THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

SOME CHARACTERISTICS OF RESPONSE TO DEPICTED EXPERIENCE

A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO
THE FACULTY OF THE DIVISION OF THE SOCIAL SCIENCES
IN CANDIDACY FOR THE DEGREE OF
MASTER OF ARTS

DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY

BY

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CHICAGO, ILLINOIS
DECEMBER, 1949
# TABLE OF CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>LIST OF TABLES</th>
<th>111</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>INTRODUCTION</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>PART ONE: THE TEST</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I. PROJECTIVE TECHNIQUES</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II. THE THEMATIC APPERCEPTION TEST</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III. LIMITATIONS OF MURRAY'S TECHNIQUE</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV. OTHER ANALYSES OF THEMATIC APPERCEPTION</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>PART TWO: THE SUBJECTS</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V. SELECTION OF THE SUBJECTS</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VI. LIMITATIONS OF THE SAMPLE</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>PART THREE: ANALYSIS OF THE DATA</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VII. INTRODUCTION</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VIII. BASIC DIVISIONS IN THE RESPONSE</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IX. TWO ELEMENTS IN THE DIRECT RESPONSE</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Identification</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Turning-points</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>X. THE INDIRECT RESPONSE</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sympathy</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Content</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Representation</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XI. LIVINGROOM FURNISHINGS</td>
<td>66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XII. CONCLUSIONS AND INTERPRETATIONS</td>
<td>73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BIBLIOGRAPHY</td>
<td>78</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
## LIST OF TABLES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Husband's Occupation, for Women in Hyde Park, CBS, and Nisei Samples</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Education of Women in Hyde Park, CBS, and Nisei Samples</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Number of Rooms in Dwelling Units in Hyde Park, CBS and Nisei Samples, by Apartment and House</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Age of Women in Hyde Park, CBS and Nisei Samples, by Ten Year Periods</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Number of Children of Women in Hyde Park, CBS and Nisei Samples</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Magazines Regularly Received in Homes of Hyde Park Subjects</td>
<td>71</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
INTRODUCTION

In the fall of 1945, Professors L. W. Warner and W. E. Henry began a study of audience reaction to Big Sister, a daytime radio serial. The research was sponsored by the Columbia Broadcasting System. A full report of the study was published in 1949.\(^1\) It bore out the general notion that similarity in socio-economic conditions of life leads to similarity in personality. The chief instrument used was a projective technique, Murray's Thematic Apperception Test.

At the time that Big Sister study was undertaken, I was interested in the relation between socio-economic status and personality. At that time, also, it looked as if the new projective tests would make it methodologically practicable to pursue this interest. I therefore asked (and received) permission to use the material collected in the Warner-Henry study.\(^2\)

In their study, Warner and Henry collected responses to the Thematic Apperception Test from sixty wives whose husbands were skilled to white-collar workers. The responses of this sample were analysed and compared with those of five women whose husbands were professionals or junior executives. This comparison,


\(^2\)I would like to thank Professors Warner and Henry for their kindness in this regard.
supplemented by certain other sources of information, lead Warner and Henry to report a list of differences between the personalities of one sample and those of the other.

In order to use the data of this study for my own purpose, it seemed necessary only to enlarge the smaller of the two samples to a size for which some representativeness could be claimed, and then to define and test the reported personality differences in accordance with the standards of scientific research. Therefore, interview contacts were made and, in the autumn of 1946, administration of the Thematic Apperception Test to fifty wives of professionals was begun.¹

Following the CBS study, socio-economic status was to be expressed in terms of occupation, source of income, education, house-type and area of residence. Categories and response units were to be taken from the published literature on the TAT. The end product was to be, simply, a correlation between amount of socio-economic status and the number of times which given categories appeared.

As the interviewing and preliminary analysis progressed, four facts became clear:

First, it became apparent that the notion of socio-economic status was too complex for its use to be justified on the basis of samples that were so small and so loosely selected as those used in this study.

¹As customary, the name "Thematic Apperception Test" will be abbreviated to "TAT." The Warner-Henry Study will be referred to as the "CBS" study (Columbia Broadcasting System). The sample of professionals will be referred to as the "HP" sample, an abbreviation for the name of the community (Hyde Park) in which the sample was collected.
Secondly, almost all of the categories and response units reported in the literature proved to be inappropriate. Contributors to the field have ferreted out such minor parts of the response as can be analyzed in psychological terms but no one seems to have been concerned with the obvious major part remaining.

Thirdly, the overall content of HP responses proved to be quite similar to the content of CBS responses. The difference between the two samples of response lay chiefly in the manner in which this similar content was handled.

Fourthly, observation of each of the wives in the HP sample pointed to an interesting congruence between test responses and items of culture such as home furnishings, gestures and incidental conversation. However, information about household behavior was not systematically collected in the CBS study.

The original intention of the thesis was to employ a psychological frame of reference and a strict comparison between the two samples. The four facts mentioned above seemed to rule out this intention. In my attempt to employ a frame of reference that was suitable both to the limitations and possibilities of the data, I was led to by-pass the broad field of personality differences and to concern myself, in a narrow, exploratory and crude way, with some characteristics of described experience. It then became possible to include in the study the TAT responses of a small sample of Japanese-American women which had been made available only after the original thesis plan had been formulated.

On the whole, this modification in original purpose has been carried out.
This thesis falls into three parts. The first part treats briefly of projective techniques and, with more detail, of the history, method, assumptions and limitations of the TAT. The second part contains a statement of procedures and a record of the social characteristics of the subjects. The final part consists of an analysis of the data.
PART ONE

THE TEST
CHAPTER I

PROJECTIVE TECHNIQUES

A definition of projective techniques may be sought in the method and assumptions common to all of them. The subject is asked to manipulate a field of stimulation which has been purposely designed to be indefinite and easily subject to modification. It is assumed that the way in which the subject organizes a response to the test stimulus is the same as the way in which he organizes and interprets life experience in general. In the often quoted words of L. K. Frank:

Projective techniques were created to induce the individual to reveal his way of organizing experience by giving him fields (objects, material, experience), with relative little structure and cultural patterning so that the personality can project upon the plastic field his way of seeing life, his meanings, significance, patterns and especially his feelings. Thus we elicit a projection of the individual's private world because he has to organize the field, interpret the material and react affectively to it.¹

Several studies have been carried out to determine whether or not this kind of projection actually occurs.² The results up-

hold the notion that individuals tend to project private meanings upon public events. But, in themselves, these data do not prove that projections constitute crucial aspects of personality.

In most cases, those working with projective tests have subjected parts of their activity to the standards which prevail today in the field of psychological testing. These standards relate to tests of reliability and validity, and to the development of methods of quantification. Also, the claim of experimental control has been made, based upon the use of the same test sequences and the same test conditions for all subjects in any particular study.

The present-day approach to projective behavior began with studies of word association by Kent-Rosanoff in 1910 and Jung in 1919.¹ ² In 1921 Rorschach published his work on ink blots.³ Since that time, projective techniques have been developed which make use of dramatic scenes, profiles of human faces, cloud pictures, completion of stories, drawing painting, arrangement of toys, kinaesthetic movements and hand writing.

The literature devoted to these techniques is enormous; the willingness of psychologists to use each of these tests seems to be exceeded only by their readiness to publish results.

In the early use of projective techniques, typical


³H. Rorschach, Psychodiagnostik: Methodik und Ergebnisse eines Wahrnehmungsdiagnostischen Experiments. Deutenlassen von Zufallsformen. (Bern: Ernst Bircher, 1921)
responses to the stimuli were assumed or roughly established, and
interest was directed to deviations from the norm on the part of
individual subjects. The chief academic use of the tests was in
the psychology of personality. The chief practical application
of the techniques, and the impetus for their development, was
found in clinical psychiatry.

In general, the clinical application of the tests assumed
that the response of an individual having one set of social char-
acteristics could be judged by means of norms derived from indi-
viduals having a different set of social characteristics. The
first to recognize the limitations of this assumption, face on,
were the Bleulers who studied members of a Moroccan tribe with
the Rorschach test.\(^1\) They were interested in comparing European
and non-European personality. This led them to examine the dif-
fferences between norms as opposed to the usual practice of examin-
ing the differences between a norm and the response of a single
individual. Since the Bleuler study, projective techniques have
been increasingly employed to show that many so-called psychologi-
ical traits are more prevalent in one social group than in another.\(^2\)
These groups include small societies, persons of the same occupa-
tion, age-sex groups and delinquents.

\(^1\)M. and R. Bleuler, "Rorschach's ink-blot test and Racial

\(^2\)Especially to be found in the many monographs deriving
from Kardiner's "Culture-Personality" point of view.
CHAPTER II
THE THEMATIC APPERCEPTION TEST

The term "Thematic Apperception Test" was suggested by Dr. H. A. Murray in 1935 as a name for any set of ambiguously pictured human situations when these are used to collect descriptions and fantasies read into them by subjects.

A variation of the test was employed as early as 1907 by H. L. Brittain in a study of differences in interest between boys and girls. In one of Brittain's tests nineteen boys and twenty-one girls between the ages of thirteen and twenty were asked to write a composition about each of the same nine pictures. In another test, subjects were asked to write a theme on a topic of personal preference. In this material Brittain found a difference between the sexes with respect to type of imagery and topics of interest. These differences were corroborated by other tests in the battery which he employed.

The following year, W. Libby reported on a comparison of compositions written by student groups of different ages upon a sentimental picture of a man on a horse taking leave of a weeping woman. He found that college and fourth year high school students

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1 H. L. Brittain, "A Study in Imagination," The Pedagogical Seminary, XIV (1907), 137-207.


9
tended to construct a dramatic unity of story-book kind, imputing time, place, conversation and violent motives. On the other hand, grade school students below the age of fourteen tended to be realistic and objective in their interpretation; for the most part they wrote about disconnected physical details and accepted the stimulus not as a scene but rather as a picture about a scene. Libby also reported that high school girls tended to be eye and ear-minded in their metaphors and epithets whereas high school boys tended to be motor-minded in theirs.

The line of research laid down by Brittain and Libby was not directly taken up and continued by others.

It is interesting to note that neither of the two men thought it necessary to control differences in socio-economic status. Regardless of this deficiency (which was almost universal at the time), their reports provide a model for the kind of analysis attempted in this thesis.

Apparently the next to use the thematic apperceptive technique was L. W. Schwartz in 1931. In an unpublished convention report he described how pictures

... representing youngsters in various life situations, were shown to delinquent children, and "projecting and identifying with the boy in the picture" were encouraged by queries into the "meaning" of the picture, the thoughts of the boy in the picture, and what the subject would do if he were the boy in the picture.1

In 1935 C. D. Morgan and H. A. Murray reported on the use of a set of pictures as a means of eliciting fantasy for this

1D. Rapoport, Diagnostic Psychological Testing (Chicago: Year Book Publishers, 1946), II, appendix by Matin Mayman, 496.
study. A subsequent article appeared by Murray and his associates at the Harvard Clinic and, later, an elaborate study of the psychological life of fifty-one males of college age. The latter study was framed in terms of a theory of personality which seemed especially designed to exploit TAT responses.

Three successively corrected sets of pictures have been published by the Harvard Clinic, as well as a short test manual. The third set, which appears to be the final one, consists of thirty pictures each printed on a 10 x 12 sheet of white bristol board. The Clinic claims to have tested hundreds of pictures and to have selected those which most consistently led subjects into revealing valid information about their personalities. These pictures depict what Dr. Murray likes to think of as "classical human situations." Some of the thirty pictures are designed for use with only one sex, on the theory that the subject should be able to identify himself or herself with the central character in each picture.

The introductory paragraph of Murray's manual lays down the psychological-psychiatric frame of reference in which most


analyses of the TAT have taken place:

The Thematic Apperception Test is a method of revealing to the trained interpreter some of the dominant drives, emotions, sentiments, complexes and conflicts of personality. Special value resides in its power to expose the underlying inhibited tendencies which the subject or patient is not willing to admit, or can not admit because he is unconscious of them.¹

Murray and his associates have developed an elaborate, explicit psychology for the purpose of analysing imaginative productions. Their unit of test response, called the "thema," is any significant event in the life of a picture character or, in more general terms, the plot-line of a story. Themata arise when human needs (of which over twenty listed), come up against the forces of environment (called "press" by Murray).

In addition to needs and press, Murray uses ego, id, superego, narcissism, twelve general traits, fifteen kinds of "vectors" or reaction tendencies, and twenty other miscellaneous variables. Each of these characteristics is rated on a five point scale. Position on this scale is determined by combining judgments with respect to importance in plot, intensity, duration and frequency.

Those who use the TAT claim that the subject usually identifies with a character in each picture. This claim supports the next, namely, that needs and press projected upon the picture characters are frequently those which motivate the subject. Hence the presumed importance of a psychological analysis of themata.

Murray's work with the TAT is being continued by his

¹Ibid., p. 1.
students. They have published reports of further research employing the same general method of analysis. Some of these workers employ a simplified version of Murray's complex theory of behavior. All, however, present evidence as to the speed and accuracy with which the TAT elicits crucial information.

In the main, those who have reported on research in thematic apperception have been content to employ Murray's series of cards. Most, however, have chosen to use their own psychological theory and their own method of response analysis.¹

CHAPTER III

LIMITATIONS OF MURRAY'S TECHNIQUE

The limitations of Murray's approach are almost classic for their kind, being so generally met with and so necessary to face in any attempt to analyse imaginary events. These limitations are numbered and described below; from the start, however, it must be said that this thesis provides corrections for very few of them.

1. In any content analysis of the TAT it is necessary to define and count units of response. The response unit in Murray's system is the thema. Each thema itself is made up of subunits; words, phrases, sentences, paragraphs. Several themas are usually identified in analysing a response to any single picture. Themas which fit together in terms of sequence as well as meaning are called "complex themas." The problem in all of this is that there is no methodical way of deciding either how many subunits are to be accounted for by a particular thema or what is to be done with those subunits which fall, midway and unparented, between two themas. Similarly, this form of analysis provides no place for responses which contain no themas but merely a catalogue of the items in the picture.

2. A thema supposedly is a summary or outline of the overall meaning of the subunits which make it up. It is constructed by abstracting the crucial events or turning points of
a story and linking these together by means of a brief plot line. The difficulty is that there is no way of knowing for certain where to locate the high points of a story, or how to interpret and summarize them. In order to summarize a response, statements must be introduced which are not part of the response. Almost an infinite number of interpretations, and ways of expressing these interpretations, are possible. Therefore it is hard to see how different analysts could exactly agree as to how best to formulate any particular theme.

3. An improper ratio of response unit to total response is another limitation of Murray's technique. Only one or two themes are found in the typical reply to a picture. Hence, the protocol of a single subject frequently contains too few themes to permit statistical treatment of certain categories. This limitation may occur even when the most refined form of analysis is used, as, for instance, when outcomes are classified dichotomously into good and bad. However, it is most apparent when one employs, as does Murray, over forty categories of such a kind that a typical protocol provides relevant themes for only a fraction of them. Obviously, two protocols cannot be compared, statistically or otherwise, unless both protocols provide information concerning every one of the categories.

4. Murray and most other psychologists maintain that a person's behavior is caused by enduring inner characteristics. These psychological traits are not directly available for study; they must be approached by examining something else, namely, their expressions, symptoms and consequences. In order to prove
that a given trait actually does lie behind one set of behaviors, it is possible to introduce evidence provided by a completely different set of behaviors. But validation of this kind is just as indirect as the initial evidence. Hence there remains, always, the infinitely regressive problem of validating the validation.

The problem of proof is related to two unfortunate practices frequently found in TAT literature. First, validation of a psychological diagnosis is very often sought in a single dramatic event in the life history of the subject or in a sequence of behaviors which the psychiatrist, schoolteacher or friend think of as crucial, revelatory or symptomatic. Secondly, many so-called traits are merely imputations on the part of the analyst, brought about by his attempt to mold a morass of observed behavior into a form which fits current beliefs concerning human nature. Part of this tendency to rationalize seems to be motivated by a strong cultural value; the belief that each subject has an overall pattern of behavior and personality, and that a key list of traits and events can be found which determine it.

5. Many of the variables or categories which Murray employs are "intentional" in character; that is, they imply that the subject is, or was, consciously concerned about something. For instance, this is true of concepts like "attitude" and "desire." It is known, however, that the direct expression of a subject's concern is typically distorted and disguised in accordance with what he is willing to admit to himself and to others.

Murray assumes that the psychological mechanisms isolated by Freud, such as condensation, displacement, substitution,
repression, reaction-formation, provide a key for translating a self-conscious act or response back into a revealing, unexpurgated impulse. However, each of Freud's mechanisms distorts any given latent content into a different manifest form. Therefore, a given manifest content may be a distorted sign of many different kinds of latent content. Hence, the psychological significance of an act or response depends completely upon the choice of mechanism employed by the analyst in translating from self-conscious behavior to latent behavior. However, the TAT does not incorporate a rule for determining which, if any, of Freud's mechanisms is to be applied to the translation of a particular response.

Murray was very much aware of the problem of distortion; in fact, the TAT can be seen as a direct attempt to solve it. The solution is based on the fact that there is no obvious similarity between picture characters and significant persons in the subject's real life. It is assumed, therefore, that the subject can identify with and respond to the characters in an unselfconscious way.

Unknowing identification undoubtedly reduces distortion; but it does not, of course, eliminate it. Further, the important bearing which identification has upon the significance of a response is an uncontrolled quantity, for the test incorporates no rule for deciding which person (if any) in the subject's real life is identified with a particular picture character.

6. As suggested above, the TAT is not designed to determine in itself which of Freud's corrective mechanisms is to be applied to any particular manifest content. But it must be noted here that this is a usual limitation of designs to study actual
behavior. However, behavior of picture characters is not real but make-believe; therefore the study of it involves distinctly different and additional difficulties.

Murray assumes that overt behavior provides a distorted image, but an image nonetheless, of the inner man. However, behavior imputed to make-believe characters is not merely a disguised picture of the pattern underlying actual behavior. It is also something which arises from the operation of psychological processes that are uniquely associated with the act of make-believe. And while these processes play a role in the subject's total make-up, the behavior which they give rise to expresses that part and not the whole.

Two examples may be given. First, the content of replies to the TAT is largely determined by romantic cliches concerning matters such as love, death and success. However, the presence of these dramatic events in a response is usually an expression of nothing more revealing than the subject's respect for the current formulae and conventions that govern the construction of this sort of phantasy. Secondly, the content of responses contains much that is ordinarily repressed in everyday life. In part, however, repressions appear not because of the hidden, pervasive importance which they are assumed to have, but rather for an opposite reason, namely, because real life cannot burden itself with concerns which are so unimportant, trivial, absurd and frivolous.¹

¹This is the "recreation" theory of phantasy; make-believe provides contrast and relaxation from the real desires of everyday life, rather than the vicarious satisfaction of them. See, E. Malinowski, "Culture," Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences, IV (1939) 642.
The six aforementioned limitations of Murray's approach are sufficiently severe to have discouraged the use of it in this thesis. However, it must be clearly stated that these limitations only apply when the TAT is used as a self-sufficient instrument in systematic research. They do not apply when the test is used (as it usually is) in the context of a clinical case study for the practical purpose of collecting leads and hints concerning the personality of a particular subject.

In the main, Murray uses the term "projection" to refer to distortions within a subject caused because of his readiness to see certain things and not others in the situation "objectively" presented.

The theoretical definition of projection is much less general as it refers to the imagined removal of risks as a means of escaping a conflictful situation. What is relevant to this psychoanalytic concept are asking for aid to the responsiveness, and the test has not been used in the study of it.

A third version of the term comes from those who find significance in the manner or style in which a message is formulated, regardless of the particular content that is expressed in the literature this has been called the "verbal" approach. Many therapists, in part, are attempting to apply research techniques.
CHAPTER IV

OTHER ANALYSES OF THEMATIC APPEARCEPTION

Most of the literature on the TAT is based on systems of analysis that are different from Murray's. An examination of these leads to a more careful use of the term "projection" and to some suggestions as to how the limitations of Murray's approach may be avoided.

In the main, Murray uses the term "projection" to refer to interpretations which a subject makes because of his readiness to see certain things and not because the situation "objectively" warrants it.

The Freudian definition of projection is much less general; it refers to the imagined reversal of roles as a means of easing a conflictful conscience.\(^1\) Data relevant to this psychological process are seldom found in TAT responses, and the test has not been used in the study of it.

A third version of the term comes from those who find significance in the manner or style in which a response is formulated, regardless of the particular content that is expressed. In the literature this has been called the "formal" approach, and represents, in part, an attempt to apply Rorschach technique.

to TAT responses. It has led to the study of categories such as adequacy of story production and expressive aspects of verbalization.¹

Many of the categories used in "formal" analysis have a set of indicators and a significance that the public at large has not yet discovered. Hence, data relevant to these categories are not subject to the distortions and disguises for which Murray's data must be corrected. Further, some formal categories refer to just those aspects of behavior which can be as well and as directly expressed in test behavior as in life situations.

Obviously then, the formal approach is an instructive improvement over Murray's. However, it will not be directly used in this thesis. The formal categories suggested in the literature ultimately derive their significance from a theory of personality which can neither be proven nor taken for granted here. In any case, the Rorschach is much better designed than the TAT for the study of it.

A fourth version of the term "projection" is sometimes implied in the work of those who attempt a linquistic form of analysis.² Parts of speech and classifications of their content are used as indicators of psychological categories. This version differs from the previously mentioned three because of the attention which it frankly directs to the ways in which imagined experience is formulated. These are considered not merely as an

¹See Rapaport, op. cit., pp. 488-499.
²For example, see F. H. Sanford, "Speech and Personality: A Comparative Case Study," Character and Personality, X (1942), 169-198.
indirect index of real experience, but rather as an object of study in their own right.

The strategy of this approach has solved certain problems and created others. On the positive side, it may be said that the fraction of total response accounted for by each occurrence of a typical linguistic unit of response is extremely small. This ensures that frequencies will be large enough to warrant statistical treatment. It also provides a way of avoiding the distorting effects of self-consciousness, since the subject usually limits his anxiety to the significance of longer sequences of content. Further, response units can be defined with sufficient precision to guarantee a high degree of scoring reliability. Finally, the limitations of using imagined behavior as an index of actual behavior are avoided, since there is no intention of studying the latter.

The linguistic approach has so far shown some grave limitations. The English grammatical categories which are used as response units have a fairly definite syntactical meaning, but there meaning at the semantical level is inconstant and indefinite.\(^1\) Therefore, it is unlikely that the semantical meaning of any particular part of speech can be directly used as the indicator of a psychological trait. It would even seem that if the semantical meaning of a part of speech could be neatly conceptualized, there would still be little justice in imputing a

constant psychological significance to each appearance of it.¹

The two last-mentioned definitions of projection, the formal and the linguistic, provide a framework and a starting point for the use this thesis attempts to make of the TAT. The version of projection which results will be described in the third section of this thesis.

¹For an attempt to impute one psychological significance to adjectives and another to verbs, see, D. P. Boder, "The adjective-verb quotient: a contribution to the psychology of language," *Psychological Record*, XXII (1940), 310-343.
PART TWO

THE SUBJECTS
CHAPTER V

SELECTION OF THE SUBJECTS

The CBS sample consists of sixty protocols collected by a group of male and female students of a graduate course in Sociology given by Professors Warner and Henry at the University of Chicago. The students were briefly trained by Dr. Henry in the technique of administering the TAT. The test formed part of an enquiry sponsored by the Columbia Broadcasting System into the effects of listening to day-time radio dramas. The standard complement of twenty cards was not considered necessary, and only ten were used. Subjects were selected from a list of housewives who had written fan letters to soap serials. From this list, Professor Warner chose those who were located in districts known to be heavily populated with skilled and white-collar workers. In some cases, friends of these subjects were also interviewed and tested. In addition to the TAT, a questionnaire specifically dealing with soap serials was administered, and data were collected concerning occupation of husband, source of income, neighborhood, housetype, age and education of informant and number of children.

The CBS study compared the test replies of wives of skilled and white-collar workers with those of a pilot sample

1 Cards: 1; 2; 7GF; 6GF; 3GF; 14; 4; 5; 7BM; 19. The cards were given in that order.
of wives of professional men. The original plan of this thesis was to extend the pilot sample of five to one of fifty or sixty. With this purpose in view, an accessible professional group was sought.

Dr. Burgess of the Sociology Department of the University of Chicago arranged for the writer to interview a long-time resident of the Chicago Hyde Park community, a woman of independent means who was a past-president of the Illinois Chapter of the League of Women Voters and wife to an executive. From this contact, names were obtained of seventeen members of the League who were residents of Hyde Park and wives of professionals or junior executives.

Each of the seventeen women were contacted by phone. They were told that the purpose of the research was to study "the relation between civic-mindedness and imaginativeness." Reference was made to the original contact and to the University of Chicago. Those who granted interviews were asked to suggest names of other wives of professionals who lived in Hyde Park. In this way the required number of interviews were collected.

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1 The standard technique for administering the TAT was used, except that subjects were not interrogated, during or after the test, concerning their response. It was felt that interrogation would have introduced uncontrollable conditions. CBS protocols which contained response to interrogation were not used in this study. Accurate time records of response were not kept. During the test, the interviewer immediately copied down everything said by the subject, regardless of whether or not the subject meant it to be included in the response. Questions concerning the test were not answered until after it have been given; nor were questions asked of the subject until after the test had been given.
An attempt was made to exclude subjects, either before or after they were interviewed, those ages fell outside the distribution established in the CBS sample. As in the CBS study, data were collected on house type, neighborhood, occupation of husband, number of children and education of informant. Data were also gathered concerning: place and kind of children's education; informant's past paid occupations; years of residence in current dwelling unit. After the first few interviews, information was gathered on: number of rooms in dwelling unit; livingroom furnishings; magazines regularly received. Only some of these data are recorded in this thesis; it was felt that a record of all the information collected was neither justified by the sampling technique nor required by the final purpose of the study.

Interviews in the CBS and HP samples which failed to provide sufficient data on social characteristics were discarded, as were those of subjects whose socio-economic status fell quite outside the range established, respectively, in the two samples. These exclusions reduced the CBS sample to forty-two and the HP sample to forty-seven.

In addition to the CBS and HP subjects, some use was made of a third sample. It consisted of nineteen American Nisei women. The TAT was administered to these subjects by William Caudill of the Anthropology Department of the University of Chicago, as part of a larger study. In selecting the sample, he took every ninth family in the California Directory of Japanese in the City of Chicago; these were stratified for country of birth and country of
c更具可读性

1 The writer wishes to thank Mr. Caudill and Miss Nishi for permission to use their data.
of education, and then each stratum was purposively sampled so as to include all known variations. Of the ten TAT pictures used by Caudill, only six were also used in the present study. Therefore, certain comparisons of the Misei, CBS and HP samples were not possible.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>HP in Park</th>
<th>CBS Sample</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>High 5th grade mothers, female employees</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High professional</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blue collar employees</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White collar employees</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High school graduates</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High school graduates</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-high school graduates</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Under 18</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Over 18</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Continued)
### TABLE 1

**HUSBAND'S OCCUPATION, FOR WOMEN IN HYDE PARK, CBS, AND NISEI SAMPLES**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Hyde Park Sample</th>
<th>CBS Sample</th>
<th>Nisei Sample</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Large professionals, proprietors, managers</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Small professionals</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clerks and kindred workers</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Skilled workers</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Small proprietors and managers</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Semi-skilled workers</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unskilled workers</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Students and unknown</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>47</strong></td>
<td><strong>42</strong></td>
<td><strong>19</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1Classified according to the unrevised scale in L. W. Warner, M. Meeker and K. Eells, *Social Class in America* (Chicago: Science Research Associates, 1949), pp. 134-136. Unmarried women were classified according to their own occupation; soldiers according to their pre-enlistment occupation.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Level</th>
<th>Hyde Park Sample</th>
<th>CBS Sample</th>
<th>Nisei Sample</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Post-graduate work</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Graduate from college</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Some college training,</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>degree not completed</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High School graduate</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eighth grade graduate</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Third to eighth grade</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Below third grade</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not determined</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1Business college training was not counted. Normal school training was counted as college training.
### Table 3

**Number of Rooms in Dwelling Units in Hyde Park, CBS and Nisei Samples, by Apartment and House.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number of rooms</th>
<th>Hyde Park Sample</th>
<th>CBS Sample</th>
<th>Nisei Sample</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>One</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Two -- three</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Four -- five</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Six -- seven</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eight -- nine</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ten -- eleven</td>
<td></td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Twelve and over</td>
<td></td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not determined</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>47</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 Duplexes and "side-by-sides" were counted as houses. Units above a store were counted as apartments.
TABLE 4

AGE OF WOMEN IN HYDE PARK, CBS AND NISEI SAMPLES, BY 10 YEAR PERIODS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Hyde Park Sample</th>
<th>CBS Sample</th>
<th>Nisei Sample</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>18 to 25</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26 to 35</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36 to 45</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>46 to 55</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>56 to 65</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>66 and over</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>not determined</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1In the Hyde Park sample, age was estimated by interviewer. Approximations were checked against subject's known age at marriage.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number of Children</th>
<th>Hyde Park Sample</th>
<th>CBS Sample</th>
<th>Nisei Sample</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0 (unmarried).......</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0 (married).........</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 or 6</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 and over..........</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
CHAPTER VI

LIMITATIONS OF THE SAMPLE

In this study, the method used for collecting data is deficient in two general ways. One refers to the kinds of sample bias that may occur regardless of how clearly the universe is defined. These will be called "sample problems." The second refers to the shortcomings which arise in a study such as this as a result of defining the universe in terms of "socio-economic" characteristics. These will be called "universe problems."

Sample Problems: The ten TAT cards and questionnaire used in this thesis take a minimum of forty minutes to administer. However, as a general rule wives of Hyde Park professionals will not volunteer forty minutes of their time unless request for it is linked to the name of a personal friend. This condition made it necessary to ask each Hyde Park subject for the names of other possible subjects and to select members of the sample from a list made up in this way. Thus, each member of the HP sample is not only a personal friend of at least one other member of the sample, but is also the sort of person whom a friend thinks of as a likely candidate for the TAT. These restrictions on selection obviously constitute a bias. This bias in the HP sample has a parallel in the CBS sample, since names for the latter were selected not at random but from a list of women who had written fan letters to a
radio program. In order to correct this bias, it would have been necessary to define the universe clearly and use a randomizing technique for drawing a sample list from it; but it also would have been necessary to employ a test so brief and innocuous that all persons on the list would have been willing to take it without recommendations from personal friends.

Another source of sample bias derives from the fact that TAT's in the CBS study were administered by males and females to subjects whose frame of mind had been influenced by a preceding questionnaire concerning soap serials, whereas TAT's in the HP study were all administered by the same male and without reference to soap serials. Hence, test conditions for the two samples were not exactly comparable.

This variation in test conditions clearly violates the experimental principle of holding all factors constant except the ones whose effects are being measured. But while it is easy to be clear as to what violates the principle, it is not easy to decide just how far the principle itself ought to be carried in studies with projective techniques like the TAT. The purpose of using ambiguous, ill-defined pictures in the TAT is to force each subject to see things in his own characteristic way. But to see things in one's own way is not to see the same things that others see. Thus, there is a sense in which the test does not, and should not, present the same stimulus conditions to each subject.

Universe Problems: The original intention of this study was to compare the protocols of two groups differing to a known
degree in socio-economic status but similar in all other respects. This was to constitute an attempt to follow the classic model of a controlled experiment; but so little is known about socio-economic status that the model proved inappropriate.

Socio-economic status is usually measured by means of objective indicators, such as occupation, education, neighborhood. Each indicator is treated as if it varied in only one way, namely, from a small amount to a large amount, and as if this continuum of variation could be adequately handled by cutting it up into anywhere from three to ten intervals. Subjects are then selected each of whom combine the same amounts of the several indicators as is typically found in the universe which is being sampled.

One general problem arises from the fact that when data concerning a particular indicator are approached closely, it is common to find, too late to redesign the sample, that the original intervals are not appropriate. Differences within an interval may have more social significance than differences between intervals. For instance, professionals in Hyde Park who are associated with the University of Chicago have a role and reputation which form the basis of a very special kind of social status. Yet a conventional break-down of occupations places these men in the same bracket with those with whom they have very little in common. Similarly, twenty-two of the forty-seven subjects in the HP sample attended a private women's college. There is probably less social distance between high school and state college than there is between state college and private college.

Further, in some indicators or social characteristics,
the step up from one interval to another may signify no step up in social status or even a step down. For instance, nine of the HP subjects have had some graduate school training. This has very definite implications with respect to intellectual status, but very mixed and ambiguous implications with respect to social status.

Since any social characteristic, by itself, is only a crude indicator of socio-economic status, the problem arises as to how best to combine and weigh them to form a composite index of socio-economic status. The apparent solution is to combine the indicators in the way in which they are most typically found in the stratum that is being sampled. However, the social characteristics of any particular metropolitan stratum are not yet accurately known. This difficulty is hardly resolved by the current practice of combining likely amounts of several indicators to form a precise but arbitrary definition of a stratum universe. Nor does it make much sense to match or control the samples for age, marital status and number of children (as was done in this study) when it is not known whether the strata are the same in these respects.

If the two strata studied in this thesis had been clearly defined, and if systematic samples had been drawn from each of them, it would have been possible to say, with measurable confidence, whether or not an observed difference in test behavior was significant. However, it would not be possible to say what other pairs of strata also manifest the given difference. This would be (and is) a grave shortcoming; for an ultimate purpose of a study such as this is to uncover the total range or distribution
of persons who behave in a given way.

The sample and universe problems described above turned this study away from its original purpose. Its object became less to measure differences than to classify them. With this more modest aim, the sampling procedure took on a role that it could support; namely, to guarantee that different kinds of response would be available for study.
PART THREE

ANALYSIS OF THE DATA
CHAPTER VII

INTRODUCTION

On the last two pages of the manual which is distributed with the Murray test there is a concise description of the "content" of each card. Each picture character is depicted in terms of age, sex and physical action. No reference is made to the intention or to the feelings of the characters. It is assumed that a description of this kind is justified by "objective" fact, and that anything more or less than this is necessarily a projection on the part of the subject. Thus, the Murray approach implies that a TAT response has two parts. One part is the "objective response"; it is warranted by the "actual" content of a picture. The other part might be called the "projective response"; it consists of imputations which the subject makes as to what is in the minds of the picture characters. It is not warranted by the "actual" content of the picture. Objective responses are discarded, since the only thing they can tell us about the subject is that he can see things with his eyes. Projective responses are carefully analysed, since they contain the subject's personal view of the world.

A division of response into objective and projective rests on the belief that the emotions and intentions of the picture characters actually are ambiguous and ill-defined. This belief is false, and Murray tacitly admits it. In the manual, he writes
that the pictures, "... serve to force the subject to deal, in his own way, with certain classical human situations."\(^1\) In his book he says:

Each picture should suggest some critical situation and be effective in evoking fantasy relating to it. The set must be comprehensive. Ideally, there should be a picture which could act as a trellis to support the unfolding of every primal fantasy.\(^2\)

If pictures are to represent classical situations and primal fantasies then obviously the dramatic action they depict must be classical in kind and not ambiguous.

The notion that TAT pictures are not ambiguous is borne out by actual test records. Unique and original patterns of response do appear, but these signs are usually so small and fugitive that a very sensitive search must be made for them. On the other hand, specific recognition and description of the classical situations which Murray had in mind appear everywhere. Differently stated, the pictures are stereotyped and call forth, for the most part, a stereotyped response. Quantitative evidence would be redundant here, since all the analyses in the next two chapters are based on common or stereotyped responses.

If a psychological frame of reference is used, and it usually is, then Murray's division of response into objective and projective follows naturally. Given this two-fold division, it then becomes convenient to discard or underestimate all stereotyped responses; there is no place for them since they fall half way between the objective and the projective. Because of this,


\(^2\)Murray, *Explorations*, p. 531.
those who use the TAT are led into lumping all stereotyped responses together, using them, when at all, as an inverse measure of a single psychological trait, "originality." In contrast, the aim of this study is to use a frame of reference in which conventional responses can find a central place as raw data for analysis.

The form of analysis used in this thesis is based on several assumptions. One is that discourse by the members of any particular social group contains habits of thought which are uniquely characteristic of that group. This is based on a truism: the order and pattern into which events fall comes not only from the events but also from the observer. Presumably the plethora of possible worlds is reduced to an order that is consistent with the social life of the group. The possibility of creating this order is presumably based on the process of abstraction, whereby an aspect of an event is used as a screening device for sorting out the whole event. By emphasizing some differences and neglecting others, a large number of different events can be handled by a relatively small number of concepts. All of these assumptions together constitute the frame of reference used in this study.

It is assumed, then, that meaning is injected into the world in accordance with rules observed by members of a group for selecting, classifying and organizing aspects of events. It is also assumed that these rules are somewhat arbitrary from the point of view of the hypothetical external world. Therefore these rules constitute a form of projection, and it is in this sense that the term is used in this study.

This version of projection is present in the current
thought of many different fields. It is used by linguists in connection with so-called language communities.\textsuperscript{1} It appears in well-known essays by sociologists and semanticians, especially in regard to the biases, stereotypes and imputations which characterise the thinking of sub-groups within our society. At the level of the individual, psychologists and literary critics have used the same approach.\textsuperscript{2,3} Perhaps this version of projection appears in its most sophisticated form in philosophical criticism of the physical sciences.\textsuperscript{4} From all of these points of view the same thing is seen; namely, that situations are regularly perceived in different ways by different individuals and groups, and that each of these regularities can be broken down by analysis into


\textsuperscript{3}A full statement of the literary approach may be found in E. Rickert, \textit{New Methods for the Study of Literature} (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1927). It is also found very clearly in some of the critical essays of men such as L. C. Knights, W. Empson, R. P. Blackmur and K. Burke.

constituent premises or modes of thought.

This study is not concerned with the ways in which all types of thought are constructed, nor even with all of the ways in which descriptions of interpersonal experience are put together. Its proper concern are the ways a person formulates a response to depicted interpersonal experience.

In part one of this thesis four versions of the term "projection" were described; Murray's, Freud's, the expressive, and the linguistic. Virtues of the second two were outlines, and some of these apply to the kind of projection studied in this research. Many of the variables used in analysis play so elementary a role in mental life or so innocuous a one as not to be liable to the transformations and distortions typically undergone by material about which the subject is self-conscious. Also, this study is limited to the characteristics of response to depicted experience, so that the difficulty of using imagined experience as an index of actual experience does not arise. Finally, the approach to projection used in this study makes it possible to select categories which appear with workable frequency in each protocol and in a way that can be accurately scored.

However, there are ways in which the technique of analysis employed here departs from the scientific model used in the field of testing. The sum of the response units does not exhaust the content of the response, nor does the sum of categories provide a complete and rounded expression of any particular point of view. Therefore, there is no assurance that kinds of facts have not been neglected which are inconsistent with the overall re-
sults of analysis. Also, the chief purpose of this study is to isolate and classify some characteristics of response and not, as is customary in test research, to measure the degree or extent to which a given characteristic is present.

As a final point in this introduction, the role of measurement in Murray's approach must be clearly distinguished from its role in this approach. With Murray, importance of a category or variable is determined by the relative importance of the role it plays in a given personality-as-a-whole. Relative importance of a variable is determined by comparing its frequency ratings with those of other variables. Ratings are usually derived by reducing each occurrence of a variable to a number and then adding up the numbers. Therefore, the ways in which the several occurrences of a variable differ among themselves are neglected.

However, this study is not concerned with the "overall" personality of individuals, but rather with the characteristics of response to depicted experience. Given this end, then the factor of "degree" or "importance" refers to two things. First, it refers to the consistency with which a particular way of building up a reply is used in response to a given depicted content. This can be measured, and is, by the usual technique of treating each occurrence of a category as if it only had numerical significance. Secondly, "degree" or "importance" refers to how wide is the range of content handled by a given way of formulating a response. By listing in full these differences in content, the importance of a given way of organizing a response can be demonstrated. Yet it is by overlooking just these differences that importance in Murray's sense, can be measured.
CHAPTER VIII

BASIC DIVISION IN THE RESPONSE

When subjects are confronted with TAT scenes under test conditions they feel obliged to respond in some way. The typical ways in which a response may be assembled are called, variously, "techniques or modes of organization," "habits of thought," "formulations," "characteristics or elements of response." The object of this study is to isolate and classify some of these elements.

All responses to the TAT are of one of two kinds. One kind consists of all the statements made by subjects concerning the task of constructing a reply, from the point of view of its being a task. Here we find statements of doubt, preparation and embarrassment such as the following: "There are so many things it might be"; "Well, I don't know how to begin"; "I'm very poor at this sort of thing." The accompanying intonation and gestures are apparently meant to warn the interviewer that the subject is not to be appraised on the basis of a test like the TAT.

This kind of response will not be studied. It is described here because the two-fold division of which it forms one part is logically prior to all other divisions, and because omission of the one part reduces the heterogeneity of the remaining data.

The second kind of response consists of all the statements
which assume, as it were, that the task of making believe has already been accepted as the background of the situation and is no longer the central object of attention. The pattern of intonation and direction of attention accompanying these statements suggest that the subject has fallen under the influence of a particular interpretation and has partly forgotten that the interviewer is present.

The second kind of response itself is of two kinds: "direct" and "indirect." The "direct" kind consists of all statements which refer to the content of a picture as though it were the content of the "actual" world. Here the subject responds to depicted events, in part, as though they were real events. The "indirect" kind consists of all statements which manage by some means or other to avoid the obligation of assuming the momentary "reality" of the representations. The two kinds of response, "direct" and "indirect," will be analysed separately.
CHAPTER IX

TWO ELEMENTS IN THE DIRECT RESPONSE

1. Identification

A frequent way of responding to the TAT is to "identify" the characters in a picture and nothing more. For instance, to pictures 1, 2 and 7GF, respectively, the following brief replies are sometimes offered: "This is a young boy and a violin," "This is a farm family," "This is a mother and daughter."

Attempts have been made to fit the occurrence of this kind of response into a psychological framework. For instance, subjects who identify and enumerate the items in a picture without linking them together into a coherent and plausible story are said to have a low grade of intelligence. Obviously, however, this interpretation is not always justified. In the HP protocols, a brief identification reply frequently signified that the subject was bored with the test and impatient with its failure to provide a worthy mental challenge. This suggests that a given mode of organization (in this case identification), can be the vehicle of quite different psychological meanings: it points again to the need of analysing elements of response independently of their psychological significance.

Attempts have also been made to account for identification responses on the basis of the "objective" content of the pictures. It is claimed that if a picture contains a representation of a
mother and child, then a statement of this fact ought not to be classified as a projection; rather it must be accepted as a simple perception. This treatment has an advantage over the previous one in that it accounts for identifications of all kinds; the kind that totally make up a response, and the kind that provide the framework for an elaborate reply.

The perception treatment of identification, like the psychological one, fails to account for some facts. First, any particular picture character is typically identified in different ways. For instance, in the HP protocols the foreground female figure was identified in the following ways: person, woman, young woman, lady, girl, gal, wife, secretary, stenographer, guest, siren and business woman.¹ Secondly, terms of identification frequently refer not to human "entities" but rather to relationships in which unidentified entities stand to each other. Furthermore, members of a relationship may be identified by terms that are not reciprocal. For instance, in the HP protocols the elder person in 7GF was identified as a mother forty-four times, and as a nurse, governess and lady once each. The younger person was defined as the kin counterpart to mother, that is, as a daughter, only twenty times. She is called a girl thirty-four times and a child ten times. Thirdly, samples of response differ with respect to favorite terms of identification. For instance, in both the HP and CBS samples the male in 5GF was identified by the term man more frequently than by any other term, whereas the same character was most commonly identified as husband in the

¹More than one identification can occur in a subject's total response to any given picture; more than two are not common.
Nisei sample.

The psychological and "perception" treatment of identification both go outside the actual response for their justification; the first to a conception of mental capacity that is inconsistently expressed by the data, and the second to a notion of "objective entities" whose objectivity fades away upon close examination. In the analysis which follows, identification is treated simply as a technique for constructing a response.¹

A subject's total reply to a picture sometimes contains only bare statements of identification.² These would seem to provide a convenient and ready-made isolation of the identification element in response. The same element appears in elaborate replies, but is obscured there by the presence of other elements of organization. Statements of identification are elementary in the sense that brief replies may contain nothing more, whereas long replies typically start with identifications and continue by building upon these in accordance with other modes of organization.³

The identification of a picture character requires two acts of apperception. First part of the stimulus field is

¹This and later analyses attempts to follow the current dictum in linguistics; namely, that parts of speech must be defined in terms of syntactical function and not in terms of semantical meaning.

²In the terminology of traditional grammar, statements of this kind consist of a demonstrative pronoun, a copulative verb and a predicate noun.

³In English, the favorite modes of construction are the command and the actor-action sequence. For a discussion of favorite sentence forms see: Bloomfield, op. cit., pp. 172-173.
bracketed off and the following characteristics imputed to it: persistence of a single identity in spite of time, modifications, and relations to other entities; capacity to exist in its own right, independently of anything to which it is related. Secondly, one of the many characteristics of the entity is chosen as the label for its overall enduring identity. The two apperceptive acts—de-marcation of a figure from the ground and naming of the figure—constitute an initial solution to the task of framing a response.

In the samples of response studied, the list of common identifying terms was very small: in order of frequency they defined the situation with respect to sex; age; familial, marital and occupational role; love and friendship relations. These characterizations of human entities provide a confining background against which relations among entities must make sense.

2. Turning Points

The most obtrusive fact about the responses used in this study is the great frequency with which certain themes reappear. For instance, in the first picture of the series (boy with violin), the achievement of virtuosity proficiency plays a significant role in the following number of cases:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sample</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>HP Sample</td>
<td>23 times</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CBS Sample</td>
<td>17 times</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nisei Sample</td>
<td>10 times</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>50 times</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

A subject's total response to a picture was counted as one reply, regardless of how many different stories the response contained. In a reply containing more than one story, a theme was counted as occurring once regardless of whether it appeared in more than one story or only one story. In general, this scoring rule has been followed throughout.
In the second picture in the series (farm girl with book), the notion that education is a means of improving upon one's current life appears in the following number of cases:

HP sample ........... 36 times out of 47 replies
CBS sample ........... 20 times out of 42 replies
Nisei sample ........... 12 times out of 19 replies

Total ........... 68 times out of 108 replies

Similarly, response to each of the remaining pictures contains one or two favorite themes. These refer to the following: loss by death of loved ones; influence of parental discipline on conduct; determination of choice of occupation; disclosure of who loves whom.

The list of favorite themes undoubtedly would have been longer had a greater variety of pictures been used. For instance, none in the series of ten bears upon the relation of a person to a group or upon the relation of one sibling to another. Nonetheless, it will be assumed that typical replies to pictures in this series are similar in important ways to the favorite replies to a wide variety of pictures.

Subjects frequently complain that TAT pictures are "stereotyped" or "hackneyed." By this they seem to mean the following: the scenes are the same as those that are always being invoked by the imagination media (print, film, radio); the scenes are each a clear symbol of a fixed sequence of "dramatic" events. Linked with this, is the claim that stereotyped pictures evoke stereotyped thoughts, and that this sort of thinking is different from the proper or realistic kind.

A further analysis of stereotyped or favorite plots suggests
that they constitute a convenient, easy solution to the problem of formulating a response. Items of experience which do not fit neatly into these solutions are neglected; those that fit are seized upon and references to them frequently appear. Hence, stereotyped experiences are not easy to handle and describe because they are so frequently depicted; rather they are frequently depicted because they are so easy to describe.

From the point of view of this analysis, it is less important to list the favorite replies than to determine just why they are easy to formulate. A stress of this kind minimizes the difference between stereotypes and other kinds of response. It directs attention to stereotypes on the assumption that the characteristics of all response are probably most evident in those that are easiest to formulate.

Initial evidence for this view of stereotypes may be taken from response to picture 4. In this picture, the female in the foreground is groomed in a neat, business-office manner; the male has ruffled hair and an open-collard shirt; the female in the background is posed with half her clothes off, and looks disrespectful. The subject's problem is to formulate a response; that is, he must find a way to tie these items into a single story. To do this, he must ask how three individuals may come to be related in the face of differences in sex and social status.

Of the forty-seven HP relays to this picture, thirty-four were built around the stereotyped theme of a man deciding which one of two women he loves.\(^1\) Apparently, then, the imputation of

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\(^1\)See footnote, page 51 for scoring rule.
a love triangle is a convenient way to relate three people and
to organize a response. The question must be asked as to why
this is so.

An examination of the data suggests that love, of both
the sexual and romantic variety, is treated as something that
is empowered to surmount customary barriers to social relation-
ships; knowing no bounds, it can bind together two who could not
otherwise be related. The love triangle expands the possibilities
of simple love so as to include an additional person. The utility
of connecting people in this way is suggested not only by the fre-
quency of its use, but also by the fact that most of the HP sub-
jects who did not employ the triangle stereotype complained of
difficulty in accounting for the differences in "social background"
between the two females.

Love is given priority over most other determinates of de-
picted action. Therefore, love can be used to relate picture char-
acters without requiring that the subject find or establish a back-
ground and setting that is appropriate for the action. In addition
to priority, depicted love tends to have two other characteristics.
First, it is usually described at a moment of crisis in a plot and
initiates an abrupt redirection in the behavior of the picture
characters. Secondly, the redirection is of a total kind; all
of the future activity and feeling of the picture characters are
affected.

The redirection of love may be called a "turning-point." The
formulation of a turning-point makes it easy to fit the items
of a picture into a single plot. The past and future of a scene
need not be reconstructed imaginatively. This effort is unnecessary because a turning-point takes precedent over any past event, and at the same time contains a complete future for each of the picture characters.

HP responses to picture 4 contain thematic stereotypes other than redirected love. The most frequent of these turns upon the problem of miscegenation.

The female in the foreground of picture 4 is not clearly of a different race from the male character. For instance, none of the nineteen Nisei subjects mentioned this factor. However, twelve of the forty-seven HP subjects made reference to it. In all twelve cases the imputed racial difference was at the root of a sudden change (or threat of change), in the pre-existing relation between the foreground figures. This turning-point or re-direction of action served to fix the protagonists; it determined the full character of each of them, the nature of the relation between them, and the few optional possibilities as to plot outcome.

Another favorite turning-point is death. This may be illustrated by response to picture 3G (female with bowed head, apparently in anguish). Of the forty-two CBS subjects, twenty-seven built responses around the occurrence of some form of death. Death occurred by murder, suicide, sickness, war, and accident. It occurred to the picture character; it occurred to her child, her father, her mother, her sweetheart. These replies differ from many points of view, but death plays a similar role in all of them. It creates a crisis which can be resolved in a few
stereotyped ways. These resolutions issue solely from the crisis and can be applied to the picture character regardless of the clues which the scene may offer concerning her past life. This "organizational" similarity accounts for the fact that subjects frequently offer more than one story in reply to picture 3GF, lightly passing from the possibility of one kind of death befalling one type of kin to another kind of death befalling a different category of kin.

For the most part, then, responses to the TAT are built around a few crises or dramatic events. Most of these turning-points are concerned with the following: redirection of affection; occurrence of death; decisions whether to accept advice or commands; disclosure of someone's criminal guilt; eventual triumph of talent or perseverance. The introduction of these themes simplifies the problem of formulating a response. It does this in the following ways: an act of one picture character is shown to have an extreme effect upon the lives of all the characters in the picture (in this way the characters can be related to one another); the life activity of each character is abruptly altered, and his whole future is defined in terms of the alteration (in this way the activity leading up to the scene need not be reconstructed).
CHAPTER X

THE INDIRECT RESPONSE

In Chapter VIII it was said that response to the TAT is of two kinds; "direct" and "indirect." The "direct" kind consists of statements which reflect the subject's willingness to treat depicted events as real events. In Chapter IX an attempt was made to analyze two of the elements (identifications and turning-points) from which this kind of response is constructed. The "indirect" response consists of statements which allow the subject to avoid the obligation of reacting to the pictured scene as if it were a real one.¹ This chapter attempts to analyze "indirect" responses by classifying the ways in which "direct" responses are avoided.

An examination of the protocols suggests that "direct" responses are avoided in three general ways. These bear upon the role of sympathy, the kinds of content, and the problem of representation. Each will be treated separately.²

¹A subject's complete reply to any given picture may contain statements of "direct" response, as well as different kinds of "indirect" response.

²Throughout this chapter it has been necessary to analyze the kind of statement whose meaning cannot be separated from the context, sense and tone in which it is spoken. This was done in a very crude way; unverified interpretations were made as to what the subject had in mind when making a given statement. The crudeness of this method should not be taken as a sign that the subtleties of speech are too vague, flexible and subjective to form
1. Sympathy

The events depicted in TAT pictures are "dramatic"; that is, they are usually interpreted as having far-reaching consequences for the general welfare of the picture characters. Also, the events are "classic" or stereotyped; that is, subjects tend to agree both as to the consequences of the events and as to the reaction of the picture characters to these consequences.

The crises which are frequently perceived in TAT scenes are of the kind that warrant a strong emotional reaction of the part of the picture characters. A subject whose response is of the "direct" kind willingly leads the fictive characters to their stereotyped destiny, but at the same time feels constrained to show some sympathy and fellow-feeling for their plight. Such sympathy is a constituent part of the direct response, and is as much determined by the picture stimulus as the most stereotyped part of the plot.

The fixed connection between the plight of picture characters and sympathetic approval or disapproval on the part of subjects helps to account for the tendency found among CBS subjects of giggling during their response to a "serious" picture. Apparently these subjects were too much embarrassed by the presence of the interviewer to openly express the kind of fellow-feeling that

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a proper object of the study. Apparently the extra-literal meanings which can be indirectly expressed by a particular word or phrase are sharply defined and implicitly agreed upon. Each is distinctively expressed by means of conventionalized intonation and gesture. Sophisticated techniques for analysing these data are now available. See K. L. Pike, The Intonation of American English (Ann Arbor: University of Chicago Press, 1947).
some themes require, and too much constrained by the obvious meaning of the pictures to evolve either different themes or different sympathies for the obvious themes.

Most of the stories in each of the three samples follow stereotyped plot-lines. However, in the HP protocols some of the stereotyped responses expressed a refusal on the part of subjects to show the kind of fellow-feeling that is conventionally demanded by the dramatic plight of picture characters. Refusal to show sympathy occurred most frequently in response to picture 3GF (nine subjects refused), and picture 4 (six subjects refused).

In all fifteen cases, refusal was communicated to the interviewer by a modification of the expressive component of the response. Statements describing tragedy or great happiness were uttered in a sing-song voice, or in a flat empty tone, or in a tempo sufficiently fast to signify impatience and irritation. In some cases the refusal conveyed by intonation was underlined by gesture: upturned hands, raised eyebrows and shrugged shoulders.

Unsympathetic replies occurred mostly in response to themes of death and redirection of love. In actual life, love and death are serious matters and presumably evoke serious reactions from those involved. Hence, unsympathetic responses suggest that a split has occurred in the mind of the subject between the feelings appropriate for a real event that occurs to oneself and the feelings appropriate for a depicted event that occurs to picture characters.

2. Content

In the "direct" response, the subject perceives dramatic,
fateful events. These events are described as if occurring to "real" persons. The subject describes each of these persons by means of a set of social and/or psychological traits. Each set of traits is sufficiently abstract so that a large class of persons qualify for the description; on the other hand, very few of the sets are so abstract that everyone falls within them. Hence, the range of events which can occur in the world depicted by the "direct" response is quite limited. The range is limited to the kind of event that can occur to a type of person or to an example of a class of persons.

Therefore, it was possible for subjects to avoid the stereotyped implications of TAT scenes by treating picture-characters not as types but as single, concrete, historic individuals. As an illustration of this method of solving the problem of constructing a response, two replies to picture 1 are given. The first is a "direct" response; the second an avoidance of it;

What is that? . . . Well, I'd say the kid was thinking about some place else he'd rather be than having to play the violin. . . . I'd say he forces himself to play and some day he becomes a great violinist. That's all I can say about that— that's all it looks like.

I think of young Menuhin when I look at this. Is this supposed to be entirely impersonal? That's what I think of. I heard him when I was 8 or 9 in a black velvet suit looking cherubic and playing in a heavenly way. I don't know if I'm prejudiced but he's still my favorite violinist. He was about my age, maybe a little younger. I don't think it's such a good picture—looks very much like him except the hair.

Subjects referred not only to concert performers but also to actual kin, movie actors, cartoonists, painters and politicians. In each case, the subject was able to avoid— at least during part of the response to a picture— the stereotyped implications of a
scene. The HP responses, taken all together, contain fifty-one references to specific individuals; the CBS sample contained only twelve.\footnote{A count of one was recorded each time a particular real person was mentioned for the first time in a subject's total reply to each one of the several pictures. Since ten pictures were used, the HP sample contains four hundred seventy total replies, the CBS sample four hundred twenty replies.}

Another way in which subjects avoided the stereotyped implications of TAT pictures was to treat fictional picture characters as depictions of other kinds of fictional characters. This may be illustrated by a response to picture 6GF: "This looks like a picture out of Cosmopolitan. Part of a come-on to read a good story—or a story anyway." In addition to illustrations from magazines, fictive referents were derived from novels, plays and movies. For the most part, this way of avoiding the world of stereotyped events occurred in replies to pictures 4 and 6 GF. In response to picture 6 GF, seventeen HP subjects and one CBS subject used fictive referents. In response to picture 4, fourteen HP subjects and one CBS subject used fictive referents.

A third way in which subjects avoided responses of the "direct" kind was to interpret a scene as falling outside the bounds of "natural law." This approach was only used in response to picture 19. Three examples follow:

Hmm. That looks like the backdrop to a modern ballet. Definitely represents a ballet to me. I would—let's see what would it be? Perhaps it's a scene after dark. Workman's paile, shop girls walking around; definitely a city scene.

Oh dear—Well I've never been able to make any sense out of these things. Looks like hobgoblin row. Suppose it could be a house, snow, storm. Maybe in color it might make more sense to me. Looks like a Halloween
house. Sort of a witch looking out one window and a pumpkin on the roof.

Well, looks like a picture in a fairy tale. Like Hansel and Gretal--except that Hansel and Gretal didn't have snow on the ground. I think it's a fairy tale. Looks to me like snow and a blowing wind--house and roof all covered with ice, or could be a house covered with sugar like one of those fairy tale stories.

Nineteen CBS subjects and twenty-six HP subjects made use of this device in response to picture 19. It allowed these subjects to tie together into a single description events and objects that never occur together in the actual world.

There were a fourth way in which subjects avoided the obligation of giving a "direct" kind of response. Scenes were sometimes thought to be "symbolic" in so abstract and general a way as to remove them from the personal and dramatic context of the "direct" response. This may be illustrated by two responses to picture 2:

It's a picture of a man ploughing a field and a girl with some books in her arm. A very symbolic looking picture--education, mother nature. I'd say woman over on the side there is mother-earth type. I don't know. Whole thing is a little confused; not supposed to suggest anything in particular 'cause it's a symbolic picture. Don't know if it's a conflict between country and city life. I don't know.

Oh, I recognize this as a Leon Kroll. Don't know what the name of the picture is. Looks as though it were a picture of two sides of life. Woman on right represents earthly part of life. She's pregnant and stands for the fruitful side of life, and girl with book looks like she represents things of the mind. The man between the two has some symbols of combining both. I can't make out this part--looks like they represent deep furrows--represent physical labor through which things are created. A very beautiful picture--contrast of rich earth and rocky ledge--symbolic--fertile field and woman against tree, and hard angular foreground with the other side of life. I think the sunlight on the man in contrast with the dark green hills points out certain symbolism of a
kind. And I think the fact that the artist has a pregnant woman against an up-growing tree is part of the symbolism of nature.

A small number of responses of this kind was found throughout the HP protocols. Response of this kind was most evident in replies to picture 2, where it was employed by eleven HP subjects. It did not occur in the CBS protocols.

3. Representation

In making a response of the "direct" kind, the subject partly reacts to representations of things as though the things were actually there themselves. The things are human beings in social interaction. An alternative to this mode of response is to this mode of response is to treat a representation qua representation, and not as that to which it refers. In this way standards for judging the content of TAT pictures may be introduced which direct the view of the subject past, or through, the human interactional referents of the pictures.

Subjects studied in this thesis used two standards of this kind, one referring to art and the other to photographic realism. As the following illustrations suggest, the use of either of these standards provides a way of discounting the dramatic or plot-like aspect of a picture:

(Picture 5.) That's a strange room. I can't make out what a table is doing in front of a Victrola or radio or something. Strange proportions.

(Picture 2.) This reminds me of the fact that a couple of years ago I went through Iowa on a train for the first time. Struck by the fact that all the scenery looked like Grant Woods—round stubby and smooth. I was quite struck by that fact. General effect reminds me of that.
(Picture 14.) Well, photography, obviously a photographer’s picture 'cause it's intended to make a dramatic effect by use of light and shadow which are the two main means of communication in photography.

(Picture 7GF.) Well, let's see—again a contemporary American. Secondly, comes to mind it's a kind of sloppy sentimental painting without an interesting composition. I can't tell about the color but it represents a sterile school of American painting which has not taken advantage of any of the schools of art developed in the last 20 years.

By using aesthetic standards of evaluation, a subject was able to judge a "tragic" scene as good or bad solely on the basis of how well the tragedy was expressed or depicted. In this way the dramatically human aspects of a picture were, in a manner of speaking, held off at a distance by the interposition of an alternate version of reality.

In this chapter, three kinds of "indirect" response have been described. These relate, respectively, to sympathy, content and representation. Each provides a different way in which to avoid the obligation of taking "seriously" the interpersonal drama depicted in TAT scenes. Each describes a different way in which HP subjects tended to avoid the constraints of customary interpretations. This avoidance corresponds to the refusal of HP subjects to be completely bound by the norms that govern conventional treatment of the livingroom. In the next chapter, this aspect of HP livingroom behavior is described.

This chapter must be closed with some questions. Those who administer the TAT, and those who draw or paint TAT pictures, assume that a depicted interpersonal event will evoke a response much like the one evoked by the actual event. This is an assumption common to all of those who—for one purpose or another—
make use of other people's response to depicted events.

It appears, however, that the appetite of HP subjects for vicarious experience is somewhat jaded: they treat lightly what was meant to be treated seriously; they treat in many ways what was meant to be treated in one way. And since TAT scenes refer (in a sense) to actual events which do not actually exist, HP subjects do not have to pay a direct price for their abuse of symbolism.

Perhaps the tendency to treat depicted drama lightly will lead to a similar treatment of actual drama—one's own or that of others. Or perhaps the mistreatment of depicted interpersonal events is merely an expression of how actual interpersonal events are treated or are coming to be treated.
CHAPTER XI

LIVINGROOM FURNISHINGS

The HP subjects were all interviewed by one person; the writer. During each interview it was possible to record information about livingroom furnishings and livingroom behavior. Information of this kind was not recorded with any regularity in the CBS interviews.

Taken as a whole, data concerning HP livingrooms express many different traits. One of these traits bears directly upon the study of TAT response. It is described below. It has to do with the attitude of subjects towards norms, and will be described, principally, with reference to livingroom furnishings.

It has been noted many times that Americans use livingrooms as places of show, to exhibit the crucial social values of respectability and wealth. The importance of this designative function presumably explains why "ritual" care is traditionally and typically given to the livingroom. Except under special conditions, it is taboo for children, servants, tradesmen, dogs and dirt to enter this room. The furniture in it is usually new and all of it part of a single, matched set.

On the whole, members of the HP sample do treat the livingroom as a special place—a place apart that is meant to receive and withstand the scrutiny of outsiders. However, in this room HP subjects also displayed values other than respectability
and wealth. These additional values seem to be both cause and effect of a disinclination to completely accept a conventional definition of the livingroom situation.

In addition to wealth and respectability, HP livingrooms typically express the following values:

The kind of atmosphere that English-style 18th Century furniture produces in an uncrowded, medium-sized room;

Respectable lineage as documented by inherited period furniture;

The complex of modernity, utility and comfort.

Current canons of taste in interior decoration provide rules for blending together furnishings that express these diverse values. However, in HP these rules seem to be followed less as a means of integration than as a way of showing that the resident is not completely bound or coerced by any one of these values.

Of the forty-seven HP subjects, twenty used 18th Century style as the dominant pattern in their livingroom. In each of the twenty cases, the dominant 18th Century décor was interrupted by one or more pieces of comfortable modern furniture. Frequently, these pieces were closely centered around a particular point, and seemed to mark off an area within the livingroom where the pleasures of relaxation and informal conversation were given priority over the demands of conspicuous consumption.2

1 Principally, Chippendale, Hepplewhite, Sheraton; authentic pieces or "good" reproductions.

2 A similar break in dominant style, in favor of utility, was found in the three livingrooms that were furnished mostly with Victorian pieces; this was also true of the one livingroom furnished in 17th Century style.
Of the forty-seven HP subjects, seventeen used modern furnishings as the dominant pattern in their livingroom.\textsuperscript{1,2} In thirteen of these cases, the dominant theme was broken by one or more pieces of period-style furniture.

Thus, HP subjects tended to use one of two styles; 18th Century or modern. However, at the same time they seemed to show that their taste was not completely determined or fixed by either style. In other words, HP subjects tended to accept the norms of a particular style, but not without reservations and qualifications.

This tendency to be incompletely involved in one's own set of norms was also illustrated by the many little ways in which HP subjects seemingly refused to accept fully the conventional or "sacred" definition of the livingroom. Eleven of the livingrooms opened directly into a "sun room," where informal objects such as hammocks, wicker furniture, filing cabinets and wastebaskets were on open display. At least seventeen of the forty-seven livingrooms contained writing desks of some kind; in a few cases typewriters were also present. This suggests that the livingroom was defined as a place where business--

\textsuperscript{1}"Modern" here refers to a range of style from leather occassional chairs and Lawson sofas to furniture of modernistic design.

\textsuperscript{2}The average age of subjects who used an 18th Century pattern was 43.4 years; of those who used a modern pattern, 34.4 years. The difference was significant at the .003 level. Presumably it is due partly to a generational change in taste, and partly to the fact that "family" pieces and costly period furniture are frequently not used until a couple has been married long enough to find a somewhat permanent dwelling place. There also seems to be a feeling that modern furniture is more "appropriate" for young couples, and that period furniture is more "appropriate" for older couples.
social or otherwise—could be conducted. Thirty-two of the livingrooms contained books and bookcases, suggesting that the livingroom was also used as a reading-room.\(^1\) Rules of aesthetic and "cultural" restraint were stretched by the occasional use of violent modern pictures, bright wall-paint, Indian drugged rugs, Japanese prints and Mexican pottery. In many livingrooms the ritual of order and cleanliness was nicely violated by the permitted presence of a dog, a child, a huge toy, or a fireplace-basket of coal or wood. Finally, most subjects managed to show, in some shall way or other, that for them furniture did not have to be a symbol of wealth and respectability. For instance, modern furniture usually costs much less than antiques or good reproductions; and, as already shown, period patterns were invariably interrupted by pieces or small groupings of modern furniture. Further, HP livingrooms frequently contained one or two pieces of the cheapest kind of commercial furniture. Also, signs of hand-labor were to be found; sanded tables, cumbersome radio amplifiers, makeshift end tables. Finally, subjects frequently admitted that they knew nothing about furniture, and in some cases this seemed to be an honest statement of fact.

These minor mistreatments of livingroom norms seemed to have a parallel in the treatment HP subjects gave to other rules. Conventional requirements and restrictions concerning adult, female clothes were sometimes relaxed so as to allow for masculine

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\(^1\)Of course, books frequently serve as a symbol of educational status. In such cases the location of this function in the livingroom cannot be taken as a sign that the traditional social role of the livingroom has been modified.
and youthful influences: saddle shoes, loafers, slacks, ankle socks, men's shirts. Further, subjects seemed to make a point of carefully violating, once or twice, the traditional proprieties of conversation; this involved conspicuous use of colloquialisms, direct references to sex, and polite use of impolite profanities. Finally, sometimes HP subjects disposed their body and limbs in a way that did not convey a maximum of restraint; this involved wide gestures of hand and arm, standing poses of several kinds, and conspicuously comfortable sitting positions. These movements seemed to be a sign that the subject was in control of her inhibitions, rather than a sign that impulses were in control of the subject.

Illustrations have been given of how earnestly HP housewives set about to show that they are not bound by their own livingroom norms. Disengagement of this kind is also suggested by the reading habits of these subjects. They frequently referred to their subscription to fashion and household magazines in disparaging tones. And the content of the magazine most popular with them—the New Yorker—is apparently devoted to light criticism of middle class life. It is beyond the scope of this thesis to suggest the ways in which this pattern of disengagement appears in the conjugal, domestic, social and political life of HP subjects.
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1Magazines received by only one subject, professional magazines, and children's magazines, not listed. Average per home, excluding professional and children's magazines, 5.28. No record was available for eight of the forty-seven subjects.
TABLE 6—continued

| 20 | 21 | 22 | 23 | 24 | 25 | 26 | 27 | 28 | 29 | 30 | 31 | 32 | 33 | 34 | 35 | 36 | 37 | 38 | 39 | Total |
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*Note: The table continues with similar patterns.*
CHAPTER XII

CONCLUSIONS AND INTERPRETATIONS

In the social sciences it is taken for granted that human interaction is different from the conception people typically have of it. Nonetheless, it is well understood that the relation between conception and fact is extremely intimate, since each is constantly changing the other. The ultimate object of the present thesis is to approach a study of this relationship.¹

Interaction among individuals is partly determined by the conscious notions each has concerning the nature of the relationship. This may be called the primary role of conception; no attempt has been made to study it in this thesis.

The course of an actual interpersonal experience (itself a product of fact and conception), may be imaginatively reconstructed in retrospect. In some respects this must be distinguished

¹A well known inquiry into the relation between interpersonal experience and thoughts about interpersonal experience is that of Freud. His concepts of "repression" and "rationalization" point to some of the ways in which individuals misrepresent their own experience to themselves and to others. Another well known approach to the relation between conception and fact is found in the sociological treatment of the "stereotype." Here it is claimed that experience is typically thought to be much more simple, dramatic, and uniform than it really is. There have been many studies on the relation between conception and fact. Some of these have been inspired by the need, in an age of mass media, to understand the role of vicarious experience.
from the construction of purely imaginary interpersonal experiences. These apperceptive processes—reconstruction and construction—may be thought of as secondary roles of conception. This thesis has been concerned with the latter of these secondary roles: namely, imaginary experience.

For the most part, response to the TAT is of the "direct" kind. Subjects treat the depicted characters and events as if they were real people and real events. However, upon close examination it becomes clear that the "reality" to which direct responses refer is actually a construct of a quite narrow and special kind.

First, picture characters are depicted examples of classes or types of real persons; they are not depictions of particular persons. The level of abstraction of these types or classes is fixed at a particular point. Protagonists characterized in this way can be directly involved in the kind of event to which subjects usually refer. Secondly, events described by subjects are, typically, very dramatic. These events assume that the life-activity of an individual can be neatly characterized, and that the course of this activity can be abruptly deflected or changed. The "reality" represented in "direct responses" is largely composed of the kind of redirection that implicates others. In brief, it is a reality of interpersonal crises. Thirdly, subjects are required to show a specific degree of sympathy or fellow-feeling for the plight of the picture-characters. In order to treat a scene as "real" in which dire events occur, it is necessary to show sympathy for the picture-characters. Yet the very practice
of treating pictured scenes as "real" assumes that the subject has learned to respond to depicted events with less intensity and fulness than is the norm for response to actual events.

The "reality" which TAT scenes represent is a construct. It is a narrow construct with respect both to its content and to the attitude that subjects may assume towards it. It is an extremely important construct, since an increasing number of people are spending and increasing amount of time immersed in depicted experience.

The constraint which this construct has upon the formulation of a response is shown by the wide agreement of interpretation found among the members of three, socially-divergent samples. Picture-characters are usually depicted, unambiguously, as if a fateful crisis were upon them. Subjects usually comply with this intent and dutifully tell a dramatic, stereotyped story. Stories of this kind are told, although to tell them frequently causes the subject embarrassment, boredom and irritation.

However, subjects sometimes respond to the TAT in a way that avoids the obligation of treating depicted, dramatic crises as if they were serious and "real." This has been called the "indirect" response. Three general types have been described. One involves a withdrawal of sympathy; another involves a radical change in content; a third involves the use of standards that do not refer to personal welfare. Each of the three types of "indirect" response provides a different way in which constraints upon conceptions of interpersonal experience can be circumvented. Each provides an additional context in which depicted events can
be seen. Each provides, as it were, a different way in which conception may disengage itself from the kind of "reality" to which it is usually bound.

All three kinds of "indirect" response, as well as examples of the "direct" kind, may appear together in a subject's reply to a single picture. This illustrates two meanings of the common-sense term "sophistication"; willingness to handle a depicted experience in different ways, and unwillingness to handle it in the customary way. Responses of the "indirect" kind did not appear frequently. It was found, however, that each type of "indirect" response appeared more frequently in HP protocols than in CBS protocols. Thus, HP subjects attempted to avoid the constraints of a direct response more often than did CBS subjects.

This tendency of HP subjects to partly disengage themselves from a pattern of constraint was also expressed by the minor ways in which these women detached themselves from a conventional treatment of the livingroom. It seemed to be expressed also by their mannerisms and reading habits.

Thus, HP subjects acted in accordance with certain norms, but were not completely bound by them. More important (for this study), these detachments always seemed to be related to an alternate definition of the situation; as if one approach to dramatic pictures, or livingroom customs, or social roles could only be questioned from the vantage point of another.

It appears, then, that HP subjects have a sophisticated approach to certain norms of thought and conduct. Perhaps this is caused by their extensive education and by the opportunities
they enjoy to engage in artistic or representational forms of recreation. Or perhaps education and art are merely the leading expressions of a general trend towards the corruption of single-mindedness.
BIBLIOGRAPHY


