into numbers, f_e =	6.8	10.2

Example

Hypothesis I, d: statement e in rating sheet

"This man is being kicked out of a place after he got into a fight."

Rating	0	1	2	3	4
N:	0	0	3	4	10

Direction	Expected	Non-expected
f_o	14	3
f_e	6.8	10.2

As a result of these calculations, the following numbers of statistically significant statements were found for each card:

Card Number	Strong direction	Neutral direction
1. (18 BM)	4	4
2. (7 BM)	3	5
3. (4)	2	4
4. (13 MF)	2	5
5. (1)	3	4
6. (11)	4	2
7. (2 M.P.T.)	3	4

From this pool of statistically significant statements the final response items were chosen. The mean rating for each statement was established. For the strong, or hypothesis related, those two having the highest mean were selected for each card. For the neutral statements the two possessing the lowest mean ratings were taken. The final test statements are shown separately as Table 6.

TABLE 6

FINAL TEST ITEMS. CHI-SQUARE SIGNIFICANCE LEVEL, AND MEAN RATING.

Card number	P. (Chi-Square)	Mean	Statement
1. (18 BM)	.001	3.2	This man is being kicked out of a place after he got into a fight.
	.01	3.0	This man lost his temper and his friend is holding him until he cools off.
	.001	.29	This man is being helped on with his coat by a waiter who saw he was having difficulty.
	.001	.29	This man feels sick and is about to faint, but his friends are holding him up.
2. (7 BM)	.01	3.2	This man doesn't know how much longer he can stand the older man telling him what he can can't do.
	.001	3.0	This man is thinking that he knows as much about the work as the supervisor, although the guy is always telling him how to do it.
	.001	.06	These men are watching an interesting ball game on TV and are talking about the score.
	.001	.29	These doctors are talking about an operation and are waiting to examine the patient.

TABLE 6, Cont'd.

Card number	P. (Chi-Square)	Mean	Statement
3. (4)	.01	2.9	This man doesn't like the way the woman is always trying to criticize his actions.
	.05	2.7	The man is thinking about how stupid this woman really is.
	.001	.06	The man and woman are watching a car accident and are about to phone the hospital.
	.001	.29	The man has just won a prize at the carnival and is wondering if his wife will like it.
4. (13 MF)	.05	2.0	His wife has been very sick for the past month.
	.05	2.0	The man is wishing that his wife would show more love for him.
	.001	.06	The husband is tired, but is happy that he has satisfied his wife.
	.001	.18	The husband is thinking about how affectionate his wife is.
5. (1)	.001	3.2	The boy is thinking that he can never learn to play the violin.
	.001	3.2	The boy is worried because he cannot play as well as other pupils.
	.001	.18	The boy is thinking that the violin needs a new string.
	.001	.24	The boy has finished his lesson and is going out to play.
6. (11)	.01	3.1	This picture tells how everyday dangers threaten man's life.
	.02	3.0	In this picture the men are running from the monster, but will not reach safety in time.
	.001	.88	The animal is curious about these two-legged creatures who have built a path by his cave.
	.02	1.0	If men will stick together they can meet and overcome every danger.

TABLE 6, Concl'd.

Card number	P. (Chi-Square)	Mean	Statement
7. (2)	.001	3.4	This girl has just been kissed and she knows that the boy wants to go farther.
	.01	3.1	This girl knows the boy will get fresh if they walk through the woods.
	.001	.24	This girl is sad because the boy told her that her pet dog died.
	.001	.24	This girl knows that the boy wants to go fishing instead of to school.

Test of hypotheses

The experimental hypotheses were stated in such a manner as to predict that the Experimental Group - the Incest Offenders - would score "higher," that is, more of them would reveal stronger reactions to the separate cards than the Control group.

For each card (i.e., each hypothesis) the scores of the three groups of subjects were compared by means of the Chi-Square Test, using the Null Hypothesis of no difference between the groups. The Null Hypothesis in this case states that the three groups used in the present experiment are from a larger common population, and that the obtained scores are random samples from this population. As such they would not be expected to differ from each other. Since the

experimental hypotheses predicted that the Incest Offenders would have a greater frequency of strong reactions than the controls, a one-tailed test of significance was employed.

V

RESULTS

The experimental hypotheses

Hypothesis I: a, b, and c, addressed itself directly to disturbances in the psychosexual area and was tested experimentally by means of the Blacky Pictures. The three areas of disturbance specifically investigated were: Oral Eroticism (Card I), Oedipal Intensity (Card IV), and Castration Anxiety (Card VI). The Chi-Square analysis of the testing results is presented below for each separate hypothesis.

TABLE 7

CHI-SQAURE ANALYSIS OF HYPOTHESIS I-a.

Oral Eroticism - Blacky Card I

	Observed distribution			Combined distribution	
	0	+	++	0	+
E:	16	5	9	16	14
S:	19	2	0	19	2
B:	12	7	1	12	8

(Table 7 concluded on p. 56)

Chi-Square Values and P.

E vs tot. Control:	8.076	.01 level of confidence
E vs S:	12.582	.001 " " "
E vs B:	.060	N.S.
E vs B:	3.632	N.S.

Table 7 indicates that the two Control sub-groups do not differ significantly from each other when compared by means of Chi-Square. This is a two-tailed test of significance since no direction of difference is posited. The statistical similarity of these two Control sub-groups allows their combination into a larger Total Control Group of forty-one subjects. When this Total Control Group was compared with the Experimental subjects a significant difference was obtained. Combining of the observed distributions into a four-celled table probably resulted in some loss of discrimination.

TABLE 8

CHI-SQUARE ANALYSIS OF HYPOTHESIS I-b.

Castration Anxiety - Blacky Card VI

	Observed distribution			Combined distribution	
	0	+	++	0	+
E:	16	11	3	16	14
S:	17	3	1	17	4
B:	14	4	2	14	6

Chi-Square Values and P.

E vs tot. Control:	8.076	.01 level of confidence
E vs S:	6.004	.02 " " "
E vs B:	1.564	N.S.
S vs B:	.203	N.S.

The comparison of the two Control sub-groups resulted in no significant difference being found. This allowed the combining of these two groups into a larger Control group of forty-one subjects again. When this larger group was compared with the Experimental subjects a significant difference was obtained. Although the Incest group does not have such a great frequency of severe disturbance, enough of them showed signs of mild disturbance to make the difference significant.

TABLE 9

CHI-SQUARE ANALYSIS OF HYPOTHESIS I-c.

Oedipal Intensity - Blacky Card IV

	Observed distribution			Combined distribution	
	0	+	++	0	+
E:	12	6	12	12	18
S:	15	3	3	15	6
B:	12	5	3	12	8

Chi-Square Values and P.

E vs tot. Control:	9.358	.01 level of confidence
E vs S:	7.422	.01 " " "
E vs B:	2.41	N.S.
S vs B:	.195	N.S.

Card IV, testing the third area of psychosexual disturbance, again results in a differentiation between the Experimental and Total Control groups. The non-significance of Chi-Square resulting from the comparison of the two Control sub-groups allowed the combining of them in this analysis.

The remaining three sub-sections of Hypothesis I dealt with the present behavioral reactions of the proposed phallic character. These included: d, the presence of aggressive

drives; e, attitudes of resentment toward authority; and f, attitudes of contempt and hostility toward women. The three areas mentioned here were investigated separately by means of the picture-story cards described in an earlier section of this report.

For each card the subject had one choice of four different descriptions - two strong and two neutral. In the statistical analysis of the distribution of subjects the Chi-Square test was again employed. The frequencies of choice within each group of subjects were shown as a dichotomy of strong vs neutral. The results of the Chi-Square analysis of these portions of Hypothesis I are shown below.

TABLE 10

CHI-SQUARE ANALYSIS OF HYPOTHESIS I-d

Aggressive drives - T.A.T. card 18 BM

	Observed distribution	
	Neutral	Strong
E:	18	12
S:	12	9
B:	12	8

No significant differences between groups

No differences between groups are seen here. All groups show a direction of preference opposite to that proposed by this hypothesis.

TABLE 11

CHI-SQUARE ANALYSIS OF HYPOTHESIS I-e.

Resentment toward authority - T.A.T. card 7 BM

	Observed distribution	
	Neutral	Strong
E:	8	22
S:	10	11
B:	8	12

No significant differences between groups

No significant differences were found in these analyses. In all three groups the majority of the subjects showed the resentment toward authority by their preference for the strong choices.

T.A.T. Card 4 resulted in a piling up of strong responses for all groups. No differences in the frequencies of this type of reaction was found between any of the groups.

TABLE 12

CHI-SQUARE ANALYSIS OF HYPOTHESIS I-f.

Contempt and hostility toward women - T.A.T. Card 4

	Observed distribution	
	Neutral	Strong
E:	2	28
S:	2	19
B:	1	19

No significant differences between groups

Hypothesis II dealt with the perception of the wife as unavailable for sexual purposes. One card was used to investigate this hypothesis. This analysis follows.

TABLE 13

CHI-SQUARE ANALYSIS OF HYPOTHESIS II

Wife seen as unavailable - T.A.T. Card 13 MF

	Observed distribution	
	Neutral	Strong
E:	7	23
S:	3	18
B:	4	16

No significant differences between groups

Card 13 MF also resulted in the majority of the Experimental Group responding in the posited direction, but the Control population had similar frequencies of choice. No group differences were found here.

Hypothesis III was divided into two parts. The first investigated self-percepts of inability to compete or achieve, and the second with the environment as being hostile. These Chi-Square analyses are shown:

TABLE 14

CHI-SQUARE ANALYSIS OF HYPOTHESIS III-a.

Inability to compete - T.A.T card 1

	Observed distribution	
	Neutral	Strong
E:	5	25
S:	2	19
B:	4	16

No significant differences between groups

Table 14 indicates that similar proportions of subjects in each group responded with the strong alternatives to T.A.T. card 1. No significant differences result from this analysis.

TABLE 15

CHI-SQUARE ANALYSIS OF HYPOTHESIS III-b.

Hostile environment - T.A.T. card 11

	Observed distribution	
	Neutral	Strong
E:	17	13
S:	13	8
B:	14	6

No significant differences between groups

A perception of a hostile environment was not shown by a majority of any group. Although more Incest Offenders chose the strong responses, the statistical test does not indicate that the difference is significant.

TABLE 16

CHI-SQUARE ANALYSIS OF HYPOTHESIS IV.

Perception of sexual awareness - M.P.T. card 2

	Observed distribution	
	Neutral	Strong
E:	22	8
S:	14	7
B:	12	8

No significant differences between groups

M.P.T. card 2, testing the final hypothesis, did not result in any significant differences being found between the groups. The greater proportion of subjects in each group chose the neutral alternatives.

Further experimental analysis

Since the complete Blacky protocol was available for possible additional analysis, it was decided that two further stories were to be scored which might provide an additional identification of psychosexual factors preventing mature adjustment, and which might differentiate the incest offender from the control subjects.

Card II of the Blacky is a possible elicitor of problems surrounding the oral sadistic stage of psychosexual development. Individuals scoring high on this card would be suspected of having some degree of fixation at the oral sadistic stage, resulting from an unsatisfactory emotional relationship with the mother.

Card IX of this test is entitled "Guilt Feelings" and indicates a strong super-ego or conscience if high scores are obtained. It also is associated with perceptions of punishment for some misdeed. Signs of a too strong super-ego or conscience suggest that the Oedipal relationship

has not been satisfactorily resolved. It could also indicate the perception of punishment or retribution by outside agents for some transgression. This additional analysis by means of the Chi-Square test is shown.

TABLE 17

CHI-SQUARE ANALYSIS OF SCORES ON BLACKY CARD II.

	Oral Sadism				
	Observed distribution			Combined distribution	
	0	+	++	0	+
E:	15	11	4	15	15
S:	15	6	3	12	9
B:	12	7	1	12	8

No significant differences between groups

Half the Experimental Group showed some signs of disturbance in their responses to this card while the greater proportion of the Controls did not. Statistical analysis did not reveal the differences to be significant.

TABLE 13

CHI-SQUARE ANALYSIS OF SCORES ON BLACKY CARD IX.

	Guilt Feelings				
	Observed distribution			Combined distribution	
	0	+	++	0	+
E:	14	7	9	14	16
S:	10	10	1	10	11
B:	10	10	0	10	10

No significant differences between groups

The distribution of scores on Blacky card IX indicates a high frequency of disturbance for all groups. The proportions ares so similar that the groups are not differentiated from each other.

A final questiom might be raised here involving individual subjects within each group. We have already demonstrated some group differences in regard to the experimental findings. We may now make an evaluation of the individuals in each group who have contributed to these differences. By examination of the five stories from the Blacky Test used in previous analyses, it is possible to assess the total degree of pathology demonstrated by each individual by

summing the number of "disturbed" scores for each subject. Table 19, below, shows the nucleus of "most disturbed" individuals within each group.

TABLE 19

CHI-SQUARE ANALYSIS OF TOTAL AMOUNT OF PSYCHOSEXUAL DISTURBANCE FOUND IN INDIVIDUALS WITHIN EACH GROUP - THE FIVE BLACKY TEST CARDS

A - Individual Blacky protocols, Number of cards scored "Disturbed"

	0 - 1	2	3 - 4
E:	4	10	16
S:	11	8	2
B:	7	7	6

Chi-Square Values and P.

E vs tot. Control:	22.298	.001 level of confidence
S vs B:	2.939	N.S.

B - By Percentages

	0 - 1	2	3 - 4
E:	13	33	53
S:	52	38	10
B:	35	35	30

The distribution of generalized pathology as shown by the number of Blacky cards scored disturbed, indicates that a significantly greater proportion of individuals in the Experimental Incest Group gave pathological responses in most of the areas tested by the Blacky Pictures. Over half of the individuals in this Experimental Group were marked disturbed on three or four of the five cards they responded to.

A summary table of all the Chi-Square tests of significance is presented at this point for easier reference.

TABLE 20

CHI-SQUARE SIGNIFICANCE LEVELS

A - The Blacky Test Cards

	Card				
	I	II	IV	VI	IX
E vs tot. Control:	.01	NS.	.01	.01	NS.
E vs S:	.001	NS.	.01	.02	NS.
E vs B:	NS.	NS.	NS.	NS.	NS.
S vs B:	NS.	NS.	NS.	NS.	NS.

B - The Seven Picture-Story Cards

No significant differences obtained between groups

Table 21 will give an indication of the percentages of subjects in each group showing reactions in the hypothesized direction. On the Blacky test this means scores in the "disturbed" categories, and on the Picture-Story cards the choice of a "strong" alternative.

TABLE 21

PERCENTAGES OF SUBJECTS IN EACH GROUP SHOWING DISTURBANCE IN THE TESTING

A - The Blacky Test (+ or ++ scores)

	Story				
	I	II	IV	VI	IX
E:	47	50	60	46	53
S:	10	43	29	19	52
B:	40	40	40	30	50

B - The Picture-Story Cards ("strong" reactions)

	18BM	7BM	4	13MF	1	11	2
E:	40	73	93	77	83	43	27
S:	43	52	90	86	90	38	33
B:	40	60	95	80	80	30	40

VI

DISCUSSION OF RESULTS

The experimental hypotheses

Hypothesis I: a, b, and c, dealt with the psychosexual fixations resulting in the personality structure known as the phallic character. Substantial numbers of the Incest Offender Group exhibited disturbance reactions as measured by the Blacky Test: 47% in the area of Oral Eroticism, 47% again for Castration Anxiety, and 60% in Oedipal Intensity. When compared statistically with the total Control Group, this Experimental Group of incest offenders was significantly higher than the Controls in all three areas. These hypotheses positing a greater frequency of disturbance in the areas of Oral Eroticism, Castration Anxiety, and Oedipal Intensity appear to be supported.

Hypotheses I-d, I-e, and I-f were rejected because of lack of significant statistical differentiation between the Experimental Group and the Control Group.

The tests investigating the statements of Hypotheses II, III, and IV also failed to yield any differences between the Experimental and Control groups, and these

hypotheses must be considered as not supported.

Discussion of the experimental findings

In comparing the two techniques of measurement, we have seen that the Blacky Test was more successful in eliciting the hypothesized reactions than was the picture-story method devised for the present study. One explanation is suggested here. The Blacky Test was designed to elicit unconscious dynamics through having the subject "project" his perceptions into a relatively unstructured situation. Most subjects do not readily comprehend or understand the full meaning and implication of their responses. Cues thus gained by the investigator from the subject's spontaneous productions are then evaluated; this process being based on the results of prior empirical studies. Certain types and directions of responses, not always apparently pathological, have been shown to be associated with deeper unconscious processes.

The T.A.T. from which the present picture-story card technique was developed has a similar theoretical foundation in the association of perceptions with deeper mental processes. The methodology used in this investigation may have been, however, more subject to ego control and intellectual direction on the part of the subjects. The responses elicited may have been closer to the

consciousness, the subject having more opportunity to dispassionately evaluate the alternatives offered before selecting his response. The present results may be more a reflection of conscious thinking, rather than that of unconscious motivations.

While not supporting the hypotheses that the Incest Offender Group would reveal a greater frequency of disturbance in all areas, the experimental data contain findings relevant to the original assumption that these incest offenders would give evidence of personality traits associated with the concept of the phallic character.

This concept of the phallic character implies certain strong psychosexual fixations. These fixations were demonstrated in substantial numbers of the incest offenders. While the exact frequencies of occurrence among the general populace is unknown, it is unlikely that such high proportions of disturbance would be found in a random selection of normal adults.

The remaining findings dealing with current behavioral reactions also give many indications that the incest offenders fit into the theoretical formulations suggested. Of interest is the hogh percentage showing hostility toward

women, and also a perceived rejection by the wife. The psychoanalytic picture presented by Fenichel (7) and Blum (1) of generalized resentment toward authority is also supported. The high frequency of occurrence of a poor self-concept appears to be in line with the observed failures in mature adjustment found in this group.

In summary, these incest offenders seem to be suffering from a generalized immaturity reaction. They are very dependent and passive. A strong unresolved Oedipus Complex is shown by our testing.

The similarity of responses shown by each group in the experimental picture-story testing suggests that some perceptions may be general to a prison population. The self-picture of inability to compete successfully with others is prominent in all groups, and is coupled with a resentment toward authority figures by most offenders. Feeling of aggression may be a reaction to these perceived frustrations. Their attitudes toward women show up very prominently, with hostility and contempt being indicated almost universally. The acknowledgment of the feeling that women are unavailable for sexual relations is realistic to a deprived prison population, but may be associated at a deeper level with personal failures to achieve satisfactory mature relationships. Guilt feelings or fears of punishment were shown by half of

all the subjects tested. Since these men were all imprisoned for a period of time, there can be no exact differentiation between an internalized super-ego guilt reaction or merely a reality-based perception of punishment for social transgressions.

The final analysis of the experimental data, shown as Table 19 above, was a comparison of the number of most disturbed individuals within each group.

This Table shows that the Incest Offender Group contains a much higher number of severely disturbed individuals. The two Control sub-groups possess far smaller numbers of subjects revealing a generalized or total disturbance in the psychosexual area. Over half of our incest felons fell into the generally disturbed category as determined by the summing of the five Blacky scores. This proportion is highly significant when compared with the Control offenders. We may conclude that there is a greater likelihood of finding generalized psychosexual disturbances in an individual convicted of the crime of incest.

Glueck (9) investigated the same three types of offenders employed in the present study. Some comparisons of results will be presented here. For easier identification we shall call the groups by similar names. The incest offenders in both studies are the Incest Group, the present

sex-control group and his "Heterosexual Hebephilia" are Sex Control Group, and the two non-sex groups are Non-Sex Control. Table 23 contains the numerical data found in both studies, while Table 24 presents psychological ratings of disturbance shown in the testings of each study.

Glueck presented median I.Q.'s for his groups based on the Wechsler-Bellevue, Full Scale score. Tests of significance between his sex offender I.Q.'s and the two sex groups in the present study would probably indicate some differences, but the most interesting comparison is that the two studies suggest that these sex offenders cluster around the Average range of adult intelligence.

Median ages of the prison offenders are also presented in Glueck's Sing Sing study. Again, small differences are noted between the two studies. Suggested here is the tendency for these sexual crimes to be committed in the fourth and fifth decades of the individual's life.

In comparing the number of children for each of the offender groups, we find that the incest offenders in both studies average larger families. This is partly a function of the higher age of this type of offender but also suggests the possibility that the frustrations associated with more responsibility and low-income play a role in this sort of sexual crime.

TABLE 22

COMPARISON OF PRESENT FINDINGS WITH THOSE OF GLUECK

Descriptive Statistics

	I.Q.	Age	Ave. Number of Children	Previous Arrests	Average Age of Victim, Sex Groups
Present Study					
Incest:	103.4	42.2	5.6	43% none	13.8
Cont-Sex:	105.9	37.6	2.8	33 "	13.4
Cont-B&E:	108.6	35.4	1.8	10 0 or 1	
Glueck					
Incest:	99.8	39.6	4-7 category	43% none	11-13 yrs.
Cont-Sex:	99.1	33	2-3 "	34 "	14-17 "
Non-Sex:	108	33.7	2-3 "	6 0 or 1	

The comparisons table also indicates that these incest offenders are not habitual law-breakers. Anti-social acting out behavior does not play an important part in their lives. The more extensive personal pathology appears to be the most important factor in their criminal actions.

The two studies reveal that these sexual crimes, the incest behavior expecially, take place with the younger adolescent female. These girls are barely out of puberty, but are treated as sexually mature by these offenders. This fact further suggests the psychological immaturity of these individuals and their distortion of the usual heterosexual relationship. It points out their inability to relate satisfactorily with adult females.

While not tabulated in the present study, Glueck finds that twenty-two percent of his Incest Group were diagnosed as severe chronic alcoholics, another forty-eight percent showed moderate alcoholism (more than heavy social drinking), and an additional twenty-two percent were classed as social drinkers. Thus, ninety-two percent of his Incest Group indicated the possibility of alcohol as a precipitating or control-loosening factor in their offense.

Glueck's subjects were given an over-all rating on psycho-sexual disturbances, based on psychological test

findings (Blacky Test, Rorschach, T.A.T., and H-T-P), plus interview and case history ratings. It must be remembered that Glueck's offenders were an unselected, consecutive sample, whereas the present study excluded psychotics and mental defectives. These ratings are presented in Table 24 as a comparison with the findings of the present study.

TABLE 24

COMPARISON OF PRESENT FINDINGS
WITH THOSE OF GLUECK
(In Percentages)

Disturbance Ratings (mild and marked)

	Oral Erot.	Oral Sad.	Oedip. Inten.	Castr. Fear	Guilt Feel.
Present Study					
Incest:	47	50	60	43	53
Cont-Sex:	10	43	29	19	52
Cont-B&E:	40	40	40	30	50
Glueck					
Incest:	65	47	71	76	83
Cont-Sex:	77	50	70	67	83
Non-Sex:	50	58	54	44	80

Limitations of the present study

Inspection of Table 1 indicates that the groups were not equated for age. The Incest Offenders had the highest mean age. The exact effect that this discrepancy had upon the results of the investigation is not known. All subjects had long passed the early period in which psychoanalytic theory states that the psycho-sexual fixations take place. Ideally, however, subjects could have been matched for age among the three groups.

A more obvious shortcoming is the lack of a control population of "normal" subjects. Another control group of individuals who had had no prior conflict with the law, and who met the remaining criteria used in the present study would allow broader comparisons and generalizations. It is difficult to assess the amount of psycho-sexual pathology to be found in the average population since these "normals" do not come into contact with evaluating agencies.

A third limitation is a possible bias effect caused by the experimenter being the only person concerned with the actual investigation. Selection of the cases finally used involved knowing many of the details of the subject's life, and especially descriptions of his behavior deviations. Testing and scoring these some individuals may have produced some unconscious bias towards "seeing" more pathology in the Experimental Group, or slanting the results in the hypothesized direction.

VII

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The present study represents an investigation of certain personality factors derived from psychoanalysis, and their relationship to the crime of father-daughter incest. Personality traits descriptive of the psychoanalytic concept of the "Phallic Character" were presented as hypotheses to be confirmed.

Three hypotheses suggested the continued presence of disturbances in the following psychosexual areas: Oral Eroticism, Oedipal Intensity, and Castration Anxiety. Three more hypotheses were concerned with current behavioral reactions associated with the dynamics to be found in the Phallic Character; i.e., the presence of aggressive drives, resentment toward authority, and a contempt and hostility toward women. The final four hypotheses contained predictions concerning perceptions expected from this type of individual. These included perception of the wife as unavailable sexually, a self-percept of inability to compete successfully with others, perception of the environment as hostile, and perception of young adolescent females as being interested in heterosexual activity.

The subjects used in this investigation included an

Experimental Group of thirty Incest Offenders and a Control Group of forty-one other prisoners. The Controls were subdivided into one group of twenty-one men convicted of statutory rape against non-related minor females, and a second group of twenty men imprisoned for the felony of Breaking and Entering. All subjects achieved I.Q.'s of 80 or above. No subject had a prior history of arrest for a sexual or assaultive crime, and no subject had been previously diagnosed as psychotic or severely disturbed mentally. Analysis of the data on the subjects indicated that the Incest Offenders had a higher mean age than either of the Control sub-groups. The Incest Offenders had more children, and as a group had come into less conflict with the law prior to the commission of the crime for which they were incarcerated.

Instruments used in this investigation were the Blacky Pictures test, six cards from the Thematic Apperception Test, and one card from the Michigan Picture Test. The latter seven cards were presented to the subjects, and scored, according to a method devised for the present study. Tests of hypotheses were made by comparing the responses of each group by means of Chi-Square.

The statistical comparisons indicated that the Incest Offender Group had a significantly greater frequency of the proposed reactions on three of the ten hypotheses tested.

These differences were in the areas of Oral Eroticism, Castration Anxiety, and Oedipal Intensity. These three hypotheses were supported.

The remaining seven experimental hypotheses were rejected as the Incest Offenders did not reveal a significantly higher frequency of the responses expected by the design of the study.

The Incest Offender Group had a significantly higher number of individuals who were judged as generally disturbed in the psychosexual areas, as measured by their responses to five Blacky Pictures cards.

A discussion of the limitations of this study and of the instruments employed was presented, and the current results were compared with those found in a similar study done at Sing Sing Prison. Suggestions for further research were made.

General Remarks

The present investigation is one of the very few now available in which incest offenders, as a separate group, have been studied. No other studies have been found in which the personality dynamics of the incest offender have been examined psychologically.

The present investigation by no means exhausts the

potential of this group of offenders to yield more knowledge in the field of personality dynamics. Studies of non-offenders would probably yield many individuals possessing the same constellation of personality factors as our incest offenders. Why, then, have these others not proceeded on to commit this crime? Answers to this question would call for a multi-dimensional investigation. Ideally, the victim-daughters and the wives of these offenders should be studied thoroughly. If possible, the parents of the offenders should be included in this type of investigation.

In addition to the social-psychological types of investigation suggested above, a more intensive depth evaluation of these incest offenders is desirable. Again, the projective methods would seem to be most suitable for eliciting the necessary information.

Suggested topics for such an investigation would include the offender's perceptions of significant people in his environment; his parents, wife, children and other important figures in his interpersonal world. One would also need to investigate his characteristic reactions to these people.

The incest offender's typical defense mechanisms should be evaluated; their direction, effectiveness, and results. His total sexual life needs to be studied more carefully, especially his marital relationships and his psychological

distortion or repression of the universal incest taboo.

Finally, an interesting and valuable area of investigation would concern itself with the concept of ego controls of these offenders. It has been mentioned earlier that alcohol was one factor in weakening these controls.

Neither the present study nor the Sing Sing investigation has brought up the problem of treatment of these offenders. Both studies have indicated that these men are the sickest of all sex offenders evaluated, as a group. Like cancer, isolation of the specific irritant is not enough. Treatment, and eventually prevention, should be the true goal. Unlike cancer, sexual pathology is not a very popular subject for research, in regard to support by the public. At the present time, subsequent review of accumulated records frequently directs light on the accumulating and developing pathology in the life of the sexual offender. In the future, knowledge resulting from many areas of investigation should be put to use to prevent and correct the development of such pathology.

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