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Men's perception of sexuality and kindness in a woman.

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MEN'S PERCEPTION OF SEXUALITY
AND KINDNESS IN A WOMAN



ROTHSTEIN - 1959

MEN'S PERCEPTION OF SEXUALITY
AND KINDNESS IN A WOMAN

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Thesis Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the
Requirements for the Degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

University of Massachusetts, Amherst

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Introduction

The present study was undertaken to investigate an aspect of impression formation which hithertofore has received scant empirical scrutiny, the area of men's social perception of women. Generally speaking the major aims of this investigation were threefold:

(a) to determine whether men's conflict over sexual feelings toward their mothers influences the degree of splitting of sexuality and kindness as evidenced in their reactions to a woman portraying both sexual and kindly roles (b) to determine whether authoritarianism is a relevant variable in men's reaction to kindness and sexuality in a woman (c) to study certain organizational processes involved in an impression-formation task.

Research in the area of impression formation or social perception as it is sometimes called (Bruner & Tagiuri, 1954) received a major impetus as a result of Asch's now famous experiment (1946) in which two groups of Ss were given lists of traits which were said to belong to a person and asked to write their impression of that person. The lists of traits given to the two groups were identical, with the exception that in one list the word cold replaced that of warm. He found that the two groups differed greatly in their written impressions and concluded that the formation and change of impressions consists of specific cognitive processes of organization which are essentially organized and generally influenced by the total

configuration of structural elements. Although open to the criticism that a list of trait words is not an adequate means of evoking impressions of personality (Gollin, 1954; Luchins 1948), Asch's study and theoretical position nevertheless greatly stimulated research in the area of impression formation (Haire & Grunes, 1950; Gollin, 1954; Kastenbaum, 1951; Kates, 1959; Kelley, 1950; Mensh & Wishner, 1947).

Gollin (1954) for example, in a study which is most relevant to the present investigation, attempted to surmount the questionable use of "remote" trait-names in evoking impressions, by using a silent motion picture. In the movie, which was shown to male Ss, the star's behavior suggested diverse character qualities; in two scenes she was shown behaving rather promiscuously and in two other scenes she was portrayed as kind and considerate. The effects of order of presentation of the scenes and the time of presentation of instructions were controlled. After impressions of the star's personality had been written, Ss were asked to complete a modified social distance scale consisting of four questions. The written descriptions were submitted to three judges who assigned them to three judgmental categories developed in a pilot study which were believed to be related to genetic stages of perceptual development (a) simplified-impressions (unitary) which characterize the star in terms of either kindness or promiscuity exclusively, (b) aggregate-impressions which characterize the star as both promiscuous and kind but which do not in any way relate these behavioral themes, and (c) related-impressions (integrated) which describe both behavioral themes and attempt to relate them meaningfully.

Of the 79 impressions, 38 were simplified, 23 were aggregate and 18 were related. Neither sequence of the movie scenes, nor time of presentation of instructions were found to produce any significant differences in the impressions obtained. Gollin found that Ss forming simplified impressions tended to be extreme in their social distance preferences relative to Ss who formed related and aggregated impressions. When the impressions were analyzed for affective quality, it was further found that the expression of strong negative attitudes were related to the manner of organization; Ss who wrote simplified impressions expressed significantly more negative attitudes than either the aggregated or related groups. Whereas Asch found that the attitudes of his Ss varied when the direction of presentation was altered, Gollin obtained a relationship between organizational pattern and attitudinal and affective features.

Gollin's study is important in several respects. First, its use of movies seems to be a fruitful means of evoking impressions which are more representative of actual interpersonal relationships, than trait-words. Second, it demonstrates that impressions are not exclusively unified and rounded as Asch reported (1946) nor exclusively a series of discrete descriptions as Luchins (1948) reported, but formed along three distinct lines. In a later study, Gollin and Rosenberg (1956) found a significant relationship between the organization of impressions and concept formation. They found that Ss who wrote related impressions form more hierarchic concepts, in a concept formation task, than those who wrote simplified impressions;

and in so doing they related differences in impression formation to other aspects of cognitive functioning, hypothesizing that the "cognitive-organizing process" in the observer may represent a generalized personality characteristic. For Gollin, individual differences in forming impressions of others are seen to reflect basic differences in "cognitive style." He did not however consider how the specific content of the star's portrayal (promiscuity and kindness) affected differences in perceptions. It is presumed that the specific content may effect the organization of impressions; further research is necessary to determine whether the same individuals in Gollin's study would have organized their impressions in the same manner if the star, for example, portrayed a humorous and non-humorous person. It seems that before one can speak in terms of "cognitive styles" in impression formation, one needs to first demonstrate their generality, independent of the content of the stimulus person's behavior or properties. Gollin aware of some of these limitations and noting that the sources of differences in impression formation have not been fully explored, in his most recent experiment (1958) set out to ascertain the role of such factors as intelligence, and social background in a social perception task. In this investigation he was concerned with the study of differences in organizational factors of impressions as a function of developmental stages in cognitive differentiation. Se were children differing in age, sex, intelligence and social background, who were shown a movie in which the star, a boy of eleven, portrayed

two roles, the "good" and "bad" boy, and afterward asked to write their impressions of the boy. Impressions were sorted into two categories, differing in the degree or generality of inference used in accounting for the star's behavior (specific inference and general inference). Gollin's results show that age, sex, intelligence, social background are all associated with modes of organization when an impression of personality is formed, and that "local" inference occurs at an earlier level than general influence. He also interprets his findings as indicating a progressive differentiation of cognitive operations in the direction of hierarchic integration.

The studies by Asch and students as well as Gollin's for the most part, have not explored the motivational and emotional factors which may influence impression formation. It would seem that this is not so much an oversight on the part of the authors, but appears to reflect their desire to offset the so-called "one sided stress on the subjectivity of personal judgments" (Asch, 1946, p.260). However, as Luchins (1948) points out, Asch's research in this area represents an equally onesided approach in its exclusive emphasis on structural aspects in impression formation. One should hasten to add at this point, that in his theoretical formulations Asch (1952) clearly shows that he recognizes the role motivational factors may play in social perception. His emphasis on the features involved in impression formation reflects his preference for cognitive constructs as more basic and his beliefs that the preoccupation with the subjective and emotional factors in perceptual judgment has in effect, diverted

interest from the study of non-subjective organizational processes, which may prove to be the most decisive factors in perception. Yet research findings during the past ten years suggest that motivation, and personality functioning in general, influence perceptual processes (eg., Bruner, 1951; Frankel-Brunswik, 1951; Levine, Chein & Murphy, 1942; McClelland & Atkinson, 1948; Proshansky & Murphy, 1942; Sanford, 1936). The trend toward research in this area has been paralleled by a consideration of the theoretical problems posed by the postulated interaction of personality and perception, (e.g., Bruner, 1951; Frankel-Brunswik, 1951). Since most would agree that perception is an important factor in impression formation, it seems reasonable to suspect that the motivational and personality factors which are believed to influence perception in general, would also play a role in the impressions people form of others. Several studies (Carter, 1948; Fensterheim & Tressett, 1953; Jones, 1954; Kates, 1959; Lindzey & Rogolsky, 1950; Scodel & Mussen, 1953; Stagner, 1948), have attempted to throw light on the relationship between the so called "emotional and subjective" factors and the perception of others. In nearly all instances, the assorted "subjective" factors (value orientation, prejudice, and authoritarianism) were demonstrated to influence the impression one forms of another.

The problem of "integrating" sexual impulses and feelings of "love" and kindness has long been one that has received the attention of psychoanalysts (Alexander, 1930; Eisenberg, 1956; Ferenczi, 1950;

Freud, 1925a; Menninger, 1950; Weiss, 1950). According to Freud, in the case of the boy, the erotic desires felt toward mother during the oedipal stage should, in "normal" development, become desexualized or sublimated and love and tenderness take its place (Fenichel, 1945; Freud, 1922, 1925, 1927). However, for various reasons this may fail to occur, the mother remaining the object of the boy's erotic desires and leading to difficulties in later life. Freud, in an article (1925a) which is relevant to the present study, discusses one particular consequence of an unresolved oedipus complex. In many men, he states, the tender and sensual impulses have "split." This in turn had led to object choice of two distinct types reflecting one of the other components. "The erotic life of such people remain dissociated, divided between two channels, the same two that are personified in art as heavenly and earthly (or animal) love. Where such men love they have no desire and when they desire they cannot love" (Freud, 1925a, p.207). For these oedipally disturbed men, the same woman cannot gratify both sensuous and tender strivings.

Although various attributes are considered by Freud to contribute to the oedipal complex, the most fundamental element of the male's complex is his unconscious and unresolved sexual attachment ("libidinal cathexis") to his mother. One might say, generally, that the concept of sexuality (libido) is the basic foundation of Freudian theory. Healy, et al state, "The essence of the oedipus complex is the libidinal striving taking the form of unconscious desire for sexual satisfaction with the parent of the opposite sex" (Healy et al,

1930, p.128). Failure to relinquish mother as the primary sex object (fixation) is seen as indicative of an unresolved oedipus complex; this sexual drive then becomes subject to severe repressions, as the incest-wish is severely forbidden. However, the adult male will unconsciously cling to the mother as the primary source of sexual attraction and "treat every subsequent love relation as if it were the old incest wish: Then a sense of severe guilt will attach itself to normal adult sexual expression, causing instinct-restrictions and inhibitions.... (Healy et al, 1930, p.128). Weiss (1950) presents a good summary of the psychoanalytic formulation of the splitting of images. He writes, "In all cases the persisting unconscious sexual attachment to the mother participates in many ways in conditioning the male's choice of the love object. It may... lead to the "split" female image... in which case the man cannot integrate in the same woman feelings of tenderness and sexuality. The respected woman is equated with mother, but can hardly be conceived as a sexual object, the sexual woman is equated with the degraded woman and is, therefore, unmarriageable" (Weiss, 1950, p.182). Psychoanalytic theory thus points to the significance of sexual desirability on the one hand, and of those components of tenderness and kindness for heterosexual relations. It seems reasonable, therefore, to suspect that these two attributes greatly influence a male's perception of a woman. However, to this writer's knowledge no empirical attempt has been made to study the reactions of males to sexual and kindly behavior in women and relate differences in impressions to unresolved sexual feelings toward mother.

One can also account for the splitting of images in terms of Miller's approach-avoidance conflict theory (Dollard & Miller, 1950; Dollard et al, 1953). It should become apparent that the psycho-analytic point of view and conflict theory, based on principles of learning, can be entirely compatible. The translation of Freud, however, into general behavior theory, many consider to have the advantage of greater operationalism and wider systematic application. The essential conflict centers about the fact that a kind, tender woman sets up approach tendencies which if there is an unresolved oedipus complex, may lead to anxiety and avoidance when the kind woman appears to be very much like the mother. Dollard and Miller in their discussion of how neurotic mechanisms are learned, summarize the sex-anxiety conflict very adequately: "...The pattern of cues produced by sexual thoughts and feelings in combination with tender feelings and respectful thoughts is associated with punishment while the pattern of cues from sexual thoughts and feelings in the absence of tender feelings and thoughts or in the presence of disrespectful thoughts is associated with less punishment and followed by sexual reinforcement. As a result the boy can have either tender feelings and respectful thoughts for a girl or else sexual thoughts, but the combination arouses anxiety. This motivates and reinforces responses incompatible with one or the other parts of the combination. It becomes difficult or impossible for the boy to think of the same girl in both ways. This is a fairly common phenomenon in our culture: Freudians call it the 'split imago'" (Dollard & Miller, 1950, p.210).

Since the publication of the Authoritarianism Personality (1950), considerable interest--both empirical and theoretical-- has been aroused in the concept of authoritarianism, a "personological" variable reflecting the individual's cognitive organization and attitude toward self and others. The impact on research which has resulted is both impressive and diversified. Titus and Hollender in their recent review of empirical studies employing the California F scale comment "while it is too early now to foretell the eventual place accorded this work, it may certainly be said to have left its mark on the contemporary scene. Probably no other single development in recent years has stimulated so much thought and investigation. Since 1950, a veritable cornucopia of research in the Authoritarianism area has evidenced itself (1957, p.47). The role and importance of authoritarianism as a variable in impression formation has already been demonstrated. Jones (1954) in his study of naval recruits, high and low in authoritarianism, used a recording of an interview with a man, who they were told might become their squad leader. Ss were asked to evaluate this person. He found that low authoritarians were more critical of the stimulus person than were the "highs" who were also less sensitive to the personal power of the leader. Scodel and Mussen (1948) using the F scale, found that high authoritarians were less able to judge other people's social attitudes and characteristics than low authoritarians. Kates (1959), investigating how the level of authoritarianism in perceivers affected their first impressions of stimulus persons (case histories), one high and one low in

authoritarianism, found that his high authoritarian Ss, evaluated both stimulus persons as possessing more authoritarianism, power, leadership, social sensibility, positive traits and personal attractiveness than the ratings of the low authoritarian Ss. He also found that high authoritarian Ss like the stimulus persons more and perceive them as liking themselves more than did the low authoritarian Ss. The inference was made that high and low authoritarian Ss arrived at different evaluations of the stimulus persons, even though both groups regarded them as peers.

On the basis of extensive research, the California study of the Authoritarian personality (1950) delineated differences between individuals high and low in authoritarianism as evaluated by specifically devised scales, notably the anti-democratic or F (Fascistic) scale. Among the variables apparently associated with "high" authoritarianism were, conventionalism, aggression, power, projectivity and exaggerated concern with sexuality. The last mentioned variable is considered by the authors as suggestive of "ego-alien sexuality" which is unconscious but intense. The essentially repressed aspect of the authoritarian personality is further emphasized in Saenger's description, "we find in the authoritarian personality a pronounced cleavage between the conscious and unconscious levels. On the surface, the authoritarian personality is conforming, moralistic and respectable. Underneath the surface, the authoritarian shows aggressiveness and

infantile forms of sexuality" (1953, p.134). Especially interesting are the analyses of the clinical interviews conducted by Frenkel-Brunswik of "high" and "low" authoritarians. (a) She found that the "high" male variants consciously evaluated their mothers as sacrificing, kind, submissive and moral; at the same time essentially the same attributes (kindness, sweetness and purity) are desired in their future wives. What is interesting however, is the finding that despite their conscious admiration, the basic attitude toward mother (and women) is essentially ambivalent; the ambivalence taking the form of surface admiration, but with underlying hostility toward mother (and women in general). Closely related to these attitudes, is the finding that "high" males are characterized by what the author calls, "dichotomous ex attitudes"; that is, they separate sex and affection in feeling and behavior. Frenkel-Brunswik writes, "It is probably the predominance of a surface adulation of, and underlying resentment against, the mother found in high-scoring men that leads to what is called their dichotomous sex attitudes as defined by their separation of sex and affect, or by the sharpness of their distinctions between "bad" and "pure" women (Adorne et al, 1950, p.397). Again she states, "ambivalence also tends to be handled by establishing two separate images,

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- (a) Se used by Frenkel-Brunswik were selected on the basis of the (E) ethnocentrism scale. However, of the 80 interviewed, only 11 received F scale classifications which is at variance with their corresponding E classification. Furthermore, in the same study, a correlation of .75 is reported between the E scale and the final form of the F scale.

one positive and one negative (good and bad women) without, however, being able to really love either of them" (Adorno et al, 1950, p.404).

A prominent feature of the authoritarian's make-up is presumed to be ambivalence, reflecting itself in general personality functioning: ambivalence of aggression, power, submission, and most pertinent to this investigation, ambivalence in the area of sexuality. However, the ambivalence remains unconscious as a result of the authoritarian's thinking in terms of the dichotomies. Thus women are of two types; the pure woman who is the object of displaced surface affection from mother and the bad woman for whom there can be no affection and who is the object of displaced aggression from mother.

The authoritarian's attitude toward the opposite sex--the exploitive-manipulative approach in the choice of a mate, the paucity of genuinely felt affection, the isolation of sexual impulses from the rest of the personality, the inability to integrate tenderness and sexuality, etc--is but one manifestation of the authoritarian's basic attitude toward self and others and reflects his fundamental personality structure. As the authors of the Authoritarian Personality comment, "the most crucial result of the present study...is the demonstration of close correspondence in type of approach and outlook a subject is likely to have in a great variety of areas, ranging from the most intimate features of family and sex adjustment through relationships to other people in general, to religion and to social and political philosophy....The inherent dramatization likewise extends from the parent-child dichotomy to the dichotomous handling of social relations

as manifested especially in the formation of stereotypes and of ingroup-outgroup cleavages. Conventionality, rigidity repressive denial, and the ensuing break-through of one's weakness, fear and dependency are but other aspects of the same fundamental personality pattern, and they can be observed in personal life as well as in attitudes toward religion and social issues" (Adorno et al, 1950, P.971).

The development of the authoritarian personality structure is seen as having its genesis in early childhood experience, particularly in the exploitive parent-child relationship. In this atmosphere of strict, rigid and punitive discipline, where affection is conditional and the roles of the family members specified in terms of dominance and submission, the child is forced into a surface submission to parental authority, but underneath feels considerable resentment and anger. His fear and dependency on the all-powerful parents however, discourage the child from expressing his anger. Because approval and affection are conditional on the child's strict obedience to parental authority, the negative feelings have to be rigidly repressed. He splits the positive from the negative side of his feelings, rather than becoming aware of their coexistence. Not only is there a denial of ambivalence toward parents but there is a general renunciation of instinctual pleasures for anticipated affection. Under such conditions, sexual and aggressive impulses are hardly tolerable and subject to severe repressions. However, since they are not integrated with the rest of the personality (non-ego syntonic) they lend themselves to less rational control by the ego, and these

impulses find "projective" and other displaced outlets. A basic difference, then, between authoritarian and non-authoritarian individuals is the extent to which sexual, aggressive, dependent strivings are accepted. It is this sharp cleavage between the conscious and the unconscious then, which has the greatest effect on the development of the authoritarian way of life. What is perhaps most relevant to the present study is the fact that the high authoritarian child was made to feel that his instinctual impulses directed toward his mother were evil and that "good" women are "pure" and in no way considered sexual. Because of this, he grew into adulthood feeling that sexual desires were unacceptable and he could never feel comfortable with them. Sexuality and tenderness could not be integrated; yet because sexual impulses remained unconsciously intense he is prone to displace or project them and over react to sexuality in others.

Statement of the Problem.--The present study proposes to investigate the effects of conflict over sexual feelings toward mother and of authoritarianism upon men's impressions of a female whose behavior is both sexual and kindly. Men's conflict over sexual feelings toward their mothers, was selected because according to Freudian theory it is considered to greatly influence men's perceptions and reactions to such relevant characteristics as sexuality and kindness in women. Authoritarianism was likewise selected because research suggests that this variable greatly influences the types of impressions men form of women in general, and more specifically it is considered to play a major role in men's reactions to sexuality

and affection. The effects of these variables on the organizational aspects of impression formation will also be studied. Gollin's criteria or organizational types will be employed for this purpose. On the basis of the previous discussion, the following general hypotheses are offered:

1. Ss who are in approach-avoidance conflict over sexual feelings toward their mothers will tend not to perceive both sexuality and kindness in the same woman, relative to Ss who are not in conflict over sexual feelings toward their mothers.
2. "High" authoritarians will tend not to perceive both sexuality and kindness in the same woman, relative to "low" authoritarians.

Method

Subjects.--One-hundred and twenty male undergraduates enrolled in the introductory psychology course were used as Ss.

Stimulus Material.--The stimulus situation consisted of a silent motion picture containing two scenes. One person, a young attractive female, appeared in all scenes and henceforth will be referred to as the star. All other individuals appearing in the movie appeared in only one of the two scenes. In scene I (see Appendix A) the star portrayed the "sexy" female, whose physical appearance and behavior are intended to characterize her as sexually appealing. Although the star was seen as sexually attractive, her behavior was not intentionally intended to suggest immorality or promiscuity. In scene 2, (see Appendix A) the star's behavior characterized her as being kind, tender, understanding and intelligent. An attempt was made to avoid any behavior, on the star's part, which might be sexually suggestive. It was intended that the star's behavior be equally convincing in both scenes so that "objectively" one could describe her as both sexual and kindly to about the same degree. Each scene was approximately 5 minutes in length.

Although an individual's conflict over sexual feelings toward the parent of the opposite sex figures prominently in theoretical writings and clinical case histories by psychoanalysts, the concept itself has never been empirically or experimentally studied. One reason which might account for this is the fact that no technique,

projective or otherwise exists, which is specifically designed to measure this very complex drive. As is true of other psychoanalytic concepts, it is very difficult to demonstrate the phenomenon of approach-avoidance sexual conflict toward the parent of the opposite sex, under controlled laboratory conditions. Thus, if one wishes to investigate men's conflict over sexual feelings toward their mothers, one faces the very difficult task of first devising some measure or technique which could differentiate sexually conflicted and non-conflicted individuals. However, the widespread clinical use of the Thematic Apperceptive Test, as well as recent empirical studies employing this technique, (e.g., Atkinson and McClelland, 1948; Clark, 1952; Epstein and Smith, 1956; Kagan, 1956; McClelland et al., 1949; 1953; Mussen and Naylor, 1954) suggest that the apperceptive technique may be a fruitful one in studying varied motivational processes.

The rationale for the T.A.T. cards employed to differentiate Ss high and low in sexual attraction to their mothers is derived from Miller's theory of conflict and displacement (Miller, 1944; 1948), applied to the area of projective testing. Although others (Auld, 1954; Clark, 1952; Clark & Sensibar, 1955; Mussen & Naylor, 1954; Pittluck, 1950), had noted or empirically demonstrated the importance of measuring not only the expressive, but also inhibitors reactions in projective tests, for predicting behavior, an early attempt to systematically relate Miller's conflict theory to projective techniques was made by Epstein and Smith (1956). They found that

T.A.T. cards, differing in degree of hunger cues (high and low picture-pull cards), could differentiate their hunger and control groups. Their conclusions indicated that both the strength of drive and need relevance of stimulus material have to be considered in interpreting the T.A.T. Specifically they stated that strong drive states gain disguised expression and can be elicited by relatively remote stimulus situations, whereas defensive reactions, predominantly of a constrictive type are likely to occur to high need relevant stimuli. Of special interest is their use of conflict theory to account for their results. The conflict was assumed to be between the hunger drive and the reality principle.

In the present investigation six specifically designed T.A.T. cards depicting mother-child interactions^(b) were used to study conflict over sexual feelings toward mother. The pictures were drawn with the view that they vary along the dimension of one value of picture-pull in which mother is portrayed as sexually stimulating and hence the cue-value of these cards is high. A brief description of the cards is presented below and photographs of these cards appear in Appendix B.

A. Low Picture-Pull (low cue-strength)

1. Mother is seen mopping the living room floor. She is wearing an apron and is dressed plainly. The son who is sitting on the floor is bending over so that only a rear view of his body is seen.

(b) In each card the mother and son were different; however, in all cards the mother is portrayed as young and attractive and the son is represented as 5 or 6 years old.

Several toys are seen on the floor.

2. Mother is sitting under a tree and she is holding the son on her knee. They are looking at each other and have happy expressions on their faces. In the background, father, who is vaguely drawn, is seen putting logs on a fireplace. A blanket with a picnic lunch is spread over the grass.
3. Mother is standing in a room in which only a table and window are seen. She is holding the son in her arms--he has his arms around her shoulder. They are not looking directly at each other.
4. Mother is kneeling beside the son who is in bed. They are looking at each other; the son has his hand to mother's cheek. A rabbit doll is in the boy's bed and several toys are scattered on the floor.

B. High Picture-Pull (high cue-strength)

5. Mother is dressed in a low-cut almost transparent nightgown. Her breasts are accentuated and prominent and her body outline which is very sensuously drawn is visible through the gown. She is looking admiringly into a hand mirror and is stroking her hair. The son is in the doorway dressed in pajamas and is looking at her with a surprised expression on his face.
6. Mother and father are lying close to each other in bed. They are holding hands and facing each other. Mother is dressed in a low-cut gown, her breasts are very prominent and partially exposed. The son is in the doorway--holding on to the door knob. He is dressed in pajamas and has one hand to cheek.

Applying Epstein & Smith's formulations to the problem under investigation one would predict that Ss who are in an approach-avoidance conflict in regard to sexual feelings toward their mothers should describe the mother figure in sexual terms when the T.A.T. cards do not portray her as sexually appealing (low Picture-pull cards) and inhibit sexual descriptions to cards in which the mother-figure is portrayed as sexually attractive (high picture-pull cards). Ss who are not in a conflict situation should indicate relatively less sexuality in their stories to the low picture-pull cards and relatively more sexuality to the high cards.

It was initially planned to evaluate the written stories in terms of a modified Murray need sex score. However, analysis based on this system failed to differentiate Ss into high and low need sex groups. On the whole Ss did not tell stories in which the boy was sexually attracted to the mother. It appears that the strong cultural taboos against such direct expression made a need sex score unfeasible. The scoring system which was adopted was based on the appealingness of the descriptions of the mother figure. Although descriptions of the mother as a positive goal object does not indicate approach directly in terms of the boy, the score is partly a function of the need of the subject. The indirectness of of the measure seemed to make it particularly suitable in the present study.

The spontaneous stories of the Ss were given weighted scores in terms of the degree to which the mother figure was portrayed as sexually attractive. Expressions of affection and kindness on the

part of the mother, in the stories, although not manifestly sexual, were considered as displaced or weaker expressions of the sexual appealingness of the mother. However, because of the indirect quality involved, they received a lower assigned weight than a more direct sexual description of the mother. (The assumption that affection is actually as displaced or weaker expression of sexuality has been stated by Freud and incorporated into Murray's sex score (1943). Clarke (1952) and Epstein & Smith (1951) have also used a similar rationale in scoring responses for sexuality. It might be added that according to Freud the development and solidification of affectionate ties to the mother is one of the healthy (i.e. normal) ways of resolving sexual catheses. Freud indicates that in resolving the oedipus complex, the boy inhibits his sexuality, and affection is displayed in its place.

The description of the standards for assigning weights are presented below. Since the low and high picture-pull cards differ considerably in the extent to which mother is portrayed as sexually attractive, it was decided to have separate weights for the low and high picture cards, respectively.

A. Low Picture-Pull Cards:

- /2: Mother is portrayed as an affectionate and loving type of person in her interactions with the boy, (e.g., "M loves her son very much and would like to see the best for him").
- /1: Mother is portrayed as helpful, protective and essentially a considerate type of person in her dealings with the boy.

However, no expression of affection is indicated, (e.g.,

"M plays with her child and then tucks him in bed after a full day").

- 1: Mother is portrayed as irritated or angry at son or shows exasperation with son's behavior, (e.g., "She feels annoyed with the boy; he seems to be getting in her hair today").
- 2: Mother is described as punishing or clearly rejecting (over-protective, domineering) to the boy, (e.g., "She spansks him for what he did and sends him to bed crying").
- 0: Mother is described as neither positive (affectionate or helpful) nor negative (angry or punishing) in her relations with her son, (e.g., "Mother is cleaning the house and the boy is playing with toys").

B. High Picture-Pull Cards:

- /5: Any response of a /4 quality but in addition to which, mother is described as being very kind and loving to the son, (e.g.,...
 "The boy walks in after being frightened by dream. M and father want to have sexual relations but see that son is very frightened and get up to comfort him. The parents will indulge after son is put to sleep").
- /4: Sexual appealingness of mother strong:
 - a) Description of mother strongly suggests her sexual appeal, (e.g., "boy walks in and sees mother in sultry gown. He gets to see more of mother than ever before") or

- b) Mother and father are perceived in intimate sexual relationship, (e.g., "M and father are in bed and are going to indulge in intercourse").

/3: Sexual appealingness of mother moderate:

- a) Description of mother suggests physical attractiveness.

Expression however, is not intense, (e.g., "Mother is getting all prettied up and is admiring her beauty"), or

- b) Mother is seen in intimate relationship with father; however, no direct reference to sexuality is made, (e.g., "Mother and father are in bed and showing their affection for each other").

-3: Response of an inhibitory nature which avoid descriptions of mother as sexually appealing:

- a) When the boy is described as a girl in the story.
- b) When the woman is not described as the mother, but the sister or someone else.
- c) Failure to tell a story in which mother is perceived as physically attractive or in intimate pose with father (e.g., "Mother is getting ready to go to bed", "Mother and father are sleeping").

-4: Very bad and harmful impression left on the son as a result of seeing mother as physically attractive or in intimate relationship with father, (e.g., "Son is surprised at what he sees. He will probably grow up to become a sex pervert").

-5: Mother is perceived as sexually loose and immoral, (e.g., "Mother has all sorts of affairs with men when father is away on business").

As can be seen the negative scores for the High Picture-Pull Cards were intended to reflect either inhibitions in describing mother as sexually appealing or sexual descriptions of mother which were decidedly unfavorable and unappealing.

It was intended that two criteria be employed in selecting Ss in conflict and Ss not in conflict over sexual feelings toward their mothers. One criteria for the selection of the high group was that their average weighted score for the low picture-pull cards be in the upper half of the distribution of scores, for the total sample of Ss (measure of expression). The second criterion was that their average weighted scores for the high picture-pull cards should be in the lower half of the distribution scores (measure of inhibition). The criterion for the low group were just the reverse of the high group, that is, that their score for low picture-pull cards be in the lower half of the distribution, and their scores for the high picture-pull cards be in the upper half of the distribution.

Unfortunately this procedure did not prove to be feasible, as too few Ss met these criteria for high or low groupings. In the selection procedure finally decided upon, one of the two criteria employed was identical for the high and low groups. This was that the sum scores on the low picture-pull cards be above the overall mean value (1.99), based on 120 Ss. The differentiation between conflict and non-conflict groups was in terms of the sum score on the high picture-pull cards. The conflict group having sum scores approximately at or below the overall mean score for the high

picture-pull cards (-.10). Of the 120 Ss, 32 met the criteria for the conflict group and 32 for the non-conflict group. The range of scores for the high group, on the high picture-pull cards, was between 0 and -10, with a mean score of -4.1. The non-conflict group had sum scores for the high picture-pull cards above the mean, the range being from /1 to /10 with a mean of /5.3. The difference between the scores of the conflict and non conflict groups on the high picture-pull cards was statistically significant beyond .001 level ($t = 11.82$; $df = 62$). It should be pointed out at this time that with only one exception, the conflict group told stories to the high picture-pull cards which indicated inhibition, that is, Ss avoided describing the mother figure as sexually appealing and received scores of -3. The single exception was an S who perceived the mother figure on both high picture-pull cards as promiscuous. Thus, although perceived in sexual terms, she was not described as appealing. As expected, when conflict and non-conflict groups were compared with respect to their sum scores on the low picture-pull cards, no significant difference emerged ($t = 1.17$; $df = 62$; $P = .20$), both groups describing the mother figure as essentially loving and kindly.

Thus, it can be seen that the basic difference between the two groups is with reference to their description of the mother figure as sexual when such a response is clearly suggested by the structured quality of the high picture-pull cards. The non-conflict group in their stories to these cards, was able to respond to the sexual cues portraying the mother figure as sexually appealing. The conflict group,

on the other hand, in their stories apparently avoided or inhibited expressing any sexually appealing descriptions of the mother figure. The failure of the conflict group to refer to the mother figure in sexual terms, when such a reference would have been appropriate, suggests an unwillingness to openly describe the mother figure as sexualized. It is possible that this failure reflects their conscious inhibitions and conflict. Finally, this may be regarded as a defense against verbally expressing underlying sexualized feelings they have toward their own mother. It should at this point, be made clear that in the present study "sexual avoidance" in regard to mother figures is an operationally defined term in that it refers to the particular measure employed to differentiate the high and low groups.

To obtain an estimate of scoring reliability, 10 randomly selected protocols were scored by someone other than E. Discrepancies were discussed and examples of difficult scoring problems were taken down as guides for further scoring. These records were omitted in the computation of reliability figures. E then scored the remaining 54 protocols after which 34 were randomly selected and presented to the other judge who independently scored them. The discrepancies in scoring were resolved by discussion, the more conservative score being selected whenever agreement could not be reached. Agreement between scorers for any one card is rather high, the lowest being $r = .85$ and when all cards are considered together, $r = .94$ (Card I, $r = .86$; Card II, $r = .91$; Card III, $r = .85$; Card IV, $r = .94$; Card V, $r = .93$; Card VI, $r = .99$).

The California F scale (modified form 45) was used to select the authoritarian groups (see Appendix C). Of the 30 items on the F scale used in this study, 26 were the same as those in form 45 with the other 4 items only slightly modified. More than any other measure the F scale developed by the California group has been widely accepted and used as a research variable in the study of authoritarianism. Titus and Hollender (1957) review some 60 odd studies which incorporated the F scale during the period from 1950 to 1955 and scores derived from the scale have been correlated with a host of variables ranging from Xenophobia to rigidity. Especially relevant is its use in studies in the area of social perception (Jones, 1954; Kates, 1959; Scodel and Mussen, 1948). Research with the F scale indicates that it is not measuring a unidimensional attribute but since the items intercorrelate, seems to be tapping something in common (Christie, 1954). The hypothetical F scale clusters reported by the California group are related to the following dimensions of personality: authoritarian submission, destructiveness and cynicism, authoritarian aggression, superstition and stereotypy, projectivity, conventionalism, anti-intraception, power and "toughness", and sex.

Procedure.--A modified group T.A.T. method described by McClelland et al. (1953) was followed in the administration of the cards. The pictures were presented in order of increasing picture-pull to reduce the effect on one picture upon the next; the high picture-pull cards were thus being shown last. Prior to the administration of the T.A.T. cards, the following statement was read to the Ss:

This is a test of your creative imagination. A number of pictures portraying mother and child in different situations will be projected on the screen before you. You will have five minutes to make up a story about each picture. Notice that there will be one page for each picture. The same three questions will be asked (what is happening and what do the people feel and think; what led up to this situation; what will happen). They will guide your thinking and enable you to cover all the elements of a plot in the time allotted. I will keep time and tell you when it is time to go on to the next picture.

You should keep in mind that there are not right or wrong answers, so you may feel free to make up any kind of logical story about the pictures that you choose but try to make them vivid and dramatic; don't merely describe what you see.

After the T.A.T. stories were written, the authoritarian (F) scale was administered to all 120 Ss. However, only the F scales of those who were selected as being in conflict or not in conflict over sexual feelings toward mother were scored. The distribution of F scores were treated separately for the conflict and non-conflict groups respectively. For each group, the upper half of the F score distribution were considered the high F group and Ss in the bottom half, the low F group. Thus, the group selected on the basis of avoidance of sexuality in the mother figure on the T.A.T. (conflict over sexual feelings toward mother) were subdivided according to whether they were high or low in their F score and the same subdivision was obtained for the group which did not react with sexual avoidance (no conflict over sexual feelings toward mother). The median F scores for the two conflict groups were approximately equal; the median F value for the high group being 112.0 and that for the low group 111.5.

After the F scales were administered, Ss were told that in approximately two weeks they would be asked to serve in another phase of the experiment. Two treatment conditions were used in presenting the movie in the second session. In one, Ss were shown the sexual sequence first and in the other group the kindly sequence was presented first. The following chart illustrates the experimental design:

<u>Group</u>	<u>Composition</u>	<u>Treatment Condition</u>	
I	8C - H1F	SK	C = conflict over sexual feelings toward mother NC = no conflict over sexual feelings toward mother
	8C - LoF		
	8NC - H1F		
	8NC - LoF		
II	8C - H1F	KS	H1F = High Authoritarians LoF = Low Authoritarians SK = Sexual scene of movie shown first KS = Kindly scene of movie shown first.
	8C - LoF		
	8NC - H1F		
	8NC - LoF		

Prior to the presentation of the movie to the two groups, the following instructions were read:

In this part of the experiment we are interested in learning about the way people form impressions of the personalities of others. We know, for example, that what people say influence our impressions of them. It is also felt that what people do, aside from what they say, may influence the impression we form of them.

You are now going to be shown a silent film in which two sequences of behavior from the life of one particular woman is portrayed. After you have seen the film, you will be asked to write your impression of her and to rate various aspects of her personality. What we want to know is the kind of impression you have formed of her.

Description of the Movie Rating Scale.--To complement the free written description a rating scale was also employed to determine Ss impressions (see Appendix D). The use of ratings also has the

advantage of allowing one to analyze impressions in a more quantitative manner than is possible through the use of written impressions which have been typically assorted in categories. The rating scale which was used contains 30 items, 15 relating to the star's sexual behavior, and 15 to her kindly behavior. The scale was designed to have S indicate whether he agree or disagree with a statement. Four choices were possible: strongly agree ($\frac{1}{2}$), agree ($\frac{1}{1}$), disagree (-1), and strongly disagree (-2). In order to eliminate negative values, responses were recorded in the following way: $-2 = \frac{1}{1}$, $-1 = \frac{1}{2}$, $\frac{1}{1} = \frac{1}{3}$, $\frac{1}{2} = \frac{1}{4}$. Thus, a score of 60 obtained from summing the sexual items indicates maximum agreement; similarly, maximum agreement for the kindly items is indicated by a score of 60.

Prior to its use in the study proper, the items of the scale were administered to 10 male graduate students who were asked to indicate whether an item indicated kindness or sexuality in a woman. Only items with at least 90% agreement were retained.

Questionnaire.--To obtain another measure of splitting of sexuality and kindness, which might be anchored to the actual behavior of S, a questionnaire of 12 items indicating splitting in heterosexual behavior was constructed by E and submitted to three other psychologists for judgment. Eight items were accepted as suitable. The final form of the questionnaire (see Appendix E) thus consisted of eight statements which required S to indicate whether he found the statement true or false. Four choices were possible: definitely true ($\frac{1}{4}$), mostly true, but not entirely so ($\frac{1}{3}$), mostly false, but not entirely so ($\frac{1}{2}$),

and definitely false (/1). The items were constructed so that a response of "true" signified a separation of sexuality and kindness (affection). S's score was obtained by summing the wrights of all items on the questionnaire. Thus, a score of 32, which is maximum, indicates a marked degree of splitting, whereas a score of 8, which is minimum, indicates a marked degree of integration.

Treatment of the Data.--A three dimensional analysis of variance was employed to study the effects of conflict over sexual feelings toward mother, authoritarianism and sequence presentation on S's sexual and kindly ratings of the star. Since this analysis required one score expressed as a difference (i.e., measure of splitting), the sex and kindness scores were first transformed into Z or normalized score distributions (standard scores) so that the difference score would take into account the relative position of each score within its own distribution.

In order to determine the direction of the difference between the sex and kindness scores, that is, whether Ss perceive the star as sexual or kindly, a fourth factor, type of scale, was employed. Here a four dimensional analysis of variance design was employed and the two dependent variables were the scores on each scale for each S. This design is illustrated in Table I.

The third analysis of variance design was a two dimensional one which investigated the relationship of conflict over sexual feelings toward mother and authoritarianism to the S's questionnaire (splitting) scores.

Table 1

Design for Determining the Direction of the Difference
Between Sex and Kindness Scores

Conflict over Sexual Feelings Toward Mother	Authoritarianism (F)	Sequence (S)	Type of Scale	
			Sexual	Kindly
C	HF	SK <u>BSs</u>		
		KS "		
	LF	SK "		
		KS "		
	HF	SK "		
		KS "		
NC	LF	SK "		
		KS "		

The influence of conflict over sexual feelings toward mother, authoritarianism, sequence presentation on the organizational properties of the written impressions of the star were also investigated. Gollin's (1951) criteria of "unified", "aggregated" and "integrated" were employed for this purpose. The protocols were classified independently by E and another judge who was first given an explanation of the task to be performed and the criteria for classification. The following was used as the guide in scoring:

There are two major theses in the behavior of the star. One theme centers about behavior which can be interpreted as sexual and the other centers about kindly behavior--particularly that concerning the star as a kind-good mother (sister) and wife (sweetheart).

Put each protocol into one of the following categories.

U-Unitary Impression--One major theme completely dominates the impression--or only one theme is dealt with. If both themes are present they are not handled as if they could coexist--and one is essentially negated or denied.

A-Aggregated Impression--The two major themes are present but treated subjectively as independent aspect or entities. Each aspect is handled discretely. There is no working together, or binding or relating of the themes.

I-Integrated Impression--The major themes are both present. They are not mutually exclusive to the subject, nor are they left as discrete entities. Each theme maintains its independence, while being related to the other. The two themes are worked together without sacrificing either.

Twelve randomly selected protocols were scored by the other judge. Discrepancies were resolved by discussion. These practice protocols were omitted in the computation of reliability figures. The remaining 52 impressions were then classified by the judge; in all instances disagreements were carefully considered, discussed

and resolved by both judges concurring in a final score. Myers' (1958) specially devised chi square interaction analysis was employed in analyzing the impressions.

On the basis of Gollin's finding (1954), the overall affective tone of the written impressions was also investigated. The protocols were classified independently by F and another judge on the basis of the following three criteria relating to the favorableness or unfavorableness of the impressions.

F-Favorable--The overall impression is favorable. Even though unfavorable aspects are discussed, the impression on the whole tends to be sympathetic and favorable--or the unfavorable aspects get excused or negated--or while the unfavorable qualities are mentioned the favorable aspects are described as being more basic to the star's personality--or when the unfavorable aspects are very briefly mentioned and the major portion of the impression is favorable.

U-Unfavorable--The overall impression is unfavorable. Even though favorable aspects are discussed, the impression on the whole is not favorable or sympathetic--or the favorable aspects get excused or denied and the unfavorable ones predominate--or while the favorable qualities are mentioned the unfavorable aspects are described as more basic to the star's personality--or the favorable aspects may be briefly mentioned while the major portion of the impression tends to be unfavorable.

B-Both--When neither the favorable or the unfavorable aspects seem to predominate, both being emphasized to about the same extent. The overall impression thus equally emphasizes both favorable and unfavorable aspects to about the same degree.

The favorable qualities were defined as pertaining to the star's kindness, tenderness, devotion as a mother or wife or sweetheart, her intelligence, education, pleasantness and sincerity. The unfavorable qualities were described as pertaining to the star's sexual "looseness", immorality, vanity, sloppiness, insincerity, and to her being a bad wife or mother.

The same scoring and reliability procedures employed in analyzing the organization of impressions was followed in the analysis for favorableness--unfavorableness. The same chi square analysis design was also used except that now the three categories were favorable, unfavorable and both.

Results

Analysis of Rating Scale Material.---Analysis of the effects of conflict over sexual feelings toward mother, authoritarianism and sequence on the absolute differences between sex and kindness scores (direction of differences disregarded) is summarized in Table 2. As can be seen, none of the factors or their interactions are significant.

Analysis of the effects of conflict over sexual feelings toward mother, authoritarianism and sequence on the direction of the difference between sex and kindness scores is summarized in Table 3. Regardless of group differences, Ss as a whole, rated the star as being both sexual and kindly to about the same degree. Although the mean value of the sex scale ($M = 43.47$) was slightly higher than the mean of the kindness scale ($M = 40.28$), the difference was not statistically significant. However, type of scale (sexual or kindness) interacts significantly with authoritarianism at beyond the .025 level; the high authoritarians rated the star as more sexual than kindly while no difference in sexual or kindly ratings was obtained for the low authoritarians. The mean value for the high authoritarian group on the sex and kindness scales being 45.72 and 38.69 respectively. The mean values for the low authoritarian group on the sex and kindness scales being 41.22 and 41.88 respectively. To determine where this obtained difference was, t-tests were performed for the difference

Table 2

Analysis of Variance of the Absolute Difference Between
Sexual and Kindness Scores for All Treatment Groups

Source	df	ss	ms	F
Conflict over Sexual Feelings Toward Mother (C)	1	6.00	6.00	< 1.00
Authoritarianism (F)	1	27.32	27.32	< 1.00
Sequence Presentation (S)	1	135.72	135.72	1.19
C x F	1	120.73	120.73	1.06
C x S	1	161.30	161.30	1.42
F x S	1	62.02	62.02	< 1.00
C x F x S	1	59.66	59.66	< 1.00
Within	56	6383.57	113.92	
Total	63	6956.30		

Table 3

Analysis of Variance of Sexual and Kindly Ratings
For All Treatment Groups

Source	df	ss	ms	F
Between <u>Ss</u>	63	1438.00	22.83	
Conflict Over Sexual Feelings Toward Mother (C)	1	66.13	66.13	2.86
Authoritarianism (F)	1	13.78	13.78	< 1.00
Sequence (S)	1	3.13	3.13	< 1.00
C x F	1	3.78	3.78	< 1.00
C x S	1	55.12	55.12	2.38
F x S	1	.78	.78	< 1.00
C x F x S	1	.78	.78	< 1.00
Error Between	56	1294.50	23.12	
Within <u>Ss</u>	64	6186.00	96.66	
Scale (Sc)	1	325.13	325.13	3.76
Sc x C	1	15.12	15.12	< 1.00
Sc x F	1	472.78	472.78	5.47**
Sc x S	1	40.49	40.49	< 1.00
Sc x C x F	1	43.15	43.15	< 1.00
Sc x C x S	1	403.74	403.74	4.67*
Sc x F x S	1	17.54	17.54	< 1.00
Sc x C x F x S	1	56.17	56.17	< 1.00
Error Within	56	4838.50	86.40	
Total	127	7624.00		

* Significant at the .05 level

**Significant at the .025 level

between sexual and kindly ratings for each group. As can be seen from Table 4 the difference between the sexual and kindly ratings of the low authoritarian group is not significant, whereas the difference in the high authoritarian group is statistically significant. This indicates that whereas the low group perceived the star about equally sexual and kindly, the high group perceived her as relatively high in sexuality and low in kindness. However, inspection of the variance of the sexual and kindness scores in Table 4 shows that the high authoritarian group was more than twice as variable in their kindness ratings relative to their sexual ratings. The F test shows the difference to be significant, well beyond chance ($F = 2.19$, $p = .02$, $df = 31/31$) and indicates heterogeneity of variance in the ratings. It becomes apparent that as a group, the high authoritarian Ss were relatively more uniform in their sexual evaluation of the star, while they rated her as very low and very high in kindness. As heterogeneity of variance is indicated, one should regard the obtained t value as somewhat inflated. However, since the significance of the obtained t was beyond the .001 level, it nevertheless seems safe to conclude that a genuine difference between the means of the sexual and kindness scores exists.

Since significance was found in attributing more sexuality than kindness and not in the movie measure of splitting, the possibility that derogatory attitudes played a role in the high authoritarians ratings was suggested. Accordingly, the movie rating scale was submitted to six independent judges (clinical psychologists) to rate

Table 4

Means, Variances and t Tests of the Difference Between the
Sexual and Kindly Scores for the High and Low
Authoritarian Groups

	N	Mean of Sexual Scores	Variance of Sexual Scores	Mean of Kindly Scores	Variance of Kindly Scores	t	df	P
High Authoritarianism	32	45.72	40.78	38.69	89.39	3.41	62	<.001
Low Authoritarianism	32	41.22	42.63	41.88	39.26	.41	62	>.60

for the derogatory quality of the items, apart from their sexual and kindly attributes. It was found that the sexual items were rated as significantly more derogatory than were the kindness items ($t = 18.10$; $p = .001$; $df = 28$).

Type of scale does not interact significantly with either conflict over sexual feelings toward mother or sequence presentation of the movie. However, a significant triple interaction is obtained between type of scale, presumed sexual attraction to mother and sequence presentation (significant at the .05 level; see Table 3). Ss high in conflict over sexual feelings toward mother who were presented the kind sequence last (SK) rate the star as being more kindly ($M = 42.38$) than sexual ($M = 41.56$), while Ss presented the sexual scene last (KS) rate her as being more sexual ($M = 44.63$) than kindly ($M = 36.06$). Ss low conflict over sexual feelings toward mother, on the other hand, when presented the kind scene last rate the star as being more sexual ($M = 44.56$) than kindly ($M = 39.63$) while Ss presented the sexual scene last rate her as sexual and kindly to about the same degree. To determine where this obtained difference was, t tests were performed between sexual and kindness ratings for SK and KS conditions for both the conflict and non-conflict groups. The results presented in Tables 5 and 6 show that for the conflict group the difference between the sexual and kindness ratings for KS presentation is significant, while the difference between the ratings for SK is not significant. The reverse was obtained for the non-conflict group; the significant difference in ratings

Table 5

Means, Variances and t Tests of the Difference Between the Sexual and Kindness Scores for the Conflict Group for SK and KS Presentations

Sequence Presentation	N	Mean of Sexual Scores	Varianc of Sexual Scores	Mean of Kindness Scores	Varianc of Kindness Scores	t	df	P
SK	16	41.56	56.40	42.38	38.19	.86	30	>.30
KS	16	44.63	31.69	36.06	85.01	8.61	30	<.001

Table 6

Means, Variances and t Tests of the Difference Between
the Sexual and Kindness Scores for the Non-Conflict
Group for SK and KS Presentations

Sequence Presentation	N	Mean of Sexual Scores	Variance of Sexual Scores	Mean of Kindness Scores	Variance of Kindness Scores	t	df	P
SK	16	44.56	49.00	39.63	87.98	4.74	30	<.001
KS	16	43.13	43.95	43.06	27.14	.08	30	>.90

occurring for the SK condition, while the KS presentation yielded no significant difference. The conflict group, presented with the KS sequence, rated the star as significantly more sexual than kindly while the non-conflict group presented the SK sequence, evaluated the star as significantly more sexual than kindly. Type of scale does not interact significantly with other combinations of treatments.

Analysis of Questionnaire.--The summary of findings for the effects of conflict over sexual feelings toward mother and authoritarianism on the degree of splitting of sex and kindness in perceived behavior, is presented in Table 7. (Sequence behavior of the movie was not considered to be related in any meaningful way to this measure of splitting and hence was not employed in this analysis.) As can be seen from Table 7, conflict over sexual feelings toward mother is not significantly related to degree of splitting in perceived behavior. Authoritarianism, on the other hand, is significantly associated with splitting; high authoritarians showing a greater degree of splitting ($M = 18.03$) than low authoritarians ($M = 15.19$) (significant at beyond the .01 level). When the combined effects of conflict over sexual feelings toward mother and authoritarianism are considered, no significant relationship emerges. To determine the possible derogatory value of the questionnaire items, they were submitted to six independent judges (clinical psychologists) for evaluation. Each of the eight items was unanimously rated by the group as derogatory.

To determine whether the measure of splitting in Ss reported behavior is related to the measure of splitting used in the analysis

Table 7

Analysis of Variance of Questionnaire Scores for Conflict Over
Sexual Feelings Toward Mother and Authoritarianism

Source	df	ss	ms	F
Conflict Over Sexual Feelings Toward Mother (C)	1	3.52	3.52	.34
Authoritarianism (F)	1	129.40	129.40	12.35*
C x F	1	31.63	31.62	3.02
Within	60	628.69	10.48	
Total	63	793.24		

*Significant at beyond .001 level

of Ss ratings of the star, a Pearson-product-moment correlation was performed for questionnaire scores, and the absolute difference score. Analysis revealed that these two measures were not significantly related ($r = .046$).

Analysis of Written Impressions.--In order to determine the effects of conflict over sexual feelings toward mother, authoritarianism and sequence presentation on the structural aspects of impression formation, the written impressions of the star were classified according to Gollin's (1951) criteria of organizational type. In brief, these were Unitary--in which one major theme (sexuality or kindness) dominates the impression; Aggregated--in which the two major themes are present but treated as independent aspects; and Integrated--in which both themes are present, each being related to the other, while maintaining its independence. Interjudge agreement in which each of the two judges, independently classified impressions was 78.8%.

Table 8 presents the results of the Chi square analysis devised by Myers (1958). This technique enables one to determine the interaction effects of more than two treatment conditions when the dependent variable is expressed as a frequency score. Inspection of the data reveals that the treatment groups do not significantly differ in the way they organize their impression of the star. The interaction effects of the various treatment conditions, similarly, are not statistically significant. Certain trends, however, do emerge and suggest that Ss who are in conflict over sexual feelings toward their mother, tend to organize their impression of the star in a non-integrated,

Table 8

χ^2 Analysis Between All Treatment Conditions
and Organization of Impression

Organization of Impression					
Conflict Over Sexual Feelings Toward Mother (C)	Authoritarianism (F)	Sequence (S)	Integrated (I)	Aggregated (Ag)	Unitary (U)
C	HiF	SK	2	4	2
		KS	1	4	3
	LoF	SK	3	4	1
		KS	$\frac{1}{7}$	$\frac{3}{15}$	$\frac{4}{10}$
NC	HiF	SK	1	3	4
		KS	3	4	1
	LoF	SK	4	2	2
		KS	$\frac{5}{13}$	$\frac{2}{11}$	$\frac{1}{8}$
			I = 20	Ag = 26	U = 18 N = 64

$$\chi^2_{FS} = 1.24; df = 2; p = > .50$$

$$\chi^2_{CFS} = .04; df = 2; p = .98$$

$$\chi^2_{Total} = 13.26; df = 4$$

$$\chi^2_C = 2.64; df = 2; p = > .20$$

$$\chi^2_F = 2.64; df = 2; p = > .20$$

$$\chi^2_S = 0; df = 2; p = 0$$

$$\chi^2_{CF} = 1.16; df = 2; p = > .50$$

$$\chi^2_{CS} = 5.54; df = 2; p = > .05$$

that is, aggregated or unitary style, (I-7, A-15, U-10) contrasted to Ss not in conflict over sexual feelings toward mother, who tend to form their impression more along integrated lines (I-13, A-11, U-8). The same relationship pertains to high and low authoritarians, the frequencies of response categories being identical to those high and low conflict over sexual feelings toward mother respectively.

The same type of Chi square analysis performed for the organization of impressions, was carried out for the affective tone of the impressions and is summarized in Table 9. As can be seen, none of the differences are statistically significant. Although nonsignificant, there is a tendency for the impressions of Ss in conflict over sexual feelings toward mother to be either both favorable and unfavorable (B-13), or unfavorable (U-11) while the impressions of Ss who are not in conflict over sexual feelings toward mother are more favorable (F-14) than either unfavorable (U-9) or both favorable or unfavorable B-9). Again, there is a non-significant tendency for high authoritarians to characterize the star more unfavorable (U-13) than favorable (F-8) whereas low authoritarians characterize her as being more favorable (F-14) than unfavorable (U-7). Interjudge agreement based on 54 randomly selected protocols independently classified was 80.8%.

Finally, to determine whether any relationship exists in the processes underlying the organizational and affective features of impression formation as Gollin (26) suggests, a Chi square analysis

Table 9

χ^2 Analysis Between All Treatment Conditions
and Favorableness of Impression

Conflict Over Sexual Feelings Toward Mother (C)	Authoritarianism (F)	Sequence (S)	Favorableness of Impression		
			Favorable (F)	Unfavorable (U)	Both (B)
C	HIF	SK	3	2	3
		KS	1	4	3
	LoF	SK	2	3	3
		KS	$\frac{2}{8}$	$\frac{2}{11}$	$\frac{4}{13}$
NC	HIF	SK	2	4	2
		KS	2	3	3
	LoF	SK	5	1	2
		KS	$\frac{5}{14}$	$\frac{1}{9}$	$\frac{2}{9}$
			F = 22	U = 20	B = 22

$$\chi^2_C = 2.56; 2df; p = > .20$$

$$\chi^2_F = 3.44; 2df; p = > .10$$

$$\chi^2_S = .36; 2df; p = > .80$$

$$\chi^2_{CF} = 2.63; 2df; p = > .20$$

$$\chi^2_{CS} = .38; 2df; p = > .80$$

$$\chi^2_{FS} = .36; 2df; p = > .80$$

$$\chi^2_{CFS} = 1.84; 2df; p = > .30$$

$$\chi^2_T = 11.57; 4df$$

was performed between the categories of organization and favorableness. (See Table 10) The relationship obtained is statistically significant at beyond the .001 level ($\chi^2 = 34$, $df = 4$) and indicates that Ss writing integrated impressions, characterize the star as being predominantly favorable, these writing aggregated impressions, as predominantly both favorable and unfavorable, and those writing unitary impressions, as predominantly unfavorable.

To further study the relationship between the organizational and affective qualities of impressions, it was decided to determine whether the organizational types differ in the degree to which they rated the star as sexual and kindly. A two dimensional analysis of variance was carried out with the following two factors: types of organization of written descriptions and scores on the sexual and kindly scales. As can be seen in Table 11, the three organizational types differ significantly in terms of their perceptions of the star. Ss writing integrated impressions rated the star as less sexual ($M=40.05$) and more kindly ($M=43.35$), than either Ss writing aggregated impressions ($M_{sex}=45.25$; $M_{kind}=38.54$), or unitary impressions ($M_{sex}=44.67$; $M_{kind}=39.39$). As can be seen from above, the sexual and kindly ratings of the aggregated and unitary groups were very similar, and in both groups the star was rated as more sexual than kindly. Since Ss in both the aggregated and unitary groups failed to integrate their impressions of the star and since both groups rated the star in a similar manner, it was decided to pool both these groups. This was done in order to determine whether any differences exists between

Table 10

Chi Square Analysis Between Organization of Impressions
and Favorableness of Impressions

Favorableness of Impressions	Organization of Impressions		
	Integrated	Aggregated	Unitary
Favorable	13	5	4
Unfavorable	3	4	13
Both	$\frac{4}{20}$	$\frac{17}{26}$	$\frac{1}{18}$
<hr/>			
Chi Square = 34.5	df = 4	p = .001	

Table 11

Analysis of Variance of Sexual and Kindness
Ratings and Organization of Impressions

Source	df	ss	ms	F
Organization of Impressions (O)	2	2.11	1.06	< 1.00
Between	63	1438.00	28.83	
Error Between	61	1435.89	23.54	
Scale (Sc)	1	325.13	325.13	3.78
O x Sc	2	623.40	311.70	3.63*
Within	64	6186.00	96.66	
Error Within	61	5237.47	85.85	
Total	127	7624.00		

*Significant at .05 level

the sexual and kindness ratings of the non-integrated, and integrated groups. As can be seen from Table 12, the difference between the sex and kindness ratings do not differ significantly in the integrated group, but do differ significantly in the non-integrated group. Thus, whereas, Ss writing integrated impressions perceive the star as both kindly and sexual to about the same degree, Ss writing non-integrated impressions, perceive her as significantly more sexual than kindly.

Table 12

Means, Variances and t Tests of the Difference Between the Sexual
and Kindly Scores for the Integrated and Non-integrated
Organization Groups

	N	Mean of Sexual Scores	Variance of Sexual Scores	Mean of Kindly Scores	Variance of Kindly Scores	t	df	P
Integrated Organization	20	40.05	52.15	43.35	38.63	1.51	38	>.10
Non-Integrated Organization (Unitary + Aggregated)	44	45.02	36.99	38.89	73.63	4.06	86	<.01

Discussion

1. The effects of conflict over sexual feelings toward mother on men's reactions to sexuality and kindness in women.--The effects of order of presentation of the movie on the sexually conflicted group shown the KS sequence seems to have been the reverse of what one might logically predict on the basis of set effects. For this group the last scene apparently influenced the direction of Ss' ratings more than the first scene. What this might possibly suggest is that Ss in conflict over sexual feelings toward mother do not rely on their first impression, if it is kindly, to form judgments of women who are both kindly and sexual and disregard the earlier kindly impressions concerning sexuality and kindness. The question which requires explanation is why do these Ss rely on the more recent of two impressions to form a judgment concerning a woman's sexuality and kindness. Perhaps these men have come to expect that women are the opposite of what they first appear to be--i.e., consider first impressions as facades. However, one might speculate that Ss in conflict over sexual feelings toward mother, by responding to the more recent of the two scenes, reacted in an essentially stimulus bound, concrete manner. Theoretically, it has already been predicted that for men who are still unconsciously sexually attracted to their mothers, the presence of sexuality and kindness in the same woman would represent a conflict situation; the perception of both sexuality and kindness being associated with their feelings toward their mothers which has to

be avoided. In the present situation, the two opposite types of behavior portrayed by the star apparently created a conflict for the group presumed high in sexual attraction to their mothers which they found difficult to handle rationally. Their reacting to the last scene--i.e., their stimulus bound behavior--would thus be a reflection of their inability to rationally cope with the conflict produced by the star's diversified behavior. Still another possibility would be to view Ss stimulus bound orientation as essentially a defensive reaction motivated by their conflict over sexuality and kindness. Both Epstein and Smith (1956) and Rapaport (1946) suggest that stereotypy (stimulus boundness) is a very common projective defense in conflict arousing situations.

The hypothesis that Ss who are in conflict over sexual feelings toward mother would show a greater tendency to "split" sexuality and kindness than Ss who were not in such conflict was not supported by either the measure pertaining to their evaluation of the star in the movie, or the measure related to perceived behavior (questionnaire). Freud, it should be recalled, discusses the splitting of sexual and affectionate feelings as one consequence of an unresolved oedipus complex. It is true that conflict over sexual feelings to the parent of the opposite sex is seen as occupying the crucial role in the development of the oedipus complex, yet Freud and other psychoanalysts in discussing the consequences of the unresolved oedipus at no point consider the effect of conflict over sexual feelings, in isolation from the other postulated attributes of the complex. Thus, from a psychoanalytic

point of view it seems the conflict over sexual feelings to mother, while a necessary condition, is in and of itself not sufficient to produce a state of splitting. Only when the other components of the oedipus complex, i.e., (hostility toward the father, fear of the loss of love, etc.,) are present might one expect to obtain the splitting of sexuality and affection. The failure to obtain this state indicates that the specific hypothesis concerning conflict over sexual feelings was not confirmed, but it was not truly a "test" of Freud's oedipal hypothesis.

Turning now to a discussion of the selection technique to differentiate the conflict and non-conflict groups there were several shortcomings in the measure of conflict, as it falls short of possessing the logical validity which was intended. Although the groups were differentiated on the basis of inhibition (avoidance) of sexual expression, it was not possible to differentiate as to degree of projective expression (approach) which is called for in the conflict paradigm outline by Epstein and Smith. Thus, while it is entirely possible that sexual conflict, i.e., sexual approach and avoidance toward mother is a sufficient condition to produce splitting of sexuality and kindness (affection), failure to do so seems to be in the inability of the low picture-pull cards to differentiate the groups as to approach tendencies. In this connection it might be well to note that so long as displacement takes place from sex to affection, in regard to feelings toward mother, it may not be possible

to infer conflict. It should be recalled that there were exceedingly few sexual responses told to the low picture-pull cards, while expressions of affection commonly occurred. We note in this context that according to Freud, the displacement of sexual feelings, taking the form of affectionate ties to the mother, is one of the ways of achieving a "normal" resolution of the oedipus complex. Failure to substantiate the hypothesis of splitting, might thus be a function of a less than perfect measuring instrument, which did not adequately differentiate the groups on the basis of sexual approach. It is possible that other, more powerful, techniques can be devised which will yield such a differentiation. However, this is a problem for future research.

2. The effect of authoritarianism on men's reactions to sexuality and kindness in women.--Although the high and low authoritarian groups were not significantly differentiated on the basis of the absolute difference between sexual and kindly ratings, i.e., they did not "split" sexuality and kindness measured by the movie scale, they differed significantly with respect to their perception of the star; the high group rating her as considerably more sexual than kindly while the low group rated her as slightly more kindly than sexual. It is further interesting to note that for the high group, the difference between their sexual and kindly ratings is significant whereas the difference is not significant for the low group. Thus, the low authoritarian group considered the star to be both sexual

and kindly in about the same degree, while the high authoritarian group considered her to be primarily sexual, and kindly to a much lesser degree.

That the high authoritarians group perceived the star primarily as sexual is understandable since high authoritarians are reported to consider a woman as good and virtuous, only if she reveals herself not to be sexually stimulating or to display unconventional behavior (Adorno et al., 1950). It seems that for high authoritarians, the presence of sexual behavior tends to negate a female's kindly qualities so that she is not considered as both sexual and kindly, but primarily as sexual, even though objectively she may display both behaviors to about the same extent. It would certainly seem that if a woman's behavior were actually more sexual than kindly, the high authoritarians would be even more extreme in their sexual evaluation.

It should also be noted that since high authoritarians are reported to lack of genuine affectionate feelings for women and also to project unacceptable sexuality onto others (Adorno et al, 1950) it is not surprising that they over-responded to the star's sexual behavior. However, the interpretation of the findings are somewhat ambiguous as it was found that the sexual scale contained more items which were derogatory toward women than the kindness scale. Thus, it is unclear to what extent the high authoritarians obtained significantly higher scores on the sexual relative to the kindness scales, as a result of attributing derogatory characteristics apart from sexual characteristics, to women. In short it is not unlikely that

sexual qualities were confounded in the rating scale. It remains for further research to control for the "derogatory" variable.

On the questionnaire pertaining to the splitting in perceived behavior, high authoritarians are shown to separate ("split") sexuality and kindness to a significantly greater degree than low authoritarians. This finding might indicate that according to their perceived behavior, authoritarians tend to react sexually to women they do not respect or admire and avoid sexual expression to women they like and respect. It would then follow that they do not seem capable of reacting both sexually and affectionately to the same woman. This would not be surprising as the high authoritarians as a group, considered the star as predominantly sexual, rather than both sexual and kindly. However, this interpretation should be viewed cautiously as it is possible that what the high authoritarians may have been expressing, in their responses to the questionnaire, were derogatory attitudes toward women or people in general. Since the derogatory quality of the questionnaire items were not rated by either the high and low authoritarians, it is not possible to separate out the differential influence of sexual and derogatory attitudes in Ss ratings.

Authoritarianism did not interact significantly with conflict over sexual feelings toward mother on any of the measures and this suggests that these variables operate independently of each other. This is somewhat surprising since the hypothesized effects of high authoritarians and high conflict over sexual feelings to mother, on men's reactions to women, are similar. That is, one would predict

that both these groups would "split" sexuality and kindness and assume that Ss high in both variables, should show the greatest degree of splitting. Such was not the case. Splitting on the questionnaire pertaining to Ss' behavior was related only to high authoritarians; whether S was high or low conflict over sexual feelings toward mother did not influence the degree of splitting on this measure. This would suggest that of the two measure, high authoritarianism is a better predictor of splitting in Ss reported behavior.

Viewed as a whole these results are significant in that they further demonstrate the importance of authoritarianism as a variable in social perception. Although other studies have shown that authoritarianism influences peoples perception of others, these studies dealt with aspects of behavior relating to leadership, power, and insightfulness (Jones, 1954; Thibaut and Riecken, 1955; Scodel and Mussen, 1948). Assuming that the present findings reflect the authoritarians sexual rather than derogatory attitudes, present findings suggest that authoritarianism is an important variable in men's social perception of women; specifically the results suggest that high authoritarians as a group, react differentially to sexual and kindly qualities in women, tending to rate women as more sexual than kindly. Again one must view these interpretations with caution as the sexual attitudes which have been inferred might be confounded with general derogatory attitudes toward people. Finally, one wonders how central sexual attitudes and conflicts are to the development of the authoritarian personality? Although Frankel-Brunswik states that

the tendency for the high authoritarians to react to women with dichotomous sex attitudes is related to the ambivalence they feel toward their mothers, the specific nature of this relationship remains rather obscure. A problem confronting future research is that of empirically determining the factors and the degree to which these factors influence the development of sexual attitudes of high authoritarians.

3. Analysis of Written Impressions.--Neither conflict over sexual feelings toward mother, nor authoritarianism was significantly related to the manner in which Ss organize their impressions of the star. This is somewhat surprising in light of the fact that, as a group, high authoritarians rated the star as being significantly more sexual than kindly. One would thus have expected that high authoritarians in writing their impressions would have dealt primarily with the star's sexual behavior. Also, since the high authoritarians perceive the star as relatively high in sexuality and low in kindness, one again would expect that they would not integrate both sexual and kindly themes in their impressions. These findings also fail to support Gollin's (1954) suggestion that because high authoritarians are intolerant of ambiguity, they would organize their impressions primarily in a unified manner. When analyzed for favorableness of impression, the high and low authoritarian group again were not differentiated. This finding also is contrary to what one would predict on the basis of the analysis of the ratings of the star. Since the high authoritarian group rated the star as being significantly

less kindly than sexual, and the low group rated her as being equally sexual and kindly, one would have expected the impressions of the high group to be much less favorable than those of the low group.

Yet, inspection of the data reveals that many of the high authoritarian Ss in their free descriptions did try to explain the fact that the star was kindly or at least called attention to this behavior. That they should do so is not at variance with their rating scale behavior in so far as the rating also noted their agreement with items characterizing the star as kindly. However, in the free descriptions, the language and scoring categories probably did not permit the same fine quantitative distinctions which were available through the use of quantified scales. It is also possible that in a relatively "free" and undirected task, the high authoritarian may tend to avoid expressing his negative feelings, reacting instead with greater moderation. Since this situation is less structured, perhaps he is fearful that his impressions are not correct. However, in a rating situation, the choices are presented to him, already "verbalized" so to say, and since an interpretation he may have made is presented as a logical possibility, he may not be as reluctant to express what he feels. Thus, one might speculate that the relatively ambiguous nature of the "free" descriptions aroused a greater degree of defensiveness in the high authoritarians than did the more structured rating scales. This question should be explored in greater detail; however, if what is hypothesized above is actually the case,

the use in research of a particular response measure, i.e., open-ended or questionnaire, would have important methodological implications.

When the written impressions are evaluated, apart from the group differences, it is found that of the 64 impressions, 26 were aggregated, 20 were integrated and 18 were unitary. Both the integrated and unitary organizations achieve a unity of impression; however, unity is achieved in different fashions. In the integrated impression, both characteristics of the star (her sexuality and kindness) are dealt with without sacrificing either aspect and are logically related so that a consistent view of the star's personality emerges. However, in the unitary impression, a unified consistent view of the star's personality is achieved by eliminating one of the star's major character qualities. Only the aggregated category of impressions does not achieve unity. Ss organizing their impressions in an aggregated manner, recognize the presence of both characteristics of the star but apparently do not attempt to relate the diverse aspects of the star's behavior. One can thus say that of the 64 impressions, 38 achieved a unity of organization while 26 did not. Inspection reveals that this difference is not significant and thus fails to support Asch's assumption that people tend to form a single consistent view of a person and form essentially unified impressions of others.

The finding that the organizational types differ significantly in terms of the over-all favorableness of the impression is rather interesting and indicates that Ss writing integrated impressions evaluate the star favorably, while Ss writing unitary impressions

evaluate the star in an unfavorable manner. In this connection, one notes that the three organizational groups differed significantly with respect to their sexual and kindly evaluations of the star. In absolute terms, the integrated group evaluated the star as more kindly and less sexual than did either the aggregated or unitary groups. Furthermore, whereas the integrated group perceived the star as essentially both kindly and sexual to about the same degree, the non-integrated group (unitary and aggregated groups) perceive her as significantly more sexual than kindly.

The above findings agree with those of Gollin (1954) who also obtained a relationship between organization of impression and expressed attitudes. He found, as is true in the present instance, that Se writing simplified (unitary) impressions expressed more negative attitudes about the star, than either the aggregated or related (integrated) groups. To account for his findings, Gollin suggested that the organizational patterns influence the affective attitudes of the impression writers. Results from the present investigation seem to further substantiate Gollin's hypothesis in that that failure to achieve integration may be due to the star's not being perceived in terms of both kindly and sexual characteristics but instead in predominantly sexual or kindly terms. That the impressions of the "non-integrated" groups are less favorable than that of the "integrated" group can be accounted for by the fact that the latter group is reacting to the kindly aspects of the star's behavior to a greater extent than the former group. Stated somewhat differently,

since the "integrated" group evaluates the star as more kindly than does the "non-integrated" group, they are more likely to form a favorable attitude toward her. The non-integrated group are likely to have more unapproving impressions because the star's sexual behavior may have had negative connotations for them.

Summary

The present study investigated the effects of conflict over sexual feelings toward mother and authoritarianism on men's perception of sexuality and kindness (affection) in a woman. Certain organizational processes in impression formation were also investigated.

A specifically constructed set of 6 T.A.T. pictures were administered in group form to 120 male undergraduate students; each card portrayed a mother-child interaction, however, in two cards the mother was depicted as very sexually appealing (high picture-pull cards) and in the other four cards the mother was not portrayed as sexually appealing (low picture-pull cards). Ss were also given the authoritarian (F) scale. Sixty-four Ss were selected to serve as subjects on the basis of their T.A.T. performance; the conflict group consisted of 32 Ss who inhibited sexually appealing descriptions of the mother on the high picture-pull cards and the non-conflict group consisted of 32 Ss who described mother as sexually appealing on these cards. Ss in each group were further subdivided according to whether they were high or low in authoritarianism.

Two weeks later, Ss were shown a silent movie consisting of two scenes in which a young, attractive woman appeared. Her behavior in one scene emphasized her sexual qualities and in the other scene her behavior was essentially kindly and motherly. For half the group the sexual scene was shown first (SK), and for the other half the kindly scene was presented first (KS).

After both scenes were shown, Ss were instructed to write their impressions of the young woman's (star's) personality after which they were asked to evaluate the star on a specifically constructed scale consisting of 30 items, half of which pertained to sexual behavior, and the other half to kindly behavior. After the ratings were completed, Ss answered a questionnaire relating to their heterosexual behavior and attitudes.

The group in conflict over sexual feelings to mother did not differ in the degree to which they "split" sexuality and kindness in their ratings of the star, and did not differ in the degree to which they reported they failed to integrate sexuality and affection in actual behavior, relative to the non-conflict group. Thus, the hypothesis that Ss in sexual conflict over feelings toward mother relative to the non-conflict group would tend to separate sexuality and affection was not substantiated. Several explanations were proposed to account for these findings.

On the questionnaire measure, high authoritarians reported that in their actual behavior, they tended to "split" (fail to integrate) sexuality and affection, to a significantly greater degree than was reported by low authoritarians. Furthermore, analysis of Ss ratings of the star revealed that the high authoritarian group rated her as significantly more sexual than kindly, whereas the low group perceived her as both sexual and kindly. Thus, in their perceptions of the star, the two groups again differed, although authoritarianism was not significantly related to degree of splitting

of sexuality and kindness, as measured by the absolute difference between Ss sexual and kindly ratings. The possibility that the high authoritarians responses to the movie scale and the questionnaire, were confounded by derogatory attitudes was also discussed.

Taken as a whole, these findings support those of Frankel-Brunswik, who found that high authoritarians, in their heterosexual behavior, tend to "split" sexuality and affection. The finding that high authoritarians perceive the star primarily as sexual is also in accord with the findings which emerged from the Authoritarians Personality (Adorno et al., 1950). These results also reveal the importance of authoritarianism in men's social perception of women. However, it was suggested that these interpretations be viewed with caution as both the sexual scale and the questionnaire measure may have been confounded with a general "derogatory" factor.

Neither conflict over sexual feelings to mother, nor sequence presentation interacted significantly with Ss ratings of the star. However, a triple interaction was obtained among these factors and suggests that in evaluating women, the conflict group tends to rely on the most recent of impressions, if the sequence of behavior is first kindly and then sexual. It was suggested that these Ss reacted in a stimulus-bound manner because defensiveness or irrationality was aroused.

Analysis of the written impressions in terms of type of organization and favorableness reveals that there was a tendency for both the high sexually attracted group, relative to the low group,

and the high authoritarian group, relative to the low group, to write non-integrated, non-favorable impressions of the star. However, these differences were not statistically significant.

Type of organization was significantly related to both favorableness of impressions and type of evaluation of the star; the integrated group writing more favorable impressions and evaluating the star as less sexual and more kindly than the non-integrated groups. These findings are similar to Gollins and support his hypothesis that organizational patterns influence the affective attitudes of the impression writers.

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Appendix A

Description of Movie Scenes

Scene I

Scene opens in a bedroom--it is rather dark. The room is rather small and untidy, clothes scattered about. A young woman is sprawled out on bed; she is wearing black slip and her hair is somewhat disheveled. Her eyes are closed and she appears sleeping. (The camera focuses on her in this pose for a few seconds). She is then seen to yawn lazily and place her hand to her mouth. She slowly raises herself--still looking groggy. She then slowly walks (in slip) to a clock which is on dresser and goes through motion of stopping alarm. The clock shows the time to be 9:15. She now yawns again. She stretches arms and wiggles body in sexy like movement. She now goes before mirror and very carefully starts combing her hair, paying great attention to it--stroking it admiringly. After this, she sits down on the bed which is still unmade and lights cigarette. She reaches down to floor for stockings and slowly and carefully proceeds to put them on--paying close attention to whether the seams are straight and stroking her legs once or twice in the process. She then puts on high heeled shoes and goes to closet to select a dress, a cigarette dangling from her lips. She has a blase expression on face. She selects a very tight fitting, low cut sexy satin dress and puts it on. She then walks over to the dresser and attentively combs her hair again, carefully studying her strokes. She then puts on lipstick in a most careful manner. After the lipstick is on, she steps back and looks at herself in mirror,

Description of Movie ScenesScene I (Continued)

admiringly passing hands over her hips. She then puts on perfume behind her ears and on her neck. She now puts out the cigarette, takes a coat which is on a chair, crosses her knees, and leaves the room, going to the livingroom which is neat and attractive. She sits down on a chair crossing her knees again, takes a cigarette from her purse and lights it. (Bell rings.) She looks up with an indifferent expression on her face, proceeds to get up, smooths down her hair, takes compact mirror to inspect her face, smooths down dress, takes wrap and goes to the door. When she opens it, the lower portion of a man's outline is seen. They are shown to embrace.

Appendix ADescription of Movie ScenesScene II

A young woman is shown sitting down on couch in a living room which is attractive and neat. She is dressed plainly, wearing a loose fitting jumper and blouse (and in such a way that her bodily attraction is minimized--her face however is the same as in scene I--i.e., she is wearing lipstick, but her hairdo is somewhat more subdued--but not drastically so. She is wearing glasses (which in scene I was clearly seen on bedroom dresser) and reading a book "Andersonville," the title of which is clearly visible. She appears very interested in the book. On a table a photo of a young man in Army uniform is clearly seen. The star now puts the book down, takes her glasses off, walks over to desk to get stationery. She then takes photo of soldier and holds it in hand looking at it with a tender and affectionate expression on face. She puts the photo down on a table and begins to write a letter. As she starts writing, the camera focuses on the letter (Dearest Jim is written). The star then writes slowly so that viewers can see what is written.

"as I'm writing this letter, feeling the comfort of a cozy and peaceful home, I can't but help feel a pang of guilt because I know that you are probably in a muddy fox hole in desolate Korea, alone, cold and not knowing what's going to happen next.

At this point the camera focuses on the star's facial expression--the expression of warmth and tenderness being revealed. This is done until the letter is finished. Then the letter is again brought into focus so that Ss can see what has been written. The rest of revealed letter reads:

Description of Movie ScenesScene II (Continued)

"Although you never complain in any of your letters, I know that things are pretty rough out there in no mans land. I only wish that there was something I could do to help; to make you feel the warmth of home and to show you how much I love you. Please, darling take care of yourself--you mean everything to me."

Then she quickly raises her head (bell rings) puts down the pen and goes to door and opens it. A young boy about 13 years of age is there, he says hello and steps in house. The star greets him and messes his hair in an affectionate gesture. The boy throws his coat on couch, slips into a chair, picks up an auto magazine and starts reading. The star then walks in--picks up coat and puts it on the couch; she shakes her head in exasperation, but with expression of kind understanding. She then hangs coat in closet. She walks out of room, but returns in about 10 seconds with a glass of milk and plate of cookies and puts it on table before brother. She is seen saying something to him. There is an exchange of words in which she reveals her affection for him. She then goes to the phonograph and puts on a classical record. She listens pensively for a moment, seems pleased and returns to couch and starts writing again. The boy in the meantime has begun his homework. The focus is on him for a few seconds--then back to her--then to him. He scratches his head in puzzlement, gets up and goes to his sister and asks her how to do a problem. His expression is one of bewilderment. She looks up sympathetically, glances at the problem showing some puzzlement at doing it, but finally does it. She smiles with satisfaction and then procedes to explain it to her brother, who afterwards returns to the couch. He puts his homework away and picks up magazine again.

Appendix B

TAT Cards Used to Select Ss in Conflict and Not
in Conflict Over Sexual Feelings Toward Mother

A. Low Picture-Pull Cards



TAT Cards Used to Select Ss in Conflict and Not
in Conflict Over Sexual Feelings Toward Mother

A. Low Picture-Pull Cards (continued)



TAT Cards Used to Select Ss in Conflict and Not
in Conflict Over Sexual Feelings Toward Mother

B. High Picture-Pull Cards



Appendix C

The Authoritarian F Scale (Modified Form 45)

We are trying to find out what the individual thinks and feels about a number of important social questions. The best answer to each statement below is your personal opinion. We have tried to cover many different points of view. You may find yourself agreeing strongly with some of the statements, disagreeing just as strongly with others, and perhaps uncertain about still others. Whether you agree or disagree with any statement, you can be sure that many other people feel the same way you do.

Mark each statement in the left margin according to how much you agree or disagree with it. Please mark every one. Write in ~~1~~, ~~2~~, ~~3~~; or -1, -2, or -3, depending on how you feel in each case.

1 : I AGREE A LITTLE	-1: I DISAGREE A LITTLE
2 : I AGREE PRETTY MUCH	-2: I DISAGREE PRETTY MUCH
3 : I AGREE VERY MUCH	-3: I DISAGREE VERY MUCH

- ___ 1. No weakness or difficulty can hold us back if we have enough will power.
- ___ 2. Science has its place, but there are many important things that can never possibly be understood by the human mind.
- ___ 3. Human nature being what it is, there will always be war and conflict.
- ___ 4. When a person has a problem or worry, it is best for him not to think about it, but to keep busy with more cheerful things.
- ___ 5. Every person should have complete faith in some supernatural power whose decisions he obeys without question.
- ___ 6. A person who has bad manners, habits, and breeding can hardly expect to get along with decent people.
- ___ 7. It is only natural and right for each person to think that his family is better than any other.
- ___ 8. Nowadays when so many different kinds of people move around and mix together so much, a person has to protect himself especially carefully against catching an infection or disease from them.
- ___ 9. An insult to our honor should always be punished.
- ___ 10. What this country needs most, more than laws and political programs is a few courageous, tireless, devoted leaders in whom the people can put their faith.

The Authoritarian F Scale (Continued)

- ___ 11. Sex crimes, such as rapes and attacks on children, deserve more than mere imprisonment; such criminals ought to be publicly whipped, or worse.
- ___ 12. People can be divided into two distinct classes: the weak and the strong.
- ___ 13. Some day it will probably be shown that astrology can explain a lot of things.
- ___ 14. Nowadays more and more people are prying into matters that should remain personal and private.
- ___ 15. Wars and social troubles may someday be ended by an earthquake or flood that will destroy the whole world.
- ___ 16. Most of our social problems would be solved if we could somehow get rid of the immoral, crooked, and feebleminded persons.
- ___ 17. The wild sex life of the old Greeks and Romans was tame compared to some of the goings on in this country, even in places where people might least expect it.
- ___ 18. If people would talk less and work more, everybody would be better off.
- ___ 19. Most people don't realize how much our lives are controlled by plots hatched in secret places.
- ___ 20. Homosexuals are hardly better than criminals and ought to be severely punished.
- ___ 21. The business man and the manufacturer are much more important to society than the artist and the professor.
- ___ 22. No sane, normal, decent person could ever think of hurting a close friend or relative.
- ___ 23. Obedience and respect for authority are the most important virtues children should learn.
- ___ 24. What youth needs most is strict discipline, rugged determination, and the will to work and fight for family and country.
- ___ 25. Young people sometimes get rebellious ideas, but as they grow up they ought to get over them and settle down.
- ___ 26. There is hardly anything lower than a person who does not feel a great love, gratitude, and respect for his parents.

The Authoritarian F Scale (Continued)

- ___ 27. When you come right down to it, it's human nature never to do anything without an eye to one's own profit.
- ___ 28. Some leisure is necessary but it is good hard work that makes life interesting and worthwhile.
- ___ 29. The best leaders and teachers give specific instructions about what to do and how to do it so that those under them have nothing to worry about.
- ___ 30. America is getting so far from the true American way of life that force may be necessary to restore it.

Appendix D

Rating Scale for Movie

We are trying to find out what type of impression you have formed of the woman in the movie. The best answer to each statement below is your personal opinion. We have tried to cover many different aspects of behavior and points of view. You may find yourself agreeing strongly with some of the statements and disagreeing just as strongly with others. Whether you agree or disagree with any statement, you should keep in mind that there are no right and wrong answers. What we are interested in, is learning the kind of impression you have formed regarding this woman's personality.

Mark each statement, in the left margin, according to how much you agree or disagree with it. Mark everyone. Write in 1, 2; or -1, -2, depending on how you feel in each case.

1: I AGREE

2: I STRONGLY AGREE

-1: I DISAGREE

-2: I STRONGLY DISAGREE

- ___ 1. If she were to buy a bathing suit, she would probably select one that would be revealing and tight fitting.
- ___ 2. It's easy to picture her partaking in church social functions.
- ___ 3. She has a great deal of flashy sex appeal.
- ___ 4. She probably would enjoy doing charity work in which she could help others.
- ___ 5. She seems to be a bright, informed person with humanitarian interests.
- ___ 6. She is the type of woman a fellow would like to "sow his oats with", but not the type one would like to marry.
- ___ 7. She probably is very concerned with whether she is considered to be appealing by men.
- ___ 8. She seems to be more like the "Marilyn Monroe" type, than for example, the "Grace Kelley" type.
- ___ 9. When married, she would probably prefer spending money for her house and family than buying exciting clothes for herself.
- ___ 10. She appears to be a kind person who is considerate of the needs of others.
- ___ 11. She seems like the type of girl who could be coaxed into having an affair with a fellow, and not feel too guilty about it.

Rating Scale for Movie (Continued)

- ___ 12. The way she walks and dresses probably attracts men's interest in her.
- ___ 13. She appears to be a sweet, understanding young woman.
- ___ 14. She probably would feel quite comfortable in a bar or dance hall.
- ___ 15. She seems like the type of woman who would evoke tender feelings and respect in men whom she went out with.
- ___ 16. After marriage, it's easy to picture her as being a very devoted mother who would be willing if necessary to sacrifice her own pleasures for the well-being of her child.
- ___ 17. She seems to be a person who is sensitive to many of the kinder and finer things of life.
- ___ 18. She probably would be more interested in the "good times" a date could show her, than in the date himself.
- ___ 19. It's easier to picture her at a "Bohemian" type party than at a square dance or benefit outing.
- ___ 20. She seems like the type of girl one would be proud to introduce to one's friends and "bring home to the folks."
- ___ 21. She probably arouses in men sensuous and physical desires much more than a desire for her companionship and affection.
- ___ 22. In all likelihood, she would be an easy "pickup".
- ___ 23. She seems like someone who would go out of her way to help a friend in trouble.
- ___ 24. When married, her husband would probably hold her in high esteem and feel genuine love and respect for her.
- ___ 25. For her, physical attractiveness is probably one of the most important assets a woman can possess.
- ___ 26. When married she would most likely be able to sympathize with her husband's problems and help comfort him when he was distressed.
- ___ 27. It would be a good guess to assume that whatever she does she tries to be enticing and alluring if any men are around.
- ___ 28. She seems like the type of girl who would be "petting" with her date as early as their first and second meeting.

Rating Scale for Movie (Continued)

- ____ 29. When married, it's easy to picture her as being a very understanding and devoted wife.
- ____ 30. She appears to be the type of woman who if she quarreled with her husband, would probably feel badly and want to make up.

Appendix E

Questionnaire to Determine "Splitting" in Everyday Behavior

Most of the questions which appear below are of a personal nature. However, it is of the utmost importance to this study that you answer these questions in an honest, straight-forward manner. All information will be completely confidential and no one other than myself will have access to your responses. What we are interested in is the general relationships which emerge from this study and not in any one individual.

After each statement, four items appear. You are to check the one item which you on the basis of your own experience, feel is the most appropriate for each statement. Every statement must be answered.

1. I believe that a girl who likes to look sexually attractive is unlikely to be a devoted wife when married.
☐ a) definitely true
☐ b) mostly true, but not entirely so
☐ c) mostly false, but not entirely so
☐ d) definitely false
2. I have found (or probably would find) it very difficult to fall in love with a girl with whom I have had intercourse.
☐ a) definitely true
☐ b) mostly true, but not entirely so
☐ c) mostly false, but not entirely so
☐ d) definitely false
3. From my experience, I would say that all women are fundamentally "sexual creatures" and that when they appear to be decent and kind it's only a facade.
☐ a) definitely true
☐ b) mostly true, but not entirely so
☐ c) mostly false, but not entirely so
☐ d) definitely false

Questionnaire to Determine "Splitting"
in Everyday Behavior (Continued)

4. My feeling that there is something basically animal-like and crude associated with sex, interferes (or would interfere) with my expressing myself sexually toward someone I like very much.
- ___ a) definitely true
- ___ b) mostly true, but not entirely so
- ___ c) mostly false, but not entirely so
- ___ d) definitely false
5. I find myself losing my respect (or I would lose my respect) for a girl who lets me "neck" or "pet" with her on our first date.
- ___ a) definitely true
- ___ b) mostly true, but not entirely so
- ___ c) mostly false, but not entirely so
- ___ d) definitely false
6. From my experience, I would say that in general very few sexy girls have sweet, decent dispositions.
- ___ a) definitely true
- ___ b) mostly true, but not entirely so
- ___ c) mostly false, but not entirely so
- ___ d) definitely false
7. I find that it's easy (or would find it easy) to get sexually aroused with a girl who has had sexual experience, but find it (or would find it) difficult to express my sexual feelings to a girl I love and respect.
- ___ a) definitely true
- ___ b) mostly true, but not entirely so
- ___ c) mostly false, but not entirely so
- ___ d) definitely false

Questionnaire to Determine "Splitting"
in Everyday Behavior (Continued)

8. I feel that basically there are two types of girls: the sexy type and the nice, respectable type.

- ☐ a) definitely true
☐ b) mostly true, but not entirely so
☐ c) mostly false, but not entirely so
☐ d) definitely false

Appendix F

Scores for Ss in Conflict Over Sexual Feelings Toward Mother on All Response Measures

		Response Measures					
		TAT Cards				Movie Ratings	
'Authori-	'Sequence	'F	'Low Picture	'High Picture	'Sexual	'Kindness	
'tarianism	'Presentation	'S' Scale	'Full Cards	'Pull Cards	'Scale	'Scale	
Conflict Over Sexual Feelings Toward Mother	SK	1' 135	2	0	29	48	
		2' 146	4	0	44	41	
		3' 130	2	0	52	26	
		4' 141	2	0	44	50	
		5' 115	5	-6	39	45	
		6' 147	5	-6	34	45	
		7' 136	5	0	49	45	
		8' 115	4	0	47	36	
	HiF	KS	9' 142	3	-6	45	40
			10' 125	3	-6	53	21
			11' 117	4	0	42	46
			12' 113	2	-6	57	16
			13' 148	4	-6	44	40
			14' 136	6	-6	45	36
			15' 142	6	-6	45	36
			16' 136	2	-6	48	34
	LoF	SK	17' 108	2	-6	32	42
			18' 111	5	-6	36	45
			19' 111	4	-6	34	46
			20' 99	5	-6	40	43
			21' 101	5	-6	35	48
			22' 93	2	-6	53	31
			23' 108	4	-6	52	42
			24' 87	1	-10	45	45
		KS	25' 96	6	0	49	31
			26' 104	3	0	37	43
			27' 110	2	0	37	51
			28' 111	5	-6	49	22
			29' 110	3	-6	37	44
			30' 79	5	0	38	40
			31' 95	5	-6	42	36
			32' 103	3	-6	46	41

Summation Scores for Ss in Conflict Over
Sexual Feelings Toward Mother on All
Response Measures (Continued)

	Authori-	Sequence	S	Questionnaire	Organization	Favorableness
	tarianism	Presentation			of	of
					Impression	Impression
Conflict Over Sexual Feelings Toward Mother	HiF	SK	'1'	15	I	F
			'2'	18	U	F
			'3'	15	A	B
			'4'	16	A	B
			'5'	19	I	F
			'6'	19	A	B
			'7'	21	A	U
			'8'	20	U	U
	KS		'9'	14	U	U
			'10'	24	I	U
			'11'	16	A	B
			'12'	15	A	F
			'13'	20	A	B
			'14'	17	U	U
			'15'	16	A	B
			'16'	16	U	U
	LoF	SK	'17'	17	I	F
			'18'	12	A	B
			'19'	18	A	B
			'20'	16	A	F
			'21'	21	I	B
			'22'	19	U	U
			'23'	19	I	U
			'24'	16	A	U
		KS	'25'	16	U	F
			'26'	10	I	F
			'27'	14	U	U
			'28'	21	A	B
			'29'	16	U	U
			'30'	15	A	B
			'31'	10	U	B
			'32'	18	A	B

Appendix G

Scores for Ss Not in Conflict Over
Sexual Feelings Toward Mother
on All Response Measures

		Response Measures							
		TAT Cards				Movie Ratings			
'Authori-	'Sequence	'F	'Low Picture	'High Picture	'Sexual	'Kindness			
'tarianism	'Presentation	'S' Scale	'Pull Cards	'Pull Cards	'Scale	'Scale			
No Conflict Over Sexual Feelings Toward Mother	SK	'33'	112	2	7	50	35		
		'34'	128	3	7	32	55		
		'35'	120	6	1	56	40		
		'36'	153	3	2	44	22		
		'37'	137	4	1	43	45		
		'38'	121	3	8	56	21		
		'39'	130	4	9	49	33		
		'40'	126	3	6	46	52		
	KS	'41'	143	5	7	53	32		
		'42'	122	3	7	47	48		
		'43'	118	3	2	47	39		
		'44'	121	5	9	46	46		
		'45'	112	4	1	48	33		
		'46'	130	6	8	42	47		
		'47'	142	2	7	49	43		
		'48'	129	2	8	38	42		
	LoF	'49'	109	3	7	40	45		
		'50'	81	4	7	52	37		
		'51'	109	3	9	50	29		
		'52'	96	4	1	41	45		
		'53'	104	4	1	34	47		
		'54'	98	4	1	37	44		
		'55'	104	2	8	43	38		
		'56'	110	5	9	40	44		
	KS	'57'	100	3	10	35	48		
		'58'	105	3	7	32	43		
		'59'	110	4	2	43	41		
		'60'	109	3	2	31	46		
		'61'	89	3	7	51	53		
		'62'	92	2	1	40	42		
		'63'	99	2	1	50	41		
		'64'	111	2	8	38	45		

Summation Scores for Ss Not in Conflict Over
Sexual Feelings Toward Mother on All
Response Measures (Continued)

	'Authori-	'Sequence			'Organization'	'Favorableness
	'tarianism	'Presentation	'S'	'Questionnaire'	'Impression	'Impression
No Conflict Over Sexual Feelings Toward Mother	H1F	SK	'33'	20	U	U
			'34'	13	U	F
			'35'	25	A	B
			'36'	13	A	B
			'37'	20	A	U
			'38'	26	U	U
			'39'	17	U	U
			'40'	17	I	F
		KS	'41'	16	A	F
			'42'	21	I	U
			'43'	21	I	B
			'44'	16	A	B
			'45'	17	A	B
			'46'	12	I	F
			'47'	18	A	U
			'48'	24	U	U
	LoF	SK	'49'	15	U	U
			'50'	15	I	B
			'51'	18	A	B
			'52'	14	U	F
			'53'	16	I	F
			'54'	13	I	F
			'55'	19	I	F
			'56'	15	A	F
		KS	'57'	12	I	B
			'58'	11	I	F
			'59'	13	A	B
			'60'	14	I	F
			'61'	14	U	U
			'62'	10	I	F
			'63'	14	A	F
			'64'	15	I	F

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