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MORAL DEVELOPMENT AND THE INCEST TABOO

City University of New York

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MORAL DEVELOPMENT AND THE INCEST TABOO

by

NADINE CASTRO MULLIKEN

A dissertation submitted to the
Graduate Faculty in Clinical Psychology
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy
The City University of New York

1983

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This manuscript has been read and accepted for the Graduate Faculty in Psychology in satisfaction of the dissertation requirement for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

July 22, 1983

date

Louis J. Gertsman

Chairman of Examining Committee

July 25, 1983

date

Herbert D. Saltzman

Executive Officer

Dr. Gilbert Voyat

Dr. Louis Gertsman

Dr. A. J. Franklin

The City University of New York

To Dick

The sum which two married people owe to one another
defies calculation. It is an infinite debt, which
can only be discharged through all eternity.

Goethe, Elective Affinities,

Book I, Chapter 9

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The circumstances surrounding the development of this project, from its inception to its completion have given it, for me, a very special meaning, beyond that of the lesson in scholarly pursuit a dissertation is meant to be. It has served as a lesson in life for which I had not prepared myself, and one that will stay with me for the rest of my professional and personal existence.

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From Yann, my son, who has always been there for me, and for little Adam whose birth preceded by a few days the end of this work, for all those who have believed in me, for all the ends and all the beginnings, I am deeply grateful.

Abstract

MORAL DEVELOPMENT AND THE INCEST TABOO

by

Nadine Castro Mulliken

Adviser: Professor Gilbert Voyat

On the basis of the animal studies, there seems to be strong evidence that incest avoidance either has some innate core, or at least is mediated by developmental experiences apart from, and much earlier than the Oedipus complex.

A paradigm was devised to test the hypothesis that incest avoidance is not directly related to the Oedipus complex, as the classical psychoanalytic position contends, when it states that the development of conscience as an interpersonal regulator of human behaviour is a direct consequence of the incest taboo. On the contrary, the hypothesis stated here that levels of moral development would correlate negatively with levels of aversion to incest. It was predicted that the more primitive an individual's level of moral development, the greater his aversion would be, when presented with incest themes.

An experiment was conducted using male college students. They were given the Loevinger Sentence Completion test to which were added half as many stems purported to

address incestuous themes. Though it is called an Ego Development test, Jane Loevinger's test covers a wide range of social and interpersonal attitudes. Thus it was chosen as the most appropriate instrument to measure moral development inasmuch as the latter is the mechanism which regulates interpersonal behaviour.

Results indicated that the lower his level on the Loevinger scale, the higher an individual would score on the incest aversion scale. In other words, it was shown that incest taboo may predate--developmentally speaking--the Oedipal phase and that it may be harsher at the earlier stages of development.

The results were discussed in terms of implications for classical analytic theory and ego psychology since one of the possible explanations for the phenomenon observed in this work is the object relation and ego psychology assumption that, side by side with a need for fusion with the mother, at an early level of psychosexual development, there exists an original dread of the mother as the engulfing other.

It is that dread of the mother which may be serving as a trigger to the incest taboo rather than the later threat of castration by the father in the individuals who do not reach the Oedipal level of psychosexual development.

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INTRODUCTION

The Boy Who Killed His Mother

In a dear little vine covered cottage
On Forty-second Street
A butcher once did live who dealt
In steak and other meat

His son was very nervous
And his mother him did vex
And she failed to make allowance
For his matricide complex

And now in old Sing Sing
You can hear that poor lad sing

Just a boy that killed his mother
I was always up to tricks
When she taunted me I shot her
Through her chronic appendix
I was always very nervous
And it really isn't fair

I bumped off my mother but never no other
Will you let me die in the chair?

F. Scott Fitzgerald

Incest has held a special fascination to students of human nature since the eighteenth century. At the dawn of the Romantic movement, Diderot wrote: "if a child was given the strength of a man, he would promptly make love to his mother and murder his father." At about the same time, Rousseau seemed to revel in confessing his love for "Maman", mother-figure and mentor who sheltered him at Les Charmettes, while in 1824, Hughes Walpole was the much feted author of

The Mysterious Mother, a blank verse tragedy whose hero has a daughter by his mother and thereafter becomes this daughter's lover.

Interestingly, while the theme of incest and the incest taboo appears as a motif in the folk legends of most cultures, it seems not to have been a topic of great concern to scholars from the time of the Greeks until the romantic era. That incest did not appear significantly in artistic productions of earlier times might be read as evidence of a more successful or thorough-going repression in those earlier eras or perhaps as evidence that other governing mechanisms such as increased possibilities of sublimation or displacement were afforded by the culture of pre-Romantic times. However, one can speculate with equal probability that the idea of incestuous desire may indeed have been an artifact of the Romantic and Victorian sensibilities. It is this latter speculation based upon the study of the historical evolution of culture that gives rise to the present work.

In Freud's time, social science and the study of animal behaviour were, comparatively speaking, in their infancy. Thus for example, the anthropological data upon which Freud based Totem and Taboo and his conception of the primal horde had little more to support it than the

work of Sir James Frazer and Robertson Smith. Such being the case, given the Romantic conception of unbridled passion that was held to be the true nature of any creature in its natural state, it seems almost logical for Freud to conclude that incestuous desire was in the natural order of things. Given this perspective, it follows quite plausibly that the incest taboo might indeed be the fons et origo of civilization, the basis alike of law and brotherhood.

But if we observe, looking backward to culture, that the artistic and intellectual preoccupation with incest fluctuated from one cultural era to another, it would seem that a corroborative avenue of investigation might be to take the wealth of accumulated studies from ethology, sociology and biology and examine to what extent they support or refute the central Freudian conceptions concerning both incestuous desire and the incest taboo. The first part of this study is concerned with a review of that literature.

Still another avenue of investigation resides in the possibility of structured psychological research. The second part of this study, then, is an attempt to explore the validity of the Freudian conception of the incest taboo in a paradigm which pits classical psychoanalytic developmental assumptions concerning the possible origins

of the incest taboo which derive from the works of ego psychologists and object-relation theorists.

At various points in Freud's writings, he emphasizes a phylogenetic model for the incest taboo, that is, a taboo rooted in instinct (using the word here as it is used in ethology), while at other times, he holds to an ontogenetic model implying that each individual must learn the taboo from his own experience.

In fact, these are not contradictory positions, for, as Freud has pointed out, individual experience is needed to give the necessary mental contents to psychologically mediate the innate behaviour potentials. Consequently, in this study, what is being brought to question is not so much Freud's phylogenetic assumptions but rather the particular ontogenetic model, i.e., the Oedipus complex which Freud presumes to be necessary in the maturational elaboration of the taboo.

Indeed, this work proposes to study the hypothesis of a fear of fusion with the mother as the guardian of the incest taboo on the individual level. However, many of the avenues generally open for such investigation, clinical data, direct observation or direct interviewing cannot be used because of the very nature of the phenomenon of incest and the universal disapproval that it arouses. Also, from the reported cases, it is quite clear that the

pathology permeating the whole situation when mother-son incest does occur would make it impossible to isolate one element--the fear of fusion--and show that it is the lack thereof that produced the incestuous act. Thus the purpose of this study is not to prove the existence of a phenomenon, but to challenge the existence of one.

The method chosen to this end is a semi-projective test which will measure, on the one hand, the subjects' levels of moral development, and on the other, their aversion to the idea of incest. According to the Freudian hypothesis, the two should correlate since the theory of the Oedipus complex postulates that morality is a direct correlary and consequence to the learning of the incest taboo during the Oedipal phase.

However, it will be expected that no such correlation be found and that subjects with pre-Oedipal levels of moral development show as much--and more--aversion to the idea of incest as those at the higher stages.

In summary, by first reviewing the data contributed by other disciplines, this work proposes to show that recent discoveries indicate that outbreeding in animals is biologically governed, simply because it seems to be the more effective way to evolution. The implications of

this fact on human avoidance of incest are probably more complex than expected. The purpose here is not to enter the Nature-Nurture controversy but to see the human phenomenon in its wider context.

Then, by examining the hypothesis of the incest taboo emerging from the Oedipus complex, it purports to show that even in its purely psychological dimension, the taboo may not rest on the father's prohibition during the Oedipal phase assumed by Freud, but may be inherent to the process of individuation, at a much earlier stage.

No simple answers exist when human phenomena as multifaceted and complex as the problem of the incest taboo are concerned but the aim of this study will have been accomplished, even if the questions it asks do no more than slightly chip away at long established, hard-dying beliefs about the learning of the taboo.

CHAPTER ONE:

THE POINT ON THE PROBLEM OF INCEST TODAY

I: The ethological basis of the avoidance of incest:

On the basis of the animal studies, there seems to be strong evidence that incest avoidance either has some innate core, or at least is mediated by developmental experience apart from the Oedipus complex. Indeed, down to the rodent species Microtus ochrogaster, the prairie vole, many species seem to possess some mechanism to reduce the probability of inbreeding, and these mechanisms are as varied as the phenomenon of "pregnancy block," where unfamiliar males cause the termination of an existing pregnancy and the production of "exogamous" litters after the disruption (Bruck, 1960; Stehn & Richmond, 1975), or the phenomenon of "asexual imprinting" revealed in the studies of the ethologist Eckard Hess on the Canadian goose, where the other individuals that a gosling sees during a critical period in the first few weeks or months of its life are permanently "imprinted" in its brain as inappropriate sex objects (Aberle et al., 1963). Similarly, in Peromyscus maniculatus, the prairie deer mice, it was found that sibling pairs exhibited delayed breeding which apparently resulted from the non-sexual relationships formed before puberty and

interfering with the later establishment of a sexual relationship. In the same study, delayed breeding was seen as independent of a genetic effect, since non-sibling pairs exhibited the same delay if allowed to be together before puberty (Hill, 1974). In another study on male rats, it was found that play behaviour habits established before puberty interfered with adult, copulatory behaviour, and that the animals persisted in wrestling, pawing, and climbing over the females, instead of exhibiting the normal ejaculatory reflex when presented with receptive females (Kagan & Beach, 1953).

In other mammals, among the species which form attachment bonds and nuclear families, behavioural tendencies decreasing the probability of close inbreeding seem to have evolved. The most frequent mechanism observed is the young males' expulsion from the group, as soon as they attain sexual maturity. In lions for instance,

by the age of three years, all male cubs born into a pride are forced out or they leave of their own accord. If they attempt to stay, their female relations are loath to mate with them or even share food. (Hanby & Bugott, 1980, p. 8)

A similar mechanism was observed in the patas monkeys, the rhesus monkeys and the Japanese macaques (Crook, 1970; Carpenter, 1942; Altman, 1962).

Another mechanism which seems to promote the avoidance of incest among some nonhuman primates is the dominance factor where, because of hormonal inhibition, the young male primate is usually unable to perform sexually with a female of a higher rank (Sade, 1968). However, and interestingly, this, as all the other mechanisms, is not generalized, even throughout the nonhuman primates. In fact, in the Japanese macaques, for instance, dominance rank does not seem to be correlated with mating, either in the males or in the females (Eaton, 1976).

Studies of cooperative breeding birds, like the Californian acorn woodpecker, have shown another fascinating social dynamic acting to prevent inbreeding: it was found that in this species which lives in family groups within which more than one female may lay eggs communally in a single nest, "reproductive inhibition of offspring by the presence of their parents of the opposite sex and dispersal by unisexual sibling units ensure that inbreeding between close relatives is rare" (Koenig & Pitelka, 1979).

Finally, in a fastidious and elegant study of the black-tailed prairie dogs, as many as four different mechanisms to prevent inbreeding were observed:

1) a young male usually leaves his natal coterie before breeding, but his female relatives remain; 2) an adult male usually leaves his breeding coterie before his daughters mature; 3) a young female is less likely to come into estrus if her father is in her coterie; and 4) an estrous female behaviorally avoids mating with a father, son or brother in her coterie. (Hoogland, 1982)

Consequently, ethology shows that most species have mechanisms regulating the avoidance of incestuous behaviour and that these may parallel laws and prohibitions in the societies of men which are part and parcel of culture and civilization, "that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, customs, and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society" (Tylor, 1871, p. 1).

It is thus appropriate to examine briefly, at this point, what are the facts about incest in human societies by reviewing the prevalence of the incest taboo, the incidence of incestuous behaviour and the various explanations which have been offered by scientists in various disciplines to explain why humankind needed to maintain a taboo against incest.

II: The Social Facts of the Avoidance of Incest:

1: The prevalence of the Incest Taboo in Human Societies:

The taboo on nuclear family incest has been observed to be almost universal and as forceful among primitive as

among modern civilizations. "If ten anthropologists were asked to designate one universal institution, nine would likely name the incest prohibition; some have expressly named it as the only universal one," wrote Alfred Kroeber (1939, p. 447). Indeed, in their studies of the so-called primitive cultures, anthropologists have shown intense interest in the fact that stringent incest taboos seem to regulate the social structure of tribes as diverse as the Mohave Indians on the Colorado River (Devereux, 1933), the Wayao in Indonesia (Sanderson, 1911), the Trobriands in Northwestern Melanesia (Malinowski, 1929), the Gilbert Islanders (Grimble, 1929), the Tikopians in Polynesia (Firth, 1936), the Australian Aborigines (Warner, 1937) or the Zulus in South Africa (Krige, 1936). Most of them describe the intense tribal disapproval and punishments facing the incest perpetrators and the violent feelings of repugnance and horror caused by their transgression.

In a cross-cultural study of 250 societies, George P. Murdock remarks that "incest taboos and exogamous restrictions, as compared with other sexual prohibitions, are characterized by a peculiar intensity and emotional quality," and that incest inspires in most people a "grizzly horror" evidenced by the frequency of the death penalty prescribed for the offenders (1949, p. 288).

In the Western cultures, one can find vigorous proscriptions against incest as far back as in the Mosaic Laws where it is said:

None of you shall approach to any that is near of kin to him, to uncover their nakedness: I am the Lord.

The nakedness of thy father, or the nakedness of thy mother, shalt thou not uncover: she is thy mother: thou shalt not uncover her nakedness.

The nakedness of thy father's wife shalt thou not uncover: it is thy father's nakedness.
(Leviticus 18:6,7,8)

To add to the gravity of the prohibition, these paragraphs are traditionally read on Yom Kippur, the most solemn day of the Jewish calendar (Jewish Encyclopedia, 1904).

The Greek tradition hardly tolerated, although it did not make them officially punishable, sex relations between a brother and a sister, a father and a daughter, and most especially a mother and a son. It qualified these acts as "godless deed(s), causing anguish to the gods, the basest ignominy" (Plato, 1921, p. 924).

Although the definition of incest and the harshness of the punishment for breaking the laws against it varied considerably with the periods, the Romans always forbade it unequivocally (Weinberg, 1955, pp. 16-17).

The early Middle Ages and the High Middle Ages were the period of progressive Christianization of Europe. With it, came the influence of the Church on the secular and the ban on incest stretched to include an utterly

ridiculous degree of relationships, "so deeply rooted was the fear of incest" (Taylor, p. 59).

The Renaissance saw the collapse of many old-established values and while admittedly incest was still a crime, the notorious scandal of the House of Borgia, and the case of Beatrice Cenci were just examples of the gulf which existed between the law of the Church and the behaviour of its people (Maisch, 1972, pp. 29-30).

Since then, the nature of the legal treatment of incest has varied as a consequence of changes in the official attitudes, the cultures and epochs, but its prohibition has been universal until the recent attempt by Sweden to legalize it (Engstrom, 1976), and despite the present campaign seemingly conducted in this country by well-known sex researchers and a few allies in academe to undermine its proscription (Time Magazine, 14 April 1980). It started when the psychology professor James W. Ramey published an article in the SIECUS report, an indicator of fads and fashions in the sex research world, where he depicted the incest taboo as a mindless prejudice. James Ramey commented that "We are roughly in the same position today regarding incest as we were a hundred years ago with respect to our fears of masturbation." He suggested also that incestuous relationships may not be as damaging as assumed and that "no

researcher has as yet had the guts to find out what's really happening" (1979, p. 1). The same attitude was adopted by John Money when he affirmed that a childhood sexual experience, such as being the partner of a relative or of an older person, need not necessarily affect the child adversely. For him, the public's outraged reaction to any adult-child relationship, even remotely sexual, is unjustified, and opposition to incest is similar to religious intolerance. As to Wardell Pomeroy, the co-author of the original Kinsey report, he is more blunt when he says that incest needs not be a perversion or the symptom of mental illness but that it can sometimes even be beneficial. Words and terms used to describe incest are beginning to change: child abuse is distinguished from "consensual incest" involving a parent, and "abusive incest" is different from "positive incest."

As a matter of fact, Joan Nelson, a Californian psychologist, conducted an exploratory study of 100 voluntary subjects in which she reportedly showed "that it is possible to have beneficial incest without coercion, family dysfunction, or guilt and that some families are living successfully without honoring the taboo" (1978, pp. 26-27).

In effect, the chipping away at the taboo has been even more daring among the fiction-writers (Blankfort,

1980; Rossner, 1980), movie-makers, and television shows personalities, not counting the numerous "confessions" which have appeared in book form in the recent years (Brady, 1979; Vale Allen, 1980).

However clear it is that the subject of incest is generating much interest these days, a fact interesting in itself, there are no data showing that incestuous behaviour is on the increase, or would be, were the attitude toward it to become more lenient. Largely because of the stigma and secrecy surrounding incest, accurate statistics on its incidence are not available. However, one survey estimated that about 3.9% of the population was involved (Gebhard, Gashon, Pommeroy & Christensen, 1965); a more recent estimate affirmed that "as many as one in ten families may be involved in incest" (Fury, 1981, p. 37). Most theoreticians maintain on the contrary that the avoidance of incest is not the product of the laws against it, but that the laws came to ratify an existing state of affairs. Sweden will probably be an interesting test case of just that relation between the judiciary proscription and the incidence of incest, when it implements the changes in its laws against incestuous sex and those against brother-sister marriage.

2: The Incidence of Incest Behaviour:

However forceful the taboo against incest seems to have been so far, incest occurs in all societies. Some of them even tolerate or encourage it in certain circumstances or for certain privileged individuals. There are various mythological and literary versions of the incest motif which can serve as testimony of its universality and of its compelling quality for men in all cultures.

In all theogonies, be they European, African, Oriental or American, Chaos is at the beginning of all things, followed by Creation. The first pairs are almost invariably incestuous: Mother-son incest happens in the relation between Tammuz, the Sumerian Dumuzi, prototype of the Classical Adonis, consort, as well as son by virgin birth of the goddess-mother of many names: Inanna, Ninhursag, Ishtar, Astarté, Artemis, Demeter, Aphrodite, Venus (Campbell, 1962, p. 40); Mother-son incest again, between Horus, the Egyptian god and his mother Hathor of the Horizon, the neolithic cosmic goddess Cow (Campbell, 1962, pp. 43-54), or between Gaa, the Greek primeval mother and her son Uranos (Campbell, 1962, p. 108). "Returning to her bosom in death (or according to another image, in marriage), the god is reborn--as the moon

sloughing its shadow or the serpent sloughing its skin"
(Campbell, 1964, p. 15).

It is brother-sister incest, as in the relation between the heaven goddess Nut of Egypt, and her brother-spouse, the earth-god Geb (Campbell, 1962, pp. 86, 111-112) as between the Peruvian founders of the Inca dynasty, Manco Capac and Mama Oello (Sirlin, 1947, p. 348), or as between the Greek god Kronos and his sister Rhea, or their son Zeus and his sister Hera (Maisch, 1972, p. 13).

It has been assumed that in early times, incest among the gods merely sanctioned man's corresponding behaviour. Various intriguing exceptions to the universality of the taboo have thus been described. There were for instance the accepted abrogations in the ruling families of ancient Egypt. Brother and sister marriage became the practice then and Cleopatra was, at one and the same time, her husband's niece and his sister (Maisch, 1972, p. 21). Some historians think that incestuous marriage was not only for the royal rulers but was wide-spread amongst the Egyptian people in both the pre- and post-Christian periods (Durant, 1954), but it seems that, as a rule, in the few groups which tolerated it, incest was the prerogative of the privileged classes only (Weinberg, 1955, pp. 34-35).

It was also sometimes permitted during important festivals or before battle, the incest having then the object of resuscitating, through sympathetic magic, the creative power of the time of the Creation (Maisch, 1972, p. 38). There is even a South African tribe, on the Nkotami river which believes that incestuous sex with his daughter will give a hunter the courage to kill his prey, since the incestuous act, absolutely taboo in ordinary life, "makes him into a murderer" (Maisch, 1972, p. 39).

In effect, it seems that the most frequent violators of the incest taboo in primitive societies were variants in other ways too: mentally defective, albinos or shamans in the cases described in the existing literature (Weinberg, 1955, p. 35).

In modern groups, the rate of detected incest cases is low, reflecting either the actual scarcity of this type of behaviour, or the fact that the means of detecting incest are inadequate, or both. However, of the three types of heterosexual incest, the mother-son seems to be the least frequent of all and the most taboo, while the father-daughter incest, although the most reported of all, is generally more severely taboo than the brother-sister one, considered by all as the least traumatic (Meiselman, 1979, p. 24; Weinberg, 1955, p. 89). This differential, not being the product of the closeness of the relation

between the participants, since all three kinds of unions are as close, genetically speaking, must therefore stem from the differences inherent in the relationships, the mother-son relationship allowing for the least amount of sexual behaviour between the two, and the brother-sister one allowing for the most.

3: Various Explanations for the Incest Taboo:

Most disciplines have attempted to determine what mechanism, or mechanisms could account for the incest taboo, and there have been long standing disputes over which explanation accounted for it most precisely or economically.

A survey of the existing research shows that four basic general explanations have been given to the fact that incestuous behaviour in humans is universally relatively rare:

First, that there exists an incestuous impulse, but that, because of biological, social or psychological catastrophic consequences for the human race, an incest prohibition or taboo had to be erected.

Second, and this explanation is no more than a variation upon the first one, that because of his long biological dependence, the human child acquires incestuous wishes which he must renounce in the process of becoming socialized.

Third, that there is an instinctive avoidance of incest.

And fourth, again a sub-category of the third explanation, that there is just no interest in incest.

The objections that have been raised against the first and second explanations were that they seemed to be predicated on assumptions that incest was indeed universally horrifying, that the taboo against it was universal and that the avoidance of it was coterminous with culture, therefore uniquely human. Since the validity of all these assumptions has been challenged by new discoveries in anthropology, sociology, biology and ethology, the explanations themselves have been thought invalidated.

On the other hand, the third and fourth explanations seem not to take into account the fascinating fact that all societies, even the ones which allow some form of incest, have regulations about it. Were there to be no interest in incest, instinctually determined or not, what would be the use of the universal regulations about it?

As a matter of fact, the objections made to either position do not necessarily invalidate them, although they show them in need of qualification. Nor do they validate the existence of incestuous instincts or incest avoidance

instincts regulating without any other mediation the incest avoidance behaviour in man. It seems that, as long as the proponents of one theory or other do not try dogmatically to prove that this behaviour is all programmed in man and therefore transcendent to the individual and to society, or, on the contrary, try to demonstrate that it is immanent to them and that every man must learn it entirely anew, their contributions to the subject are not mutually exclusive and elucidate different and complementary aspects of the avoidance of incest.

A: The Biological Point of View:

The biologists who have studied incest, especially the geneticists, have always been chiefly interested in the effects of near kin relationships upon the offspring. Until the first biological explanations to the age-old incest prohibition in the late 19th century, it had been explained on religious and ethical ground.

In 1877, the distinguished anthropologist Lewis Morgan advanced the theory that consanguineous marriages had once been the lot of humanity but that they had been abandoned in favor of exogamy because of the damaging effects they had on the offspring.

In 1884, Westermarck, although chiefly a proponent of a psychological mechanism maintaining the incest taboo in each individual, wrote that close inbreeding results in physical weakness, mental retardation and deaf-mutism.

One of the main objections to these mostly impressionistic contentions came from the anthropologist Malinowski, who, in his celebrated studies on the Trobriands, gave evidence of people who seemed not to know the relation between intercourse and pregnancy and who still had interdictions against incest (1927). If inbreeding had some deleterious effects, how could these people have noticed? - was the argument. This argument itself was contradicted by people like Ernest Jones and Geza Roheim who interpreted the "not-knowing" of the primitives not as ignorance, but rather as denial of the procreative role of the father in matrilineal societies (Jones, 1925; Roheim, 1940).

It is quite clear they are denying something that they know very well and that it is not a case of simple ignorance. The natives know very well that a virgin cannot conceive and that children enter per vaginam. As they know that connection between sexual intercourse, the cessation of menstruation and pregnancy, as they admit that the father is necessary to open up the way for the spirit to enter and for other reasons . . . it is quite clear that they are repressing their knowledge of paternity. I conclude that the reason for this is an ambivalent attitude about paternity, in other words, the Oedipus complex. (Roheim, 1940, pp. 526-545)

Another evidence that at least some degree of insight into the deleterious effects of incest may have existed in primitive societies was brought much later by Segner and Collins in an unpublished examination of incest myths in the Human Relations Area Files (1967). The study revealed that "in roughly one-third of the myths involving incest, deformed offspring or infertility were a consequence of the union" (Lindzey, 1967, p. 1052).

For a long time, geneticists have pointed to the fact that the chances that an individual might inherit a pair of mutant recessive genes are greatly enhanced if his parents are related to each other and that subsequent combinations of recessives can result in congenital malformations. Also, experimentations with animals and plants have shown that, while few harmful effects arise from one or two generations of inbreeding, continued inbreeding can lead to inbreeding depression, a serious reduction of various components of fitness. The signs which were read as an inbreeding depression were reduced fertility and a low rate of infant and juvenile survival (Mayr, 1970). One of these studies, on 23 generations of guinea pigs, explains the deficiencies as products of the Mendelian theory of segregation rather than of inbreeding itself. It shows that certain hereditary factors which affect fertility and growth

can become fixed in family by inbreeding. However, it does not show that recessive traits become more accentuated (Wright, 1932). On the other hand, mixing strains by the process of heterosis brings about increased vigor, size and fertility in plants and animals (Sinnot, Dunn & Dobzhansky, 1950).

Another interesting deleterious effect of inbreeding found in studies on rodent species was a lower resistance to stress. In effect, they showed that adult mice which had been highly inbred did not learn mazes as rapidly, if stressed in infancy, while hybrid mice seemed to show a better ability to recover from trauma and learned mazes as well in adulthood, whether or not they had been exposed to noxious stimuli during infancy (Winston, 1964).

Finally, close inbreeding can be fatal by increasing homozygosis, creating thereby rigidly specified offspring which are perfectly adapted to their environment but for whom any change in the environment could initiate a fatal crisis, since "genetic diversity is the raw material upon which changing environmental settings operate to select the biological variations that make the organism better adapted to its environment" (Lindzey, 1967, p. 1052).

However, it has been argued that in humans, inbreeding, even among the nearest kin, merely accentuated the recessive traits of the parents. This meant that two closely related persons who would have healthy dominant traits but defective recessives would pass on their defective traits while two closely related parents who would have defective dominant traits but healthy recessives would pass on the healthy recessives. This was read as a proof that sometimes, close inbreeding could even have better results than exogamy (Holmes, 1936). After all, do not cattle and other animal breeders apply endogamous methods of reproduction to get what they consider as superior strains of animals? The objection to this claim is that one can select a characteristic, like the milk production of the cow, and produce a strain that is superior in regard to it, but probably at the expense of the fitness and the adaptability of the species in its natural habitat.

In addition to that, in man, at least three studies in children of incest have shown that the children of unrelated parents, when compared to those born from incestuous relationships were somewhat larger, less susceptible to infections, more intelligent, had more chances to survive in infancy and early childhood and had

less major congenital defects than the others (Schull & Neel, 1965; Adams & Neel, 1967; Seemanova, 1971).

If not a definite proof that close inbreeding has fatal effects each time it occurs, all this seems to point to the fact that it does not look either as the preferred and more salutary way of reproduction in vertebrates, although inbreeding is, in many species of invertebrates, the only way of reproduction (Hamilton, 1979). However, even assuming that humans were aware at all times that incest could lead to a long range genetic catastrophe, this would hardly account for the fact that not only procreation, but sexual relations and even uncovering of one's nakedness are seen as horrible and prohibited among close relatives.

The question then remains: the avoidance of incest, even if based on the biological reality of genetic defects following inbreeding cannot explain the rigidity of the taboos, nor can it explain the fact that different types of incest are tabooed at different degrees, though the degree of consanguinity is the same for all.

So, though the biological point of view provides at least a part of the explanation, it does not account for all of it, by any means.

B: The Anthropological and Sociological Points of View:

The anthropologists who first explored the problem of incest were intent upon finding the origins of the incest taboo since 19th century anthropology consisted predominantly of discussions about the motives and the historical development of the exogamy rules and the concomitant incest taboo. They had observed a high frequency of exogamy rules in all different cultures which were supported by sanctions against incestuous behaviour. However, their claims of causality led to mutually contradictory hypotheses and by the end of the thirties the discussion came to a stop because of the philosophical rather than scientific character of the problem of the origin of the incest taboo. "The famous question of the ban on incest, this much discussed problem, the solution to which ethnologists and sociologists have so long sought after, has no answer" wrote Lucien Levy-Bruhl, the French philosopher whose study of the psychology of primitive peoples gave anthropology a new approach to the understanding of primitive religion and mythology (1931, p. 247).

Later, they became concerned with the need for the incest taboo in familial and social organizations and with the effect the taboo had as a force in social control.

The prominent anthropologist Bronislaw Malinowski advanced a family oriented theory. He wrote that

Incest would mean the upsetting of age distinctions, and mixing-up of generations, the disorganization of sentiments and a violent exchange of roles at a time when the family is the most important educational medium. No society could exist under such conditions. (1927, p. 251)

This theory is still accepted as descriptive of one of the functions of the incest prohibitions and has been recently elaborated upon and extended by authors like T. Parsons for instance.

Parsons emphasizes the importance of the incest taboo in the personality development as vital to the society as a whole. He sees the child's erotic attachment to his mother as the "rope" by which she pulls him from a lower to a higher level in the hard climb of "growing up" (1964, p. 128). Society makes certain specific demands on its members, regardless of whether it is structured around the family unit or not. Among these expectations are, on one hand that every individual have extra-familial, "supra-personal" roles, which are characterized by the complete subordination of "erotic interests" to other interests, and on the other hand, that every adult establish a new independent family nucleus, and not continue a self-perpetuating unit (T. Parsons, 1964, p. 121).

Besides this, incest taboos have also often been seen as serving social interests. Saint Augustine already, in the fifth century A.D. explained that the ban served to spread human social intercourse (Maisch, 1972, p. 47). In the sixteenth century, Luther added an economic aspect to it, since, according to him, it prevented avaricious peasants from marrying their close relatives for the sake of material gains (Maisch, 1972). At the end of the 19th century, the anthropologist E. B. Tylor saw the rules governing exogamy and the taboo against incest as fulfilling a very important role in the development of culture (1871). About a half-century later, L. A. White suggested an economic theory to explain the incest prohibition. For him, the incest taboo guarantees the occurrence of inter-familial and intergroup marriages and enables the human species to form a large network of cooperation (1948). In the same vein, Mead, in her much cited study of the Arapesh, the Polynesian tribe, quotes the response of an older man, when asked about brother-sister incest:

What, you want to marry your sister? Are you not quite right in the head? Don't you want any in-laws? Can't you see that you can gain at least two in-laws if you marry another man's sister? With whom will you go hunting and till the fields, and whom can you visit?
(1935, pp. 83-84)

Claude Levi-Strauss invokes a comparable reason to explain the phenomenon of marriage out. He sees it as a process of exchange and concludes that, by instituting taboos, man overcomes Nature, seen as disorderly and promiscuous, and creates Culture (1969).

One basic objection can be made to all the preceding explanations: they are functional justifications for the rules of exogamy but they cannot be seen as exhaustive explanations for the fact that there should be no sexual intercourse within the close members of a family.

After all, could it not be possible to have sex with one's close kin without necessarily considering marriage or procreation?

Another possibility is that the desire to have sex wanes with familiarity. Indeed, a study on Israeli Kibbutzim, the collective settlements where children who are in no way blood related are raised together and live together, shows an amazing similarity with the findings on rats whose play behaviours interfere with later copulatory behaviour. In fact, those children, once grown up had no known instances of marriages or publicly known love affairs between any two members of the same peer group (Talmon, 1964). However, this again does not

account for the various proscriptions against incest which seem to point to at least some interest in it. In summary, it seems that none of the biological, anthropological or sociological explanations given thus far, in and of itself, can properly and completely account for the incest taboo. The fact of an ethological basis for the incest avoidance on one hand, and on the other, of the various explanations which have been advanced to justify the universality of the taboo, may at most suggest that these are the human parallels to the several redundant mechanisms which exist in some species to insure outbreeding.

But none of the explanations examined accounts satisfyingly for the "grizzly horror" summoned by the idea of incest. It is this horror that psychoanalysis attempts to account for and this leads to the basic assumption on which this work is based, that there is indeed a psychological dimension to the incest taboo and that it deserves further observation and investigation. Behavioural models have been advanced to account for this psychological dimension, in which the inhibition is acquired by the process of conditioning. Incest does happen sometimes, and so the fact that the mechanism of aversion can break down might be consonant with the fact of it being a learned phenomenon.

However, it seems that, though incest, when it happens, depends on a state of family disorganization or prior disintegration, i.e., a structure in which incest aversion may not have been transmitted, the universality of the taboo and the generalization of outbreeding mechanisms throughout the animal kingdom point to it being transmitted phylogenetically as well as ontogenetically. The psychoanalytic theories of the incest taboo account, at least implicitly, for both these aspects and psychoanalysis, of all psychological theories, has devoted itself to the pursuit of an answer to the question of the incest taboo. Consequently, the next chapter will examine and assess the various psychoanalytic theories put forth on the subject.

CHAPTER TWO:

THE PSYCHODYNAMIC EXPLANATIONS FOR THE INCEST TABOO

At various points in his writings, Freud emphasized a phylogenetic model for the incest taboo, by describing for instance the incestuous love-affairs of a certain stage of sexual organization as passing away

because their time is over, because the children have entered upon a new phase of development in which they are compelled to recapitulate from the history of mankind the repression of an incestuous object-choice, just as at an earlier stage they were obliged to effect an object-choice of that very sort. (1919, p. 188)

Elsewhere, of the Oedipus complex, he stated that:

Although the majority of human beings go through the Oedipus complex as an individual experience, it is nevertheless a phenomenon which is determined and laid down by heredity and which is bound to pass away according to programme when the next preordained phase of development sets in. This being so, it is of no great importance what the occasions are which allow this to happen, or indeed, whether any such occasions can be discovered at all. (1924, p. 174)

This phylogenetic assumption is not what this work intends to challenge since it seems to prophetically corroborate the ethological fact of an "instinctive" avoidance of incest down to the rodent species. However, Freud's particular ontogenetic model of the Oedipus complex seems to leave some problems unsolved and this

is the part that will be brought into question henceforth.

I: The Freudian Theory:

At the beginning of the formation of his theories, Freud observed his patients' fantasies of incestuous occurrences and looked upon them as actual occurrences. When he understood that there had been no such seductions in reality, he concluded that the descriptions which his neurotic patients were giving him were no more than fantasies, and theorized the existence of repressed infantile incest-wishes. The first hint to what he later called the Oedipus complex (1910, p. 171) is in a letter to Fliess written in 1897: "It seems as though in sons th[e] death wish is directed against their father and in daughters against their mother" (1897, p. 255).

It emerged in full five months later, in another letter:

I have found . . . falling in love with the mother and jealousy of the father, and I now regard it as a universal event of early childhood. . . . If that is so, we can understand the riveting power of Oedipus Rex, in spite of all the objections raised by reason against its presupposition of destiny. . . . [T]he Greek legend seizes on a compulsion which everyone recognizes because he feels its existence within himself. (1897, p. 265)

Later, he added:

It is the fate of all of us, perhaps, to direct our first sexual impulse toward our mother and our first hatred and our first murderous wish against our father. Our dreams convince us that this is so. . . . Like Oedipus, we live in ignorance of these wishes, repugnant to morality, which have been forced upon us by Nature, and after their revelation we may all of us well seek to close our eyes to the scenes of our childhood. (1900, p. 262)

From the analysis of the adults he treated, he postulated that every child regularly develops, at a certain age, a specifically sexual interest in the parent of the opposite sex. Indeed Freud meant purely sexual impulses when he wrote:

Attached to th[e] excitation [in the penis] are impulses which the child cannot account for--obscure urges to do something violent, to press in, to knock to pieces, to tear open a hole somewhere. (1908, p. 218)

And elsewhere:

There may perhaps be an inclination to dispute the possibility of identifying a child's affection and esteem for those who look after him with sexual love. I think, however, that a closer psychological examination may make it possible to establish this identity beyond any doubt. A child's intercourse with anyone responsible for his care affords him an unending source of sexual excitation and satisfaction from his erotogenic zones. This is especially so since the person in charge of him, who, after all, is as a rule his mother, herself regards him as a substitute for a complete sexual object. (1905, p. 223)

Nonetheless, mother's love is, as a rule, a "pure" love though some mothers may be neuropathic when their caresses and marks of affection arouse the child's sexual instinct and his disposition to neurotic illness (1905, p. 223). Freud sees every relationship as containing a sediment of repressed aversion and hostility

perhaps with the solitary exception of the relation of a mother to her son, which is based on narcissism, is not disturbed by subsequent rivalry, and is reinforced by a rudimentary attempt at sexual object-choice. (1921, p. 101, note 2)

For him, aggressiveness is the basis of every relation of affection and love among people "with the single exception, perhaps, of the mother's relation to her male child" (1930, p. 113). And elsewhere:

The difference in a mother's reaction to the birth of a son or a daughter shows that the old factor of lack of a penis has even now not lost its strength. A mother is only brought unlimited satisfaction by her relation to a son; this is altogether the most perfect, the most free from ambivalence of all human relationships. A mother can transfer to her son the ambition which she has been obliged to suppress in herself, and she can expect from him the satisfaction of all that has been left over in her of her masculinity complex. Even a marriage is not made secure until the wife has succeeded in making her husband her child as well as in acting as a mother to him. (1933, p. 133)

However, the little boy's sexual wishes cannot be fulfilled, mainly because of the "castration complex"

(1908, p. 217) which often stems from a chance threat (1909, p. 8, note 2) referred to, in the Interpretation of Dreams as a "threat of castration" (1900, p. 619). It is constructed by the little boy as the father's retaliation to his sexual rival, the cutting off of his penis. Many experiences prepare the child for the loss of this highly valued part of his body: birth, which represents the first separation (1909, p. 8, note 2 (added 1923)), the child's withdrawal from his mother's breast and the daily demand to give up the content of his bowel (1924, pp. 174-176), but Freud insists that castration anxiety would not exist without the first experience of the sight of the female genitals. It is, according to him, the realization that women have no penis which makes the threat real for the child. There would be two possible ways of obtaining satisfaction from the Oedipus complex says Freud. The first would be for the little boy to put himself in his father's place. But if he does that and has intercourse with his mother as his father did, he has to feel his father as a hindrance and want to get rid of him. He must thus become anxious about retaliation in the form of castration. The second way to satisfaction would be to put himself in his mother's place. For that, however,

the precondition is castration. Thus, in the field of the Oedipus complex, the satisfaction of love has to cost the little boy his penis. There is conflict between the boy's narcissistic interest in this part of his body and the libidinal cathexis of his parental objects. The normal resolution of the conflict is the triumph of the first of these forces (1924, p. 176).

The way to this resolution starts, according to Freud, with the little boy's emotional response to the castration threat, a response which is made of deeply painful emotions, anxieties and feelings of guilt. There follows a process of sublimation of the child's instinctual desires along the path of reaction-formation (1905, p. 178, note 2). The feeling of unpleasure aroused is effectively suppressed by the building up of "mental dams" which Freud names as "disgust, shame and morality" (1905, p. 178). Thus,

the multifariously perverse sexual disposition of childhood can accordingly be regarded as the source of a number of our virtues, in so far as through reaction formation it stimulates their development. (1905, p. 239)

In the course of further development, the child's psycho-sexual strivings become partly desexualized and sublimated and partly restricted in their direction and changed into tender impulses. The final overcoming of

the conflict is the result of the formation of the individual conscience as a psychological representation, the "superego," "one of the later findings of psycho-analysis" (1900, p. 558, note 1). In Freud's thought the superego construct accounts for two different although related psychological phenomena. The first is the presence, in human beings, of an "internal" monitoring agency by means of which they evaluate themselves and their behaviour and maintain some kind of balance by controlling their drives through the establishment of a system of personal and moral values. The second is the development, in every individual, of human values and ideals. According to Freud, the latter follows a process of identification, through two main routes, the one involving the incorporation of the castration threat and the other, involving the incorporation of an ego ideal through the imitation and emulation of the admired or beloved parental figure. This is why, something of both, the loving and the aggressive relations to the parents is preserved in the superego.

The individual conscience in the sense of consciousness of moral values is of great significance for man's socialization in the sense that he then becomes capable of recognizing and accepting social and ethical

norms and values. The superego is therefore the direct result of the incest taboo and thus the cornerstone of civilization.

For classical psychoanalysis, the superego is not the only contributor to moral development. "A transvaluation of moral values takes place in the development of every individual," affirms Heinz Hartmann.

On the long way from the interiorization of parental demands after the oedipal conflicts to the more elaborate moral codes of the adult another factor becomes decisive. That is a process of generalization, of formalization, and of integration of moral values. It would be difficult to attribute what I have in mind here to the superego itself. It rather corresponds to what we know of the functions of the ego. One can say, I think, that in what one may call the moral "codes" the influence both of the superego and of the ego, particularly of the integrating and differentiating functions of the ego are traceable. Thus we will expect to find in every system of moral values elements which directly correspond to the pressures and to the aims of the superego, and others that show the influence of the ego. (1960, pp. 30-31)

However, no moral development can be achieved without a superego, and no superego could exist without the Oedipus complex.

In summary, Freud poses, as a basic assumption, the existence of a strong and compelling sexual incestuous drive from the child toward his mother. This drive is curbed by the father's threat of castration. Such threat

never originates in the women though they can be the instruments to it because very often they seek to strengthen their authority by a reference to the father or the doctor, who, so they say, will carry out the punishment (1924, p. 174). The threat is often mitigated by telling the child that his hand will be cut, and not his genital. Often also, the threat of castration is made to the boy because he wets his bed--not because he plays with his penis. But according to Freud, the boy understands these as awesome threats made by his father as a retribution to his libidinal interest in his mother.

The mother's role is thus reduced to being the object of the competition between the two males, the sometimes carrier of the threat, and the hideous and threatening image of that which is castrated, all secondary roles in the creation of the incest barrier. One of the main drawbacks of this theory is that it is tantamount to saying that without a father or a father-figure present and actively involved during the Oedipal phase mother-son incest would occur, if not invariably, at least more frequently. Though no numbers exist to invalidate this, it seems safe to affirm that the greater number of one-parent families found in recent years has not been followed by an epidemic of mother-son incest.

The answer to this objection has traditionally been, on the part of classical psychoanalysts, that there are practically no instances when no father-figure is present, i.e., that there is always a man, somewhere in the little boy's environment who will dampen the child's sexual enthusiasm for his mother by holding out the expectation of castration. However, if anyone can serve in that role, no matter how close or far he is, and how real or figurative his threat is to the child, then the theory itself cannot hold water for lack of specificity.

In fact, the taboo seems to be perpetuated without a father to enforce it and, curiously enough, even in cases where mothers behave "seductively," by fostering a great degree of physical intimacy with their male children. What then, psychologically, prevents mother-son incest from being consummated in the great majority of cases?

The proponents of object-relation theory and ego-psychology offer a different explanation which seems to satisfyingly answer the questions raised by the recent findings in ethology and, at the same time, to elucidate the insignificance of the number of reported actually consummated mother-son incest. According to these theories, side by side with a primal desire to fuse with the mother

and recreate the original symbiosis, there exists a primal fear of fusion with her which is at the origin of the process of separation and individuation. It is thus fear of fusion--a healthy and necessary component of individual development--which is at the origin of the avoidance of incest, since incest would mean a return to the mother and the most concrete "fusion" with her. Henceforth, some of these theories will be examined.

II: The Object-Relation and Ego Psychology Theories:

For the theorists who hold the view that a primal fear of fusion is at the origin of the incest taboo, the roles are reversed and it is the father who plays no role or a benevolent one in the life of the boy child.

One of them is Hans Loewald who objects to Freud's concept of reality as an outside force represented by the father who "as an alien, hostile, jealous force interferes with the intimate ties between mother and child, forces the child into submission so that he seeks the father's protection" (1949/1980, p. 7). Loewald thinks that "reality, understood genetically, is not primarily outside and hostile, alien to the ego, but intimately connected with and originally not even distinguished from it" (p. 8). This is why the ego "mediates, unifies,

integrates because it is of its essence to maintain, on more and more complex levels of differentiation and objectivation of reality, the original unity" (p. 11).

The paternal castration threat, though it interferes with "the primary narcissistic position in which ego and reality have as yet not evolved into distinct structures" (p. 13) is not, according to Loewald, "merely a 'hostile' factor" (p. 13). Side by side with it, there is a "dread of the vulva" which is "earlier and independent of the dread of the father's penis" (p. 13).

This fear of the woman is expressed by patients in terms such as being drowned, sucked in, overpowered, and this in regard to intercourse as well as in regard to the relationship to the mother, in particular in cases where there is no father or where the father has remained an insignificant and weak figure. (p. 13)

So for Loewald

against the threat of the engulfing, overpowering womb, stands the paternal veto against the libidinal relationship with the mother. Against this threat of the maternal engulfment, the paternal position is not another threat or danger, but a support of powerful force. (p. 14)

He thus sees two components to the paternal role, a "genetically later, hostile [castration] threat, and an early positive identification 'with an idea'" (p. 15). Similarly, there are two components to the libidinal relation to the mother: "need for union with her and dread of this union" (p. 16).

Leowald was not the first who hypothesized a "dread of the vulva."

In fact, Karen Horney had already expressed the opinion that

this dread of the vulva is not only earlier than that of the father's penis--whether external or concealed in the vagina--but deeper and more important than it; in fact, much of the dread of the father's penis is artificially put forward to hide the intense dread of the vulva. (1932)

However, she explains that this dread of the vulva is derived "from the boy's fear of his self-esteem being wounded by knowing that his penis is not large enough to satisfy the mother" (Horney, 1932), an explanation which does not need to be correct for the hypothesis of the dread of woman to be tenable.

Even earlier, Jung believed in the existence of a "Terrible Mother," though for him

the basis of the "incestuous" desire is not cohabitation, but . . . the strange idea of becoming a child again, of returning to the parental shelter, and of entering into the mother in order to be reborn through her. (1952/1967, p. 223).

He gives the word incest

a different meaning from that which properly belongs to it. Incest is the urge to go back to childhood. For the child, of course, this cannot be called incest, it is only for an adult with a fully developed sexuality that this backward striving becomes incest, because he is no longer a child but possesses a sexuality which cannot be allowed a regressive outlet. (1952/1967, p. 235).

This is why fear of incest "turns into fear of being devoured by the mother" (1952/1967, pp. 417-419) and why the mother archetype appears under two conflicting aspects, a favourable one and a negative one, the good mother, and the Terrible one.

Interestingly, Jung sees the Sphinx of the Oedipus legend as "a semi theriomorphic representation of the mother-image, or rather the Terrible Mother who has left numerous traces in mythology" (1952/1967, p. 179). He reminds us that the Sphinx was indeed born of Echnida's union with a dog who was her own son, and therefore that she was the living monstrous image of incest. Had Oedipus recognized her as such, and had he been sufficiently intimidated by her frightening appearance, his incest could have been avoided.

With the advent of the ego psychology and object relation movements, the focus changed from the observation of conflicts during the analysis of adults from which were postulated certain events in childhood, to the observation of real children and of what happens between them and the world around them from infancy on. As a consequence of that, the relationship with the mother was scrutinized and she was seen as the main object in the child's early years not only as the Freudian's "person in charge" of his every

day needs but also as responsible for his "psychological birth." She became Bowlby's "mother in the flesh" (1952) or Winnicott's "good enough mother," and had to be, at one and the same time, an available symbiotic partner provider of the Mahlerian "hitherto oceanic feeling of complete fusion and oneness with [her], in the infant's semi-conscious state" (Mahler & Gosliner, 1955, p. 197), and an available and encouraging other who would in due time allow and foster the child's separation and individuation.

It was observed that, in the child

The desire for symbiosis is matched by a fear of submergence implying loss of individuality and identity. The mother here becomes the greatest threat to the self. (Anthony, 1961, p. 239)

Sometimes, the threat that the mother represents is described in terms quite reminiscent of Jung's. Alpert and Bernstein, for example, describe one of their patients who would defend against the danger of expressing aggressive and active sexual wishes by retreating "to the familiar, i.e., passive and dependent state. However, he then [had] to struggle against being submerged by his desire for fusion with the mother." They saw his thumb sucking as a "narcissistic body substitute" "which gratifi[ed] the oral need and yet avoid[ed] the threatening wish for oral incorporation and fusion with the mother" (1964, p. 182)

the unconscious wish to merge with the mother [lead] to many fears of drowning, being submerged, annihilated etc. . . . which could be understood as losing his sense of self or individual identity. (1964, p. 188)

Irving Harrison, talking about the awe which is presumably the child's response to the sight of his father's penis says that "the analysis of examples of presumably phallic reverential dread in which fear is extreme may reveal a symbolic core related to a maternal element--e.g., smothering or engulfment--rather than to the paternal phallus" (1975, p. 189).

Harold Blum describes the typical ambivalence of the child during the rapprochement phase as

the coercive efforts to woo the object, the clinging and darting away, the awareness of helplessness and separateness, the wish to fuse and the fear of reengulfment, the splitting of the self and object representations. (1978, p. 357)

The mothers who would either have been "overstimulating, overprotective, anxious or emotionally unavailable symbiotic partners" or the ones who would be "symbiotic parasitic mother(s)," infantilizing and in need "to continue [their] overprotection beyond the stage when it is beneficial" would present "an engulfing threat" and would induce in the child fears of reengulfment (Mahler & Gosliner, 1955, pp. 200-201). For children of such mothers, the Oedipal phase, harboring

the threat of castration reinforces "the threat of oral attack" where fantasies "of being engulfed and eaten up dominate" (1955, p. 208).

It seems that whereas Freud saw the castration threat as the fons et origo of the incest taboo, here it is but the trigger to already existing patterns of relating.

If an original dread of the mother has existed, side by side with the need for a union with her on a previous level of psychosexual development, any sexual impulse toward her or castration threat during the Oedipus complex will provoke a regression to that former level of psychosexual development, and thus bring with it the dread of reengulfment.

For such an individual, identification with the father during the Oedipal phase, "that is to say, the assimilation of one ego to another one, as a result of which the first ego behaves like the second in certain respects, imitates it and in a sense takes it up into itself" (Freud, 1933, p. 63), is incomplete. Instead of the feelings of guilt toward the father, which pave the way to the sublimation of the sexual drive toward the mother along the path of reaction-formation, this individual will theoretically continue to experience a

primitive fear of merging and will respond to the idea of incest with horror, anxiety and dread without however experiencing a real sense of guilt and therefore moral anxiety.

According to this, one can expect three kinds of male individuals in relation to the incest taboo.

There will be those who have no repressed sexual impulses toward their mothers nor repressed castration fears, because, for them, the process of turning away from the Oedipus Complex "is more than a repression. It is equivalent, if it is ideally carried out, to a destruction and an abolition of the complex" (1924, p. 177).

The idea of incest will draw from them expressions of the moral and social inacceptability of such behaviour. Their superego will be highly developed and they will exhibit high ethical and moral values.

There will be those who, having achieved a less successful resolution of the Oedipus complex will harbor repressed sexual impulses toward their mothers and repressed castration fears. Their responses to the idea of incest will have the flavor of reaction-formations, in the form of "disgust, shame and morality" (1905, p. 178). Their superego will be adequately developed but one can expect them to exhibit a sense of guilt as

high as their repressed drives and in that sense to be harsher than the superegos of men from the first group.

Finally, there will be those whose fear of the mother will have prevented from developing a full Oedipus complex. Their responses to the idea of incest will be expected to be strongly negative. However, their superego development will be minimal and all they will show is a social, "realistic" anxiety which, even if high, is different in quality from a "conscience," in the sense of consciousness of moral values. Indeed, such people

habitually allow themselves to do any bad thing which promises them enjoyment, so long as they are sure that the authority will not know anything about it or cannot blame them for it; they are afraid only of being found out. (Freud, 1930, p. 125)

In effect, while in the Freudian paradigm one does expect moral development to correlate highly with the incest taboo, in this one, one does not expect such correlation, and may even expect an inverse correlation between the intensity of the feelings aroused by the idea of incest and the moral development of the individual.

In summary, it appears that one can entertain two hypotheses with respect to the reactions to incestuous material:

First, deriving from the classical psychoanalytic position, one would expect a strong positive relationship

between the level of moral development or superego development and negative or anxious feelings in relation to incestuous themes.

The alternative hypothesis, deriving from the theory of the fear of an elemental fusion with the mother holds that the degree of guilt or anxiety evoked by incest themes will be as prevalent in individuals of more primitive moral development as in those who could be classified as having begun or completed the Oedipal phase of development.

The latter is this work's assumption and the one which will be tested subsequently.

CHAPTER THREE

REVIEW OF SOME OF THE RELATED RESEARCH

In a recent interview (1982), Merton Gill attributed the paucity of systematic research in the psychoanalytic process to "two chief obstacles": "how difficult it is and how few well defined paths there are to follow." He also added that "metapsychology is the wrong universe of discourse for psychoanalysis, [and] the attempted translation of metapsychological concepts into empirical variables is so unsuccessful that researchers are discouraged." According to him

The misguided belief that empirical research demands variables of the kind that can be counted by relatively unsophisticated technicians rather than complex clinical variables which must be rated by sophisticated observers leads to research with variables so distant from the clinical data that it has little interest or use for clinicians or even for the researchers themselves. (Gill, 1982, pp. 169-170)

Despite this observation, and indirect warning, by a seasoned researcher in the field, some work has been accomplished, and a few instruments have been developed, which lay the ground for this and further research.

No direct experimental work has been done on the relationship between the incest taboo and the Oedipal phase of development, but some related aspects of the question have been looked into from different angles and a review of a few of these follows. Also, since one of the purposes of this work is to measure moral development, it will be useful to review some of the work accomplished in that direction.

I: Research Relating to the Oedipal Constellation:

1: Experiments Concerning the Relationship with the Mother:

a) Unconscious oneness-with-the-mother fantasies:

Exploring the desire and fear of merging with the mother, considered in the present study as a possible origin to the incest taboo, some experiments have lent interesting results. Starting from the theoretical standpoint that a subliminal stimulus containing the properties of a drive makes contact with the same drive derivatives active in an individual and that emerging drive-related ideas and images are more transformed or obscured for the ones for whom that drive is most unacceptable, i.e., those whose psychopathology is based on that drive, Lloyd Silverman and his associates have used tachistoscopic stimuli considered to contain certain

drive properties and observed their effect of pathology reduction or pathology exacerbation on certain groups of diagnosed patients.

In one series of studies (Silverman et al., 1969; Silverman & Candell, 1970; Silverman et al., 1971; Silverman, 1978; Silbert, 1982) a "symbiosis condition" was used with the tachistoscope. The subjects were exposed to pictures of a man and a woman, or of a woman and a child, joined together like Siamese twins, accompanied or not by the verbal caption "Mommy and I are one." It was based on the theoretical assumption of adaptation-enhancing effects of symbiotic experiences advocated by various psychoanalytic writers (e.g., Rose, 1972). According to Rose, for instance, symbiotic experiences foster psychological growth when they are used as a means toward individuation "to merge in order to re-emerge" (Rose, 1972, p. 185). He hypothesizes that the fantasy of oneness with "Mommy," the good mother of infancy, can satisfy various needs and aid individuals in maintaining or restoring their psychic equilibrium.

In the above-mentioned studies, groups of schizophrenics were chosen and the subliminal "merging" stimulus had the result of significantly reducing pathology, though in the more differentiated schizophrenics only. These

results were in turn interpreted as showing that individuals for whom the danger of merging could go too far, thus threatening a loss of distinction between self and object, i.e., the initially less differentiated schizophrenics, would not let themselves experience a symbiotic feeling and would not therefore "profit" from the stimulus.

That, in turn, would confirm this work's assumption that merging with mother may be threatening for more primitive individuals, or for all individuals at a very primitive level, and that, therefore, the idea of incest, of all merging fantasies the most complete might be threatening in itself, whether or not accompanied or followed by paternal threats of castration.

b) Unconscious incestuous fantasies

In another kind of studies (Silverman et al., 1973; Silverman et al., 1976), male homosexuality was

viewed as a . . . complex phenomenon in which important unconscious needs are being conveyed. One crucial psychodynamic determinant of homosexuality in males are unconscious incestuous wishes which are understood as stimulating a defensive flight from heterosexuality. (Silverman et al., 1976, p. 7)

Such homosexual subjects were exposed to a subliminal picture representing a nude man and woman in a sexually suggestive pose with the accompanying verbal message "Fuck Mommy." It was found that they showed, as

predicted, an increase in their homosexual orientation after the subliminal exposure. In the second of these studies, a link was also shown between every pathology and a specific drive, to the exclusion of other drives, by comparing four different groups, the schizophrenics, exposed to an aggression and to an incest stimuli, the homosexuals, exposed to an incest and to an aggression stimuli, the stutterers, exposed to an anal and to an incest stimuli and the depressed to an aggressive and an anal stimuli.

There was pathology increase in the schizophrenics after the aggression stimulus, in the homosexuals after the anal stimulus and in the stutterers after the anal stimulus. Only the depression index did not show a significant difference after exposure to the aggression stimulus, as had been predicted, but this, perhaps because the sample chosen was too heterogeneous and because depression can probably be related to many different drives in different individuals.

2: Experiments concerning the relationship with the father:

There are a number of feelings that have been explored concerning the relation with the father that are pertinent to this subject.

a) Oedipal Competition:

In another one of Silverman's experiments (Silverman et al., 1978), it was hypothesized that "to the degree

that any male has not fully resolved early Oedipal conflict, an explicitly competitive situation might make him vulnerable to performance change when this conflict was either intensified or alleviated" (p. 342). To test this hypothesis, they exposed the subjects to a stimulus intended to intensify Oedipal conflict by condemning the idea of defeating father. The verbal message was "Beating Dad is wrong." Another message was intended to alleviate the conflict by sanctioning this idea. The message said "Beating Dad is O.K." The subjects were also exposed to the symbiotic stimulus described (in part 1a of this chapter) on the assumption that the psychic equilibrium supposedly restored by the fantasy of oneness with mother would be necessary for peak competitive performance. The results of this study confirmed the hypothesis that the "Beating Dad is O.K." stimulus can enhance dart-throwing ability. However, the "Mommy and I are one" stimulus did not have the adaptation-enhancing effect they had expected to find and they theorized that this effect might not extend to explicitly competitive situations. Another possible reading of these results is that, as is the assumption here, some subjects might react negatively to the idea of fusion, specifically those in whom the Oedipal

situation stirs a fear of merging with the mother rather than a fear of castration by the father.

c) Fear of castration

Another category of investigation addresses the concept of castration anxiety, and several correlational studies provide some empirical support for it (Friedman, 1952; Schwartz, 1955; Schwartz, 1956).

In the same vein, another study (Sarnoff & Corwin, 1959) examines the hypothesis that high-castration anxiety subjects, as measured by the so-called castration anxiety card of the Blacky Test (Blum, 1949) show a greater fear of death after being exposed to sexually arousing stimuli than low-castration anxiety individuals. Though this group of studies would tend to corroborate the Freudian hypothesis of the castration threat and its role during the Oedipal phase, it does not in firm the hypothesis of a primal fear of the mother, since if there is such fear in some individuals, any threat, castration included, must theoretically reawaken the fear of merging and thereon take the aspect of a fear of death.

A different study, using again the Blacky Card (Shill, 1981) studied the effect of father-absence on male personality development. It showed that "when given

a choice of castrating figure at the human or animal level, all subjects identified the human mother rather than the father as the most frightening castrating figure" (Shill, 1981, p. 263). Moreover, the father-absent subjects identified the animal-mother too, as compared to the animal-father, as the more frightening castrating figure, and that, more often than the father-present subjects.

The author's interpretation is that:

The greater fear of the mother as a castrator expressed in displacement by the father-absent subjects indicates the defensive shift required in managing hostility to and fear of the single parent who remains with the child after the dissolution of the family. (Shill, 1981, p. 270)

For him, this research "illustrates the importance for the son of 'struggling against' the father in a consistent, daily context during the crucial years of development, notably the Oedipal period" (Shill, 1981, p. 271). However, it seems that these results could be interpreted as giving empirical support to the hypothesis of a primal fear of the mother. Indeed, one may assume that for young men, as soon as the mother can be seen as different from the good mother of infancy, i.e., as soon as she becomes a threatening object, she becomes, as such, the archetype of all frightening objects, and remains the most frightening object of all unless that fear is displaced onto the father during the Oedipal period, and following the castration threat.

In summary, crucial among the findings of all the studies reviewed above are:

- 1) Some empirical evidence for unconscious oneness-with-mother fantasies which are considered, in the present study, as a possible origin to the incest taboo.
- 2) Some empirical evidence that at least some individuals respond to the idea of incest with an increase in their psychopathology. This would corroborate the assumption that the idea of incest is not only socially unacceptable, and that the taboo is not entirely socially transmitted, but that there is a deep psychological basis to it.

II. Research relating to the instruments available:

For the purpose of this study, it is necessary to employ, on one hand, an instrument capable of discriminating between different developmental levels of aversive responses to the idea of incest, and on the other, an instrument capable of discriminating between individuals of relatively greater and relatively lesser superego development. A review of the existing or possible tests tapping both of these follows.

1: Aversive responses to the idea of incest:

A direct attempt, by means of scaled questions, for instance, to appraise the level of participants'

aversion to the idea of incest, might yield unreliable results because subjects might become aware of the true purpose of the experiment and thereby have a tendency to give socially desirable answers rather than their authentic reactions.

Two other methods are available for this kind of task, one, the subliminal psychodynamic activation reviewed above, and the other, one of the so-called projective methods advocated by some researchers in the field (Sarnoff & Zimbardo, 1961).

The advantage of the subliminal method is that it entails the least degree of inferences. However, two basic objections can be raised to its use for the purpose of this study, the first, and not the least, based upon ethical considerations. Indeed, the aim of this study would be to raise aversive reactions in these same subjects in whom the incestuous drive is, theoretically, the most unacceptable and in fact the source of their psychopathology. This would in turn, theoretically again, intensify their pathology to an observable and measurable extent. Though meticulous studies have shown that this kind of laboratory-effect is "slight, without subjective discomfort, and very fleeting" (Silverman, 1977), it seems difficult to

justify the risk the participants would be taking, even if in all previous studies the subjects' pathology levels did return to their baseline, a half hour only after the subliminal stimulus was presented (Silverman, 1977).

The other objection, a practical one, this time, is to the fact that the method implies the pre-diagnosing of the participants and their assignment to groups of homogeneous psychopathology. The previous studies reviewed above showed male homosexuals as the ones most prone to react with observable intensification of their symptoms to an incestuous subliminal stimulus. The present study would therefore have to restrict itself to testing its hypotheses in that group of individuals only. This could be an interesting attempt in any case, but since other factors could account for male homosexuals' moral development (one of which, not the least, their defiance of a still-active social taboo) the study's results could hardly be generalizable to any extent.

A remaining available method to measure aversive responses to incest is a projective one, and no such instrument has been developed and used in former studies. One will therefore have to be brought into being and tested for the present experiment.

2: Levels of Superego Development:

Stated in psychoanalytic terms, an instrument capable of discriminating between individuals of greater or lesser superego development will be an instrument capable of differentiating between pre Oedipal, Oedipal and post Oedipal levels of psychosexual development.

One of the complications of the concept of the development of the superego is that, although in his classical presentation, Freud put the accent on the Oedipal situation, he added later that there were early general prerequisites of the superego or, in the words of Hartmann and Loewenstein "specific early psychic determinants of superego formation which can be found in the object relations, or in the development of the ego and the instinctual drives" (1962, p. 45). For this reason,

it would be quite difficult . . . to define clearly a developmentally extending "autonomy of the superego" from the ego, at least in the sense of the superego's growing independence from the ego. One could try to describe it in relation to specific ego functions, as a growing independence, for instance, of the superego-centered moral motivations from social anxiety, or from self-interest. But any generalizing attempt runs into difficulties. Not only does early superego development depend on ego development,

but once the superego as a system is set up, its normal functioning is constantly bound to certain activities of the ego; and the further evolution of the superego does not diminish the development ego's influence, but tends to increase it. We consider, then the superego as a dynamically partly independent center of mental functioning with aims of its own. But we do not assert that once the superego has been formed, its further development generally tends to go in the direction of a growing detachment from ego influence. One speaks occasionally of the "autonomy" of a person's "moral system." Here the term autonomy designates something that is related to the subject we just discussed, but that is not really identical with it. It usually refers only to the relative independence of the "moral system" from sociocultural pressures. (p. 65)

As a matter of fact,

What happens in the course of prolonged superego development is that the mutual adjustment of ego and superego is promoted and that a workable equilibrium is established between them. . . . we do not mean that the tension between the two systems tends to become constant, or that these tensions are abolished. We rather assume that the scope of these tensions tends to become a characteristic of the individual--as long as the individual does not get involved in neurotic or psychotic disease. (p. 77)

As such, the superego is thus an entity which cannot be observed or measured separately. However, moral development, theoretically the testimony to the existence of the superego, has been intensively studied in the past few decades and attempts at developing adequate instruments to measure it have been made.

In these works, moral development has been "viewed as the particular aspects of socialization involved in internalization (author's underlining), i.e., learning to conform to rules in situations that arouse impulses to transgress and that lack surveillance and sanctions" (Kohlberg, 1968).

Though some work was done based on moral behaviour as a criterion of internalization or on guilt as another criterion, future research found both of them to be poorly related to actual maturity of moral values in the individuals exhibiting one or the other.

The best empirical work presently available is work based on the assumption of moral judgment as a criterion of moral development. It follows Piaget's attempt to describe stages of moral development, which are interestingly consistent with the stages of psychosexual, ego, or cognitive development.

Two theorists have developed instruments to measure such development, Lawrence Kohlberg and Jane Loevinger, and since their work seems to have been inspired by Jean Piaget's observations, the latter's conclusions will be reviewed, and followed by an examination of the two available instruments.

a) Jean Piaget:

Jean Piaget asserts that morality starts only when there is consciousness of obligation and is basically a matter of respect for fixed rules originating at the group, rather than at the individual level (1965).

In the light of the two principal hypotheses brought about by Durkheim's and Bovet's works on ethics, he sees two solutions:

Either respect is directed by the group upon the individual or else it is directed to individuals amongst themselves. The first of these theses is upheld by Durkheim, the second by M. Bovet. (Piaget, 1965, p. 100)

However, following his observations of children, he comes to the conclusion that

it is necessary, in order to grasp the situation, to take account of two groups of social and moral facts--constraint and unilateral respect on the one hand, cooperation and mutual respect on the other. (Piaget, 1965, p. 107)

As M. Bovet, whom he discusses extensively in his book, and as Freud, whose presence is only immanent in it, Piaget sees the feelings of respect that "the little creature" has for "the big person" who is "someone like himself and yet infinitely greater than himself" (Piaget, 1965, p. 378) at the origin of all socialization. Indeed, "society begins with two individuals, as soon as the relation between these two individuals modifies the nature of their behaviour" (Piaget, 1965, p. 379).

Piaget distinguishes between the application or practice of rules which has four separate stages, and the consciousness of rules which has three different, if parallel stages.

The three stages of consciousness are as follows: A first stage, during which rules are not yet coercive, either because they are purely motor or because they are received unconsciously.

A second stage, during which rules are regarded as sacred and untouchable, emanating from adults and lasting forever. At this point, it may be useful to remember that Freud too derives moral sentiments and beliefs from respect for--and identification with--individual adults. For him, the resolution of the Oedipus complex starts with the boy's emotional response to the castration threat, when he sublimates his instinctual desire to kill his father and to sexually possess his mother. Then,

the object-cathexes are given up and replaced by identifications. The authority of the father or the parents is introjected into the ego, and there it forms the nucleus of the superego, which takes over the severity of the father and perpetuates his prohibition against incest, and so secures the ego from the return of the libidinal object-cathexis. (Freud, 1924, p. 177).

Finally, during the third Piagetian stage of consciousness of the rules, these are looked upon as laws due to mutual consent, which one must respect if one wants to be loyal, but which can be altered upon agreement of the parties concerned. In the Freudian schema, this stage would correspond to the successful resolution of the Oedipal phase, after all reaction-formation types of responses which see rules as sacred and untouchable are overcome.

The second stage is the most important for this study because it is the one which corresponds most closely to the beginning of the formation of the superego according to Freud. Piaget calls moral realism

the tendency which the child has to regard duty and the value attaching to it as self subsistent and independent of the mind, as imposing itself regardless of the circumstances in which the individual may find himself. (1965, p. 111)

In short, Piaget's most important contribution in the domain of moral development is the observation that:

There seem to exist in the child two separate moralities, of which incidentally, the consequences can also be discerned in adult morality. These two moralities are due to formative processes which, broadly speaking, follow one another without, however, constituting definite stages. It is possible, moreover, to note the existence of an intermediate phase. The first of these processes is the

moral constraint of the adult, a constraint which leads to heteronomy and consequently to moral realism. The second is cooperation which leads to autonomy. Between the two can be discerned a phase during which rules and commands are interiorized and generalized. (1965, p. 195)

b) Lawrence Kohlberg:

From cross-cultural research on children's responses to a number of hypothetical dilemmas, Lawrence Kohlberg derived a classification of seven stages of moral development, which can also be divided into four major levels of development.

According to him, these stages:

imply something more than age trend. They imply an invariant sequence in which each individual child must go step by step through each of the kinds of moral judgments outlined. It is, of course, possible for a child to move at varying speeds and to stop (become "fixated") at any level of development, but if he continues to move upward, he must move in accord with these steps. . . . Second, a stage concept implies universality of sequence under varying cultural conditions. It implies that moral development is not merely a matter of learning the verbal values or rules of the child's culture but reflects something more universal in development, which would occur in any culture. In general, the stages in moral judgment . . . appear to be culturally universal. (1968, p. 490)

His formulation of the stages is as follows:

I: Stage 0: Premoral stage:

The child neither understands rules nor judges good or bad in terms of rules and authority.

II: Preconventional Level:

The child is responsive to cultural rules and labels of good and bad but interprets them in terms of their consequences. This level is divided into two stages:

Stage one: Punishment and Obedience orientation.

Stage two: The "instrumental-relativist" orientation.

III: Conventional Level:

At this level, the attitude is not only one of conformity to personal expectations and social order, but of loyalty to it and identification with the group.

There are again two stages at this level:

Stage three: Conformity to stereotypical images. One earns approval by being "nice."

Stage four: The Law and Order orientation, toward authority, fixed rules and the maintenance of social order.

IV: Post Conventional, Autonomous or Principled Level:

At this level, there is clear effort to define moral values and principles which have validity apart from the authority of the group which holds them. This level also has two stages:

Stage five: "The social-contract legalistic orientation," with an emphasis upon the possibility of changing the law in terms of rational considerations of social utility rather than rigidly maintaining it in terms of stage four Law and Order.

Stage six: "The universal ethic principle orientation." The principles applied are abstract and ethical and not concrete moral rules like the Ten Commandments (Kohlberg & Turiel, 1971, pp. 414-416).

The parallels between Piaget and Kohlberg are evident. The advantage of the latter's over the former's in terms of method of measurement is that it provides an instrument to test adults as well as children.

The Kohlberg's Moral Judgment Scale (1958) comprises stories in the form of moral dilemmas, and complete corresponding sets of probe questions. A scoring system has evolved where respondents received a weighted score for each level of moral development across situations and a total moral maturity value is computed on the sum of the weighted score (Kohlberg et al., 1973).

Studies exist providing data on the predictive validity of the Kohlberg scale. They report moderate to high effectiveness in distinguishing individuals at the various stages of moral reasoning (Fodor, 1972; Ruma & Mosher, 1967). In the field of research on moral

development, it is a very widely used instrument and it has even given rise to a new test, the Rest Defining Issues Test (1974) which uses the same stories, but has a much more structured set of probe questions and scoring system.

However, one of the most valid criticisms against this method is the paucity of empirical support relating moral judgment to moral conduct. In fact, in an elegant research paradigm in which moral judgments of a group of incarcerated psychopaths were examined in comparison with a group of individuals also incarcerated without a diagnosis of psychopathy, and with a group of non-institutionalized persons (the attendants at the same prison), it was found that psychopaths achieved a higher level of moral reasoning than either non-psychopathic or attendant groups (Link et al., 1977). On the other hand, factors possibly (non) related to levels of moral maturity like seriousness of offence, age, length of institutionalization, education and intelligence were analyzed and no statistical differences were obtained between the two incarcerated groups.

These results were interpreted as suggesting that "the criminally insane" have a working knowledge of the moral rules governing everyday society and that "moral judgment and moral conduct need not necessarily be

synonymous at conventional levels of moral reasoning or beyond" (Link et al., 1977, p. 345).

This, and the fact that this study's purpose is to examine the participants' moral attitudes in an everyday context of the controls available to them for dealing with social experiences, points to the choice of the Loevinger Ego Development Test as the most adequate available instrument for measuring moral development in this context.

c) Jane Loevinger:

The author's rationale for her method is that:

The elements of conscience include a sense of accountability, including both responsibility for past actions and feelings and obligation in regard to future ones, a capacity for self-criticism, and standards and ideals. They may have different developmental origins even though not logically independent. (1976, p. 397)

This is why, for her,

Conscience is above all a reflexive concept. It implies self-criticism and hence self-observation. . . . Differentiation of self from non-self, the earliest problem in ego development, is thus the forerunner of all reflexive aspects of conscience. (1976, p. 397)

She sees five more or less independent sources that contribute to the evolution of a mature conscience. They are, in their developmental order:

- (1) the formation of a sense of self,
- (2) turning of aggression against the self,
- (3) the need for mastery, (4) adoption of parental precepts and standards, and
- (5) mutual love and respect. (p. 409)

each one of these sources having its origin in one of the stages of ego development. For this reason,

the growth of conscience and ego development are so intimately intertwined that they constitute a single complex sequence of events. This is not to say that ego and conscience are one, or that either term is dispensable; indeed, they are terms from different universes of discourse. Stages in the development of conscience, however, closely parallel states of ego development, and the dynamic principles that one needs to account for the development of conscience are the same as or overlap those needed to account for ego development. (pp. 409-410)

Thus, to determine an individual's level of moral development or the level of maturity of his conscience, one will have to determine the level of development of his ego, the latter being the only coherent, relatively stable, observable, measurable unit of personality.

Using the concepts she had developed (1966) and those of Sullivan et al. (1967), Jane Loevinger and her colleagues have developed a detailed evaluation system called the Loevinger Ego Development Test. For them, the ego is the agency which is "the unity of personality, individuality, the method of facing problems, opinion about oneself and the problems of life, and the whole

attitude toward life" (Loevinger [quoting Adler], 1970, p. 7). It is the most observable and measurable part of the personality because it "maintains its stability, its identity, and its coherence by selectively gating out observations inconsistent with its current state" (p. 8). This is why she chose to use the method of Sentence Completion Test to measure it, since only a projective technique could suffice for the task.

Seven basic levels of ego development are delineated (six of which along with transitions from one level to another) and scored in their ego developmental system. The levels are Presocial Symbiotic (which cannot be scored and is included in the schema for theoretical completeness only), Impulsive, Self-Protective, Conformist, Conscientious, Autonomous and Integrated. The basic strategy for measurement is to identify qualitative differences in the successive stages of ego development. Every response is then matched against the sequence of qualitative stages and assigned to the level it matches most closely (p. 15).

Though the assumption is that every individual has a core level of functioning, 36 items are used and scored separately and rarely, if ever, will all items on a single protocol have the same rating. Then a single total

protocol rating is assigned on the basis of the distribution of the thirty-six item rating.

Parallels can be drawn between this method and Piaget's or Kohlberg's. Also, in attempting an integration of the Freudian description of the establishment of the superego with Loevinger's description of the stages of ego development, one can find a close parallel between what we know of the individuals who have resolved their Oedipus complex by giving up the object-cathexes and replacing them by identifications, and the "Conformist" as Loevinger describes him:

Here the child identifies himself with authority, his parents at first, later other adults, and then his peers. This is the period of greatest cognitive simplicity. There is a right way and a wrong way, and it is the same for everyone all the time, or for broad classes of people described in terms of demographic traits, most often gender. What is conventional and socially approved is right, particularly the behaviors that define the conventional sex roles. Rules are accepted because they are socially accepted, by whatever group defines the child's horizon. Disapproval becomes a potent sanction. There is a high value for friendliness and social niceness. Cognitive preoccupations are appearance, material things, reputation, and social acceptance and belonging. (p. 5)

According to this, individuals scoring on the levels preceding the Conformist stage will be considered as not having attained the Oedipal stage, while the ones who

will score on that level and above will be considered as having attained it, and resolved a more workable equilibrium between their ego and their superego, the higher they will score on the Loevinger scale.

Exploring an alternative model to the Freudian hypothesis of the Oedipus complex being at the origin of moral development, it seems, in summary that:

- 1) There may be some legitimacy to such an alternative to the Freudian hypothesis of the fear of the father as the source of the incest taboo. Indeed, the results of the direct experimental work reviewed above seems to confirm the theory of an elemental desire/fear of fusion with the mother, which, in this work is hypothesized as the origin to the aversion to incest.

To test this hypothesis, it will be necessary to study the correlation between moral development--witness, in theory, of Oedipal and post-Oedipal superego development--and aversion to the idea of incest. The Freudian hypothesis would postulate aversion to incest only in subjects with at least an Oedipal level of moral development. The alternative is that subjects with lower levels of moral development could have highly aversive responses to the idea of incest because of their elemental fear of fusion with the mother.

2) The most appropriate existing instrument to measure moral development and thus superego development for the purpose of this work seems to be the Loevinger Test of Ego Development.

3) A semi-projective test would probably be best to test aversion to the idea of incest and to establish the correlation between it and moral development, or the lack thereof.

CHAPTER FOUR:

METHOD

I: Pilot Experiments:

Four pilots were given before arriving at the experiment in its final form.

The first one presented the participants with the task of writing T.A.T. like stories about incestuous relationships (see Appendix C). The incest was presented when the children were adults to discriminate, in the negative responses to it, between negative responses to child abuse and responses to the idea of incest per se. Two subjects participated in this pilot. Though the mother-son incest was the one to be studied, it was thought that participants could be asked to write three stories about mother-son, father-daughter and brother-sister incests, so that their reactions to the different kinds of incest could be compared. It was also thought that this way of eliciting relatively unstructured material might best avoid bringing forth the participants' defenses and their cliché, socially desirable responses. The greatest difficulties in that approach were threefold: the task demanded between one and a half to two hours to be completed, the participants had to be quite literate and articulate for their

productions to be more than clichés and then, the material itself would be too rich and thus difficult to analyze in a way that would allow for computing of the results.

To compensate for these difficulties, a new format was tried out which basically followed the same reasoning of eliciting stories about different forms of incest (this time, father-son, mother-daughter, brother-brother and sister-sister were also added to the basic three). However, the subjects were not asked to write their stories but to answer questions about them following the form in Appendix D, pages 2 & 3 (the same form was followed for all the different kinds of incest presented). The experiment was given orally to 5 subjects, 2 men and 3 women. The answers were then analyzed according to who was seen to be the initiator of the incestuous relation, the circumstances in which the relation was supposed to have taken place, how each one of the incest participants must have felt after the first time, the description of each one of them as they are imagined, their social status, how the discovery of the incest would have come about, how long the subjects imagined the relationship going on, how they thought other people would have felt about such a relationship and what could be the possible psychological and social consequences of the incest on each one of the participants in it. The idea was, again,

to compare the subjects' feelings about the different kinds of incest, following the hypothesis that mother-son incest had a special status. The testing was cumbersome and so was the analyzing of the data, but some tendencies came to light which were encouraging. Even compared to the possible homosexual incests presented, it seemed that subjects thought that mother-son incest would have the most catastrophic consequences of all, followed by--interestingly--mother-daughter incest. Somehow, then, incest was seen as worst, socially and psychologically, when it would involve the mother.

The third pilot, given to 10 subjects (3 men and 7 women) attempted to retain the spontaneity obtained in the first pilot, and the structure of the second one by presenting the subjects with one form in which they were asked to make up a story of incest. When they were finished, they were then presented with a form on which were formulated questions referring to the story they had just finished writing (see Appendix E, pages 2 & 3). Except for confirming the difficulties presented by the first two pilots, this one yielded no new interesting data. On the whole, the participants in it, students in an introductory course of Psychology, were neither very articulate, nor did they move from socially acceptable, cliché responses.

Finally, a fourth pilot study was devised. In it, the subjects--all literature and English majors, chosen for their literacy and taste for spinning a tale--were presented with a plot which they were asked to complete, "using their imagination to the fullest" (see Appendix F). The characters were given names, ages, and the family was said to have been intact and happy before the incestuous relationship would have happened. Thus, subjects would have to imagine incest happening otherwise than in destitute, disintegrated family structures. The idea was to examine the tone of the stories, the distant past as imagined in them, i.e., the inherent factors seen as responsible for bringing about the incest, the recent past, i.e., the precipitating factors, the description of the imagined incest, and the consequences of it. Nine women and twenty-six men participated in that study. While mostly well written and imaginative, the stories seemed to tap secondary processes only in that they reflected more socially acceptable and accepted norms than what was thought to be any of the subjects' true feelings and reactions to the idea of incest. It seemed that the way of presenting the stories prevented the respondents from projecting themselves into them and fostered an intellectual game of logic.

II: General Design:

The basic strategy of the experiment then, was to determine the nature of the relationship between the level of superego development as measured by the Loevinger instrument and the degree or amount of negative reaction obtained on the Incest scale.

In terms of our two competing theoretical models, we would expect the greater degree of negative feelings to obtain in the higher Loevinger levels (I-3 through I-6) as consonant with the Freudian assumption, while a stronger association of strong negative feelings toward incest and the lower or more primitive levels of the Loevinger scale (I-2 through Delta) would offer evidence supporting the fear of fusion hypothesis.

1: Levels of superego development:

This work's definition of levels of superego development will follow Loevinger's conception of ego development. Thus, an individual will be said to be at the pre-Oedipal level if he scores anywhere below the Delta/3 stage, whereas he will be considered to have attained the Oedipal level if he scores at the I-3 level or above.

The form of the Loevinger Sentence Completion Test used in this experiment is the form 11-68 for men

because, according to the authors:

This is the best test for men and boys where relations with principals or other authorities permit use of a few items that may have a direct or indirect reference to sex. (Loevinger & Wessler, 1970, p. 140)

Indeed, for the purpose of this work, it is important to tap and to include, as much as possible, the subject's attitude toward sex in general and to compare this attitude as a part of his overall development to his attitude toward sex with the mother in the other part of the experiment.

The Loevinger scale will be scored according to the rules established by the authors, i.e., by rating every response except omissions, by sticking to the level of meanings, rather than counting words or interpreting underlying motives and by writing in simple, intelligible English, "without neologisms or technical cant" (Loevinger & Wessler, 1970, p. 19). A working knowledge of the conception of ego development used for the construction of the manual will be indispensable for the rating because, even for the stems which figure in the scoring manual (Loevinger, Wessler & Redmore, 1978) validity was not established for men, though from a series of preliminary studies, the authors expect the method to be valid for them too (1978, p. ix). As it stands, items 1,2,3,5,6,7,

10,11,13,16,17,18,20,21,26,27,35, will be scored, using the scoring manual to determine each response's I-level and category. Other stems (9,22,24,25,29,31,32) are masculine forms of the feminine stems validated in the manual. For these too, the scoring manual as well as Loevinger's conception of ego development can be used for the scoring though theoretically, the same response may occur at different levels in men or in women. In such cases, the theoretical framework on which the test is based should serve as a guide for the scoring rather than the existing manual. In fact, Dr. Holt recommends great caution in the scoring of such items since he found "no better agreement" for the scoring of such items "than for the other male items without specific manuals" (Holt, 1980, p. 913). Finally, for the rest of the stems (4,8,12,14,15,19,23,28,30,33,34,36) a scoring manual for men and boys exists of which a mimeographed copy was made available through the kind cooperation of Dr. Robert Holt. The stems figuring in it are at a preliminary, pre-publication stage, but even if fine discriminations cannot be made using it, it can serve as a basis for scoring. Since the aim of this experiment is to use the subjects as their own controls, and not to compare them to a group of women for whom the manual has been completed

and validated, cross validation of responses is not as crucial. However, some of the protocols will be scored independently by two raters, and a measure of reliability obtained by means of percentage of agreement on scoring decisions by using the numerical equivalent of stages as scores. Twelve protocols will be randomly chosen and independently scored by two raters. The percentages of agreement for each item and for the TPRs will be reported in the next chapter.

Each subject will then receive a final score--the Total Protocol Rating (TPR), that is, he is assigned to one of the following developmental levels, which are fully described by Loevinger and Wessler (1970) and Loevinger (1976). Each level is here briefly characterized by a few representative traits and is preceded by a number that is used as its score in the item sum. The lowest stage measurable by this test is (1) Impulsive (Loevinger's symbol, I-2), which Holt characterizes as "demanding, primitive, undifferentiated" (1980, p. 912); (2) Self-protective (Delta), described by Holt as "wary, complaining, cynical, manipulative, exploitative, power oriented" (p. 912); (3) Ritual-Traditional (Delta/3) "concretistic, earnest, concerned with cleanliness and respectability" (p. 912); (4) Conformist (I-3) "conventional, moralistic,

sentimental, stereotyped, rule-bound" (p.912); (5) Self-Aware or Conscientious-Conformist (I-3/4) "self-critical, aware of interpersonal differences and interactions and of multiple possibilities" (p.912); (6) Conscientious (I-4) "responsible, empathic, psychologically minded, self-respecting, conceptually complex" (p.912); (7) Individualistic (I-4/5) "truly tolerant, appreciates paradox and irony, interested in process, aware of conflicting emotions" (p.912); (8) Autonomous (I-5) "complex, objective, discriminating, self-realizing, respecting of others" (p.912); (9) Integrated (I-6) "wise, broadly empathic, able to reconcile inner conflicts, cherishes individuality, reconciles roles to find identity" (p.912). Above the Conscientious stage, the descriptions are cumulative. In the experiment proper, individuals at the Delta/3 stage will not be used in the major hypothesis due to this stage's ambiguous status with respect to the Oedipal levels of development. In effect, it is a transitional stage, a half step between the self-protective and the conformist levels and the individuals scoring at that stage show characteristics of either level at one time or the other.

The TPRs will be assigned by applying to each cumulative frequency distribution of item ratings of each protocol the set of ogive rules given by Loevinger and Wessler (1970, p. 129).

2: Levels of Aversion to the idea of incest:

The operational definition of aversion to the idea of incest used in this work will be the number and the intensity of negative responses on the incest questionnaire.

The incest questionnaire (Appendix A, page 3) is a sentence completion form. The rationale for a sentence completion instrument as opposed to a rating scale is to obtain higher subjective involvement and to minimize the intent of the instrument as one measuring positive or negative attitudes; it is also to decrease the subject's likelihood to respond in terms of superficial conventional values; it is, finally to serve the purpose of economy and easier correlation with the Loevinger instrument which also uses the sentence completion method.

The test consists of 18 stems selected empirically to address various aspects and degrees of sexual interplay between mothers and sons. They were thus purported to elicit feelings and attitudes in that area.

Some of the responses obtained show that indeed subjects understood the sentences to be completed as referring to incestuous feelings and behaviours. For instance, stem 42 (Little boys who think of their mother as sexually attractive) received responses like "are normal because an Oedipal stage in youth is normal," or "marry

women who look like Mom" or else "Should kill their father first."

To item 41 (Little boys who wish to have their mothers all to themselves) some responses were "have an Oedipus complex" or "will experience anger and distrust towards their father" or even "are little perverts."

As to item 47 (Mothers who regularly bathe their nine year old sons are) responses ranged between "doing the lad a great deal of harm since they could get aroused by it" and "are horny" or "perverts."

To facilitate future uses of the scale, the items in it will be ranked and compared, using a Wilcoxon Test, to insure that they are discriminable and to check how many scalable steps there are. Items will be ranked in the order of how disturbing or threatening they are to the subjects. The operational definition of how disturbing an idea is to the subject will be the degree of negativity of his answer.

For each subject, the Incest scale will be separated from the Loevinger scale before scoring the protocols, in order to avoid carry-over effects in the scoring of each one of the tests.

Furthermore, all responses to each stem of the Incest scale will be copied on separate lists and items will be scored independently from the complete protocols.

Later, scores to each item will be transcribed on the protocols. This too will be done to insure constancy in the rating of each item and no carry over effect from one item to the other on each protocol.

Each response will be scored along a five points continuum from (-2) for highly negative through (0) for neutral or evasive responses, to (+2) for highly positive ones. Specific scoring criteria are as follows:

(1) Responses will be considered to be highly negative and will therefore be scored (-2) if the completions of the stems are highly judgemental or highly negative (for instance, responses to stem number 42 ("Little boys who think of their mothers---") which would be scored (-2) "are crazy," "are sick," "are suckers and freaks").

(2) Responses will be considered to be negative and will be scored (-1) if the completions to the stems are judgemental or negative, without expressing revulsion nor harsh rejection (for instance, responses to the same stem which would be scored (-1): "need help," "are not mature enough," or "are not facing the truth").

(3) Responses will be considered to be neutral or evasive and will be scored (0) if the completions to the stems are tautologies, or if they evade the point by

answering in a non sequitur way or by not answering at all (for instance, responses to the same stem which would be scored (0): "are little boys," or "spur of the moment thought").

(4) Responses will be considered to be positive and will be scored (1) if the completions to the stems are accepting without being enthusiastically so (for instance, responses to the same stem which would be scored (1): "are going through a natural process," "are alright," "are going through a universal phase" or "marry women who look like Mom").

(5) Responses will be considered to be highly positive and will be scored (2) if the completions to the stems are highly approving (for instance, responses to the same stem which would be scored (2): "have a lot of sense" or "should do so").

Thus, the score is given uniquely to the manifest level of each sentence. It is clear that defenses or interpretations of what is socially desirable may account for some of the answers. However, it is assumed that the score may represent either affective factors or cognitive factors such as reality testing and judgement or else attitudes and values.

As for the Loewinger test, some of the stems will be scored independently by two raters and a measure of

reliability obtained by means of percentage of agreement on scoring decisions by using the numerical equivalent of the levels of aversion (highly negative: 1, negative: 2, neutral or evasive: 3, positive: 4, and highly positive: 5) and including correlational reliabilities. Four items will be randomly chosen to be scored independently by two independent raters who will have previously agreed on the scoring criteria described above.

Since in fact the hypothesis is concerned with negative feelings, the primary dependent variables will be derived from the negative scores alone. The most crucial data will consist of the weighted score for each subject derived by summing the total negative responses on each respective protocol. In addition, positive scores called hereafter Incest approval scores will be separately scored in order to test the following hypothesis in relation to the instrument itself. An argument can be put forth that what is being tested here is a degree of emotionality of the subjects' answers. As a means of assessing the relative strength of emotionality, the subjects' positive responses will be scored separately. While significant variations amongst the groups in terms of positive scores would not obviate the fundamental logic of the experiment, nonetheless if indeed positive means

between groups differ less than the corresponding means between groups in terms of negative groups, additional weight for the argument that indeed the specific phenomenon of aversion as opposed to the more general phenomenon of emotional reaction can be put forth. For each Loevinger group, a mean score for incest aversion will then be derived by adding the individual aversion scores and dividing by n.

3: The Hypotheses:

The crucial groups to be compared in the experiments will be first of all the Loevinger groups I-2 and Delta combined as representative of pre-Oedipal personality structures and Loevinger levels I-3, and higher as representative of Oedipal or genital levels of personality development. The major hypothesis will then be tested by means of tests between the combined groups I-2 and Delta, hereafter called pre-Oedipal or PO versus groups I-3 and above hereafter called Oedipal or O.

To restate the general hypothesis then in terms of the actual derived scores, evidence for the Freudian model could be construed from an association between higher negative scores to the Incest scale and Loevinger levels I-3 and higher, than the negative scores obtained from individuals on Loevinger levels I-2 and Delta.

The actual statistical hypothesis can then be stated as follows:

H_0 : The mean score for incest aversion will not significantly differ between the group of individuals obtaining Loevinger ratings of PO and the corresponding group(s) of individuals receiving Loevinger ratings of 0.

H_1 : (Freudian model) The mean incest aversion score will be significantly greater for Loevinger 0 sample than for the corresponding Loevinger PO sample.

H_2 : (Fear of fusion model) The mean incest aversion score for the Loevinger PO sample will significantly exceed that of the Loevinger 0 sample.

III: The Experiment:

1: Selection of subjects:

Since the Oedipal phase has been studied most extensively in boys after Freud's model, the subjects used in this experiment were to be men only.

Participants were volunteer men and women College students at least eighteen years of age, recruited from various courses or from the Cafeteria at Queens College.

A total of 68 individuals participated in the experiment. The women's protocols, a total of 12, were

set aside and may be used in a further study.

This reduced to 56 the total number of subjects taken for statistical analysis of the experimental data.

2: Presentation of the experiment:

The general purpose of the study was presented to the subjects as follows:

The study in which you are participating is a research project on social attitudes and relationships.

It consists of one session, of about 30 to 45 minutes in which you will be asked to complete a series of 54 sentences in a questionnaire that will be handed out to you. Only those of you who are 18 or older can volunteer for this project. If you do, your participation may be withdrawn, should you change your mind after receiving the questionnaire. Although some of the sentences seem personal in nature, in no way will you be identifiable as a result and the questionnaires are entirely anonymous.

If you have any question about the test or about how the questionnaires will be used in the project, we will discuss them and I will give more details as soon as everyone has handed his questionnaire in.

When all the protocols were returned for any given group, the subjects were debriefed as to the theoretical basis of the study, the hypotheses, the rationale for using a sentence completion test and the reasons for not giving those explanations at the beginning of the experiment were fully explained.

Participants were also told that, were they to have any more questions or want to discuss their

participation any further at any point in the future, they could then contact the research staff. This was done to provide any subject who would experience any lasting effect from the questionnaire on the aversion to incest, with some therapeutic support, although no ill effect, either short or long lasting was expected to follow the taking of the test.

3: Experimental Measures:

The experimental data were collected in four group sessions, two of which were classes whose instructors had previously agreed to have the experimenter recruit volunteers from, during class time.

Since women students attended the classes in which the experiment was given, it was decided to avoid isolating the men and therefore to administer the measures to all volunteers, men and women.

Women were administered the form 11-68 of the Loevinger test since it is the feminine equivalent form 11-68 for men (see Appendix B).

The incest aversion part of the test was exactly the same as for the men (see Appendix A, page 3) and explored, for all participants, feelings about mother-son sexual relationships.

When the subjects were recruited in the Cafeteria, only men students were approached and asked to volunteer for a small remuneration (\$2.00). A few women, who happened to pass by and to ask whether they could volunteer too were then told, individually, that the forms to be administered to women were not available at the present time.

The rationale for the difference of approaches was that the Cafeteria students were volunteering their own free time and should be given a minimal compensation. Also, since men were then approached individually, it seemed that there was no need to justify any more than was done the selection of one sex rather than the other.

Groups of 3 to 5 students were seated at the same table and administered the test to after which the experimenter moved to recruit another small group of men and repeated the same procedure.

The experimental rationale was verbally presented by the experimenter who then gave the following general instructions for filling out the sentence completion forms:

Read each one of the sentences and finish it by writing the first thing that comes to mind. Work as quickly as you can. If you cannot complete an item, circle the number and return to it later.

It should be noted that the same instructions figure at the top of the form given to them and that they are taken literally from the Sacks Sentence Completion Test (Sacks & Levy, 1950).

To questions about how much time they should spend on each response, whether they should answer "sensibly," whether they should write only one word, etc., answers were made following Sacks' suggestions (1950, p. 372) and were geared to encourage spontaneity and individuality.

These instructions are different from Loevinger's succinct: "Complete the following sentences," but they were preferred precisely because they encourage spontaneity and individuality, both judged to be most important for the second part of the test.

The forms consisted of three pages of Xeroxed material (see Appendix A). The material was organized in the following sequence:

(1) The Independent Measure of Superego Development:

The Loevinger stems were presented first in an effort to avoid carry over effects from the other part of the test. The 36 stems occupy the first two pages (15 stems on page one, and 21 stems on page two). At the authors' suggestion, precautions were taken to minimize

sequential or interconnected responses by adding the un-scored stems of the Aversion to Incest Test at the end of the test as it exists. Also, the Loevinger Test serves the purpose of establishing a familiarity with the nature of a sentence completion test.

(2) The Independent measure of Aversion to the idea of incest:

The eighteen stems of that test occupy the third page of the hand-out and are numbered 37 through 54.

IV: Statistical Treatment:

The significance of differences between groups was tested by means of the Student t test. A two tailed test was used and a .05 level was considered a suitable level of significant difference.

Summary:

Subjects were given a list of 54 stems of a sentence completion test. Thirty-six of these were the items on the male protocol of the Loevinger Ego Development Test and the other eighteen, stems supposed to tap feelings and attitudes toward mother-son sexual interaction. This was done in order to determine the nature of the relationship between the level of superego development as measured

by the Loevinger instrument, and the degree and amount of negative reaction obtained on the Incest scale.

To restate the two theoretical models of the experiment: From the vantage point of classical analysis, it would be expected that anxiety, defensive reaction and in a more general way degree of emotional response to the notion or idea of incest would be most prevalent in those individuals who are, in their development, characterially in the Oedipal phase, as opposed to those who are, in their development, most definitely pre-Oedipal.

Thus, in terms of the measures used in this experiment, it is to be expected, in keeping with the classical psychoanalytic point of view, that a greater degree of negative responses to incest related themes, as presented in the incest sentence completion questionnaire should be most characteristic among those individuals who are in the Oedipal phase or bearing the typical characterological residues of Oedipal phase organization, as measured by the Loevinger instrument. This should be the case whether the dominant dynamic picture vis-à-vis the Oedipal organization is one of fixation--i.e., residual drive components--or one of defense, since even a defense dominated Oedipal arrest should leave the sorts of alterations of the ego that

would result in the same un-modulated and aversive response to the incest idea as the presence of direct Oedipally organized drive derivatives in the subject's personality.

The alternative model holds that incestuous anxiety is a special instance of the general problem of separating from the mother, or that while the particular aspect of sexualization may be a retrospective addition to personality, so to speak, the issue of the fear of sexual attachment is in fact not characteristic of the Oedipal level of development. Rather, the theme of sexual attachment merely synergizes or parasitically reactivates or augments fundamental difficulties in establishing independence from the original maternal object. In this eventuality, it is expected that those individuals who show the relatively lowest level of ego development (and presumably therefore have the most primitive psychosexual development) will be those who are most fearful, hostile or reactive to the incest questionnaire.

CHAPTER FIVE
EXPERIMENTAL RESULTS

I: The Major hypotheses:

Each individual was scored then, according to the Loevinger methodology and assigned a level ranking in terms of the Loevinger scale.

Out of the group of 56 subjects, the distribution was as follows:

<u>Loevinger group</u>	<u>Number of subjects</u>
I-2	4
Delta	14
Delta/3	5
I-3	8
I-3/4	23
I-4	2

The incest questions were also rated in terms of degree of aversive response to the incest completion instrument. As indicated previously, positive and neutral reactions to the incest instrument were excluded from this calculation for the time being.

The range of weighted raw scores on the incest aversion was 32 to 2 with a mean of 12 and a standard

deviation for the experimental group as a whole of 4.92. Mean aversion scores were then derived separately for each group of subjects within each Loevinger developmental level. Means and standard deviations of the incest aversion score for each level of ego development are as follows:

Table I

Mean incest aversion scores and standard deviations

<u>Loevinger Groups</u>	<u>Means</u>	<u>Standard deviations</u>
I-2	14.5	9.67
Delta	13.2	4.61
Delta/3	11.6	4.18
I-3	11.4	3.27
I-3/4	10.9	4.89
I-4	9.5	4.61

For the purpose of the experiment, the general hypotheses are tested by correlating the mean incest aversion score of the two lowest levels on the Loevinger scale (I-2 and Delta) against the more characteristically Oedipal levels (I-3, I-3/4 and I-4).

The means and standard deviations of the incest aversion scores for the composite groups, are, then, as follows in Table II.

Utilizing the t test, the mean score for incest aversion is significantly greater for the pre-Oedipal group at the .05 level.

Table II

T-Test of significant difference between pre-Oedipal and Oedipal groups for incest aversion scores:

<u>Group</u>	<u># cases</u>	<u>Mean</u>	<u>S.D.</u>	<u>Pooled t</u>	<u>2-tail prob.</u>
P.O.	18	13.5	4.301	2.03	0.048
O.	38	11.0	4.312		

With regard to Table I, it is interesting to note in addition that the means are "staircased" or demonstrate a regular decrease, indicating that there is a monotonic relationship between the Loevinger levels and the incest aversion scores. The regular decrease of means suggests that in fact, incest aversion decreases with development rather than showing special relation to the Oedipal phase.

II: The positive incest responses:

Positive responses to the incest questionnaire were also scored for each of the Loevinger ego development groups. Means and standard deviations are indicated in the following Table III. The range of weighted raw scores on the positive incest responses was 15 to 0 with a mean

of 6.03 and a standard deviation of 3.21, for the experimental group as a whole.

Table III

Mean positive incest scores and standard deviations

<u>Loevinger Groups</u>	<u>Means</u>	<u>Standard deviations</u>
I-2	5.25	3.59
Delta	6.28	4.23
Delta/3	5.60	1.81
I-3	6.50	2.44
I-3/4	5.95	3.26
I-4	6.00	0.0

In terms of the positive reactions to the incest stimuli, no significant differences were to be found between pre-Oedipal and Oedipal groups and the test failed significance at even the .1 level (see Table IV). Consequently, it can be inferred that emotionality or degree of responsiveness to incest stimulation per se do not vary with ego development, while the negative affects, whether anxious or aggressive do indeed significantly differ.

Table IV

T-Test of significant difference between pre-Oedipal and Oedipal groups for positive responses to incest

<u>Group</u>	<u># cases</u>	<u>Mean</u>	<u>S.D.</u>	<u>Pooled t</u>	<u>2-tail prob.</u>
P.O.	18	6.05	4.02	0.03	0.975
O.	38	6.02	2.81		

These data, while not in any strict sense a "control," nonetheless may augment the general hypothesis that it is specifically negative reaction--as opposed to the general reactiveness that might be considered typical of more primitive types--which is responsible for the direction and the degree of difference found with respect to the major hypotheses.

III: Item analysis:

As a means of evaluating the Incest instrument, means and standard deviations for each item were calculated individually. Results, ranking the individual items, are listed in the Table V below.

Wilcoxon tests for significance on inter item differences are presented in Table VI. These suggest that the relative potency of items, so to speak, can be organized into the following groups:

Group I: items 46, 44, 45

Group II: items 38, 51, 43, 50, 40

Group III: items 49, 39, 52, 37, 48, 41, 47

Group IV: items 42, 53, 54

The individual scores within each group characteristically differ from individual scores within other groups. Consequently, it can be inferred that the incest test as currently constituted demonstrates a significant range with regular increments.

Table VIncest Scale Items, Ranked from Less to More Threatening

			<u>Mean</u>	<u>Stand. Dev.</u>
1	46	My mother can be physically described	3.52	1.04
2	44	A common childhood fantasy is	3.41	1.19
3	45	My parents' sex life	3.21	0.97
4	38	Women who look like my mother	3.16	1.09
5	51	My mother's naked body	2.95	1.18
6	43	Six year old erotic feelings	2.93	0.93
7	50	Thought of mother as sexually attractive	2.91	1.15
8	40	Mothers-Men's sexual attitudes	2.82	1.21
9	49	6 year old try to touch or see	2.66	1.12
10	39	Mothers' attitude toward sex	2.62	1.04
11	52	Erotic thoughts about mother	2.48	1.22
12	37	I like my mother but	2.41	0.83
13	48	Mothers dressing revealingly	2.38	1.24
14	41	Little boys-mothers for selves	2.36	0.96
15	47	Mother's bathing 9 year old	2.32	1.15
16	42	Little boys-marry mother	2.23	1.25
17	53	Mother behaving seductively	2.02	1.00
18	54	Sex play between mother and son	1.84	1.76

	<u>44</u>	<u>45</u>	<u>38</u>	<u>51</u>	<u>43</u>	<u>50</u>	<u>40</u>	<u>49</u>	<u>39</u>	<u>52</u>	<u>37</u>	<u>48</u>	<u>41</u>	<u>47</u>	<u>42</u>	<u>53</u>	<u>54</u>	
3.52	<u>46</u>	0.40	1.52	2.11 ^c	2.77 ^b	2.64 ^b	3.00 ^b	2.80 ^b	3.71 ^a	4.36 ^a	4.30 ^a	4.94 ^a	4.31 ^a	4.68 ^a	4.76 ^a	4.72 ^a	5.22 ^a	5.72 ^a
3.41	<u>44</u>	0.99	0.99	2.01 ^c	2.19 ^c	1.96 ^c	2.23 ^c	2.75 ^b	2.91 ^b	3.85 ^a	4.38 ^a	3.79 ^a	4.06 ^a	4.00 ^a	3.93 ^a	5.23 ^a	5.24 ^a	
	3.21	<u>45</u>	0.40	1.31	1.62	1.47	2.12 ^c	2.81 ^b	2.96 ^b	3.24 ^a	3.77 ^a	3.69 ^a	3.95 ^a	4.02 ^a	4.11 ^a	4.74 ^a	5.28 ^a	
		3.16	<u>38</u>	1.20	1.03	1.11	1.57	2.22 ^c	2.93 ^b	2.64 ^b	3.34 ^a	3.28 ^a	3.81 ^a	3.62 ^a	4.11 ^a	4.69 ^a	5.12 ^a	
			2.95	<u>51</u>	0.09	0.17	0.78	1.25	1.81	2.19 ^c	2.58 ^b	2.39 ^c	2.59 ^b	2.70 ^b	2.84 ^b	4.19 ^a	4.37 ^a	
				2.93	<u>43</u>	0.09	0.62	1.36	1.60	2.18 ^c	2.81 ^b	2.41 ^c	2.82 ^b	2.65 ^b	3.02 ^b	3.80 ^a	4.71 ^a	
					2.91	<u>50</u>	0.47	1.24	1.41	1.61	2.38 ^c	2.50 ^c	2.68 ^b	2.42 ^c	2.96 ^b	3.79 ^a	4.42 ^a	
						2.82	<u>40</u>	0.62	0.91	1.67	2.07	1.83	2.28 ^c	2.28 ^c	2.74 ^b	3.29 ^a	4.03 ^a	
							2.66	<u>49</u>	0.12	0.79	1.27	1.31	1.78	1.85	2.16 ^b	3.06 ^b	3.71 ^a	
								2.62	<u>39</u>	0.61	1.35	1.00	1.31	1.47	1.99 ^c	2.97 ^b	3.61 ^a	
									2.48	<u>52</u>	0.50	0.26	0.75	0.72	1.05	2.31 ^c	3.11 ^b	
										2.41	<u>37</u>	0.02	0.14	0.60	0.69	2.15 ^c	3.13 ^b	
											2.38	<u>48</u>	0.27	0.24	0.56	1.75	2.58 ^b	
												2.36	<u>41</u>	0.01	0.55	1.58	2.80 ^b	
													2.32	<u>47</u>	0.49	1.48	2.09 ^c	
														2.23	<u>42</u>	1.07	1.77	
															2.02	<u>53</u>	1.19	
																	<u>1.84</u>	

a: p < .001; b: p < .01;

c: p < .05, two-tailed.

TABLE VI

WILCOXON T-TESTS CORRECTED FOR TIES
AND EXPRESSED AS NORMAL DEVIATES (Z)

IV: ReliabilityA: Incest scale:

Randomly selected Items 39 (Mothers' attitudes toward sex), 42 (Little boys who think of marrying their mothers), 48 (Mothers who dress revealingly around their sons) and 53 (If a mother behaved seductively toward her son), were rated independently by two raters. Their Spearman correlations were:

Table VIISpearman Correlations between Scorers of the incest scale

<u>Item</u>	<u>Correlations</u>
39	.88
42	.86
48	.94
53	.73

B: The Loevinger scale

One rater, C.B., scored the 56 protocols. She is a graduate student who has had extensive experience with the Loevinger test. She was trained by Dr. Robert Holt, in one of his seminars on Ego development, and has since scored more than 600 women's protocols for different projects using that method.

The other rater, N.C., scored twelve randomly selected protocols. She was self taught in the scoring method, but had followed Loevinger's own method and self-training program.

The randomly selected protocols were #8, 5, 4, 12, 9, 2, 3, 13, 18, 1, 22 and 6. Percentages of agreement for each item and for the Total Protocol ratings figure in Table VIII. Agreement between scorers ranged between 50.0% and 83.3% with an overall percentage of agreement of 67.82%. The Total Protocol Rating percent of agreement is 75.0%.

Table VIII
Percentages of agreement between scorers
of the Loevinger Scale

<u>Item</u>	<u>% Agreement</u>	<u>Item</u>	<u>% Agreement</u>
1	58.3	19	75.0
2	83.3	20	83.3
3	75.0	21	75.0
4	66.6	22	75.0
5	66.6	23	50.0
6	66.6	24	66.6
7	58.3	25	66.6
8	50.0	26	83.3
9	58.3	27	75.0
10	66.6	28	50.0
11	75.0	29	83.3
12	75.0	30	50.0
13	66.6	31	75.0
14	75.0	32	50.0
15	75.0	33	58.3
16	58.3	34	66.6
17	66.6	35	58.3
18	83.3	36	66.6
<u>TPR</u>	75.0%	<u>Total Items:</u>	67.82%

CHAPTER SIX

DISCUSSION OF THE RESULTS AND CONCLUSION

This chapter discusses the results in terms of the experiment itself and of its limitations. These limitations derive from both the technical aspect of the results in terms of the theoretical models used in the hypotheses and more generally in relation to the theories explaining the incest taboo.

I: The experiment:

1: Limitations of the Design:

A: Item Selection:

It must be noted that for the Incest scale, items were chosen empirically according to clinical understanding of what is generally perceived as "taboo" in the relations between mothers and sons. However, many more stems as well as different ones could have been generated and may have tapped feelings and attitudes toward incest as successfully or more so, than the ones figuring here. It is thus clear that a completely different list of stems may be as good or better an Incest scale than the one used for this experiment.

B: Number of subjects:

Since only 56 subjects were used for the experiment, some of the Loevinger groups compared had very few subjects. (I-2 had 4 subjects, Delta had 14, Delta/3 had 5, I-3 had 8, I-3/4 had 23 and I-4 had 2 subjects, as previously described.)

For this reason, it was impossible to test for significant differences between each one of the groups, a test whose implications may have been interesting, if it had shown significant differences.

C: Rating of the Incest scale:

Although the percentage of scorer agreement is acceptable for this kind of experiment, the principles for scoring had to be agreed upon for each stem separately by the two independent scorers before the scoring was done. If the scale was to be used again, it might be well to develop a scoring manual similar to the Loevinger one to insure consistency and reliability of the scoring.

D: Design:

An experiment rooted in language and the process of cognizing as on the Loevinger instrument and the Incest scale, while possessing a projective factor is perhaps less suitable for measuring deep personality dynamics or

unconscious constellations than other instruments less related to the use of language. From this vantage point, further exploration this topic might be fruitfully carried out using less cognitively organized instruments such as the Rorschach and even tachistoscopic techniques, or the content analysis of psychoanalytic sessions.

Also, since this study deals with developmental phenomena which occur in childhood, it might be well to further explore the topic using children of pre-Oedipal and Oedipal ages instead of the Loevinger groups, provided of course that the subject of incest be introduced on one hand, to insure that it is indeed incest which is studied, and on the other, to guaranty the psychological well being of the subjects, without ill-effects from the experiment.

2: Assumptions:

A crucial assumption underlying this experiment is the concept of developmental fixations. It is presumed that adults' ego development as measured by the Loevinger instrument indeed reflects deep personality structures formed during childhood and shaped by interpersonal relations then.

It is also inferred that certain character structures or traits of personality reflect specific

psychosexual phases, identifiable by those traits.

It is finally assumed that certain individuals showing specific character structures or traits of personality are developmentally more primitive than others, with different character structures, and that they have more infantile egos.

Though these inferences and assumptions are by and large the basis of all of psychoanalysis, it is well to remember that they are, scientifically speaking, little more than conjectures.

Similarly, the term "fear of fusion" is used throughout this work. However, no substantiation of that dynamic was brought forth or confirmed by this experiment. The term is thus used as an inference that indeed, the aversion to the idea of incest shown by pre-Oedipal subjects is due to a phenomenon which has been clinically observed and interpreted in other subjects at presumably the same psychosexual stage of development, during psychoanalytic sessions.

II: Implications for the two theoretical models used in the hypotheses:

Of the major hypotheses, it can be said that the fear of fusion one is supported by the evidence while the Freudian hypothesis is rejected. Thus, the results run

fairly strongly against the classical psychoanalytic point of view. In fact, as a conceptual strategy for testing the hypotheses, while no significant difference cannot be read as evidence of an Oedipal basis to the incest taboo, it could be construed as evidence that the instrument itself is unsuitable or gave rise to too large a variance, while a stronger aversion in the lower Loevinger groups can be less readily challenged vis-à-vis the construction of the instrument.

Presumably, thus, the individuals who, by inference show signs of being fixated at a more infantile psychosexual phase have more aversion to incest.

However, these results could also be read as a corroboration of the Freudian hypothesis, if one were to assume that the individuals on the higher levels of the Loevinger scale are better defended than the ones at the lower levels. It could thus be that the observed lower level of aversion in those subjects is due to the fact that they do not give way to their horror of incest as freely as the others.

It is also possible that the achievement of the Oedipal level of development being correlated with the first evolution of repression, it is the ratio of drive to the ability of neutralization which has changed. In other

words, it may be that the individuals who have achieved an Oedipal level of development do not have less aversion to incest, but in fact do repress it rather than experience and express it.

On the other hand, it is finally possible to assume that those individuals with pre-Oedipal fixations do not have a greater fear or aversion to the idea of incest, but that they have a greater drive to commit it. Thus when the incest stimulus is presented to them, they react strongly by rejecting it as very threatening. However, this idea must also follow a whole chain of inferences about the relative strength of a stimulus and the drive it is presumed to tap.

Nonetheless, and despite the high level of theoretical inferences, it does seem that this piece of research poses a strong suggestive challenge to the classical psychoanalytic model of development. Were the results of this study confirmed by further research, the consequences could be far reaching since many of the instruments used for psychological testing as well as many of the theoretical approaches used by people in the field consider the Oedipal phase as the turning point of individual development.

III: Implications for the various theories of the incest taboo:

Though no nativist theory can be proven in relation to the incest taboo, the fact that there is more aversion to incest at the lower levels of development would tend to corroborate the findings in ethology about the instinctive nature of the avoidance of inbreeding.

In conclusion, the idea of incest rather than the taboo against it being learned through civilization is an attractive, if ironic one. It may explain why the Victorian era, of all historic times one of the most civilized, brought with it such preoccupation and brooding over the problem of incest.

Appendix A p. 1

Participant # _____

Sex of the Participant: Male: Age: Class:

Instructions: Below are 54 partly completed sentences. Read each one and finish it by writing the first thing that comes to your mind. Work as quickly as you can. If you cannot complete an item, circle the number and return to it later.

Your questionnaire is entirely anonymous. If you have any question about it, please feel free to contact the research staff, either after you finish the questionnaire, or by phone at _____.

- 1: Raising a family
- 2: When a child will not join in group activities
- 3: When they avoided me
- 4: A man's job
- 5: Being with other people
- 6: The thing I like about myself
- 7: If my mother
- 8: Crime and delinquency could be halted if
- 9: When I am with a woman
- 10: Education
- 11: When people are helpless
- 12: Women are lucky because
- 13: What gets me into trouble is
- 14: A good father
- 15: A man feels good when

Appendix A p. 2

Participant # _____

- 16: A wife should
- 17: I feel sorry
- 18: A woman should always
- 19: Rules are
- 20: When they talked about sex, I
- 21: Men are lucky because
- 22: My father and I
- 23: When his wife asked him to help with the housework
- 24: Usually he felt that sex
- 25: At times he worried about
- 26: If I can't get what I want
- 27: My main problem is
- 28: When I am criticized
- 29: Sometimes he wished that
- 30: A husband has a right to
- 31: When he thought of his mother, he
- 32: The worst thing about being a man
- 33: If I had more money
- 34: I just can't stand people who
- 35: My conscience bothers me if
- 36: He felt proud that he

Appendix A p. 3

Participant # _____

- 37: I like my mother but
- 38: Women who look like my mother
- 39: Mothers' attitudes toward sex
- 40: Mothers' influence on men's sexual attitudes
- 41: Little boys who wish to have their mothers all to themselves
- 42: Little boys who think of marrying their mother
- 43: The average six year old boy's erotic feelings toward his mother
- 44: A common childhood fantasy is
- 45: My parents' sex life
- 46: My mother could be physically described as
- 47: Mothers who regularly bathe their 9 year old sons are
- 48: Mothers who dress revealingly around their sons
- 49: 6 year old boys who try to touch or see their mother's body
- 50: The thought of my mother as sexually attractive
- 51: My mother's naked body
- 52: Erotic thoughts about one's mother
- 53: If a mother behaved seductively toward her son
- 54: Sex play between a mother and her son

Appendix B p. 1

Participant # _____

Sex of the participant: Female: Age: Class:

Instructions: Below are 54 partly completed sentences. Read each one and finish it by writing the first thing that comes to your mind. Work as quickly as you can. If you cannot complete an item, circle the number and return to it later.

Your questionnaire is entirely anonymous. If you have any question about it, please feel free to contact the research staff, either after you finish the questionnaire, or by phone at _____.

- 1: Raising a family
- 2: A girl has a right to
- 3: When they avoided me
- 4: If my mother
- 5: Being with other people
- 6: The thing I like about myself is
- 7: My mother and I
- 8: What gets me into trouble is
- 9: Education
- 10: When people are helpless
- 11: Women are lucky because
- 12: My father
- 13: A pregnant woman
- 14: When my mother spanked me, I
- 15: A wife should

Appendix B p. 2

Participant # _____

- 16: I feel sorry
- 17: Rules are
- 18: When I get mad
- 19: When a child will not join in group activities
- 20: Men are lucky because
- 21: When they talked about sex, I
- 22: At times she worried about
- 23: I am
- 24: A woman feels good when
- 25: My husband and I will
- 27: The worst thing about being a woman
- 28: A good mother
- 29: Sometimes she wishes that
- 30: When I am with a man
- 31: When she thought of her mother, she
- 32: If I can't get what I want
- 33: Usually she felt that sex
- 34: For a woman a career is
- 35: My conscience bothers me if
- 36: A woman should always

Appendix C

It took Tolstoi four years to finish Anna Karenina. He had grown to love the character he had created and wanted to save her at the end of the story. However, to Tolstoi's own amazement, he could not prevent her from fulfilling her fate and committing suicide by throwing herself under a train.

This is but one example of the argument that once created, characters take on an independent existence and carry their author off to the organically necessary end of the story.

To verify this argument, the plots of three relatively recent novels have been chosen. They all have in common that they are stories of incest, a subject rarely picked by novelists, perhaps because it rarely happens in reality.

The first novel is the story of a father-daughter incestuous relationship when he is sixty and she thirty.

The second one is the story of a brother-sister incest when both of them are adults already.

And the third one tells about a mother and a son involved in incest when she is thirty-six and he twenty-one.

In all three novels, the incest is actually consummated, and in all three, it becomes public knowledge. Taking this into account, we would like you to imagine, for each one of them and in the order that you choose:

I: What led to the incest?

1: Describe briefly how you imagine each of the characters, and what is going on in each one's life at the time.

2: What kind of relationship they had previous to it, if they lived together or apart, where the incest occurred, when, and for how long it lasted.

II: What led to the discovery of the incest?III: What happens after it becomes known?

- 1: What do the characters do?
- 2: How do they feel?
- 3: What happens to them?
- 4: What do others think and feel about them?
- 5: What will be the psychological and social consequences?

Appendix D p. 1

It took Tolstoi four years to finish Anna Karenina. He had grown to love the character he had created and wanted to save her at the end of the story. However, to Tolstoi's own amazement, he could not prevent her from fulfilling her fate and committing suicide by throwing herself under a train.

This is but one example of the argument that once created, characters take on an independent existence and carry their author off to the organically necessary end of the story.

To verify this argument, possible plots have been chosen. They all have in common that they are stories of incest, a subject of more recent novels than ever in the past.

Given these possible plots, we would like you to imagine for each one of them the circumstances and the consequences which the author of such hypothetical novels have to describe to make the stories plausible.

Please be as imaginative as possible, and keep in mind that the stories should "hold together."

Male _____ Age _____
 Female _____
 Occupation _____ Years in College _____
 Have you read books on incest: Yes _____ No _____
 Which one? _____

Appendix D p. 2Plot: Mother-Son Incest

At the time the incest occurs for the first time, the mother is 36 years old, and the son is 21.

- 1: Who initiated the incest? The mother _____
 The son _____
 Both? _____
- 2: Circumstances of the first time they make love:
 a) They accidentally make love _____
 b) They are forced to make love _____ How? _____
 c) They choose to make love _____
- 3: At the time of the incestuous relationship:
 a) The mother is married or involved
 in other relation: Yes _____ No _____
 b) The son is married or involved
 in other relation: Yes _____ No _____
 c) The mother works and leads
 a normal life: Yes _____ No _____
 Profession: _____
 d) The son works and leads
 a normal life: Yes _____ No _____
 Profession: _____
 e) The mother is a stable, warm person Yes _____ No _____
 f) The son is a stable, warm person Yes _____ No _____
- 4: What led to the discovery of the incest?
 a) The mother told some people _____ Who? _____
 b) The son told some people _____ Who? _____
 c) Someone found out accidentally? _____ Who? _____
- 5: How long does the relationship go on:
 a) One time _____ Who pulls away? _____
 b) A few times _____ Who pulls away? _____
 c) A long time _____ Who pulls away? _____
 d) Until one of them dies _____ Who? _____ How? _____

Appendix D p. 3Plot: Mother-Son Incest (continued)6: What happens after the relationship becomes publicly known?

- a) The incestuous relationship goes on: Yes___ No___
- b) The mother feels: Very good___ Good___
Indifferent___ Badly___
Very badly___ Terrible___
- c) The son feels: Very good___ Good___
Indifferent___ Badly___
Very badly___ Terrible___
- d) Others feel about the mother: Very good___ Good___
Indifferent___ Badly___
Very badly___ Terrible___
- e) Others feel about the son: Very good___ Good___
Indifferent___ Badly___
Very badly___ Terrible___
- f) What will be the psychological consequences for
the mother: No consequences___
Good cons. ___ Bad cons. ___ Terrible___
- g) What will be the psychological consequences for
the son: No consequences___
Good cons. ___ Bad cons. ___ Terrible___
- h) What will be the social consequences for
the mother: No consequences___
Good cons. ___ Bad cons. ___ Terrible___
- i) What will be the social consequences for
the son: No consequences___
Good cons. ___ Bad cons. ___ Terrible___

Appendix E p. 1

Please make up and write in a few paragraphs the story of a mother-son incest. The story you invent should happen when the son is an adult already.

Before making up your story, please give your definition of "incest".

Appendix E p. 2

Referring to the story you have just made up: please answer briefly the following questions:

MOTHER SON

- 1) What led up to the incest?

- 2) Who initiated it?

- 3) Is there a father in your story?
Where is he?
What kind of a person is he?

- 4) What kind of a person is the mother?

- 5) What kind of person is the son?

- 6) How long does the incestuous relationship go on?

- 7) After it is consummated, how do you think the mother feels about herself, and what does she think about herself?

- 8) What sort of a person has she become?

- 9) What is her vision of the future?

- 10) In our days, how do you think people would think and feel about the mother?

- 11) After it is consummated, how do you think the son feels about himself, and what does he think about himself?

Appendix E p. 3

12) What sort of a person has he become?

13) What is his vision of the future?

14) In our days, how do you think people would think
and feel about him?

Appendix FMale _____
Female _____Age _____
Class _____

Mr and Mrs P. are still young to be the parents of three grown up children, whose youngest, Barbara, is already graduating from high school. Barbara has a brother, Robert, who is 24, and a sister, Annie, who is 21.

The P.'s live in an attractive house, conveniently close to the city. They all seem to be warmly attached to each other.

...A year later, though the family is still intact, Mrs P. and her son, Robert, start an incestuous relationship.

You have just been presented with the bare bones outline of a story. Much detail (feelings, thoughts, description of characters, consequences etc...) have not been included. Using your imagination to the fullest, please provide what you think has been left out of the story.

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