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The idealized self-image and the reaction to social criticism: a study of Karen Horney's theory of neurotic personality.

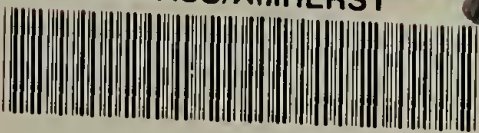
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THE IDEALIZED SELF-IMAGE AND THE REACTION
TO SOCIAL CRITICISM: A STUDY OF
KAREN HORNEY'S THEORY OF NEUROTIC PERSONALITY

A Thesis Presented

By

RICHARD ALAN LUBELL

Submitted to the Graduate School of the
University of Massachusetts in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of

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Department of Psychology


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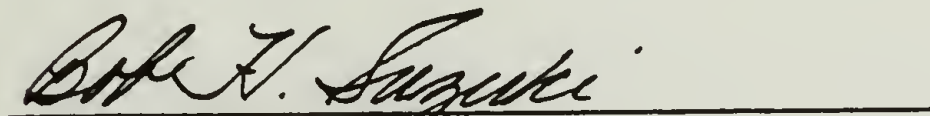
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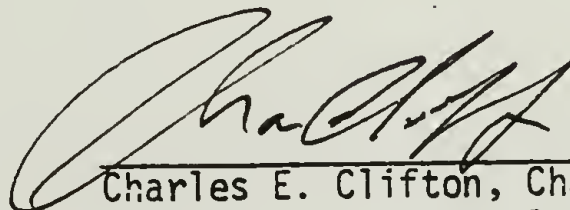
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C H A P T E R I

INTRODUCTION

Horney's Ideas in Historical Perspective

While studying medicine, Horney became interested in psychoanalysis and took her first training analysis with Karl Abraham in 1911. Abraham's descriptions of the oral, anal, and phallic character types, along with his account of the neurotic "slogans" unique to each, was to affect Horney's conceptualization of various "mottos," which she described as common to certain neurotic characters developed in her later work. Her close kinship with Melanie Klein, her coanalysand with Abraham, fostered in Horney an appreciation for what Klein saw as the deep importance of early object relations in the genesis of neurosis. Horney's concepts of "basic anxiety" and her descriptions of the origins and implications of repressed hostility are connected to this exposure to Kleinian dynamics. Throughout the years between 1915-1934, Horney practiced and published from a point of view grounded in orthodox Freudian principles. During these years, Horney was a member of the Berlin Psychoanalytic Society and a founding analyst in the Berlin Polyclinic, the first low cost clinic for psychoanalysis, as well as a center for psychoanalytic education and training analysis. This was a great time in the evolution of psychoanalytic thought and many prime movers in the field practiced in Berlin. These included: Franz Alexander, the first student at the Institute, Sandor Rado, Ernst Simmel, Wilhelm Reich, and Eric

Fromm. It may be, in fact, that through her contacts with Reich and Fromm, two analysts with Marxist leanings, an appreciation for socio-cultural dynamics in personality functioning was stimulated in Horney's thinking.

The development of Horney's original ideas can be most directly traced to a reaction she felt against the Freudian construction of feminine psychology. She sought to interpret the different motivations between males and females more on the basis of culturally induced attitudes and expectations, and less on the level of biological differences between the sexes. She raised questions about the validity of certain generally accepted postulates, such as the existence of a universal drive of penis envy in woman, and of the immutability of instinctual drives and developmental phases, including sexual conflict as the root of neurosis. The most significant of Horney's papers, dating from 1922-1936, on feminine psychology are published in Feminine Psychology (Horney, 1966).

In 1932, at the request of Franz Alexander, who was now practicing in Chicago, Horney arrived in the United States to become a senior analyst and associate director of the Chicago Institute for Psychoanalysis. The confrontation with life in the United States, along with her readings in social philosophy in anthropology, sharpened her awareness of the influence of environmental factors. Arriving in New York in 1934, Horney began teaching at the New School for Social Research and began participating in the New York Psychoanalytic Society. The initial version of her theory was presented in 1937 with the publishing of The Neurotic Personality of Our Time. In this book, Horney attempted to bring together the fragmentary ideas she had thus far presented in her various papers into a

cohesive and internally consistent explanation of why and how people became neurotic. The major contention of the book was to allow for the effects of sociocultural influences, while repudiating the Freudian emphasis on infantile instinctive urges and the psychosexual relationships derived from them as the source of neurotic conflicts. Generated by distorted parent-child relationships, Horney asserted that neurosis becomes characterized by subsequent distortions in the individual's relationships with others and self, which stem from emotional conflicts and anxiety, and unconscious dynamic intrapsychic efforts to avoid the disintegrative effect of these conflicts. Allowing for the effects of sociocultural influences while at the same time postulating intrapsychic mechanisms to explain neurosis proved to be a difficult and delicate task. Horney, herself, appears to have been conflicted in her affections, as Rubins (1978) states, "... her explanation of how external, cultural factors relate to internal forces and emotions has remained since then one of the least clear aspects of her theory. There is certainly evidence at this point that she was still trying to straddle the fence: to convince her orthodox colleagues that she had not completely rejected infantile sexuality and her culturalist friends that she agreed with them also."

During the period in which Horney developed her ideas for the composition of her first two books, 1934-1939, she was meeting regularly with a group of analysts living between the Baltimore and New York areas, including Clara Thompson, Harry Stack Sullivan, William Silverberg, and Eric Fromm. This group became known as the Zodiac Club and had regular meetings on Monday nights. She was also very good friends with Paul Tillich, the existential philosopher, and in contact with both Abraham

Kardiner, an expert on cross-cultural psychodynamics, and Kurt Lewin, a pioneer in the study of social psychology. Despite a landslide of anger produced in psychoanalytic circles over the publication of Horney's first book, Horney became more confident within herself and began to participate more actively in the New York Psychoanalytic Society meetings. In 1939, her second book, New Ways in Psychoanalysis, was published. In this volume, Horney defined her position with reference to Freud, rejecting the libido theory, Oedipus complex, death instinct, repetition compulsion and superego, giving more relative importance to ongoing dynamic factors rather than infantile psychosexual ones. In regards to therapy, she focused on a more holistic, characterological view, putting greater emphasis on the present, while advocating a more active role by the analyst.

By the Fall of 1939, the New York Society was experiencing great internal conflict with many split factions, causing considerable debate over the content of course work, the form of training analysis, and the general structure and politics of the organization. In 1940, a number of candidates who were ready to graduate had their final papers rejected on the grounds of "not being analytic enough." Following some protests by Horney and other analysts, the Institute removed Horney's status as a training analyst. Finally, in the Spring of 1941, a vote was taken to remove Horney from the Institute on the basis of feelings that Horney was disturbing the students. The vote was 24-7, with 29 members abstaining. That evening, five other analysts resigned from the Society, including Thompson.

By the Fall of 1941, the Association for the Advancement of Psycho-

analysis was formed, composed of the original analysts who had resigned from the New York Society, as well as other dissident analysts who followed. Some of Horney's friends at this time included Margaret Mead, Ruth Benedict, John Dollard and Fromm, all individuals unconnected to the New York Institute. By the end of 1942, Horney published her third book, Self Analysis. This book was both an outgrowth of a course she had taught on self-analysis at the New School, the previous winter, and growing contact she had with other social service individuals, including social workers and nurses. In this version of her theory, she described ten neurotic trends which people employ to defend against basic anxiety.

Having defined her agreements and differences with Freud, and amidst the excitement over the establishment of the new institute, a third, more refined and articulated version of her theory was presented in the book Our Inner Conflicts (1945). The ten trends she had previously listed in Self Analysis are grouped more closely now into three "movements" in relation to others. These are a "moving toward" or compliant personality; a "moving against" or aggressive personality; and a "moving away" or detached personality. The important emphasis here became the conflict between trends (basic conflicts), the solutions used to try to resolve such conflicts, and the consequences of unresolved conflicts.

The last and most complete version of Horney's theory of personality functioning appears in Neurosis and Human Growth (1950). The new Academy had now been established for nearly a decade, and in her classes and lectures Horney continued to revise and expand her ideas. The "idealized self-image" which had previously been seen as one of the four major defensive solutions to conflict was now accorded a more important role

in neurotic development. The neurotic, caught in such distressing conflicts with other people, ceases to accept his own feelings and impulses, ceases to know himself, and builds up an idealized image of himself as he thinks he ought to be, instead of discovering his own proper nature and potentialities. He thus becomes a more and more frantically unreal person as time goes on, hates his 'real' self in the name of his idealized self. On the basis of this image, the neurotic develops false pride in unrealized insubstantial traits and ideals, and makes irrational claims and demands on the world, self, and others. His growing alienation from self and fear of others creates a vindictive need to triumph in the name of his idealized glory. The three movements of Towards, Against, and Away, described in Our Inner Conflicts, are now described as three directions of development in Self-Effacement, Expansiveness, and Resignation.

Basic Anxiety and the Basic Conflict

The child who grows in a healthy parental environment may feel free to involve himself in his spontaneous feelings and interests, cultivating his own personal will power, abilities, and values. In this trusting atmosphere, the child can relate to others by pleasing or drawing closer, by assertion or opposition, or by withdrawing or being alone. When used flexibly and appropriately, these interpersonal trends become complementary and easily integrated.

Through a variety of adverse influences, a child may not be permitted to grow according to his individual needs and possibilities. Unfortunate physical and psychological environmental factors, as well as internal ones--hereditary, constitutional, psychogenetic--may propel the development

of defensive systems and restrict the growing ones. Rejecting or inconsistent parental attitudes may contribute to a child's distrustful and spiteful moods, generating pessimism that his striving for love, belonging and autonomy may be realized. The child who experiences helplessness in the face of uncertainty, who feels deprived of human warmth, and who inwardly protests against the frustration of his free movement, is caught within an all-pervading anxiety. Horney (1937) describes this state she labels "basic anxiety" as "... a feeling of being small, helpless, deserted, endangered in a world that is out to abuse, cheat, attack, humiliate, betray, and envy" (p. 79).

The basic anxiety is reinforced by the repression of the child's hostile attitude. Because the child depends on his parents, and because he fears their intimidation, as well as still needing their love, he cannot directly express his resentment. Pretending that he has no aggressive impulses exaggerates the basic anxiety and makes the child more defenseless in the world. Horney says, "If hostility is repressed when a person's interests are factually attacked it becomes possible for others to attack him" (1937, p. 55). Removed from conscious awareness, but not abolished, the hostility revolves within the child as an affect which is highly explosive. Being that the hostility is highly disruptive to psychic unity, and in the face of great anxiety, the child comes to project his own rebellion onto a world now viewed as essentially oppressive and dangerous. Others, not the self, are hostile. Inseparately interwoven with basic anxiety is the child's basic hostility.

The child who is hampered by physical, psychological, or environmental factors is likely to experience a heightened awareness of basic

anxiety and will consequently need to concentrate more energy at keeping this tension at a minimum. Describing its powerful effect on early personality development, Horney says:

The cramping pressure of his basic anxiety prevents the child from relating to others with the spontaneity of his real feelings, and forces him to find ways to cope with them. He must unconsciously deal with them in ways which do not arouse or increase, but rather allay his basic anxiety. (1950, p. 18)

The child's spontaneous movements towards closeness in affection, against others to affirm a stand, and away from others to be by himself, due to increased anxiety, may turn into compulsive compliance, aggression, and detachment. On the one hand, feeling helpless and in need of protection, the child may have an urgent sense that his safety depends on complying with others' needs. Yet, being that his movement towards closeness is motivated by a heightened sense of a hostile world, the child cannot truly trust the person he relies on. On the other hand, by identifying with the hostile attitude and standing against others, the child is forced to deny that he is essentially frightened and helpless. The conflict over compliant needs and aggressive needs may engender in the child a diffuse sense of being alone and unconnected with important others in his life, and withdrawal may become an effective compulsive means of affirming this isolation while avoiding a conflicting and unsettling interpersonal situation. Horney states, "The neurotic person engulfed in a conflict is not free to choose (as is the normal person confronted with two alternatives). He is driven by equally compelling forces in opposite directions, neither of which he wants to follow... He is stranded with no way out" (1945, p. 32). In reference to the power

of basic anxiety, Horney says "... it carries the germ for a potential conflict between the desire to rely on others and the impossibility to do so because of a deep distrust of and hostility toward them" (1937, p. 83). Identification with one means of assuring security will necessarily cause internal conflict with the other concealed trend(s). Horney says:

Reassurance from a great underlying anxiety is sought not only in one way, but in several ways which, moreover, are incompatible with one another. Thus the neurotic person may at the same time be driven imperatively toward dominating everyone and wanting to be loved by everyone, toward complying with others and imposing his will on them, toward detachment from people and a craving for their affection. It is these utterly insoluble conflicts which are most often the dynamic center of neurosis. (1937, p. 86)

These compulsive trends adopted by the individual to escape anxiety, by their very exaggeration tend to foster an intensification of the precise conflict they were intended to allay. A person who employs compliance in the service of safety may exacerbate his anxiety through the consistent use of his neurotic technique. Horney describes the internal consequence of such a stance. She writes:

The vicious circle formed by the various implications of the neurotic need for affection may be roughly schematized as follows: anxiety, excessive need for affection, including demands for exclusive and unconditional love; a feeling of rebuff if these demands are not fulfilled; reaction to the rebuff with intense hostility; need to repress the hostility because of fear of losing affection; the tension of a diffuse rage; increased anxiety; increased need for reassurance.... Thus the very means which serve to reassure against anxiety create in turn new hostility and new anxiety. (1937, p. 137)

Comprehensive Solutions and Self-Idealization

In her first approach to a character typology, Horney groups various neurotic trends into three consistent personality movements, described as "moving towards" others, "moving against" others, and "moving away" from others (1945, pp. 48-62, 63-72, 73-95). Each trend arises out of an emphasis of different parts of the basic anxiety, with infantile feelings of helplessness, hostility, and isolation contributing respectively to each type of movement. In the first two types, conflict is removed from awareness by exaggerating one side of the basic conflict while suppressing the other. In the last type, conflict is eliminated by shutting off both sides to the basic conflict. The person who is primarily compliant ("moving towards") classifies people according to their potential usefulness as sources of love and protection. The more a person is characterized by the aggressive tendency ("moving against") the more certainly he classifies people in terms of the likelihood that they can injure him. The detached ("moving away") individual tends to classify people as being more or less likely to interfere with him. These generalized movements, however, never appear in pure form. Movement towards always involves a hidden exaggeration of hostility, while, conversely, moving against always involves hidden longings for love and protection. Finally, movement away always shows signs of hidden longings for intimate relations, either affectionate or hostile.

Stabilizing the self around compulsive personal styles gives the neurotic a sense of identity and integration. In essence, he knows who he is because he knows what he must be to maintain a fragile security.

His failure, however, to develop real strengths and potentials leaves him extra sensitive to having his lack of substantial qualities exposed. The need to maintain such a rigid stance in the face of anxiety and a lack of real confidence drives neurotics to the actualization of an unreal facade, an artificial life, and a false image of themselves. Alienated from their true selves, they attempt to remedy the damage done by lifting themselves in their minds to heights of self-idealization, thereby feeling above the crude reality of their actual doubts and anxieties.

In her last book, Horney elaborates the three personality movements of "Towards," "Against" and "Away" into three major neurotic character syndromes: the Effacing, Expansive, and Resigned personalities. Self-idealization now becomes the nuclear process in the neurotic development, a comprehensive solution that occurs in all neuroses, regardless of their form. In it, needed neurotic trends are idealized, contradictory attitudes isolated or transformed into positive traits so as to eliminate conflict. In contrast to goals that increase a person's incentive to grow, the idealized image becomes a major obstacle to maturation. Horney says:

...the idealized image has a static quality. It is not a goal toward whose attainment he strives but a fixed idea which he worships. Ideals have a dynamic quality; they arouse an incentive to approximate them; they are an indispensable and invaluable force for growth and development. The idealized image is a decided hindrance to growth because it either denies shortcomings or merely condemns them. Genuine ideals make for humility, the idealized image for arrogance. (1945, pp. 98-99)

Idealization takes on different forms depending on the direction of the person's development. Neurotic claims and shoulds, unique to each character type, serve to shore up a shaky integration and maintain a precar-

ious fiction. By turning shortcomings into virtues, and making what is wanted, but feared, to be something that is not desirable at all, the idealized image provides both an incentive that is worth struggling for and a special appeal to life events.

In the expansive personality the primary purpose of life becomes the urge to be able to overcome and control every obstacle within or outside the self. He must convince himself that he is not helpless. The tougher he is, and the more others recognize him as such, the more certainly he proves to himself that he can take care of himself in a hostile world. He may feel entitled to others' obedience and uncritical acceptance, needing to be in a dominant position, and justifying this claim on the grounds of his superior vigilance, foresight, or planning, the same qualities which are essential to relieve his anxieties of weaker dependencies. He will demand that he remain strong, stoic and enduring, so that he fulfill an idealized image in which he is the great hero, leader, or benefactor of humankind. Being very consciously aware and identified with the idealized self, the expansive person puts a high value on pride. Horney says:

...he must try to maintain in his mind a picture of himself of which he can be proud. He must, as it were, put up an unconscious bluff and live with the pretense of being all knowing, all generous, all fair, etc. He must never, and under any conditions, be aware that by comparison with his glorified self he has feet of clay. (1950, p. 193)

In three variations of the expansive solution, Horney describes the narcissistic, perfectionistic, and arrogant-vindictive personalities. The emotional atmosphere within these individuals ranges from the narcissistic glowing warmth of spirit, to the perfectionistic calculated cool-

ness, to the arrogant-vindictive chilliness. In the first, hostility is overruled by generosity, in the next, hostility subdued because it should not be displayed, and in the last, more openly presented. One feels entitled to mastery through a naive belief in greatness, another due to a meticulous deal with life, and the last through a feeling of retribution for perceived injuries and injustices done.

At the opposite extreme from expansiveness, we find what Horney has described as the self-effacing personality. This person is primarily identified with an abundance of accommodating and surrendering affections, the appeal being to engage others at the level of love and protection. By aligning himself with his subdued nature, he artificially reduces the stature of his being, while blocking awareness of his own feelings of hostility, strength and ambition. Keeping to an inferior and submissive position within a relationship allows the effacing individual to avoid the anxiety and conflict of having to make his own decisions. In fact, anything in the gestures and attitudes of others which boosts his feeling of self-admiration puts this person into a guilty state of uneasiness. By leaning over backwards in serving others, he cannot also retain his idealized image of being an unselfish and saintly self-sacrificing individual. Secondarily glorified become feelings of suffering, a trait that permits him to put his hostile aggressions toward others on a legitimate basis, while additionally giving him a feeling of superiority through his martyrdom. Although at a private level the effacing individual may take his moral superiority for granted, he retains an ambivalence toward his own pride. Horney says:

... his very image of saintliness and loveliness prohibits any conscious feeling of pride. He must lean over backwards to eradicate any trace of it. Thus begins the shrinking process which leaves him small and helpless. It would be impossible for him to identify himself with his proud glorious self. He can only experience himself as his subdued victimized self. He feels not only small and helpless but also guilty, unwanted, unlovable, stupid, incompetent. (1950, p. 223)

Whereas mastery and love become, respectively, the basic appeals of expansiveness and effacement, in the last personality, the resigned character, the satisfaction of his style of life lies in the appeal of freedom. The resigned lifestyle is characterized by a restriction of what is not wanted or not done. By eliminating any serious striving for achievement, curtailing goal planning and direction, and restricting wishes, the resigned individual hopes to avoid the entanglements of emotional involvement with others, while preserving the appeal of self-contained serenity. The satisfaction in freedom can truly be understood as a freedom from, not a freedom for. Freedom to him means doing what he likes, without the interference by others--whether people or institutions. An inertia and aversion to change makes the resigned individual especially sensitive to outside influences, coercions, pressures, or ties. The characteristic demandingness is that life should be easy, painless, effortless, and that they should not be bothered. Horney describes the resigned person's self-image:

His idealized image, chiefly, is a glorification of the needs which have developed. It is a composite of self-sufficiency, independence, self-contained serenity, freedom from desires and passions, stoicism, and fairness... an idealization of noncommitment and of not infringing upon anybody's rights. (1950, p. 277)

The repressions of both the overcompliant and overtough are combined here,

avoiding both horns of this basic conflict. He sees himself as neither weak nor hostile, but as strong and serene, "above it all."

Normal-Neurotic Continuum: The Effect of Culture

The neurotic character trends described by Horney may appear to be familiar traits to those of us who consider our behaviors to be normal. The close relation between normal conflicts and anxieties and those which a neurotic person experiences compels Horney to raise this question:

Is not the attitude of basic anxiety and hostility toward people, described as an essential constituent of neuroses, a "normal" attitude which secretly all of us have, though perhaps in a lesser degree? (1937, p. 81)

In answering her question, Horney draws the distinctions between the normal and the neurotic. Neuroses must include four broad characteristics. First the person's reactions are rigid and inappropriate to the expected cultural pattern. Second there results a discrepancy between his potentials and accomplishments. Third, he exhibits anxieties (or fears) that are different from and more intense than those of the culture. The defenses against these anxieties produce suffering and impairment of the capacity to live to the fullest. And fourth, there exists partly unconscious emotional conflicts for which solutions are automatically sought.

Nevertheless, the crucial conflicts around which a neurosis may grow are the same conflicts to which the healthy person in our culture is also subject. While the normal person is able to cope with these conflicts without serious damage to his personality, in the neurotic, all these contradictions may become intensified to the point where an adequate solution is impossible. Horney comments,

The same cultural factors that affect the normal person--leading him to a shaky self-esteem, potential hostile tension, apprehensiveness, competitiveness entailing fear and hostility, enhanced need for satisfactory personal relations--affect the neurotic to a higher degree and in him the same results are merely intensified--a crushed self-esteem, destructiveness, anxiety, enhanced competitiveness entailing anxiety and destructive impulses, and an excessive need for affection. (1937, p. 245)

Horney would account for the existence of neurotic tendencies within all individuals of a society by reminding us of the powerful influence that cultural values and attitudes exert on the development of individual conflicts and uncertainties. When such cultural values are contradictory in their own right, they foster individual insecurity and confusion. Horney makes acute observations of how in contemporary western culture, an individual's striving for security, respect, and self-respect is constantly influenced by the discordant social values confronting him. The emphasis on competition, for example, constantly generates fears and hostilities which build on one another. Horney says:

The isolated individual has to fight with other individuals of the same group, has to surpass them, and frequently thrust them aside. The advantage of one is frequently the disadvantage of the other.... The potential hostile tension between individuals results in a constant generation of fear--fear of the potential hostility of others, reinforced by a fear of retaliation for hostilities of one's own. (1937, pp. 242-244)

One of the great conflicts in our modern culture is the contradiction between competition and success on the one hand, and brotherly love and humility on the other. Horney states:

On the one hand, everything is done to spur us toward success, which means that we must be not only assertive but aggressive, able to push others out of the way. On the other hand, we are deeply imbued with Christian ideals which declare that it is selfish to want anything for ourselves, that we should be humble, turn the other cheek, be yielding. For this contradiction, there are only two solutions within

the normal range: to take one of these strivings seriously and discard the other; or to take both seriously with the result that the individual is seriously inhibited in both directions. (1937, p. 246)

Two other contradictions which Horney mentions are, first, the stimulation of our desires, through advertisements and consumerism, against the real difficulties that may interfere with the satisfaction of such desires, and, second, the alleged freedom which our democratic society claims to give the individual, against the limitations imposed by society, by the nature of its economic structure.

What Horney's psychology implies is that a great deal of human motivation, even in so-called healthy, normal individuals is the product of efforts developed to cope with culturally induced conflicts and anxieties. The intrusion of these contradictory values causes the individual to build security systems intended to minimize his doubt, so that he may feel more unified within himself. The stronger version of Horney's conclusions stain the purity of any individual motivation, as each behavioral act can now be seen as being derived from both positive and defensive intentions. As a consequence, the individual in twentieth century western society lives with a precarious construction of selfhood, at risk for having his tender fears and defenses exposed.

C H A P T E R I I

METHOD

Rationale for Experiment

Given the Horney catalogues a neurotic's consciously prided ideals, as well as those intentions hidden to his awareness, this account seemed to welcome a study looking at a reaction a person with neurotic tendencies might experience when his positive motivations are criticized for their negative and selfish gratifications. By studying a person's reactions to statements critical of role performance motivations, an individual is made rejectable on the count of having his esteemed motives exposed for their defensive and vindictive hidden aims. The extent to which different forms of criticism cause varied responses from different people may be a reflection of the direction in which these individuals choose to satisfy their life appeals; pride their strengths; protect their perceived weaknesses.

From Horney's frequent remarks to the effect that neurotic phenomenon are continuous with patterns of behavior seen in "normals," it is held reasonable that an undergraduate student population will reveal this continuity. The particular aspect of Horney's ideas to be tested in the present experiment deal with her notion that human behavior follows three major trends. For the purposes of this study these trends are considered to mean that all people may be seen as fitting one or another, or some combination of these patterns of behavior. At the extremes of the tested population, people can be expected to distribute

in three modes of interpersonal focus.

In Horney's consistent development of character syndromes, neurosis always amounts to an overemphasis and idealized focus on one interpersonal trend alongside of a suppressed and unrecognized trend. The trend the neurotic consciously adapts, therefore, embodies not only negative attributes but also desirable qualities that the possessor sees as virtues. The rationale for the construction of stories of social criticism followed from this basis.

The evaluation in each story concentrates on the false quality motivating the person's acceptance of positively esteemed social roles. The criticism is intended to impress the individual with his self-deception in understanding his own motivations. In this way, the aggressive person who prides self-control and leadership is made to see how escaping recognition of weaker vulnerabilities drives his tough front. The compliant person who silently sees virtue in his kindness and loyalty is faced with his tendency to avoid contact with ambitious strivings and how this conditions his submissive ways. Finally, the detached person, prided in qualities of self-sufficiency and objectivity, is confronted by how his defensive needs to withdraw from potential interpersonal contact shapes his resigned lifestyle.

As a consequence of the person's compulsive defensive aims, he must keep others in a position where he can feel safe. A respect for other people's wishes and needs wanes as these people become objects of potential danger. In ways unseen to the neurotic, he inhumanly manipulates others to his own secure advantage. Given this hidden hostile trend in the neurotic character style, attention was paid to expose this motive

in the construction of the criticisms. The aggressive person is faced with his tendency to dominate and taunt others, so that to maintain his "one up" status. The compliant person is confronted by a secret wish to make others feel tied and guilty to him, so that to assure he can continue in his submissive role. Lastly, the detached person is made to see the manner in which he frustrates others' needs for closeness by his readiness to withdraw.

In summary, the stories are painful because of two factors which together besmirk the honor of the neurotic's narrowly construed self-idealizations:

1. The recognition of hidden interpersonal needs which upon exposure create a conscious awareness of conflict in regards to the person's organized stance in the world.

2. The insight into a tendency to treat others impersonally, as objects of manipulation, which reveals hostile motives at odds with the person's consciously felt virtues.

The study of people's response to criticism may be a useful guide for determining the manner in which different individuals construct their self-esteem. Those who fall into the three personality styles described by Horney because they are satisfied by different life appeals and prided in distinctive ways, will be expected to vary in the degree to which different forms of criticism disturb them. The hypothesis tested is this:

Individuals who test high on a given trend will react most emotionally to social criticism designed to expose the contradictions and fallacies behind the motivations of that particular trend and less

emotionally to criticism of motivations in other trends.

Subjects. Due to the normative emphasis in the study, large numbers of subjects were needed to secure the screening of the three separate personality types. In light of the fact that no prescreening procedure was planned, it was originally decided to set the sample size at 450 subjects of which half were to be from either sex. The expectation was that in a large sample, the extremes would adequately represent the three desired personality types.

The procedure for recruitment of the subjects consisted of the experimenter going to undergraduate psychology classrooms with information about the quality of the study, including where and when it was going to be given. Undergraduates typically get extra credit for participating in psychology experiments and this was noted.

Twelve two-hour blocks of time were reserved for large group testing at a campus auditorium. The experimenter would sit outside of the auditorium distributing the experimental questionnaire to subjects as they arrived. The completion of the experiment generally took subjects between 45 minutes and one hour in length.

As subject recruitment got underway it became apparent that it was going to be difficult to get the size of the sample originally sought. Furthermore, because of an overbalance of females to males showing up for the study, it was decided to take an uneven number, while maintaining a balanced ratio across the personality types selected. The final total of subjects was 296, of which 115 were male and 181 female.

Measures. The experimental package that each subject received contained a Wilkins (1956) Dynamic Trend Scale, the measure intended to distinguish the three personality types described by Horney; one of three forms of social criticism, stories constructed so as to elicit differential emotional reactions from the different personality types; a Multiple Affect Adjective Check List (Zuckerman and Lubin, 1965), a dependent measure of immediate emotional reactions on dimensions of hostility, anxiety, and depression; and finally a set of three forced choice questions, each followed by space for open-ended commenting, designed as an additional dependent measure of various coping mechanisms and verbal reactions to the forms of social criticism.

Procedure. After reading an informed consent form, describing some of the content of the experiment, subjects responded to 26 items on the Wilkins (1956) Dynamic Trend Scale. For each item, they had a set of three statements which they proceeded to rank from their most favorite to their least favorite. Each of these statements corresponded to one of Horney's three personality trends and therefore served as the means of scoring each of the subjects within a particular personality classification.

Following completion of the scale items, subjects were asked to take a small break before going on to read and react to a story of social criticism. During this break, subjects were required to practice thinking about their own unique personalities, concentrating on what they believed to be their best assets. After performing this brief exercise, subjects were asked to read the story of social criticism, imagining how

they might react to such a situation, keeping in mind what they considered their best estimation of their personality characteristics. Of the 296 subjects, 98 received criticism of dishonest compliant motives, 100 received criticism of defensive expansive motives, and 98 received criticism of falsely prided resigned motivations (see Appendix for actual criticisms).

The reactions to the criticisms were immediately recorded by responses concerning their emotional feelings on the Multiple Affect Adjective Check List, measuring their anxiety, hostility, and depression. Finally, subjects reported their reactions to three forced choice questions: "On how fair they thought the criticism reflected their personalities," "On what they would do or say to the person making the criticism," and "On how they would restore their pride, assuming it had been hurt." Subjects also were permitted to write out open-ended verbal responses to each of these questions. After completing the experiment subjects were given a feedback sheet describing the purpose of the experiment.

C H A P T E R I I I

RESULTS

Introduction

The present chapter is organized in three parts. First, the screening procedure for arriving at the personality groups will be reviewed along with a description of the composition of males and females in each group. The second part of the chapter will summarize the results relevant to the major hypothesis tested in the study, namely the evidence for an interaction of personality with the form of social criticism received. Finally, in the last section, other findings related to sex effects discovered in the experiment will be examined.

Personality Type Selection

Out of a total of 296 undergraduates tested on the Dynamic Trend Scale, 100 randomly selected subjects received criticism of Expansive motives, 98 received criticism of Compliant motives, and 98 received criticism of Resigned motives. Within each of these subgroupings, three personality types needed to be defined, so that a total of nine type groupings were formed. Subjects were seen as fitting one of the three personality types if they scored at the extreme of one trend within the population of subjects receiving their form of criticism. A decision was made to select 12 subjects, 5 males and 7 females, for each personality group to be formed. This procedure worked well for arriving at the types within the compliant and resigned criticisms; however, because of

a scarcity of low scoring males (i.e., low score means a person fits the personality trend) in the expansive criticism, the ratio of males to females was adjusted to 4 males/8 females for this criticism. This adjustment, while decreasing the proportion of males to females in the expansive criticism across the other criticisms, nevertheless maintained a balanced proportion of males/females across all of the personality types. (See Table 1.)

Across the entire population of subjects tested, the compliant trend was most chosen with the expansive and resigned trends less well represented. The means and standard deviations for each scale trend within the form of criticism and sex are presented (Tables 2 and 3).

Because of the scoring variation between the responses to the three scale trends, the criteria scores for the formation of the three personality groups within each criticism occurred at different mean levels. Despite this fluctuation subjects chosen for inclusion within a particular personality group still had to score substantially below the average for that personality trend within the entire population. On one occasion, a subject scored in the extreme distribution for two trend scores. This was the only subject to score in this fashion, so his score was removed from consideration in any group. Compliant types averaged 11.5 points below the average for total subject population. Expansive personalities averaged 10.5 points below the average for their trends within the entire population, while resigned personalities scored 7.5 points below their average within the population (see Tables 4 and 4a).

Table 1

Proportion of Males to Females by the Personality Type of the Subject,
Controlling for the Type of Criticism Received

<u>Form of Criticism</u>	<u>Compliant Personality</u>		<u>Expansive Personality</u>		<u>Resigned Personality</u>		<u>Total</u>
	<u>Males</u>	<u>Females</u>	<u>Males</u>	<u>Females</u>	<u>Males</u>	<u>Females</u>	
Compliant	5	7	5	7	5	7	15/21
Expansive	4	8	4	8	4	8	12/24
Resigned	5	7	5	7	5	7	15/21
Totals	14	22	14	22	14	22	42/66

Table 2
Means and Standard Deviations for Scores on
Compliance, Expansiveness, and Resignation for
Entire Subject Population by Form of Criticism

<u>Form of Criticism</u>	<u>Compliance Score</u>		<u>Expansiveness Score</u>		<u>Resignation Score</u>		<u>Total N</u>
	<u>Mean</u>	<u>SD</u>	<u>Mean</u>	<u>SD</u>	<u>Mean</u>	<u>SD</u>	
Compliant	48.9	7.2	54.1	6.6	53.0	4.6	98
Expansive	46.7	7.1	55.1	6.5	54.2	5.1	100
Resigned	47.6	7.0	54.3	6.7	54.1	5.0	98
Total	47.7	7.2	54.5	6.6	53.8	4.9	296

Table 3
Means and Standard Deviations for Scores on
Compliance, Expansiveness, and Resignation for
Entire Subject Population by Sex

<u>Sex</u>	<u>Compliance Score</u>		<u>Expansiveness Score</u>		<u>Resignation Score</u>		<u>Total N</u>
	<u>Mean</u>	<u>SD</u>	<u>Mean</u>	<u>SD</u>	<u>Mean</u>	<u>SD</u>	
Males	48.6	7.0	53.7	7.2	53.8	4.8	115
Females	47.2	7.2	55.0	6.1	53.8	5.0	181

Table 4
Means and Standard Deviations for Each Personality Type
Controlling for the Form of Criticism Received

<u>Form of Criticism</u>	<u>Compliant Type</u>		<u>Expansive Type</u>		<u>Resigned Type</u>		<u>Total N</u>
	<u>Mean</u>	<u>SD</u>	<u>Mean</u>	<u>SD</u>	<u>Mean</u>	<u>SD</u>	
Compliant	37.8	3.2	43.3	1.7	45.4	1.9	36
Expansive	35.9	1.6	45.3	1.7	45.3	3.4	36
Resigned	38.3	1.2	43.4	3.4	45.3	3.2	36
Total	37.3	2.4	44.0	2.5	45.3	2.8	108

Table 4a
Means and Standard Deviations of Compliance Score,
Expansive Score, and Resigned Score for Entire Subject Population

	<u>Mean</u>	<u>Standard Deviation</u>
Compliance Score	48.7	9.7
Expansive Score	54.5	8.9
Resigned Score	52.8	6.5

Test of the Major Hypotheses:
Personality and Criticism Effects

The major hypotheses tested concerned the prediction of differences in personality reactions to the three forms of social criticism. Following the reading of a story critical of their dominant personality style, subjects who fit that personality were expected to react with more emotion (anxiety, hostility, depression) than if presented with a criticism directed at the two other personality styles. Three forced choice questions regarding ways of acting to cope with the criticism were also predicted to discriminate between the personality types.

Using the Analysis of Variance on the interaction between the personality type of the subject and the criticism that the subject received, no significant effects were found to support differences in reactions to the three measures of emotion. This lack of discrimination in the report of emotional reaction may be related to the highly cognitive test demands subjects experienced while reading the criticism. The possibility of this "floor effect" in the emotional reactions will be discussed in the next chapter.

Using a Chi-Square analysis on the crosstabulation of personality responses to the three forms of social criticism significant differences were found on the question, "How you would restore your pride." (See Table 5.) Along with a marginally significant trend on the "what would you do or say" question, this was the only data supportive of an interaction between the personality type and the criticism received.

Each of the personality types responded to the different criticisms

Table 5

Method of Restoring Hurt Pride by Personality Type,
Controlling for Type of Criticism Received

<u>Form of Criticism</u>	<u>Personality Type</u>	<u>Method of Restoring Hurt Pride</u>			<u>χ^2 value</u>
		<u>Triumph</u>	<u>Sensitivity</u>	<u>Quietness</u>	
Compliant	Compliant	8.3	50.0	41.7	8.85*
	Expansive	41.7	41.7	16.7	
	Resigned	16.7	16.7	66.7	
Column Total		22.2	36.1	41.7	15.85**
Expansive	Compliant	0	33.3	16.7	
	Expansive	33.3	58.3	8.3	
	Resigned	50.0	8.3	41.7	
Column Total		27.8	50.0	22.2	10.05***
Resigned	Compliant	16.7	75.0	8.3	
	Expansive	75.0	16.7	8.3	
	Resigned	33.3	50.0	16.7	
Column Total		41.7	47.2	11.1	

*p < .0650

**p < .0032

***p < .0395

in unique ways. The compliant type tended to be generally shy or reserved. The expansive type tended to respond in a bold and active fashion. Finally, the resigned type tended to moderate responses depending on the criticism received.

Compliant types in the situation of expansive or resigned criticism reported "trying to be sensitive" as the best means of restoring their pride. However, in the situation of compliant criticism, nearly half of the group reported a solution of "finding a quiet place." The most typical quality to a compliant personality response was a steering away from the "triumph in the next task" solution.

Expansive types most favored "sensitivity" responses in a situation of expansive criticism, while splitting their responses between "triumphing" and "sensitivity" in a situation of compliant criticism, and strongly reacting with the "triumph" solution in the face of a resigned criticism. The expansive type's response in all of the situations was an active one of involvement with others, avoiding especially the solution of quietness in dealing with hurt pride.

Resigned types reported reacting to hurt pride in their characteristic solution of "quietness" particularly when criticized for their compliant motives. When responding to expansive criticism, half of this group favored an assertive "triumph" solution, while the other half remained content in "quietness." When directly criticized for their resigned motives, however, the majority of the group attempted to sooth their hurt pride with a "sensitivity" response.

Each personality type responded with a stereotypical answer in reacting to expansive criticism on the question of "what would they do

or say to the person making the criticism." This trend, although only marginally significant ($p = .1018$), supports the findings reported on the personality responses on the "pride" question. Compliant types were more likely to "tell the person they were sorry" (58.3%). Expansive types were most likely to "tell person they were angry" (66.7%). Finally, the resigned type responded by either "tell angry" (50%) or "walk away" (33.3%).

A very clear effect between personality types across all the criticisms resulted in their responses to the "restoring pride" question. Each type responded in ways typical of their coping styles. (See Table 6.) Once again, the pattern of response in the compliant type was in favor of "sensitivity," the expansive style reported mostly "triumph" solutions, and the resigned type, while splitting responses, reported a majority of "quietness" solutions.

When personality is considered alone in its effects, another result of importance occurred in a report of depression between the types. Compliant types experienced greater depression than other types when reacting to the criticism, although this effect was only marginally significant. The experimenter feels that this result is worthy of reporting because it agrees with the prediction Karen Horney would make concerning the compliant type's emotional makeup. As significant as the compliant type's greater depression was the less depressed response style of the resigned type, also supporting Horney's views. (See Table 7.)

The effects of the criticisms alone were analyzed across the entire subject population to study their general effects. One significant effect resulted to the questions and one to the emotional variables. The question

Table 6

Method of Restoring Hurt Pride by Personality Type of Subject

<u>Personality Type</u>	<u>Method of Restoring Hurt Pride</u>			<u>x² Value</u>
	<u>Triumph</u>	<u>Sensitivity</u>	<u>Quietness</u>	
Compliant	8.3	69.4	22.2	
Expansive	50.0	38.9	11.1	25.62*
Resigned	33.3	25.0	41.7	
Column Totals	30.6	25.0	41.7	

*p < .001

Table 7
Means and Standard Deviations on the Depression
Response by Personality Type

<u>Personality</u>	<u>Depression Scores</u>		<u>F value</u>
	<u>Mean</u>	<u>SD</u>	
Compliant	24.6	7.1	
Expansive	23.6	5.1	2.33*
Resigned	21.8	4.1	

*p < .1026

of how to restore pride was again the only forced choice response to discriminate the effects of the criticisms. (See Table 8.) On measures of emotional response following the criticism the expansive critique produced significantly more hostility than the others. This was essentially a confirmation of the story's intended effect. (See Table 9.)

The difference between the pride restoration responses across the forms of criticism seems most accounted for by the movement of subjects into "quietness" solutions after they have been criticized for compliant motives. Those subjects receiving expansive or resigned criticism appear to require an interpersonally involving response of either "sensitivity" or "triumphing."

The Effect of Sex, Personality-Sex and Criticism-Sex Interactions

The comparisons between the sexes revealed some of the most interesting results in the study. These effects become striking when males and females of the same personality or those receiving the same criticism respond in distinctive ways. The effect of sex was not conceived of when developing the major hypothesis for the experiment; however, the results on sex differences produced data supporting several of Horney's postulates.

When sex effects are considered by themselves there occurred a significantly higher report of anxiety in female subjects (see Table 10), as well as a significant inverse response pattern between males and females reporting "pride restoration" solutions of "triumphing" vs. "sensitivity," after reading the criticisms. (See Table 11.)

When the sex of the subject interacts with the form of criticism

Table 8
 Mode of Restoring Hurt Pride by
 the Form of Criticism Received

<u>Form of Criticism</u>	<u>Method of Restoring Pride</u>			<u>χ^2 Value</u>
	<u>Triumph</u>	<u>Sensitivity</u>	<u>Quietness</u>	
Compliant	29.6	34.7	35.7	16.78*
Expansive	34.0	44.0	22.0	
Resigned	38.8	50.0	11.2	
Column Totals	34.1	42.9	23.0	

*p < .002

Table 9
Means and Standard Deviations of Hostility Response
by Form of Criticism

<u>Form of Criticism</u>	<u>Hostility Response</u>		<u>F Value</u>
	<u>Mean</u>	<u>SD</u>	
Compliant	14.4	4.2	
Expansive	16.6	4.5	9.72*
Resigned	14.3	3.6	

$p < .001$

Table 10

Means and Standard Deviations on Anxiety Response by Sex

<u>Sex</u>	<u>Anxiety Response</u>		<u>F</u>
	<u>Mean</u>	<u>SD</u>	<u>Value</u>
Males	11.1	3.2	9.67*
Females	12.2	2.9	

*p < .002

Table 11
Method of Restoring Hurt Pride by Sex of the Subject

<u>Sex</u>	<u>Method of Restoring Pride</u>			χ^2 <u>Value</u>
	<u>Triumph</u>	<u>Sensitivity</u>	<u>Quietness</u>	
Males	41.7	33.9	24.3	6.90*
Females	29.3	48.6	22.1	
Column Totals	34.1	42.9	23.0	

*p < .032

received a significant effect was produced on the measure of depression. This result was studied more thoroughly with several T-Test comparisons. In all, 15 T-Tests were performed on each possible combination of sex-criticism interaction. The means and standard deviations on the depression responses for all significant sex-criticism comparisons are presented in Table 12. Of the 5 T-Tests that produced significant results all involved a comparison with the group of males who responded to the resigned criticism. Males reported feeling less depressed when criticized for their resigned motives than did those males responding to expansive or compliant criticisms, or females responding to expansive, compliant, or resigned criticisms. Most noteworthy here is the more intense experience of depression reported by females responding to resigned criticism. This result suggests that females attach a meaning to resigned motivations that males do not share. This phenomenon may relate to the different conditions of gender socialization and will be discussed in the following chapter.

Several important interactions occur between the personality type and sex of subject on two of the three forced choice questions. The results imply that expansive males are different than expansive females, as well as compliant males being different than compliant females.

When looking within the expansive personalities differences between the sexes were reported in responses to both the "how appropriate was the criticism" and "how would you restore your pride" questions. (See Tables 13 and 14.) When ranking the criticisms as either very unfair, not fair, appropriate, or very appropriate, all expansive males reported the criticisms as very unfair or appropriate, yet not a single one

Table 12
T-Tests Between the Sexes Controlling for the Form
of Criticism Received on Depression Response

<u>Form of Criticism</u>	<u>Sex</u>	<u>Depression Response</u>		<u>F Value</u>
		<u>Mean</u>	<u>SD</u>	
Resigned	Males	21.0	3.7	2.06
Expansive	Males	22.9	5.3	$p < .031$
Resigned	Males	21.0	3.7	2.63
Compliant	Males	24.0	6.0	$p < .004$
Resigned	Males	21.0	3.7	1.87
Expansive	Females	23.8	5.0	$p < .044$
Resigned	Males	21.0	3.7	2.25
Compliant	Females	23.0	5.5	$p < .010$
Resigned	Males	21.0	3.7	2.26
Resigned	Females	23.9	5.6	$p < .009$

Table 13
 Ratings on the Appropriateness of the Criticism
 by Sex of Subject Within Expansive Personalities

<u>Sex</u>	<u>Appropriateness Ratings</u>				<u>χ^2 Value</u>
	<u>Very Unfair</u>	<u>Not Fair</u>	<u>Appropriate</u>	<u>Very Appropriate</u>	
Males	42.9	0	57.1	0	14.64*
Females	13.6	63.6	22.7	0	

*p < .001

Table 14
 Method of Restoring Hurt Pride by Sex of Subject
 Within the Expansive Personalities

<u>Sex</u>	<u>Method of Restoring Pride</u>			χ^2 <u>Value</u>
	<u>Triumph</u>	<u>Sensitivity</u>	<u>Quietness</u>	
Males	64.3	14.3	21.4	6.70*
Females	40.9	54.5	4.5	

*p < .035

responded with choices not fair or very appropriate. Females, however, tended to moderate a negative appropriateness rating responding mostly with a "not fair" opinion. Expansive males in contrast to expansive females seem to need an extreme, well defined opinion. Support for this observation is evidenced in the expansive males report on the pride restoration question which overwhelmingly favors a triumph solution, while the expansive female is able to arrive at pride restoration either through "triumphing" or "sensitivity." The difference between the expansive male and the expansive female personality styles may be a factor of the fragility of the masculine self-esteem on tasks requiring an assertive opinion. This will be discussed in the next chapter.

The "pride" question also discriminated between the responses of males and females within the compliant personality type. Female compliant types in a startling 82% of the responses chose a "sensitivity" solution, while avoiding entirely any "triumph" solutions. The male compliant type was more able to split his responses between all three choices, despite still preferring the "sensitivity" solution. (See Table 15.)

Table 15

Method of Restoring Pride by Sex Within the Compliant Personality

<u>Sex</u>	<u>Method of Restoring Pride</u>			χ^2 <u>Value</u>
	<u>Triumph</u>	<u>Sensitivity</u>	<u>Quietness</u>	
Males	21.4	50.0	28.6	6.38*
Females	0	81.8	18.2	

*p < .0412

C H A P T E R I V

DISCUSSION

The discussion is organized around three areas of results. First, the lack of emotional distinctions between the personalities on the various criticisms will be explained by referring both to the experimental demands of the criticism readings and the defensive response pattern which Horney's psychology might predict. The second part of the discussion will evaluate the personality effects found in response to the "pride restoration" question. The reactions and coping strategies experienced by each personality to the three different criticisms will be compared with Horney's predictions of characteristic personality patterns. Finally, the sex differences on the responses to the criticisms will be appraised by looking at Horney's views on feminine-masculine psychology and contemporary psychological and sociological gender demands and expectations which support these trends.

The major hypothesis predicted that persons with compulsive character styles would experience increased feelings of anxiety, hostility, and depression by having conflicting personality trends surface. Criticisms were constructed around Karen Horney's concepts of "basic anxiety" and "neurotic pride," with the expectation that each character type denied awareness of selfish and/or hostile interpersonal gratifications, while focusing attention on positive "idealized self" images (after Horney, 1937, 1945, 1950). In this way, the overbearing, expansively prided

individual might discover that he is essentially frightened. The overly sweet, compliant person might recognize shocking evidence of extreme unconscious hostility. The stoically resigned individual might contact his hidden longings for intimate relations.

The results of the interaction between personality type of the subject and the criticisms received produced effects confirming the experimental hypothesis chiefly on the question of "how would you restore your hurt pride," and partially on the question of "what would you do or say," as well as a marginally significant depression response difference between the personalities. The lack of the report of emotional differences between the personalities was an unexpected result.

The difficulty in gaining significant differences on the emotional variables seemed to be a general problem across most factors. This small degree of emotional reaction appears to reflect the highly cognitive demand of the criticism reading, which in turn produced a blockage in the subjects' ability to genuinely put themselves fully into the situation. On open ended written responses following the criticisms, subjects commented on this difficulty.

The criticisms had been designed to raise an awareness of the complexity of personality motivations, a task that required the subject to be less feelings oriented and more thoughtful. This cognitive appreciation for the content of the criticism appears to have dampened the extent of emotional experience subjects felt when responding to the adjective checklist. Many subjects commented that they felt they were being less criticized than psychoanalyzed when in the act of reading the evaluation. The probing quality of the critical statement additionally seemed

unrealistically harsh and negatively biased to many subjects. In this way, it may be that their emotional responses reflected their resistance in truly "imagining" an actual situation. The stories seemed too far fetched, hardly approximating a real possibility, and hence producing less emotion.

Horney's psychology offers another explanation. There could be sufficient reason for a compulsively motivated individual to not report emotional reactions even if they might have occurred. In an effort to preserve a precarious equilibrium, feelings may become a source of danger. The mind of the rigidly fixed personality may become supreme in its ability to automatically check emotions. Horney says, "A person's pride may be vulnerable, but he does not consciously express any feeling of hurt" (1950, p. 98). Horney's neurotic personality by his self-righteous attitude severely dulls his capacity to feel. She comments again, "Genuine feelings for self are dampened or diminished, sometimes to a vanishing point. In short, pride governs feelings" (1950, p. 162).

One last issue related to the lack of discrimination on the emotional variables may be the question of the validity of the Wilkins Dynamic Trend Scale (1956) in its ability to measure different personalities. Although Wilkins reported a difficulty in formulating specific attributes of the resigned type, he put considerable effort into the validation of the scale, the basis for the majority of his study, and he finally concluded that "preliminary investigations with this scale aided in developing its reliability to an acceptable range" (1956, p. 70). In fact, here within the present study support for the validity of the scale is revealed in the different personality responses to the "pride restoration" response. This

will be discussed shortly. The one personality difference on emotional responses occurred in the compliant personalities experiencing more overall depression than other types, although this effect was only marginally significant.

The higher reported depression among compliant personalities is an expected result according to Horney's hypotheses. Depression functions to support the unique defensive posture employed by compliant personalities more so than it does in the stance of the expansive or resigned individual. In reference to the compliant type, Horney says:

To have deep feelings is part of his image. He can fulfill the resulting inner dictates only if he reinforces the self-abnegating trends which have grown out of his solution to his basic conflict with people. He must therefore develop an ambivalent attitude toward his own pride.... He feels not only small and helpless but also guilty, unwanted, unlovable, stupid, incompetent. He is the underdog and identifies himself readily with others who are downtrodden. (1950, pp. 222-223)

Being criticized permits the individual to feel rejectable--to a greater or lesser degree. In the compliant type, criticism allows for a wallowing in feelings of suffering, helplessness, or defeat, traits which are useful in maintaining the structure of the defensive personality pattern.

The other side of the compliant's higher reported depression is the lower report of depression in resigned individuals. From the point of view of Horney's psychology, this typical reaction represents the resigned type's distance from his inner emotional life. She says:

What is crucial is their inner need to put emotional distance between themselves and others. More accurately, it is their conscious and unconscious determination not to get emotionally involved with others in any way, whether in love, fight, cooperation, or competition. They draw around themselves a kind of magic circle which no one can penetrate. (1945, p. 75)

In cultivating a personal image of independence, objectivity, and stoicism,

the resigned type strongly resists what he sees as the coercion of a depressing episode.

The most effective measure of personality differences on responses to the three criticisms was the question on "How would you restore your pride assuming it had been hurt." The variations between the personalities can be accounted for by describing both the movements each type employed to cope with the criticisms and the unique ways each preserved a unified and directed self-image in the face of outer frustrations and inner conflict. What pattern characterized the dominant coping strategy? Which esteemed traits or values did the individual find necessary to cultivate in order to solidify his sense of identity?

Compliant types responded to the criticisms most characteristically by their avoidance of a "triumph" solution. Their favorite coping strategy was one of trying to show increased sensitivity in dealing with others. The only time the compliant subject moved away from the sensitivity response was when in the situation of being directly criticized for false compliant motives, and here the largest proportion of compliant types retreated into a "quietness" solution. The compliant story of criticism had the same effect on the other two personalities. It appears that when seemingly positive motives become the source of distrust and confusion, resignation offers the best means of sorting out hurt feelings.

The sensitivity coping strategy which typified the compliant type's response to criticism appears related to a need that compels this person to develop traits of devotion, loyalty, self-sacrifice, and tolerance, qualities which serve to maintain what Horney (1937) sees as defensive personal mottos designed to both secure affection and reduce anxiety.

These mottos particular to the compliant type's stance are: "If you love me you will not hurt me," and "If I give in, I shall not be hurt" (pp. 82-82).

Against these positively esteemed trends in the compliant style lies an extreme negative aversion to being in any position of advantage or power. For the compliant person winning and achievement are not only undesirable but disturbing because they threaten to disrupt a stable self-image which thrives on modesty or weakness. Horney says,

Privileges in his mind, turn into liabilities ... repeated achievements in his field do not make him feel more mature, but more anxious ... there are taboos on all that is presumptuous, selfish, or aggressive. (1950, pp. 218-219)

The resigned personality responded to the pride question in a more varied fashion, reflecting a mixture of intimacy fears, risks at sensitivity, and elements of an assertive protest. When criticized directly for some selfish or dishonest motives in his withdrawal from others, the resigned person seemed to assuage this guilty accusation with a response pattern bent on "sensitivity." However, when the resigned type read a criticism of compliant defenses the "quietness" solution was strongly preferred, indicating that his attempt at an affectionate involvement lacked conviction or courage.

The most surprising responses of the resigned personality occurred in reaction to the expansive criticism where "triumph" solutions were equally preferred to that of "quietness." This style of actively coming out of isolation suggests that resigned types do not always take things "lying down" (or "spacing out" if you wish). Although they may feel entitled to having others not intrude upon their privacy, sometimes this

appeal for freedom turns into a rebellious style of "not wanting to be bothered." This expansive quality is described by Horney. She says, "actually the resigned person is a subdued rebel ... he becomes more and more bent on 'being himself' which is a curious mixture of protest, conceit, and genuine elements" (1950, pp. 283-284).

The expansive type in the majority of cases reported a "triumph" solution in restoring hurt pride. This result corresponds with the prediction in Horney's character descriptions. For the expansive type,

The appeal of life lies in its mastery. It chiefly entails his determination, conscious or unconscious, to overcome every obstacle--in or outside himself--and the belief that he should be able, and in fact is able, to do so. (1950, p. 192)

This effect was most extreme when expansive subjects read criticism of resigned motives. It appears that expansive activity gets most aroused by the suspicion of "being outside of or not on top of the situation."

A high "sensitivity" response pattern in the expansive type was an unexpected result and raises some doubts about the completeness of Horney's personality account. Is the expansive type capable of some general warmth, despite his tough front? Is he as cold as Horney portrays him:

He does not pretend to be a friendly person; in fact he disdains doing so ... He tends to deny that a wish to be helpful, or a friendly act, is ever genuine. (1950, p. 207)

The answers to these questions may fall somewhere in between Horney's assertions about the expansive's "intolerance for the appearance of love" and this experimental support for the apparent softness and care which the expansive type reports. A look at the responses to the open ended questions may shed light on the issue.

There are several expansive open ended statements which indicate

that "sensitivity" responding sometimes included ulterior motivations, designed in the end to frustrate others, not really help them. Typical of these statements are:

I'd give in strategically, but eventually get even.

Be considerate but not at the expense of my own opinions.

Accommodate the person so that I wouldn't have to think about him.

In other cases, however, the expansive person seemed to express a real concern for the improvement of the relationship with the person seen as the criticizer. Some statements from this group are:

Try to take the criticism as constructive criticism.
Although you may not agree, other people may share some of the same feelings.

Be aware as possible to all influencing factors.

Thinking of others' feelings as well as yours could be helpful in this situation.

Overall, the results between the personalities to the "pride restoration" question followed closely from Horney's predictions. Each type seemed to gain or regain new sustenance from unique solutions. Pride for the expansive type generally meant "triumphing;" for the compliant type, "sensitivity;" and for the resigned person, a recharged inner solitude in "quietness."

The last topic for discussion reviews the different reactions between the sexes on their responses to the criticisms.

Sex Effects

In considering the different sex response patterns to the criticisms, the discussion will review evidence in support of these findings both within literature on Oedipal-biological predisposing factors as well as gender expectations reinforced through the socialization experience. Results relevant to sex differences include: more of an anxiety response in females, an inverse pattern of "triumph" vs. "sensitivity" solutions to the pride restoration question, and an increased report of depression experienced by females in response to resigned criticism.

That females reported experiencing more anxiety in response to the criticism than did males may relate to their higher scores on compliant personality trends. An anxiety response can be seen as a product of the internal prohibitions compliant types attach to the expression of anger. In reacting to a criticism, a female more so than a man might feel increased urgency and tension in controlling a contacted hostility. Horney's psychology makes constant use of the connection between repressed hostility and anxiety. She says, "Hostile impulses of various kinds form the main source from which neurotic anxiety springs" (1937, p. 54).

Several reservations should, however, be considered when explaining female anxiety on the basis of repressed hostility. First, despite the higher reports of expansiveness with males, they do not as a group react with significantly more hostility than do females. Secondly, if compliancy were the major reason why females show more anxiety than males, why do compliant personalities in general fail to show increased levels of anxiety than expansive or resigned types?

This dilemma gains some clarity when one recognizes that compliant

females react differently than do compliant males. In responses to the "pride restoration" question, females show a fixed and rigid preference for a "sensitivity" solution (82% of the females), while compliant males respond evenly across the three solutions. For the female, compliant behavior appears more tied to a fear of losing love. Horney suggests that helpful behavior may sometimes mask strong dependency needs, "What appears under the flag of devotion [may] actually [be] a sheer clinging to the partner for the sake of allaying anxiety. Hence the precarious nature of this security, and the never vanishing fear of being deserted" (1939, p. 253). From the more flexible response pattern of compliant males, it seems they are less caught within the web of this kind of anxiety.

An important difference occurred between males' and females' responses to the "pride restoration" question. Men were more likely to find the solution of "triumphing" more preferable than that of "sensitivity," but the opposite result was true for females. Why would the male consider his pride restored better by achievement and the female hers best restored by considerateness?

Nancy Chodorow (1978) in examining the sociology of gender and the reproduction of mothering behavior describes some early psychological determinants for later sex role personality patterns. In resolving the Oedipus complex, the boy's attachment to his mother is more threatening than the girl's and therefore needs to be more completely repressed. She says,

Compared with the girl's love for her father, a boy's love for his mother, because it is an extension of the intense mother-infant unity, is more overwhelming and threatening for

his ego and sense of [masculine] independence. (p. 131)

The boy's later interests in achievement or success, as expressed in the higher reports of "triumphing" solutions in male subjects, may reflect on this facet of the boy's Oedipal situation. The adult male needs to achieve so that to repress his fears and memories concerning his early love relation to his mother.

In several of Horney's papers on feminine psychology she accounts for the man's psychological development, considering growth themes which contribute to his preoccupation with performance or activity. In her paper on "The Dread of Women" (1932) she describes an uncanny and diffuse fear men have of women which she relates back to the time when the mother acted as the child's first censor or authority. Added to this anxiety is an instinctive inadequacy a boy feels about his ability to satisfy his mother, symbolized by his feelings that his penis is too small. These factors contribute to male "ego insecurities" which may compel men to be more concerned over issues of external competence. Horney says, "According to my experience, the dread of being derided or rejected is a typical ingredient in the analysis of every man, no matter what his mentality or structure of his neurosis" (p. 143).

Within the expansive personality type, men can be seen as needing to assert a strong or more extreme opinion than women, especially when ranking the criticism for how fair or appropriate it was. While women are capable of moderating their opinions across several answers, men state plainly a preference either for an "appropriate" or "very unfair" rating. There appears to be a need for the man to "have his opinion known."

In statements following the questions in the experiment, a large proportion of male responses show this intensified need for self-respect. Some of the answers following the question, "What would you do or say" were these:

"Laugh in his face"

"Call him an ignorant fool"

"Teach the bastard a lesson by driving him out of business"

"Tell him to take a flying one at the moon"

"Throw it in his face"

Horney (1950) makes reference in this regard to the significance of the power to retaliate. She says, "Because the power to retaliate is so important for the restoration of pride, this power in itself can be invested with pride" (p. 103).

Still another dynamic supplied by Horney on the male's greater need to achieve or "triumph" is presented in an earlier paper titled "The Flight from Womanhood" (1926). She describes the man as feeling a subjectively small role in the process of reproduction and thereby an envy of the woman's capacity for birth. Man's great need for creative achievement may be motivated by this "birth envy." She says,

Is not the tremendous strength in men of the impulse to creative work in every field precisely due to their feeling of playing a relatively small part in the creation of living beings, which constantly impels them to an over-compensation in achievement. (p. 61)

The other side of the difference between the sexes on their preference for a solution to hurt pride is the greater reports of women's "sensitivity" responses. This female inclination for restoring self esteem may be explained both by an analysis of the girl's early relations to her

mother, as well as by a cultural organization which supports passive female behavior.

Chodorow (1978) comments on the different pre-Oedipal relations of boys and girls to the mother figure as forming a basis for later psychological development. Mothers tend to experience their daughters as more alike and continuous with themselves, while experiencing their sons as male opposites. She says,

Girls emerge [from the early mother-infant relation] with a stronger basis for experiencing another's needs and feelings as one's own ... girls come to experience themselves as less differentiated than boys, as more continuous with and related to the external object-world. (p. 167)

The extreme degree to which interpersonal attitudes between boys and girls can be preformed by the organization of culture has been well documented in the work of Margaret Mead (1935). In studying the psychology of men and women in simple, primitive cultures Mead concludes that human nature is "almost unbelievably malleable." She reports,

We found the Arapesh--both men and women--displaying a personality that, out of our historically limited preoccupations, we would call maternal in its parental aspects, and feminine in its sexual aspects. We found men as well as women trained to be cooperative, unaggressive, responsive to the needs and demands of others. In marked contrast to these attitudes, we found among the Mundugumor that both men and women developed as both ruthless, aggressive, positively sexed individuals with the maternal cherishing aspects of the personality at a minimum. (pp. 190-191)

In contemporary American culture, there are significant structural factors which appear to contribute to the woman's preference for a self-esteem built on "sensitivity." Horney (1939) comments on the woman's situation,

Women lived for centuries under conditions in which she was kept away from great economic and political responsibilities and restricted to a private emotional sphere of life. This does

not mean that she did not carry responsibility and did not have to work. But her work was done in the confines of the family circle and therefore was based on emotionalism, in contradistinction to more impersonal matter of fact relations. (p. 114)

The preference among females for "sensitivity" solutions when restoring pride may be related to the traditional opportunities available for the woman's development of her feelings of self-worth.

The last result to shed light on the different emotional response pattern between the sexes occurred in the greater experience of depression in females after reading an evaluation of dishonest resigned motivations. Males reading resigned criticism were significantly less depressed. What meaning does a resigned criticism have for females that it lacks for males? May it be that while males feel more comfortable in independence and non-involvement, females find it more difficult to stand apart?

The resigned criticism was constructed so that it highlighted the real needs for close involvement that were being held in check, while claiming that a superior stance in objectivity was falsely shadowing these needs. Men seemed to be more at ease with this evaluation, and women more troubled. Literature in the area of gender role socialization and the construction of selfhood between the sexes may provide clues on the reasons for these differences.

Alexandra Symonds (1978) describes the difficulty woman can experience in building a stance of self-sufficiency. Often a daughter's rejection of her mother's passivity and self-effacement is sparked by the girl's feeling that being a woman amounts to second-class status. While the male gains support for his independence from the approval of the world at large, the female is often in the position of having an absence of peer

support, increasing her sense of isolation. For this reason the job of maintaining a self-sustaining position, for the female, may mask unresolved dependency needs. She states, "When the women becomes alienated intra-psychically from her own inner needs, then she is unable to feed herself emotionally and unable to seek or accept nurturing from another person" (p. 204). The experimental criticism of unhealthy resigned motives may generate doubts about unresolved needs for closeness within females, while the cultural situation for men allows them to feel more safe and secure in their feelings of stoicism.

The close relation between mothers and their daughters may also contribute to a situation among many women where separateness has negative meanings. Harriet Lerner (1980) describes the woman's problem,

... declaring one's separateness and difference from mother is a relatively more difficult and complex task for the girl child. It is the daughter, in particular, who may unconsciously experience moves toward autonomy as dangerous, as if to be separate and complete without mother constitutes a disloyal betrayal of the relationship between them. (p. 141)

A woman's statement of depression, in contrast to that of anger, may emphasize the need for connectedness and fusion, thereby passifying the anxiety of separateness. Lerner says, "Expressing hurt draws the object closer and emphasizes his/her importance to the self. Hurt in contrast to anger, emphasizes the relational 'we' rather than the autonomous 'I'" (p. 141).

In contrast to the woman, the man is more comfortable within a resigned disposition. Part of the man's construction of selfhood generally includes an image of self-reliance and autonomy. Boles and Tatro (1980) characterize this masculine self-image, "The Marlboro Man is a

stereotypical example of the ideal male stance--alone-in-the-wilderness--dependent only upon himself" (p. 231).

Overall, significant results occurred to support some of Horney's notions about personality differences and sex role inclinations. In certain cases, Horney's conceptualizations were less able to completely account for the various response patterns of particular personalities. The high reports of "sensitivity" responses in expansive types fit this classification. The impressive nature of the sex differences discovered were only hinted at by Horney in her earlier work when she was revising the Freudian construction of feminine-masculine psychology. In her later theory, however, Horney abandons this important discussion of sex-specific personality trends for the more neutral psychology of a comprehensive personality typology.

In the following chapter, after reviewing the organization of the investigation and summarizing its results, this discussion will be distilled for certain conclusions and implications. What were some procedural weaknesses of the present study and how can they be improved? Is there a clearer view of Horney's psychology because of this study? What might be some possibilities for future research?

CHAPTER V

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

This study was undertaken with the purpose of systematically assessing certain aspects of the personality theory of Karen Horney. Despite the frequency with which Horney's views are espoused on a clinical-intuitive basis there has been a marked scarcity of empirical studies on her concepts.

First an attempt was made to develop Horney's ideas within an historical context. This effort was intended to guide the reader to the origins of her thinking as well as to emphasize the progress and revisions she made in her conceptualizations while breaking from orthodox psychoanalytic theory.

Following the brief biography, a summary of Horney's theory was presented accenting the concepts of "basic anxiety," "basic conflict," and "self-idealization," important aspects of her thinking which were relevant to the major hypothesis of the study. The three comprehensive personality patterns Horney describes were detailed and the special forms of pride each esteems were outlined.

The design of the experiment involved an assessment of the three personality types, which were regarded as extreme attitudinal-behavior patterns, involving movements with respect to "moving towards," "moving against," and "moving away" from others. Of 296 subjects responding to the personality questionnaire, 108 were classified into one of the three personality types, allowing for 12 subjects of each type to respond to

each form of social criticism. The expectation was that certain distinctive response patterns between the personalities could be specified or predicted according to Horney's personality theorems.

Three separate critical stories were developed according to specific defensive qualities unique to each personality type. Each criticism was aimed at arousing and making vulnerable the subjects' fragile basis for constructing their self-esteem. A general hypothesis was formulated: That individuals who fit a particular personality pattern would react most emotionally to social criticism intended to expose the contradictions and fallacies behind their particular personality stance and less emotionally to criticism directed at the shortcomings of the other two personality styles.

The emotional response pattern was assessed by an adjective checklist devised for the purpose of measuring immediate mood changes of anxiety, hostility, and depression. Three forced choice questions were constructed with answers paralleling the three typical coping styles of each personality type. These were included as additional dependent measures following the criticism.

Regarding the major hypothesis in the study, the following results were reported:

1. No significant differences in the emotional responses of anxiety, hostility, and depression between the personality types (albeit a marginally significant trend for an experience of greater depression among subjects in the compliant personality type).

2. A significant variation between personalities on the manner in which they restored their hurt pride on each criticism, as well as a

strong preference each type showed for particular pride solutions. The compliant type most favored "sensitivity," the expansive type most favored "triumph," and the resigned type most frequently chose "quietness" as solutions.

Other important findings related to sex differences in the study were these:

1. A greater report of anxiety for females when reacting to the criticism.

2. An inverse response pattern between the sexes on their preferences for different means of restoring hurt pride. The females tended to most prefer "sensitivity" solutions, while the males most favored "triumph" solutions.

3. A lower report of depression among males responding to criticism of resigned motivations.

The results of this investigation were discussed in three sections. First, the generally low emotional response pattern which all subjects experienced after reading the criticisms was analyzed by reference both to the cognitive test demands of the reading and the predictions that a Horneyian psychology would account for. Next, the variation of the personalities on the "pride restoration" question was compared with some paralleling predictions in Horney's descriptions, with confirming and deviating effects reviewed. Finally, literature explaining several significant sex differences was presented.

The attempt in this investigation to produce emotional differences in the reactions of the various personalities proved to be a problem which had originally been underestimated in its difficulty. Inevaluating the

general outcome of this phase of the study, it seems appropriate to indicate that there may be definite limitations in getting subjects to actively imagine emotional responses. It may even be suggested that the encouragement of active imagination, as was done in this experiment, may facilitate a low emotional response pattern, while assisting the individual in elaborating a defensive system against what might otherwise be perceived as real conflicts.

Some of the difficulty in assessing individual variations may be related to the manner in which Horney's modes of adjustment are composed. This typology is not a "pure" one in the sense that each subject's score represented an overlapping of trends. An argument might therefore be forwarded that the personalities were not functionally consistent in their responses across criticisms, reacting differently depending on the situational cues and moods, shifting in and out of differing personality inclinations. These influences, however, should have provided a net strength which was still insufficient to eclipse the dominant personality pattern.

The procedure for selecting the personality types depended on a large survey and screening of subjects, so that these so-called "dominant types" would be assessed. In addition, each type was expected to react to each of three forms of social criticism. In order to keep the readings of the criticisms separate from each other so as to avoid having one confound the effect of the other, three subgroupings of each personality were formed for each of the three forms of social criticism. The overall effect of this process was to reduce the strength of the personality type classifications by number for each of the personality-criticism interactions to 12 subjects per cell of the experiment. However, across personality types

the strength of the screening procedure remained solid with 36 subjects falling into each cell. This personality screening dilemma contributed to the problems gaining significant personality effects across criticisms.

Even with these shortcomings in the personality assessment procedure, some fruitful effects resulted confirming some of Horney's postulates concerning different coping styles of each character type. Individuals who scored high on a particular trend were especially found to respond consistently with that trend in answering the question of "how they would restore their hurt pride." Some of the personality types responded in a highly characteristic fashion, while others were less so. This appears to relate both to the representation of these personalities within the undergraduate population and the accuracy with which Horney originally formulated her typology.

The compliant type responded in a style most typical of what Horney's psychology predicted. The undergraduate population represented compliant personalities much more than expansive or resigned, which helped in arriving at a stronger personality classification for compliant types. Furthermore, compliant behavior may generally be considered by subjects as more of a "normal" or "healthy" way of responding, as opposed to the aggressiveness of the expansive type or the antisocial behavior of the resigned person. In fact, Horney herself comments on the more humane disposition of the compliant. She says,

To be sure, the needs to win people, to be close to others, to live in peace are determined by weakness or fear and hence are indiscriminate, but they contain germs of healthy human attitudes. These qualities make the self-effacing person, as it were, more "human" than many other neurotics. (1950, p. 237)

The expansive personality, although favoring "triumph" solutions when restoring hurt pride, showed more "sensitivity" reactions than might normally be associated with his tough stance. Horney's mode of expansiveness might therefore be in need of some modification, so that to more fully account for this "sensitivity" trend. Expansive trends were most difficult to assess contributing to this unexpected result; however, it might be that the extreme expansive type described by Horney is a rarity, with few people being so simply expansive, or fixated on aggressiveness as Horney's psychology might predict.

While more likely to favor "quietness" responses than expansive or compliant types, resigned personalities reacted more evenly across all responses. This appears related to the suppressed compliant and expansive trends which Horney describes as typical of a resigned personality. Another consideration, though, may relate to the difficulty in formulating specific attributes of a detached stance. The resigned personality pattern is less easily established or predicted than a compliant or expansive style.

Differences between the sexes were impressive on the variations to the pride restoration question and especially on the depression response to the resigned criticism. Contemporary Horneyian clinicians have begun to recognize the significance of these sex differences (see Symonds, 1978; Lerner, 1980; and Boles and Tatro, 1980), yet Horney herself in her later books on personality made little reference to these important sex-personality interactions.

The suggestion was offered that concepts in this study were difficult to operationalize or assess. It is feasible, however, that the

methods employed here might be expanded to include a separate screening procedure and an experimental situation which requires an active subject participation. Despite some limitations of the present investigation, fruitful results were found to confirm the usefulness of some of Horney's personality variables. Other findings which discriminated responses between the sexes merit a need for further investigations along these lines.

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APPENDIX 1

INFORMED CONSENT FORM

Dear Subject,

In this experiment, you will be asked to respond to a set of 26 items, ranking each of 3 statements in each item for you most favorite and least favorite. Some of these items might be difficult to rank, requiring careful thought. Afterwards, you will be asked to imagine yourself as a person receiving a particular form of social criticism. Following the reading of the critical story, you will respond on an adjective checklist to how you think you would feel if you received the criticism. Finally you will write out responses to a few open ended questions. I will be available during the experiment to answer inquiries concerning the procedures.

If at any time during the experiment you would like to withdraw, you are free to do so.

Given the description above, I consent
to take part in the experiment,

Signed _____

INSTRUCTIONS

Please complete your reading of the instructions before turning the page. The material following these instructions is set up in the following manner: Each numbered item contains three statements representing human attitudes and/or behavior. When you read them you will probably find that all statements within a given item may seem quite reasonable, but that all within another item may seem quite unreasonable.

Your task is to pick the statement in each item with which you most agree, or which best fits you in some way, and also pick the one that least fits you, or the one that you most disagree in some way. Mark the one with which you most agree with a "1" and the one you feel least agreement with a "3".

When you have correctly completed the task each item(made of three statements) should contain one marked "1", one marked "3", and one left blank. It is understood by the experimenter that marking a statement "1" may merely indicate that it is the one in the group that you disagree with less strongly than the others, eventhough you really find all the statements within the item to be quite disagreeable.

Take your time and be as honest as you can.

The following shows how a typical completed item might appear:

_____	The first statement in the item
<u> 1 </u>	The second statement in the item
<u> 3 </u>	The third statement in the item

1. — When I'm frustrated or someone disappoints me I usually become a bit depressed and am likely to see that it was largely my own fault anyway.
- When I'm frustrated by someone I usually want most to get away from him(her, them) because few things are worth getting all worked-up about.
- When I'm frustrated by someone I usually become irritated or angry and am as likely as not to let the offending party know where I stand.
2. — I always try to manage to provide for myself in a modest way and seek to avoid the scratching and hurly-burly of competitive striving.
- I feel that although there are perhaps some rules for fair play, one should play hard and play to win in life.
- I try to feel that I usually think of the other fellow first as a model for living.
3. — Aggressive and dominant people usually make me feel awkward and incapable, maybe a little angry.
- Aggressive and dominant people amuse me, except when they make demands on me-- then I want to get away from them.
- Aggressive and dominant people merely show on the surface what everyone wants to be capable of, if the truth were known.
4. — Sentimentalists, and bossy people especially, seem to lack the knowledge that the only real richness in life lies inside themselves.
- The scheme of life is such that one must assert himself and his will or be forever bogged down by false morality and softheadedness.
- I would really hate to have anyone think of me as being aggressive or "pushy" because I try to give others the benefit of the doubt.
5. — I believe the open, friendly, and kind people sometimes expect too much in the way of intimacy and "loyalty" in return for their favors.
- I still believe that in the long run "the meek shall inherit..." and I like best people who are sensitive, kind, and friendly.
- I believe that on the whole there are some people who are genuinely kind and generous, but by far most people have some personal "axe to grind".

6. — Quiet, self-sufficient people are often merely afraid of the dirty reality of life's struggles.
- Quietness and selfsufficiency are desirable for avoiding the need to rely on others and expecting much from them.
- Quiet, self-sufficient people often have the effect of making me feel useless and unneeded.
7. — I must admit that an attractive and intelligent member of the opposite sex often appears as a challenge for me to master or command.
- I must admit that an attractive and intelligent member of the opposite sex often makes me feel clumsy, embarrassed or foolish.
- It seems to me that an attractive and intelligent member of the opposite sex is often so surrounded by others that there is a noticable personal emptiness.
8. — Winning and losing are relative affairs and mostly a matter of people getting themselves involved in something that lacks any real basic importance.
- I guess I am really a poor loser, but I always feel I've been a fool to be beaten at something when I know I could have done much better with a little more effort.
- I generally don't mind losing because it often makes the winner feel good at least, and for that matter I sometimes feel I've taken unfair advantage when I do win.
9. — I sometimes feel lost, alone, helpless.
- I always try to match danger with courage and strength.
- I generally take a pretty detached view of life's risks.
10. — Many people lead dismal or unhappy lives due to circumstances over which they had no control at all.
- Human misery by and large results from people wanting or expecting too much and not having an adequate sense of proportion.
- Most people suffer the obvious consequences of not dealing with life and it's situations realistically.
11. — I want to be free, not interfered with.
- I want to be approved of and loved.
- I want to be respected as strong and able.

12. — There are many dangers in life, but the adequate person is the one who has mastered them through his own wit and strength.
- There are many dangers in life, but it is all worth while if there is someone we love, who loves us in return.
- There are many dangers in life, but many of them are imaginary and result from people being too emotional.
13. — Sometimes even when I know I could do a thing well I'm afraid to be firm and/or stubborn enough to see it through.
- When I'm convinced I'm right I'm not easily moved, and yield only under extreme pressure.
- When I'm certain I'm right I still don't feel that it's worth knocking myself out to convince anybody, that's their problem.
14. — I often feel inferior in education, intelligence, and worth to people with whom I associate, even though in some cases my accomplishments are just as great.
- The endless competition of people for different things involves a lot of sordid and scheming behavior that I would generally just as soon avoid.
- I generally feel that with continued effort on my part I can be superior to most people I meet, after all "fortune befriends the bold".
15. — A desirable society would be one of the artisans and craftspeople and would ensure that each could develop his uniqueness with a minimum of interference from others.
- Rebirth of a situation where rugged individualism would be truly possible is desirable for then the strongest and most capable can come to the fore as leaders.
- In certain basic ways I favor a truly democratic state where there would truly be equal opportunity for all and social security for the less favored; a "fair deal".
16. — The best motto is: "I would rather sit on a pumpkin, and have it all to myself, than to be crowded on a velvet cushion".
- The best motto is: "Charity suffereth long and is kind; charity envieth not; charity vaunteth not itself, is not puffed up".
- The best motto is: "To all the sensual world proclaim, one crowded hour of glorious life is worth an age without a name".

17. — It seems to me that the more you permit yourself to like others the greater are your chances that you can get hurt.
- I think that when the chips are down the best course is to be tough-minded and realistic, regardless of feelings.
- I must confess that I'm very sensitive to other's feelings and I always try to avoid hurting them by words or actions.
18. — Although it may seem distressing, for the most part I feel that one makes one's own destiny and basically power is always right, weakness always wrong in the world.
- I guess I feel that if everyone were more loving and kind society would be better off and the world would be a happier place to live in.
- It seems to me that the great evil of our time is the restriction of individuality through "conformism" and even greater curbs on personal freedom.
19. — The most important teaching of religion lies in the idea of the basic brotherhood of men.
- The most important part of religion is seen in the moral strength and courage of those who believe.
- The most important part of religion is that it enables the individual to come to grips with the problems of life and secure peace of mind.
20. — I am usually closely acquainted with several people but I guess I feel basically that beyond certain points there is no one that can be trusted.
- I get along well with others but the truth of the matter is that familiarity breeds contempt and it is best to be independent of others as much as possible.
- I'm miserable without at least one person(friend or lover) with whom I can share my deepest feelings in real closeness.
21. — I require most just to be able to work out a path to a significant life as an individual.
- I require most to be respected for my competence, ability and achievements.
- I require most to be liked, wanted, desired, loved, and needed for what I am.

22. — When people become angry with me I tend to blame myself, for after all, I have plenty of weaknesses and shortcomings, even though in this case I may be right.
- When people become angry with me it is usually because they have made unreasonable or unwarranted assumptions about what they can expect from me.
- When people become angry with me it frequently seems due to the fact that they envy the position I have taken or my triumph over some problem.
23. — Life is fulfilled if one achieves mastery over its obstacles and finds his place in the sun.
- Life's greatest happiness is to be found in doing things with or for someone who loves us, no matter what.
- One's most noble qualities emerge when he is free from too many personal ties and enslavement to conventions.
24. — I don't care so much whether others like me or not as long as they see that I am honest and capable, for after all they may resent my having what they lack.
- It seems that people either want to lean on you or push you around and they get angry when you frustrate either possibility even when you are only minding your own business.
- I often feel either happy or content, or miserable and blue, depending on how others are treating me, for I guess I really want their approval.
25. — The ideal mate is one who is won through successful rivalry and is a desirable personal asset both socially and otherwise.
- The ideal mate is one who has enough personal interests of His/her own so that he/she can avoid making excessive demands on the attention of the partner.
- The ideal mate is a person who loves and cherishes and is devoted to becoming as one with the opposite partner in all important feelings, while striving to protect.
26. — Security
- Freedom
- Success

APPENDIX 2

Evaluation

When you were a good friend, I valued your helpfulness, loyalty, and commitment. You had so many likable qualities that it was hard for me to get angry with you. However, in retrospect, often I observed that your willingness to support my needs arose more out of fears you had about contacting some of your own needs and limitations. In many ways, I discovered that your being in an accomodating position was a pretense allowing you to resist seeing some of your own strengths and ambitions. You didn't seem able to assert yourself well, always worried that you might offend others; even tending to blame yourself for mistakes that were really the responsibility of others. I think you feel dislike for many of the people you are generous towards, but because you feel that you can hardly become independent, you suppress your protests. Being perpetually worried about losing someone's approval, and needing constant reassurance, you, additionally tend to annoy others by "clinging" to closely. At the bottom of this, I sense, is an outlet you have figured out to express an indirect hostility. You can effectively get back at these people by submitting yourself to their wishes and needs, thereby making them feel guilty and obligated toward you for your helping actions. By cultivating and unwittingly expressing your suffering and painstaking work, you effectively make them know that you have an important statement to make about how much you truly feel slighted, resentful, hurt, and frustrated.

Check off the feelings you experience on the next page

Evaluation

This job was meant for those who could stay on top of the situation. In this respect, it was important to be well planned, to remain strong and enduring, to control yourself in the face of adversity. However, we often found that when you claimed to be realistically frank about the dangers on the job, or injustices in the world, this arose more out of an exaggerated fear you have about contacting some of your own weaknesses and limitations. In many ways, we discovered that being in a leading role was actually a pretense for you, allowing you to compulsively fight against your own softer human sentiments, while dominating others, taunting them for showing their own fears and insecurities. Because you can be inconsiderate of others, you cannot help but perceive others as being hostile toward you. Being a commanding leader allowed you to express your hostile intentions toward others in a socially acceptable way. At the bottom we sense that you experience yourself as helpless, and this scares you so that you try to convince yourself that you do not need other people, fighting hard, instead, to win their recognition. Only in this way can you numb the dangerous sense you have about not being as together as you think you are. Your achievements and awards then serve to prove to yourself in daily acts that you are strong and need not fear that you cannot control yourself.

Check off the feelings you experience on next page

Evaluation

The capacity you have to remain objective and unbiased has been valuable in your work. In this regard, it has been important for you to be resourceful and self-sufficient, so as to make your critical judgments. However, we often found that when you desired to remain above and apart from certain conventional work day functions, this arose more out of exaggerated fears you had about contacting some of your own real emotions. In many ways, we sense that your need to be stoical and serene is a pretense, permitting you to withdraw from intimate situations which might confront you with difficult conflicts. By curtailing your activity and interests, you appear to escape involvement with others, whether this be in friendship, fighting, cooperation, or competition. Maintaining your "lone wolf" attitude keeps you defended against the knowledge of some genuine needs you have for closeness, which you deny. At the bottom of these distancing needs, we feel is your fear of the world of others as a hostile environment. As a result, you have an especially troubling time reconciling a conflict between needing others closeness, but feeling you cannot rely on them for fear of being trod upon or taken advantage of. You experience your warm needs as leading you into situations from which you cannot extricate yourself, without painful repercussions. Furthermore, in expressing your hostilities, others might injure or reject you. Being influenced, tied, or obligated to others would confront you with these conflicting feelings, so you try to solve the dilemma by isolation from relationships. By your readiness to withdraw, you convey to others the impression that they are cramping or disturbing you, so that you tend to frustrate others in this quiet way.

Check off the feelings you experience on the next page

APPENDIX 3

QUESTIONS

1. Do you think the criticism was appropriate or fair? Circle one.

4	3	2	1
very appropriate	appropriate	not fair	very unfair

Comments: _____

2. What might you do or say to the person making the criticism? Circle one.

A. Tell him you're angry B. Tell him you're sorry C. Walk away

Comments: _____

3. How might you attempt to restore your pride, assuming it was hurt? Circle one.

A. Triumph in your next task or role

B. Seek a quiet position where you could cultivate your unique talents

C. Be more considerate and sensitive of others

Comments: _____

APPENDIX 4.

A

D

H

- | | | |
|--|--|--|
| 1 <input type="checkbox"/> active | 45 <input type="checkbox"/> fit | 89 <input type="checkbox"/> peaceful |
| 2 <input type="checkbox"/> adventurous | 46 <input type="checkbox"/> forlorn | 90 <input type="checkbox"/> pleased |
| 3 <input type="checkbox"/> affectionate | 47 <input type="checkbox"/> frank | 91 <input type="checkbox"/> pleasant |
| 4 <input type="checkbox"/> afraid | 48 <input type="checkbox"/> free | 92 <input type="checkbox"/> polite |
| 5 <input type="checkbox"/> agitated | 49 <input type="checkbox"/> friendly | 93 <input type="checkbox"/> powerful |
| 6 <input type="checkbox"/> agreeable | 50 <input type="checkbox"/> frightened | 94 <input type="checkbox"/> quiet |
| 7 <input type="checkbox"/> aggressive | 51 <input type="checkbox"/> furious | 95 <input type="checkbox"/> reckless |
| 8 <input type="checkbox"/> alive | 52 <input type="checkbox"/> gay | 96 <input type="checkbox"/> rejected |
| 9 <input type="checkbox"/> alone | 53 <input type="checkbox"/> gentle | 97 <input type="checkbox"/> rough |
| 10 <input type="checkbox"/> amiable | 54 <input type="checkbox"/> glad | 98 <input type="checkbox"/> sad |
| 11 <input type="checkbox"/> amused | 55 <input type="checkbox"/> gloomy | 99 <input type="checkbox"/> safe |
| 12 <input type="checkbox"/> angry | 56 <input type="checkbox"/> good | 100 <input type="checkbox"/> satisfied |
| 13 <input type="checkbox"/> annoyed | 57 <input type="checkbox"/> good-natured | 101 <input type="checkbox"/> secure |
| 14 <input type="checkbox"/> awful | 58 <input type="checkbox"/> grim | 102 <input type="checkbox"/> shaky |
| 15 <input type="checkbox"/> bashful | 59 <input type="checkbox"/> happy | 103 <input type="checkbox"/> shy |
| 16 <input type="checkbox"/> bitter | 60 <input type="checkbox"/> healthy | 104 <input type="checkbox"/> soothed |
| 17 <input type="checkbox"/> blue | 61 <input type="checkbox"/> hopeless | 105 <input type="checkbox"/> steady |
| 18 <input type="checkbox"/> bored | 62 <input type="checkbox"/> hostile | 106 <input type="checkbox"/> stubborn |
| 19 <input type="checkbox"/> calm | 63 <input type="checkbox"/> impatient | 107 <input type="checkbox"/> stormy |
| 20 <input type="checkbox"/> cautious | 64 <input type="checkbox"/> incensed | 108 <input type="checkbox"/> strong |
| 21 <input type="checkbox"/> cheerful | 65 <input type="checkbox"/> indignant | 109 <input type="checkbox"/> suffering |
| 22 <input type="checkbox"/> clean | 66 <input type="checkbox"/> inspired | 110 <input type="checkbox"/> sullen |
| 23 <input type="checkbox"/> complaining | 67 <input type="checkbox"/> interested | 111 <input type="checkbox"/> sunk |
| 24 <input type="checkbox"/> contented | 68 <input type="checkbox"/> irritated | 112 <input type="checkbox"/> sympathetic |
| 25 <input type="checkbox"/> contrary | 69 <input type="checkbox"/> jealous | 113 <input type="checkbox"/> tame |
| 26 <input type="checkbox"/> cool | 70 <input type="checkbox"/> joyful | 114 <input type="checkbox"/> tender |
| 27 <input type="checkbox"/> cooperative | 71 <input type="checkbox"/> kindly | 115 <input type="checkbox"/> tense |
| 28 <input type="checkbox"/> critical | 72 <input type="checkbox"/> lonely | 116 <input type="checkbox"/> terrible |
| 29 <input type="checkbox"/> cross | 73 <input type="checkbox"/> lost | 117 <input type="checkbox"/> terrified |
| 30 <input type="checkbox"/> cruel | 74 <input type="checkbox"/> loving | 118 <input type="checkbox"/> thoughtful |
| 31 <input type="checkbox"/> daring | 75 <input type="checkbox"/> low | 119 <input type="checkbox"/> timid |
| 32 <input type="checkbox"/> desperate | 76 <input type="checkbox"/> lucky | 120 <input type="checkbox"/> tormented |
| 33 <input type="checkbox"/> destroyed | 77 <input type="checkbox"/> mad | 121 <input type="checkbox"/> understanding |
| 34 <input type="checkbox"/> devoted | 78 <input type="checkbox"/> mean | 122 <input type="checkbox"/> unhappy |
| 35 <input type="checkbox"/> disagreeable | 79 <input type="checkbox"/> meek | 123 <input type="checkbox"/> unsociable |
| 36 <input type="checkbox"/> discontented | 80 <input type="checkbox"/> merry | 124 <input type="checkbox"/> upset |
| 37 <input type="checkbox"/> discouraged | 81 <input type="checkbox"/> mild | 125 <input type="checkbox"/> vexed |
| 38 <input type="checkbox"/> disgusted | 82 <input type="checkbox"/> miserable | 126 <input type="checkbox"/> warm |
| 39 <input type="checkbox"/> displeased | 83 <input type="checkbox"/> nervous | 127 <input type="checkbox"/> whole |
| 40 <input type="checkbox"/> energetic | 84 <input type="checkbox"/> obliging | 128 <input type="checkbox"/> wild |
| 41 <input type="checkbox"/> enraged | 85 <input type="checkbox"/> offended | 129 <input type="checkbox"/> willful |
| 42 <input type="checkbox"/> enthusiastic | 86 <input type="checkbox"/> outraged | 130 <input type="checkbox"/> wilted |
| 43 <input type="checkbox"/> fearful | 87 <input type="checkbox"/> panicky | 131 <input type="checkbox"/> worrying |
| 44 <input type="checkbox"/> fine | 88 <input type="checkbox"/> patient | 132 <input type="checkbox"/> young |

APPENDIX 5

FEEDBACK TO SUBJECTS

Thank You

Experimenter-

Richard Lubell
 48 Village Park
 Amherst, Mass. 01002
 549-6524

Dear Student,

This study was an investigation of ideas originating with Karen Horney, a psychoanalyst who revised Freudian psychology so that to include an account of cultural variables in the evolution of personality. She claims that in our society, people are confronted with three basic dilemmas, labeled as conflicts between "moving toward" (being friendly), "moving against" (being hostile), and "moving away" (being avoidant of) other people.

The items in the questionnaire were of three varieties. They were intended to distinguish people on the basis of different life appeals: love, mastery, and freedom. Each appeal corresponds to the three personality types which Horney describes as the compliant, aggressive, and detached personalities.

With a knowledge of various personality inclinations, a relation was expected between a subject's personality type and his/her response to three forms of social criticism. Each of you read one of these criticisms, responding to how you imagined you would feel on an adjective checklist following the reading. The criticism which attacks the person with an inclination to "move towards" others would probably hurt an individual most who has a strong appeal for love. The criticism of a "moving against" personality would probably hurt a person most who has mastery appeals. Finally, the criticism of the person "moving away" from others would likely hurt most the individual with a strong appeal for freedom.

The implication of these findings would be that criticism is not universally painful for all individuals. An important mediator is the extent to which a person's basic life satisfactions are made fragile and vulnerable through the criticism. This may be a significant factor in the construction of a person's self-esteem.

Horney's books are available in most book stores and make for lively reading. If you would like to know of the results of the experiment, I would be happy to provide them at the end of the semester.

For the best of the experimnt, it is important that you keep this feedback information away from other potential subjects. Thanks.

Special Debriefing Note:

Some of you may have interpreted the criticisms in a very personal way. You may have felt that the form of criticism you received was directed particularly at your sensitive areas. You should know, however, that the criticisms were not meant to be taken personally. In addition, the critical stories were randomly distributed between subjects, so that there was no intent to set you up with a painful evaluation. All of us are vulnerable in some way or another to all forms of these kind of criticisms, and all of us have an imperfect nature. What is nice to know is that it is perfectly normal, natural, and human to have these softer sentiments.

