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THE PERSONALITY TRENDS OF UPPERCLASS WOMEN

A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO
THE FACULTY OF THE DIVISION OF THE SOCIAL SCIENCES
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HUMAN DEVELOPMENT

BY

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CHAPTER I

THE PLAN OF THE STUDY

The Aim

This study is in the general area of social class and personality structure. The specific aim of the study is to explore some of the covert personality trends of a group of upper-upper class women and to compare these trends with the trends of a group of "Middle Majority" (lower-middle and upper-lower) women. The instrument is a selection of ten cards from Murray's Thematic Apperception Test.¹

The upper-upper group, numbering thirty, is drawn from a region near Boston. The "Middle Majority" group, numbering fifty, is drawn from the slightly larger sample used in the study of the radio daytime serial by Warner and Henry.² The following ten cards were shown to both groups: 1, 2, 7GF, 6GF, 4, 3GF, 5, 14, 7BM, and 19.³

¹H. A. Murray, Thematic Apperception Test (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1943).

²W. L. Warner and W. E. Henry, "The Radio Daytime Serial: A Symbolic Analysis," Genetic Psychology Monographs, XXXVII (1948), 3-71. This research is hereafter referred to as the CBS study. I would like to thank Professors Warner and Henry for letting me use the CBS material.

³The manifest content of each card is described in Appendix A.

The Assumptions

For the purposes of this study it is assumed that Warner's scheme of stratification analysis is valid.¹ This assumption is felt to be most clearly justified as far as the upper-upper group is concerned, since such critics of Warner as Pfautz and Duncan agree that the upper-upper class is a status group in Weber's sense.^{2,3}

It is assumed that the major difference between the upper-upper and the "Middle Majority" samples⁴ is that of social class position and the concomitant difference in class subculture and style of life. That is, this study assumes that the difference in social class position in Warner's sense is the major independent variable and that any differences in personality trends are dependent upon it

The choice of the upper-upper class as the group to be studied is based on the desire to examine a group with a distinctive style of life clearly different from that of the "Middle Majority." Since the upper-upper class exercises influence out of proportion to its numbers, the small percentage of upper-uppers in the popu-

¹W. L. Warner and P. S. Lunt, The Social Life of a Modern Community (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1941); Warner and Lunt, The Status System of a Modern Community (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1942); Warner et al., Democracy in Jonesville (New York: Harper, 1949); Warner, M. Meeker and K. Bells, Social Class in America (Chicago: Science Research Associates, 1949).

²H. W. Pfautz and O. D. Duncan, "A Critical Evaluation of Warner's Work in Community Stratification," American Sociological Review, XV (April, 1950), 205-215.

³Max Weber, "Class, Status, Party," From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology, trans. H. H. Gerth and C. W. Mills (New York: Oxford University Press, 1946), pp. 180-195.

⁴These two samples are hereafter referred to as the UU and MM samples.

lation is not considered to invalidate their importance as subjects for study.

Goffman has argued that socio-economic status is too complex a variable, especially when the sample at each status-level is not rigorously randomized, to be an appropriate variable in the classical research plan modelled on the controlled experiment.¹ This objection is not considered to have the same cogency here, in relation to groups whose social position differs so markedly, as it did in relation to the "Middle Majority" and upper-middle groups compared by Goffman.

It is true, however, that social class as Warner defines and discusses it is highly complex. Other social scientists have argued that Warner assumes the existence of only one system of honor but that there is reason to believe that in a large, complex, and urbanized society such as ours there are many different systems of honor and of ranking which do not always coincide.

The student will not attempt to answer this objection; in fact, by assuming that Warner's scheme of stratification analysis is valid for the purposes of this research, the student is deliberately evading any discussion of the possible theoretical weaknesses and empirical difficulties of Warner's analysis of social class. Furthermore, the student feels that the objection that there are different systems of honor is especially applicable to upper-middle intellectual-professional groups but is less relevant to the upper-upper class and the "Middle Majority".

¹E. M. Goffman, "Some Characteristics of Response to Depicted Experience" (Unpublished M.A. dissertation, Department of Sociology, University of Chicago, 1949), pp. 2, 35-38.

It is outside the scope of this study to determine which aspects of the complex variables of social class and differences in social class position are essential in determining personality differences between class groups and which aspects are more or less irrelevant.

For the purposes of this research the Thematic Apperception Test¹ is assumed to be a valid instrument for exploring group differences and similarities in personality trends.² The TAT was chosen as the instrument for the following reasons: (1) its value in revealing unconscious as well as conscious feelings and beliefs; (2) its value in revealing actual expectations as well as norms; (3) its value as a shortcut when compared with intensive interviewing; (4) its value in facilitating comparison with the TATs obtained from "Middle Majority" women in the Warner-Henry CBS study.

The Design of the Study

The focus of the analysis of the TAT records is the view these women have of themselves in the world; in other words, the major questions to be put to each record, and to be asked of the records of each sample as a whole, are: "What attributes does she assign to the world she perceives? what attributes does she assign to the people and the relationships she perceives? how does she conceive of her role as a woman vis-à-vis this kind of world and these kinds of people?"

¹Hereafter abbreviated to TAT.

²See, for example, W. E. Henry, "The Thematic Apperception Technique in the Study of Culture-Personality Relations," Genetic Psychology Monographs, Vol. XXXV (1947), No. 1.

Each UU protocol was individually analyzed in terms of these questions. A tabulation of themes was done for both samples. The UU records were further analyzed for the attributes assigned to the picture-characters.

Since the region from which the UU sample was drawn has not been studied in detail in terms of stratification, the assignment of social class position had to be made by the student. As a check on the reliability of this judgment, I.S.C. (Index of Status Characteristics) ratings were obtained on three items: house type, source of income, and husband's occupation.¹ The I.S.C. is of little value, however, in distinguishing between upper-uppers and lower-uppers; this differentiation, essential for the purpose of the study, had to be made on the basis of information about the evaluation of each subject's lineage. Two upper-upper women were the principal source of this information, although Social Register listings of certain club memberships of the subjects and of their parents were also of value as indicators of upper-upper status. Subjects from whom TATs were obtained who were later judged to be upward-mobile or on whom insufficient information was available for a safe judgment of class position to be made were eliminated from the sample.

None of the subjects in the UU sample were mobile upwards. Some of the MM subjects, however, were mobile and some were non-mobile. It is therefore possible that what appear to be differences between social classes may be, in part, differences between mobile and non-mobile individuals. There are enough non-mobiles

¹Warner, Meeker, and Wells, Social Class in America.

in the MM sample, however, to prevent this factor from being a sufficient cause of differences between the two groups.

Age and marital status were ruled out as variables.¹ All subjects were normal in the restricted sense of functioning socially at an adequate level.

The UU sample of thirty women was obtained by the student. All UU TATs were wire-recorded. The MM sample was drawn from that used in the CBS study. Fifty-four of the original sixty-two records were available; of these, four were eliminated (one because the subject was unmarried and three because the protocols were incomplete), leaving a total of fifty MM records. These records were obtained by a number of different interviewers and were taken down verbatim, or nearly so, in shorthand or longhand. Administration of the TAT to the UU subjects was preceded by a brief explanation of the purpose of the research and by questions on husband's occupation, number and age of children, source of income, and educational institutions attended by the subject and by her husband. The interviews with the MM subjects included similar questions and a questionnaire about radio daytime serials. Testing conditions were therefore relatively constant for all UU subjects, less so for the MM subjects, and much less so for the two samples taken together. This variability in testing conditions is not to be considered a major distorting factor, however.

The Limitations

Since this research was conceived of as exploratory and

¹See Tables 1 and 2, infra.

since objective data on the upper-upper subculture is meager, no attempt was made to formulate specific hypotheses before analyzing the protocols.

It was considered to be outside the scope of this paper to trace the specific connections between class subculture and personality trends as they have developed in the process of personality formation, although the study assumes a general relation between the two.

There are two major points in this research where bias may have entered in; one was in the selection of the UU sample, the other in the analysis of the TAT records. The latter is a hazard common to the use of all projective techniques. The question of sampling bias raises a more difficult problem. As in the CBS study, no attempt was made to employ a random sampling technique. Since the area from which the sample was drawn had not been studied in detail from the point of view of stratification analysis, this was in any event impossible. It is also, of course, unfortunate, since using the "friend-of-a-friend" method for obtaining a sample permits unknown biases to enter in. Furthermore, there is always the possibility of significant personality differences between those who are willing to take the TAT and those who refuse to do so. All that could be done in this study was to check to make sure that the women who did not answer requests for interviews or who refused to take the TAT did not differ in social class position from the women who agreed to take the TAT; no difference in social class position existed.

One known source of bias in the sample derives from the

fact that two sets of siblings were included. This reduces the spread of the sample and means that one family constellation may have unduly influenced the results. This factor was taken into account in generalizing about upper-upper trends but was not ruled out in the tabular comparison of UU and MM themes.

One more limitation of the UU sample should be made explicit. This upper-class sample is drawn from a certain region. While work on regional differences in personality has been largely speculative,¹ there seems to be reason to believe that there may be important differences among the upper classes in the Northeast, South, Midwest, and Far West. For this reason any statements about the covert trends of upper-upper women apply only to the general region from which the sample was drawn and should not be extended to upper-class groups in other parts of the United States.

¹See, for example, E. H. Erikson, "Ego Development and Historical Change," The Psychoanalytic Study of the Child, II (1946), 359-396.

CHAPTER II

THE CHARACTERISTICS OF THE UPPER-UPPER AND "MIDDLE MAJORITY" SAMPLES

The characteristics of the UU sample and a comparison of some of the characteristics of the UU and MM samples are given below, largely in a series of tables.

TABLE 1
MARITAL STATUS

Marital Status	UU	MM
Unmarried . . . . .	...	...
Married	29	48
Widowed . . . . .	...	1
Divorced	1	1

Taking the mid-point of each interval, except for the over-fifty age group where the mean age of the subjects is taken, the mean of the UU sample and the mean of the MM sample are both thirty-five years.

The mean number of children in the UU sample is 2.4; the mean number of children in the MM sample is 1.8.

The mean total I.S.C. rating is 19.16 for the UU sample

and 51.52 for the MM sample.¹ There is no overlap in the distributions.

TABLE 2
DISTRIBUTION OF ESTIMATED AGES

Age Group	UU	MM*
20-24	1	5
25-29	10	11
30-34	5	9
35-39	5	11
40-44	5	2
45-49	1	6
50 or over	3	5

*The age of one MM subject was unknown; the average age of the rest of the sample was assigned to this case.

TABLE 3
NUMBER OF CHILDREN

Number of Children	UU	MM
0	3	7
1	3	15
2	11	15
3	6	8
4	7	3
5 . . . . .	..	2

In the UU group, the mean I.S.C. rating, unweighted, for occupation is 1.45, for source of income is 2.083, and for house

¹See Warner, Meeker, and Eells, Social Class in America, pp. 136-150, 181, and 185. For the UU sample the weightings are 5 for occupation, 4 for source of income, and 3 for house type. For the MM sample the weightings are 4 for occupation, 3 for source of income, 3 for house type, and 2 for dwelling area.

type is 1.192.²

TABLE 4

NUMBER OF UU SUBJECTS
RECEIVING EACH RATING
ON EACH STATUS CHARACTERISTIC

Rating	Husband's Occupation	Source of Income	House Type
1	18	7	21
1.5 . . . . .	...	1	...
2	10	6	5
2.5	1	14	...
3	1	1	...
4 . . . . .	...	1	...
Unknown . . . . .	...	...	4

TABLE 5

DISTRIBUTION OF UU I.S.C. SCORES

I.S.C. Score	Number
12-16	10
17-21	10
22-26	8
27-31	2

TABLE 6

OCCUPATIONS OF UU SUBJECTS' HUSBANDS

Occupation	Number
Professional	10
Owner, manager, or partner, large business	3
Banker or private trustee.	4
Gentleman farmer	1
Owner, small business.	1
Junior executives.	3
Newspapermen	2

²There were four cases in the UU sample where house type was unknown. The average rating for the rest of the sample was assigned to the house type of these four cases.

TABLE 6--Continued

Occupation	Number
Salesmen, insurance	2
Salesman, real estate.	1
Chief pilot, regional area of national airline . . .	1
Salesman, real estate and automobiles.	1
Buyer, department store.	1

TABLE 7

SOURCES OF INCOME OF UU SUBJECTS

Sources of Income	Number
Inherited investments only or almost entirely . . .	7
Inherited and earned investments	1
Inherited investments and fees or profits.	6
Inherited investments and salary	14
Fees or profits only	1
Salary only.	1

TABLE 8

EDUCATION OF UU SUBJECTS

Educational Level	Number
Graduate of private secondary school	30
No college	24
Attended college one or more years	6

TABLE 9

EDUCATION OF UU SUBJECTS' HUSBANDS

Educational Level	Number
Graduate of private secondary school.	25
Graduate of public secondary school	4
Unknown	1
No college	2
College courses taken, college not completed . . .	2
College graduate	25*
Graduate school	10
Unknown	1

*Of these twenty-five, all but one attended high-prestige universities and all but four were graduates of Harvard.

TABLE 10

SERVANTS EMPLOYED BY UU SUBJECTS

Servants Employed	Number
One or more servants employed	21
Part-time help only	1
No servants employed	1
Unknown	7

CHAPTER III

THE UPPER-UPPER SUBCULTURE

Since little reliable data is available on upper-upper habits, attitudes, and beliefs, the following attempts to generalize about upper-upper life patterns and the upper-upper subculture cannot be extensively documented and should in some cases be considered as impressions which need further investigation rather than as statements of fact.

A middle-aged upper-upper woman, born before World War I--let us call her Mrs. X--probably grew up in a large house where she had her own room and was cared for by a nurse and later, perhaps, by a governess. Her parents took relatively little part in the details of her upbringing; her mother concerned herself with the child's health or manners or clothes but rarely helped feed her or dress her.

When Mrs. X was about six, she was sent to a small private day school. Later, at about fourteen, she either went to boarding school or stayed home and continued to attend a day school. None of the schools she attended was coeducational. The summers were spent in the country, sometimes with relatives, sometimes in a rented house, sometimes at her parents' country place if they had one. She often went to one or more of the country clubs in the area to ride or to play tennis or simply to meet her friends.

When Mrs. X finished school she "came out" at a large and formal party given by her parents in their own house. Since she was not exceptionally intellectual and did not show an exceptional inability to attract men, she was not sent to college. She might, however, have taken a trip to Europe.

When she was twenty-three or so, this upper-upper woman married Mr. X, who, brought up in a similar way and educated in private schools, was starting his career in a profession or in one of the Boston banks or investment houses. Their wedding was large, a ritual occasion acknowledging the change in the couple's status and recognizing the establishment of a link between two family lines.

With some family aid, the Xs soon moved into a house. When the X children were born, Mrs. X hired a nurse to care for them. Her daughters were, in turn, sent to the appropriate schools and at the end of school made their debuts.

Let us assume that Mrs. X has two daughters, one of whom is now in her early thirties, one about twenty-five. They are more apt to have gone to college than was their mother, and while Mrs. X had worked only at volunteer jobs--since she had not, like a few of her contemporaries, been forced to work by some financial crisis--her daughters may have voluntarily taken a paying job in the years between their debuts and their marriages to Mr. Y and Mr. Z. The Ys and the Zs live in houses of nine or ten rooms, slightly smaller than Mrs. X's house and somewhat less formal. While Mrs. X's mother had a number of servants, including a butler, Mrs. X now has two; Mrs. Y has a nurse and a general maid; and Mrs. Z has a nurse and occasionally hires a part-time cleaning woman.

Mrs. Y. lives in the country, like her mother, and has a garden. While Mrs. X has a gardener and places most of her emphasis on flowers, Mrs. Y does her own gardening (with a good deal of advice from her mother) and tends to worry more over her tomatoes than over her roses.

Both Mrs. Y and Mrs. Z see their parents often. Mrs. Z usually comes, with her children, for a two-week visit in mid-summer. Although the X family no longer participates in a Thanksgiving dinner which used to be attended by from twenty to thirty kin, the Xs and their children often meet at Christmas, and they and more distant relatives exchange presents then and on family members' birthdays.

Mrs. X gives perhaps six formal dinner parties each year, and one or more guests are invited to cocktails or dinner about once a week. The Ys and Zs may give one or two formal dinner parties in the course of the year but are more apt to give cocktail parties and buffet suppers. The Ys and Zs dine out once every week or ten days, and they do a good deal of informal visiting with their friends, meeting them at the beach or at the country club, stopping by their houses in the afternoons. Some of these friends are lower-uppers, more are upper-uppers, and none are upper-middles.

Leaving aside the mythical Mrs. X, Mrs. Y, and Mrs. Z, and their life-patterns in time, there are some generalizations which may be advanced about upper-upper style of life. The aspects of the upper-upper subculture to be touched on here are: (1) middle-class values in the upper-upper subculture; (2) the upper-upper household--the woman's role, the physical setting, the eating patterns; (3) the family--lineage and the extended family and some aspects of

intrafamilial relationships; (4) class relations--consciousness of class, consumption patterns and status symbols, mobility, cross-class relationships, attitudes towards other classes, and attitudes towards deviant behavior.¹

The title of this section is "The Upper-upper Subculture," and the prefix of that last word should be emphasized, since middle-class values are generally accepted, although with some modifications. Extravagance, laziness, irresponsibility, dirtiness--all these are criticized. There is less emphasis on achievement and success than in the middle class. It is believed, for example, that a man should work, even if his unearned income makes it possible for him to refrain from working, and that he should not be a failure in his job. On the other hand, even though the "able" professional or businessman may be admired, interest in and time spent on achievement are negatively rather than positively valued when they hinder intra- and extra-familial social relationships. Similarly, competent performance in school and in college is expected of both males and females but despite a vague feeling that talent should not be wasted neither brilliance nor scholarship are especially prized. Graduate work (apart from that necessary to a man's professional career) is not much valued; this is especially true for women.

There is a fairly strong feeling that both men and women should be knowledgeable in literature, art, and music. Just as an upper-upper informal group sometimes includes one ethnic, so it may

¹Most of the generalizations are framed to bring out differences between upper-upper and middle-class characteristics.

sometimes include a "favorite" artist, but the upper-uppers' attitude towards the professional artist is colored by wariness and a touch of contempt, together with admiration. The general tendency of their feelings may be summed up as: "This is all very well, but it is not for us except as amateurs or passive appreciators."

In general, then, whether in a job, in academic performance, in sports, in other skills, the upper-upper person is expected to be competent, is often penalized if he or she is not, but is not expected or encouraged to excel. The student would speculate that this attitude is linked to an upper-upper belief that interpersonal relationships are of greater importance than achievement beyond a certain minimum level. It is also related, in all probability, to a general ambivalence about success. Upper-uppers still have the middle-class respect for achievement. On the other hand, the emphasis on having been at the top for two or three generations implies that an upper-upper does not have to prove himself through achievement, and the presence of mobile lower-uppers leads to a need for upper-uppers to derogate their successes and hence to be suspicious of achievement in general.

While the upper-upper class has a distinctive style of life, it must be continually emphasized that upper-uppers participate in the general American culture dominated by the middle classes. Upper-uppers are exposed to and tend to believe in middle-class values. As far as the New England upper class is concerned, this may well be related to the Yankee mercantile tradition, which is strongly colored by Protestant-ethic kinds of values; one might expect middle-class values to be less strong in the Southern upper class.

Furthermore, in early childhood most upper-upper children are directly exposed to the habits, beliefs, and attitudes of the "Middle Majority" in the person of their nurses. Although upper-upper parents seem to be taking a more active part in the details of child-rearing than was true a generation ago, most upper-upper children spent and still spend a large part of their early years being handled, fed, washed, dressed, liked, disliked, praised, scolded, by "Middle Majority" women. This means that the child's early experience with and initial attitudes towards himself and others, towards his own body, towards cleanliness, towards achievement, are shaped under the guidance of "Middle Majority," not upper-upper, women.

At one time upper-upper women took little active part in the management of their households. Their role was one of supervision and over-all direction, and their active participation was limited to such activities as planning meals, ordering supplies, and satisfying a semi-ritualistic interest in, for example, flower-raising and flower-arrangement. Recently, upper-upper women have tended to take a more active role, to do at least a part of the actual cooking, cleaning, and laundry, and to spend more time with their children, in physical care as well as play.¹

Upper-upper women are interested in their houses. They want them to be "attractive" and they spend money, time, and effort mak-

¹While in many cases it is impossible to tell whether differences between age groups are age differences or generational differences, this is clearly a true generational difference. Said one young upper-upper (not a member of the sample): "I spend more time with my children in a week than my mother did in a year or my grandmother in two years." If one changed "week" to "month" her statement would be accurate enough.

ing them so. They often shy away from interior decorators, believing it important to give a house "a personal touch," although they do not consider their houses expressions of their personalities with the same intensity as upper-middle women.¹ Upper-upper women want a house to look liveable and lived-in, i.e., not too formal, but they also want it to be "nice," i.e., conventional and reasonably neat and clean.

Physical privacy is valued. The large houses of the upper classes means that the ratio of rooms to persons is high. Upper-upper houses usually have on the ground floor a large living room, a smaller study or library, a dining room, a pantry, and a kitchen. Upstairs there is usually a room for each family member and often a guest-room. Servants' rooms appear in all of the larger houses, and often there is an extra livingroom or dining room. It is comparatively rare now to find any room completely furnished with period furniture, although such rooms exist in the houses of upper-uppers who are now in their sixties and seventies. Antiques and good reproductions of antiques are favored, although a good deal of upper-upper furniture may be said to fall in the "obviously good but nondescript" category. Some Victorian furniture is used, but eighteenth-century is preferred--for example, Sheraton and Chippendale. Modern furniture is rarely found and it almost never appears in the ground-floor rooms. The "typical" upper-upper livingroom usually has: one sofa, perhaps two, placed near an open fireplace; two or more uphol-

¹This judgment is based on Buford Junker's report on current research in livingroom furnishings in the various social classes, *Anthropology* 356 ("Social Status and Learning"), Summer Quarter, 1950, University of Chicago; see also "Livingroom Furnishings," Goffman, *op. cit.*, chap. xi.

stered (occasionally leather) armchairs; several straight chairs; a desk, often antique; and a number of end tables. The rug is oriental or solid-color, and wall-to-wall carpeting is rare, as are bare floors except in summer. There may be white curtains over the windows, and there will certainly be drapes--not referred to by that name by upper-uppers--at the side of each window. There will not be venetian blinds. There are usually one or more framed oils or watercolors on the walls, or, if the room is used as a library, perhaps some sporting prints. On the mantelpiece there are usually pieces of china, glass, or other objects. The andirons and the poker and tongs are usually old; there is usually a wood-basket and often a Cape-Cod lighter. There may or may not be a piano or radio-phonograph. In most houses there are vases of flowers on the end-tables and the desk. By present standards of modern design the room is over-furnished; since the livingroom tends to be large, however, it does not give a cluttered appearance.

Eating is considered an important activity, and upper-uppers tend to place a good deal of emphasis on the kind of meals they serve and how they serve them. Unlike many middle-class women, the upper-upper woman rarely has what one might call a proprietary interest in the food she serves, for she is not directly responsible for its preparation; she is more apt to mention the prowess of her cook than to be proud of her special recipe. Dinner, usually eaten after seven, is ritualized. Although the formality of the main meal has markedly decreased in many upper-upper families, candlelight, the presence of a servant, cocktails beforehand, the expectation that family members will come to the table in their better clothes--

one or more of these serves to mark dinner as a special occasion. With other meals (and in summer), upper-upper families often turn to more informal patterns; these are sometimes genuinely informal and sometimes a matter of calculated informality, as much ritualized as the more traditional patterns they replace.

The importance of the extended family and of lineage will not be emphasized here, largely because this is the chief emphasis in most descriptions of upper-uppers. A few examples may illustrate its importance, however.

When an upper-upper has met a stranger, the first question is usually not, "What does he do?" or "Where is he from?" but, "Is he related to So-and-so?" Close relationships with parents and grandparents are common, and maintenance of relationships with aunts, uncles, and cousins is frequent. When the engagement of an upper-upper or the birth of a child to an upper-upper couple is announced in the newspapers, the names of the grandparents are often given. Children are usually given family names. Family members meet or otherwise acknowledge the significance of ceremonial occasions in the life of any family member, such as a birthday or a rite de passage (a debut, a marriage, a christening). In the older age-groups dinner-table conversation not infrequently develops into a tracing of the lineage of the person or persons under discussion. These and similar behaviors are, of course, completely taken for granted by upper-uppers.

The role of the nurse in the inculcation of middle-class values was mentioned above. The presence of a nurse and other servants also has some effect on upper-upper attitudes towards author-

ity figures. Authority in the upper-upper household is relatively diffuse and is not concentrated in one or both parents, since the servants, while subordinate to the parents, are superordinate to the child. Emphasis on the extended family and closer ties with the grandparents than is usual in the lower-upper and middle classes introduces yet another set of authority figures. The upper-upper child soon learns, even if his or her parents support the prescriptions and prohibitions of the servants, that the servants, although adults, have only limited authority, can often be over-ridden and are in some respects considered less important persons than himself. In this and other situations, the child occasionally has the experience of being deferred to by adults or lower social status. The behavior the child is expected to learn towards servants--which may be described as a mixture of demands and deliberate refraining from demands, as illustrated by parental exhortations "not to bother the help" or "never be rude to the maids"--probably influences the child's attitudes towards all interpersonal relationships.

There is one more point deserving mention. Because the income of an upper-upper family is often derived in part from the successes of grandparents or great-grandparents, the young upper-upper may receive considerable financial aid from his parents without feeling he has a debt to them. He or she is expected to maintain the family reputation, but he does not have the direct personal obligations of a middle-class young adult whose parents may have worked and saved to send him through college or set him up in business. On the other hand, the upper-upper has more obligations to his children. Family assistance to a young upper-upper couple is

often, probably usually, expected; for example, a married daughter may continue to receive a monthly allowance. Nor, since his parents usually have a more than adequate income, does the upper-upper feel the obligation to help his parents as they grow old. His debt is owed not to two figures with whom he has intense emotional relationships but to a larger and more distant group of kin to whom his ties are often fairly weak even if amicable.

Upper-uppers are aware of their social position. They are often complacent about it, although the guilt and defensiveness which Schumpeter suggests are characteristic of the elite in this stage of capitalism are not absent.¹ In the first place, they feel something is a little awry when they become aware of the existence of gross inequalities in our society. Secondly, they feel a little guilty that is they who, without effort, are at the top. Their guilt seems to be focussed on their economic advantages rather than on their social position itself--for although they may criticize the snob, they feel they deserve the high prestige accorded to them--and several informants accompanied their answers to the "source of income" question by remarks indicating that they were not entirely comfortable about deriving their income from inherited wealth. Again, the way upper-uppers treat their status symbols suggests that they are uneasy about those symbols which are available to anyone with a certain amount of wealth, and this uneasiness seems to be not entirely dependent on the ability of lower-uppers to obtain such symbols. On the other hand, symbols which depend on the maintenance of a high

¹Joseph Schumpeter, Capitalism, Socialism and Democracy (New York: Harper, 1942).

social position over a number of generations are less frequently treated with embarrassment. Upper-uppers know they are at the top, accept it as a matter of course, and are even a little proud of it. They also retain enough of the middle-class ethic to be guilty about being at the top without having worked to get there. It follows that while they are familiar with the notion of differences in rank, they are somewhat uneasy about these differences and about their own advantages.

Conspicuous consumption tends to be tabooed; luxuries are consumed in private, so that what is shown to the public is not, for example, the formal garden itself but rather the wall behind which the garden is enjoyed in privacy.¹ Because every symbol of upper-upper status except those pertaining to lineage is available to lower-uppers, status-expressing behavior on the part of upper-uppers tends to involve skill in the use of a set of symbols rather than use of a distinctive set of symbols. Since it is difficult to maintain the myth that this skill is innate, the next best thing, as far as upper-uppers are concerned, is to prize this skill when it is acquired by informal instruction at an early age and to deride it when it is acquired later and/or from impersonal sources,

¹Cf. Dalton Potter, "Some Aspects of the Social Organization of the Elite of Chicago" (Unpublished M. A. dissertation, Dept. of Sociology, University of Chicago, 1949), p. 6.

"Spatial isolation of the elite, so that even witnessing their activities becomes a physical impossibility, is seen in elaborately maintained privacy of their dwellings and places of social gathering. They rarely use public facilities for eating, drinking, playing, or for such dedicatory rites as rites de passage, marriages, and tributes in commemoration of past leaders, all of which serve to reinforce the sense of belonging to the group and the values special to the group."

such as an etiquette book or a magazine on interior decorating. The general ban on ostentation is of course well balanced by those ceremonial occasions, such as formal parties, debuts, and weddings, for the conspicuous display of status symbols. Lineage symbols, being peculiar to the upper-upper class, are treated somewhat differently.

Speech has status significance, although class differences in word preferences and dislikes seem to have received little attention. Upper-uppers laugh or frown at certain words or phrases (which appear in middle-class conversation); among the tabooed are: "home (for house); "drapes" (for curtains); "to date," "to go with," and "to go steady;" "a formal" (for either a party or an evening-dress). The often caricatured "Harvard accent" is also of some importance. British pronunciation, or an approximation of it, is considered affected, but upper-upper parents encourage their children to say, for example, "tomahto" and not "tomayto." Pronunciation and word-preferences vary little between upper-uppers and lower-uppers (unless the latter are very recently upward mobile from the upper-middle class) but mark both upper classes as different from classes of lower prestige.

While upper-uppers are unwilling to accept criticism from people outside their class, some upper-uppers indulge in a mild ridicule of their own values and status-symbols, e.g. may refer to highly conventional upper-uppers as being "cold roast Boston" or may call the Social Register "the Stud Book." At least a part of this mild self-derision seems to derive from their implicit realization that certain symbols, for example, "coming out" or being

listed in the Social Register, are available to lower-uppers and hence are not good symbols for upper-uppers to use except insofar as they distinguish both upper classes from upper-middles. Derision of lineage claims--"family background," "old family," "good family"--is noticeably rare, as one would expect in view of the fact that this and the related factor of long-term maintenance of a high social position are the main differences between upper-uppers and lower-uppers.

It has been said that for an upper-class American the only direction in which it is possible to move is down. It appears that downward mobility for an upper-upper who is old enough to have stable contacts with other upper-uppers demands actual effort and is often an act of protest against the parents and their style of life. Embezzlement, murder, conspicuous cruelty to a subordinate--these are some of the acts which lead to ostracism. Financial reverses rarely affect the status of an adult upper-upper; where loss of income encourages downward mobility is in the next generation, since the children rapidly lose their chance to associate with and be accepted by other upper-uppers if their parents cannot afford to send them to private schools or other institutions where the upper-upper class is heavily represented.

A middle-class child must strive to retain his social position more than is necessary for an upper-upper. In the extreme case, an upper-upper has to become socialized, not marry down, and not squander his family's inherited wealth, but no further effort is necessary; while it is not always this effortless, in general the upper-upper child has to exert himself very little to maintain

his position as an upper-upper.

As for inter-class relationships, the upper-upper woman has extensive social contacts with other upper-uppers and with lower-uppers. She has infrequent contacts--and these usually within the organizational context of, say, a philanthropic body--with upper-middles. Relationships to people of lower-middle status or below tends to occur either in a purchaser-seller or an employer-employee framework.¹ The situation is somewhat different for upper-upper men, who may have a good many relationships with middle-class men as a result of their professional or business careers.

As for upper-upper attitudes towards other classes, it has often been remarked that lower-uppers are seen as threats, since lower-uppers emulate upper-upper ways.² Hostility towards lower-uppers is balanced and tempered, however, by a vague feeling that the upper-upper and lower-upper classes, with highly similar lifestyles, have a good deal in common vis-à-vis a larger world dominated by middle-class people who are half envious of, half hostile towards both upper classes. Upper-uppers often become uneasy if their relationships with lower-middle, upper-lower, and lower-lower persons move outside the well-structured system of purchaser-seller and employer-employee relations; this is especially true in the older age groups. Provided the interaction takes place within those frameworks, however, upper-uppers can express positive feelings towards

¹The relationship of the upper-upper class to groups more or less outside community ranking systems--e.g. "cave society," "the international set," or national power and prestige groups--is not discussed here.

²See, for example, Warner and Lunt, Social Life of a Modern Community, pp. 130, 196.

the lower-status participants, as individuals. In fact, although they always implicitly recognize the superordinate-subordinate character of the relationship, upper-uppers are much more apt to be friendly towards persons of low status than towards persons of intermediate status. A cue to some of the upper-upper attitudes towards the middle classes appears in the use of mimicry of pronunciation unlike their own and in the use of certain words to describe negatively-valued behavior, these words usually having as their implicit referent middle-class behavior; to take the most conspicuous example, the disapproved-of behavior is often described not as "bad" but as "cheap."

It seems to be true that most upper-uppers permit more deviant behavior, class-wise, than is true of lower-uppers and many upper-middles. While a child's prolonged and intimate association with persons of lower status makes upper-upper parents very nervous indeed, direct action to end such cross-class relationships is not too frequent and is probably rarer now than it was, say, fifty years ago. Upper-uppers also tolerate considerable eccentricity, and an adult upper-upper may show very deviant behavior without injuring the status of his family as long as his children are sent to "the right schools" and meet "the right kind of people." This is probably directly related to the difficulty of involuntary downward mobility in one generation, to the fact that upper-upper status is ascribed and not achieved, and to upper-uppers' feelings of relative security in their social position.

CHAPTER IV

THE COVERT PERSONALITY TRENDS OF UPPER-UPPER WOMEN

The questions to be put to each upper-upper protocol, and, by extension to the entire sample, to "the upper-upper woman," were: "What attributes does she assign to the world she perceives? what attributes does she assign to the people she perceives? how does she conceive of her role as a woman vis-à-vis this kind of a world and these kinds of people?" The TATs reveal the following.

The upper-upper woman rarely sees the world as coercive. She sometimes sees it as confining but feels that one can escape from or mitigate the confinement. She feels the world is confusing, hard to live in. She feels it makes certain demands upon her. She sees it as a place where achievement is possible. She sees it as a place where there is some hope and where there are sheltering, cozy places. She feels the world is cold; she sometimes feels it is frightening and even malevolent.

When she is willing to specify the nature of interpersonal relationships, she almost always feels they are strained, discordant, tedious or unpleasant. She sometimes sees people as helpless, buffeted about by forces beyond their control; more often she sees them as self-motivated and relatively in control of their decisions and actions.

Men are important figures in her world, even when she sees them in a negative light. They are usually seen as independent and

fairly strong. She sometimes derogates them, and then she criticizes them for the attributes she assigned to them--weakness, bitterness, surliness.

She rarely describes heterosexual relationships as pleasant or satisfying. Heterosexual relationships sometimes arouse fear and/or guilt in the woman. Sometimes they are relationships of conflict, and when conflict occurs the man is usually seen as the winner.

The upper-upper woman is aware of male sexuality; she often fears it but she does not deny it.

The upper-upper woman can give little content to the mother-child relationship. When she can supply content, it tends to be negative rather than positive; she does not see it as a warm, close relationship. She is often ambivalent about her own childhood and about her children and her relation to them. This ambivalence is more apt to be expressed by a distant relationship than by overt rejection.

The upper-upper woman does not see intrafamilial relationships as pleasant or satisfying. She rarely sees herself as a supporting or nurturant figure. She sometimes sees herself as the practical person, supporting reason and duty against impulse, although she does not usually interpret the world in moralistic terms. Sometimes the upper-upper woman rejects a passive-dependent role, and does so vigorously, but more often she sees herself as subordinate to and dependent upon a man although she tends to play down the passive aspects of this role.

The upper-upper woman wants to maintain the status quo as

far as personal relationships are concerned and often feels change will probably be for the worse, but she is not afraid of new things or of the stranger simply because they are new and strange. She values creativity and imagination but is unlikely to possess much of either.

The upper-upper woman often sees a father-figure as wise, kind, and loving. This positive view of an older male is not usually accompanied by acceptance of his guidance. Overt rebellion, especially against a maternal authority figure, is not visualized; the upper-upper woman tends to think in terms of a passive, resentful waiting or an unenthusiastic compliance in her authority relations.

The upper-upper woman is ambivalent about her own independence and that of others. Rather than both wanting and fearing independence, she wants both to be independent and to be dependent.

The upper-upper woman is ambivalent about achievement. When she is interested in success she tends to think of it as success in terms of the individual's aspirations rather than success vis-a-vis external standards.

The upper-upper woman shows some tendency to avoid emotional extremes. This does not mean that she avoids expressing them, especially when they are negative--she may say, "He hates his father," or, "She's utterly miserable"--but that she prefers to operate in the middle range. One clue to this is the kind of adjective she uses in a positive fashion. "Nice" is one of the most frequent positive words in her vocabulary. She also uses "kind," "wise," "genial," "patient," "affectionate," "cozy," "attractive," "set-

tled," "peaceful," "reasonably happy" as positive adjectives. None of these are very strong words. The negatively-toned words in her vocabulary are more intense, but even here she tends to use words like "cheap," "nagging," "sour," "bitter," "surly," "weak," "cranky," "spoiled," "cross," "disagreeable," "dreary," "a bit discouraged." Both "good" people and "nice" places may be praised as "cozy." Furthermore, several of the records show a belief that people should be intelligent but should not be over-intellectual and a belief that while ambition is all right it is also permissible to be a dreamer. Taking all these indications together, one may say that the upper-upper woman sees a "nice" relationship as one where the emotions involved are of moderate rather than strong intensity. A "good" person, to her, is one who is kind and considerate. A "bad" person is one who is difficult, inconsiderate, trying. The upper-upper woman certainly wants to avoid misery but her view of the good life omits any ideal of intense positive emotion.

These trends are covert trends. They find expression, but they are aspects of the personalities of upper-upper women which these women either do not want to or are unable to express directly and overtly.

CHAPTER V

THE STYLE OF LIFE AND COVERT PERSONALITY

TRENDS OF "MIDDLE MAJORITY" WOMEN:

A SUMMARY OF PREVIOUS RESEARCH

The style of life and the covert trends of "Middle Majority" women have been described in a number of studies.

In the CBS study, the authors state that "the most outstanding characteristics of the psychological structures of these women are":

1. Reduced imagination and personal resources. . .
2. Impulse suppression. . .
3. A struggle for personal control and a fear that they will not succeed. . .
4. Interpersonal relations stereotyped. . .
5. Interpersonal relations "strained". . .
6. Sameness and monotony of "outer" world. . .
7. An outer world that is usually monotonous. . .
8. Apprehension of the unknown. . .¹

According to Henry, "Middle Majority" adolescents see heterosexual interaction in the following terms:

- a. Men are unreliable and apt to leave you.
- b. Men are like children, careless, thoughtless, weak.
- c. Men need protection and care.
- d. If we can, we should reform men to be more reliable, steady, loving, and not to leave us.
- e. Woman is always right, and strong, and in control.
- f. Women who prey on other women's men are evil, bad, and should be punished.²

¹Warner and Henry, "Radio Daytime Serial."

²W. E. Henry, "Analysis of Adolescent Fantasy," Unpublished MS, University of Chicago.

Henry comments that while the adolescent group is more flexible in this area than are adult "Middle Majority" women, "this is the one spot in which the similarity is most noticeable."¹

The life of the "Middle Majority" woman has been described and analyzed as follows:

She lives in a world which is firmly bounded by the walls of her home. Even the neighborhood, her small circle of friends and perhaps association in a local church or club, tend to be of less concern to her than the welfare and problems of her family. . . .

Her outlook on life is. . . an extremely concrete one, more flexible in its acceptance of feelings and motives than in its latitude of understanding widely varying kinds of dress, taste, and behavior. She can therefore accept intense feelings of resentment, love, anger, and hope, to a much greater extent than she can accept actual adventure or departure from moralistic and highly controlled behavior. . . .

The life of this typical woman is an arduous one. Homemaking for her is ruled by demanding standards of cleanliness and orderliness, and by ideals of continuous service to the members of her family. As a result she is frequently isolated and unable to participate in recreation which is not directly related to the welfare, again, of her family. Moreover, her way of life does not stimulate her to be interested in the diversion and relaxation of women in upper social levels. She carries the full burden of child rearing, often in an urban area which provides a minimum of opportunity for the child to be safely separated from her. As a result her children are very often sources of irritation and frustration.

The relation with her husband is likely to be complex. In the face of her strict morality and deep sense of responsibility, he provides almost the only situations in which she can be romantic, submissive, and dependent on someone else. At the same time that her welfare depends to a great extent upon her husband's effectiveness, she recognizes that his life is freer, marked by more structured, finite demands and that he is frequently able to satisfy his needs and wishes more directly than she. This context only reinforces her need to fulfill her personal wants and dreams within the limits of her immediate family.

The whole arena of her life and personality is, therefore, a small one. Her intellectual interests are closely related to realistic problems. Novel experiences are at a minimum. Emotional stimulation is often lacking or is gained only by intense reactions to the complications of everyday affairs. In this setting the woman must find her sense of self-fulfillment in be-

¹W. E. Henry, "Analysis of Adolescent Fantasy," Unpublished MS, University of Chicago.

lieving and demonstrating that she is needed, admirable, and even lovable, in spite of the matter-of-factness with which her responsibilities are thrust upon her.

At the same time the pressure of reality and of her own standards continually reinforces the necessity of conforming, self-disciplined behavior and realistic judgment. Under the pressure of these two varying kinds of needs she frequently finds the solution, the acceptable compromise, in imagining and vicariously experiencing the romantic freedom and adventure she cannot permit herself.

• • • • •
 [She]¹ cannot allow herself much imagination or introspection.

Another report phrases the characteristics of the "Middle Majority" woman in these terms:

What kind of a woman is Mrs. Middle Majority?

She is a housewife

concerned primarily with her duties as a wife and mother

With limited experiences

because her life is limited to a familiar narrow routine, and she lacks the background which would lead her to seek wider interests

Rigid moral and social codes

by which other people judge her and she judges them-- codes that establish the conventional behavior expected of a wife and a mother who hesitates to try anything too new--anything that is too radical a departure from conventional methods because it would subject her to criticism by friends and family

Who is fairly unimaginative

because her way of life does not call for any originality or imagination; instead discourages it

Who has a sense of futility

because her life is pretty drab and monotonous

But is not defeated by it

because she feels that her job is to keep going, keep trying, and she has a real satisfaction in fulfilling her responsibilities

Who has vague hopes

mainly, that nothing will disturb her present life; that somehow she can better herself and her family, have freedom from responsibility

¹Social Research, Inc., Report on Center City (New York: S. R. I., 1949), pp. 128-131. I would like to thank Mrs. Moore for letting me use this material.

And her own set of fears

fearing particularly anything she thinks might threaten the family unit, and her role as wife and mother; and vaguely insecure in any dealings that have to do with the world outside her own little circle

And problems

looking after the welfare of husband and children, keeping the house neat, making ends meet, planning three meals a day three hundred and sixty-five days a year

And needs

She needs to feel she is getting somewhere, that what she is doing is important, that maintaining the family is an achievement, and she needs solutions to her varied problems as a wife and mother¹

The following points, brought out in a seminar, underline the descriptions given above.²

For the Middle Majority woman the primary institution is the family. Almost all outside contexts are related to it. She defines her role as a housewife and home-making skill is highly valued. Her primary goal is to be a good wife and mother.

She lives in comparative social isolation, with circumscribed and limited contacts. She is dependent on her husband for economic support, social status, romantic purposes, and as an authority figure to whom she can submit.

She is guilty, perfectionistic, and feels her impulses to be bad. She has a real but unsatisfied hunger for emotional experiences; she is overly reactive to minor, routine emotional experiences. She has a need to be taken care of that she can rarely experience; only when ill, for the most part, can she relax and be taken care of.

She is lonely. She has a well developed sense of responsibility. She places much more emphasis on behavior than on motivation, does not worry very much about others' feelings as long as they are not overtly expressed, and does not struggle to integrate behavior and motivation. She feels that what is public--what one is caught doing--is what is important.

She has a strict and rigid notion of morality--cleanliness, orderliness, responsibility, continuous service to her family.

She does not permit herself a rich escape into fantasy but rather uses prefabricated fantasies.

¹"Gardner Advertising: A Case Study," Tide (Sept. 23, 1949), p. 29.

²Summarized from a seminar, Symbolic Behavior, University of Chicago, February, 1949. Participants: Henry, Moore, Peck, and Levy. Transcript made available by H. Moore.

The world is a demanding one, always requiring her to do things. She sees the world as a threatening place, and has a general low level of apprehension about the world and about change. In this world she sees her security as equivalent to what happens to her family.

CHAPTER VI

COMPARISON OF THE UPPER-UPPER AND "MIDDLE MAJORITY" SAMPLES

Comparison of Themata

The choice of categories in the tabulation of themata always has some element of arbitrariness. To some extent the themata group themselves. The distinctions made here are based in part on the characteristics of the responses which suggests that the subjects themselves made such differentiations in content, and in part on the belief that this study's focus would be aided by these detailed and descriptive categories rather than by subsuming similar themata under broader and more analytical headings.

The seven cards for which UU and MM themata are compared are placed in three groupings: 1 and 7BM; 2, 7GF, and 19; 4 and 6GF.¹ The first grouping, 1 and 7BM, is intended to show responses to pictures whose latent meaning often elicits attitudes towards achievement and familial authority. The second grouping, 2, 7GF, and 19, is intended to show responses to pictures whose latent meaning often elicits attitudes towards the family of orientation and the family of procreation. The third grouping, 4 and 6GF, is intended to show responses to pictures whose latent meaning often elicits attitudes towards heterosexual relationships.²

¹For a description of the cards, see Appendix A.

²Cf. W. Caudill, "Japanese-American Acculturation and

TABLE 11

COMPARISON OF THE THEMAS GIVEN BY
UPPER-UPPER AND MIDDLE MAJORITY WOMEN
TO SELECTED CARDS FROM THE T.A.T.

PICTURE 1 Thema	Number		Percentage	
	UU	MM	UU	MM
Boy does not want to take violin lessons or does not want to practice	6	17	20	34
and will not practice	2	1		
but will practice	4	9		
and succeed	2	1		
and fail	2	1		
future unspecified or indecisive . . . . .	...	7		
Boy is playing or wants to play the violin and meets with some obstacle	7	16	23.3	32
and he overcomes the obstacle by his own efforts	3	2		
and he overcomes the obstacle with the aid of another	1	2		
and he gives up in the face of the obstacle or no future is specified	3	11		
Boy wants lessons, is trying to compose, or is dreaming of the future	10	12	33.3	24
and he will probably later be a success as a violinist	2*	2		
Responses which are highly ambivalent or indecisive	6	4	20	8
Other	1	1	3.3	2

*In four other UU responses in this category the boy is identified as Yehudi Menuhin, but since the future is not explicitly specified, they are not counted here.

Personality" (Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Dept. of Anthropology, University of Chicago, 1950).

TABLE 11--Continued

PICTURE 7BM Thema	Number		Percentage	
	UU	MM	UU	MM
A father-figure gives advice or guidance	16	32	53.3	64
which is good*	8	11		
which is bad	2	1		
which is not evaluated	6	22		
and the young man:				
accepts the advice, good outcome	1	2		
accepts the advice, outcome not specified	1	3		
dislikes or rejects the advice, bad outcome	1	1		
dislikes or rejects the advice, outcome not specified	8	7		
and the young man's reaction is not specified	5	19		
A father-figure is disappointed in a son who doesn't obey, wants a different career, etc.	1	2	3.3	4
A father-figure aids, consoles, or reassures the young man	2	7	6.7	14
A father looks proudly at an ambitious son	2	...	6.7	...
A father lectures a weak, spend-thrift son, who'll fail	2	...	6.7	...
This is a business discussion, confidential talk, or father-son discussion	2	3	6.7	6
A doctor gives a young man bad news	1	3	3.3	6

*Advice was considered "good" if the subject so stated or if the subject described the older man as good, kind, and/or wise.

TABLE 11--Continued

PICTURE 7BM Thema	Number		Percentage	
	UU	MM	UU	MM
A kindly, understanding, philosophical older man talks with a young man who is bitter, surly, or aggressive without kindness	4	...	13.3	...
Other (all hostile or discordant) . .	...	3	....	6
PICTURE 2				
This is a farm family	7	12	23.3	24
and the girl is coming from school	1	2		
and the girl is a schoolgirl				
or is going to school	6	10		
and she is unhappy or				
does not want to go	1	4		
This is a farm family, and the girl is a student-type	3	...	10	...
and will leave	2	...		
The girl is dissatisfied with or ambivalent about the farm	9	16	30	32
and wants to leave or live a different kind of life	9	11		
and will do so	2	4		
and will not do so	1	1		
future unspecified	6	6		
and wants an education in order to help her family . . . . .	...	2		
The family wants to give their daughter an education	1	4	3.3	8
The woman on the left is passing by and is unrelated to the others	2	4	6.7	8
This is a farm family, apparently without problems	1	2	3.3	4
The two women are rivals for the man	...	1	....	2

TABLE 11--Continued

PICTURE 2	Thema	Number		Percentage	
		UU	MM	UU	MM
	The woman on the left loves the man and a mother-figure interferes . . . . .	...	4	....	8
	and things will eventually turn out all right . . . .	...	3		
	future not specified . . . .	...	1		
	These are two sisters with different interests and different futures . . . . .	...	2	....	4
	The girl idealizes the farm couple	...	2	....
	The girl looks down on the farm couple	2	...	6.7	...
	and they on her	1			
	and doubts her judgment . . .	1			
	The picture is interpreted symbolically, e.g. as showing the forces in U.S. life	3	...	10	...
	No story. . . . .	...	1	....	2
	Other.	2	2	6.7	4
PICTURE 7GF					
	The mother-figure reads and the girl listens	6	9	20	18
	and it is stated or implied that the girl is interested or enjoying herself. . . .	3	6		
	The mother-figure reads and the girl is not interested and/or is not listening.	10	9	33.3	18
	and wants to leave or do something else	6	5		
	The mother explains to or advises the girl on general matters.	...	5	....	10
	The mother explains the facts of life	7	5	23.3	10

TABLE 11--Continued

PICTURE 7GF Thema	Number		Percentage	
	UU	MM	UU	MM
The mother thinks about or tells the child that she too will be a mother some day (emphasis on the repetition of a pattern in time)	3	1	10	2
The mother tries to aid, console, comfort, or reassure the child . .	...	7	...	14
Sibling stories: if what the girl holds is a baby then the mother is trying to promote friendlier sibling relations . . . . .	...	3	...	6
the mother tells of a forthcoming sibling; the girl is not sure she'll like it	1	...	3.3	...
Mother and child join in play with an imaginarily-ill doll . . . . .	...	4	...	8
The girl has an illegitimate baby . .	...	2	...	4
This is a peaceful mother-daughter scene	1	...	3.3	...
This is a hostile, sad, or unhappy mother-daughter scene . .	2	3	6.7	6
Other . . . . .	...	2	...	4
PICTURE 19				
This is a house or boat in the midst of storm, cold, water, etc., and if there are people inside they are having a hard time, are lonely, scared, etc.	12	16	40	32
This is a warm, cozy, secure house in the midst of cold or storm, and if there are people inside they are making out all right, are warm, contented, etc.	4	1	13.3	2

TABLE 11--Continued

PICTURE 19 Thema	Number		Percentage	
	UU	MM	UU	MM
The picture represents storm, cold, evil, confusion, or is a bad dream, or has other negative connotations	8	15	26.7	30
The picture has positive connotations	1	2	3.3	4
The picture is rejected outright; no attempt is made to deal with it	1	5	3.3	10
Affect is lacking or cannot be clearly interpreted as positive or negative	4	11	13.3	22
Total responses with negative connotations	<u>20</u>	<u>30</u>	<u>66.7</u>	<u>60</u>
Total responses with positive connotations	<u>5</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>16.7</u>	<u>6</u>
PICTURE 6GF				
The man is making sexual advances to the woman, is a wolf, etc. and the woman is surprised or startled	14	6	46.7	12*
and the woman responds favorably	6	6		
and the woman responds with fear, flight, or refusal . .	...	1		
The man catches the woman doing or thinking something she shouldn't	6	...		
and the "bad act" is not specified	5	3	16.7	6
involved the woman's being unfaithful . . .	3	2		
involved the invasion of another's privacy . .	...	1		
	2	...		

*The difference between the two proportions is statistically significant at the .01 level.

TABLE 11--Continued

PICTURE 6GF Thema	Number		Percentage	
	UU	MM	UU	MM
The man surprises the woman by a question, by news, by a statement, or by his presence . . .	4	10	13.3	20
presence alone . . . . .	...	4		
The man arrives or tells the woman something . . . . .	...	7	...	14
The man and the woman are in conflict	6	9	20	18
The woman fears the man, who is potentially dangerous in a general fashion	1	7	3.3	14
The man has been unfaithful; the couple will talk it over and things will work out all right. .	...	2	...	4
This is a pleasant or neutrally-toned relationship . . . . .	...	3	...	6
Other . . . . .	...	3	...	6
PICTURE 4				
The man wants to do something; the woman tried to restrain him . . .	6	9	20	18
but the man goes on	1	2		
and the woman restrains him or gets her way eventually	1	2		
future unspecified or indecisive	4	5		
The man wants to leave; the woman wants him to stay	11	12	36.7	24
and the man stays . . . . .	...	1		
and the man leaves	5	4		
future unspecified or indecisive.	6	7		
Both the above	1	...	3.3	...
The man is worried, troubled, or discouraged; the woman tries to aid, comfort, or urge him on . .	3	6	10	12

TABLE 11--Continued

PICTURE 4 Thema	Number		Percentage	
	UU	MM	UU	MM
The woman is trying to explain, persuade or convince the man of something	2	8	6.7	16
The woman requests something of the man (usually in terms of affectional demands)	3	3	10	6
and gets what she wants . . . . .	...	1		
and doesn't get what she wants	3	...		
future unspecified or indecisive . . . . .	...	2		
The man is debating whether to enter into a sexual relationship with a native woman	2	...	6.7	...
This is unreal, a poster for a play	1	...	3.3	...
Emphasis on the triangle theme . . . . .	...*	10	...	20
Other	1	2	3.3	4
Total responses in which the woman is described in an active role, restraining, convincing, asking, encouraging	<u>14</u>	<u>34</u>	<u>46.7</u>	<u>68</u>
Total responses in which the woman is described in a passive role, begging, pleading, imploring, entreating	<u>7</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>23.3</u>	<u>18</u>
Total responses in which it was impossible to determine the role ascribed to the woman	<u>9</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>30</u>	<u>14</u>
Total responses describing the woman in a superego role--supporting law, convention, morality, and/or impulse-restraint	<u>3</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>14</u>
Total responses describing the man as interested in another woman	<u>3</u>	<u>14</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>28</u>

*There are no UU stories focussed on this theme; where it is mentioned that the man may be interested in another woman, this is clearly secondary to the major theme of conflict or separation.

General Comparison

Some themes appear in both groups with approximately equal frequency; any differences which exist are differences in the way subjects handle fundamentally similar content rather than differences in the content itself. Some themes, however, appear in one group much more often than in the other. A few of these, and the inferences which may be drawn from them, are noted below.

The UU group describes the child in 7GF as not interested in what the mother is saying or reading more often than does the MM group. The MM group, on the other hand, sees the mother in 7GF as aiding or playing with the child more often than does the UU group. This suggests that the mother-child relationship is a closer and warmer one for "Middle Majority" women than for upper-upper women; the relationship is also more possessive and permits less privacy to the child.

In their responses to 6GF and 4, the UU group recognizes male sexuality more directly than does the MM group. The MM group sees the woman in 4 as an active person much more often than does the UU group, and the MM group tends to picture the man as more passive and less independent than does the UU group. This suggests that while sexuality is still a definite problem area for upper-upper women, they are more willing to recognize male sexuality and male independence than are "Middle Majority" women, who try to picture themselves as wise, good, and controlling.

In response to 1, the MM group sees the boy as unwilling to practice more often than does the UU group. This suggests that "Middle Majority" women are more aware of external demands being

made upon them than are upper-upper women.

In response to 2, MM women see rivalry of the two women for the man (whether the two women are peer competitors or are girl--mother-figure competitors), while the UU group does not. Furthermore--and this does not show in the table--UU women are more apt to describe the girl as ambivalent about the farm than as dissatisfied with it, while the reverse is true of the MM group. This suggests that upper-upper women are more apt to conceive of obstacles as internal ones, while "Middle Majority" women tend to externalize obstacles and to see action, or absence of action, as the result of forces external to the individual.

The use of indicators such as the above brings out some of the differences in the content of the perceptions of the two groups, but there are also differences in the way each group handles themes of similar content.¹ Both kinds of data were used in building up the general comparison which follows;

Intrafamilial relationships tend to be closer for "Middle Majority" than for upper-upper women. Upper-upper family ties, whether to the family of orientation or to the family of procreation, are less apt to involve strong feelings of love and hate. In comparison with "Middle Majority" women, interpersonal relationships are somewhat attenuated for upper-upper women.

The family is important to the upper-upper woman but is not the sole referent for all important events, as it is for the "Middle Majority" woman. "Middle Majority" women are more concerned about

¹Examples of the responses of both groups are given in Appendix B.

loneliness than are upper-upper women, and they think of loneliness as being alone, being separated from the small circle of people, mostly family members, which they know. For example, one "Middle Majority" woman said in her story to 3GF: "She's all alone. She has no husband or family or close friends." "She looks to be sort of a lonely person, probably a woman who lives all alone," said one "Middle Majority" woman in her story to 5; and another said: "I'd say that this woman was lonely. . .she regrets she never mingled with other people and she never married and had the pleasure of having children." The upper-upper woman shares this belief to some extent but she holds it with far less intensity.

"Middle Majority" women see themselves as housewives. They have in mind a definite and well-structured role. They identify picture-characters in these terms--"a housewife," "a mother." Upper-upper women are not as interested in this domestic role and have more difficulty visualizing themselves in it; they are less apt to accept one clear-cut and narrow definition of themselves.

Upper-upper women are less apt to picture men as weak and less likely to describe women as good and noble. Upper-upper women see men as independent more often than do "Middle Majority" women, and upper-upper women perceive people in general as self-motivated, relatively independent agents more often than do "Middle Majority" women. Furthermore, upper-upper women are more apt to see obstacles to independence or to the fulfillment of their desires as internal ones, arising from affectional ties to another person or from their own ambivalence, while "Middle Majority" women tend to think in terms of external, situational obstacles.

Like "Middle Majority" women, upper-upper women see interpersonal relationships as strained and unpleasant. Upper-uppers are, however, a trifle less apt to imagine catastrophic resolutions of such interpersonal relationships. Upper-upper women, like "Middle Majority" women, sometimes resent men, and when they do they derogate men severely. But upper-upper women do not show the uneasy attempt to maintain control over men--indeed, over all relationships--which is frequently found among "Middle Majority" women. Yet upper-upper women, while not dependent on their husbands for social status or for economic support, as are "Middle Majority" women, seem to be equally dependent on their husbands in affectional matters.

Upper-upper women often see the world as unpleasant, but they are less apt to see it as acutely threatening than are "Middle Majority" women. The unknown, the unexpected, the strange, the new, may not be welcomed by the upper-upper woman but they do not alarm her quite as much as they do the "Middle Majority" woman.

The upper-upper woman seems somewhat less concerned about the appearance she presents to the world than is the "Middle Majority" woman. The unexpected guest the upper-upper woman describes in her story to picture 5 may be unwelcome, as a person or simply because he or she is unexpected, but the upper-upper woman feels unprepared in personal terms and not because her house is untidy. The "Middle Majority" woman who tells a similar story is more apt to phrase it thus: ". . . unexpected company maybe and she's not prepared for it," or ". . .this is a housewife and she's expecting company and she's just opened the door to see if everything is

in spic and span order." The upper-upper woman is less concerned with the minutiae of her household. She is also somewhat less concerned about others' opinions; she does not say, as did one "Middle Majority" woman: ". . .This looks like a sitting room or something . . .Probably the daughter is entertaining friends and they are making too much noise. The mother comes down and tells them that the neighbors will complain." In general, upper-upper women are less apt to feel that the world is coercive and demanding than are "Middle Majority" women.

In comparison with "Middle Majority" women, upper-upper women have less rigid and clearly-defined standards of morality. The upper-upper woman sometimes has fears of being rejected, disappointed, or excluded from the domestic circle but she does not phrase these fears in moralistic terms; the "Middle Majority" woman, on the other hand, structures fears of this sort in terms of the fear of infidelity.

Upper-upper women are somewhat less apt to take a magical view of the world than are "Middle Majority" women, and when they do indulge in magical thinking they are more apt to indicate that their fantasies should not be taken seriously.

The upper-upper woman does not see the unstructured situation presented by card 19 as an opportunity for her to be creative. She may reject 19; when she does so she will do it--consciously--on aesthetic grounds and not, like the "Middle Majority" on grounds of meaninglessness. She says it is "some horrible surrealist painting," not that it is "done by someone whose head is all mixed up." She can sometimes accept its lack of structure, however; one upper-

upper even said: "And this is an imaginative fancy, which I suppose means something different to each person who looks at it." In general the upper-upper woman is less dogmatic, more tentative than is the "Middle Majority" woman.

Upper-upper women tend to give more "indirect" responses than do "Middle Majority" women. The meaning and the possible interpretation of the "indirect" response are discussed below.

Goffman points out that one of the fundamental assumptions of the TAT is that the subject approaches depicted experience in the same way that he approaches actual experience.¹ He distinguished between "direct" and "indirect" responses to the TAT. The "direct" response conforms to the above assumption and consists "of statements which reflect the subject's willingness to treat depicted events as real events."² He suggests the following categories of "indirect" responses, that is, responses revealing the subject's unwillingness to treat depicted events as real events:

1. responses which refuse to show empathy with the picture-characters;
2. responses which avoid the content of the picture:
 - a. by referring to a picture-character as if he were a single, historic person (e.g. saying the boy in 1 is Yehudi Menuhin);
 - b. by treating the picture-characters as depictions of other fictional characters (e.g. saying the man and woman in 4 are part of an illustration for a pulp magazine);
 - c. by interpreting the picture as occurring outside "natural law;"
 - d. by interpreting the picture in an abstract and general symbolic fashion;
3. responses which react to the picture not as a representation of reality but as a representation to be judged in aesthetic terms (e.g. as a good or bad painting).³

¹Goffman, op. cit., chaps. iii and viii.

²Ibid., p. 57.

³Summarized from ibid., pp. 58-64.

Goffman appears to believe that use of "indirect" responses indicates an attempt on the subject's part to avoid stereotypy and supports this with evidence on his upper-middle subjects' attitudes towards the conventions of livingroom furnishings.¹

It may also be argued that the tendency to give "indirect" responses is in itself an indication of one kind of stereotypy, especially when, as in one UU record, the subject gives an "indirect" response to every picture.

Whatever the interpretation, there is a larger proportion of "indirect" responses in the UU than in the MM sample. The student believes that as far as the UU sample is concerned, the use of the "indirect" response represents, first, an attempt to avoid one kind of stereotypy, namely that associated with lower social and educational status, and, secondly, an attempt to avoid dealing with feelings of strong intensity. The latter, to some extent an evasion of the task set by the TAT, may be considered more "polite" than would be an outright refusal to deal seriously with emotion; this socially acceptable technique of avoiding an unwanted task is then considered to be a piece of behavior as significant for study as is the content of the "direct" responses themselves.

A similar tendency appears in another area. A "Middle Majority" woman who is anxious about her performance on the TAT tends to admit to the anxiety she feels or to deny her feelings of uncertainty or incompetence. Upper-upper women, on the other hand, are more apt to use an intermediate method; they tend to be tenta-

¹He stresses that a subject's responses to a story-telling projective like the TAT will reflect the cultural stereotypes for fantasy-production.

tive in their judgments and to be apologetic about their performance, while they are rarely dogmatic and rarely admit complete inability to handle the test situation. This seems to be, in part, a consequence of their ideas of what is and is not "polite," for they indicated sensitivity to the interviewer's expectations by such questions as, "Am I saying enough?" or, "Is that the way you want me to tell them?" They also sometimes apologized for being slow, or for not fulfilling the directions completely, or for not perceiving something in the card accurately. Since the test situation may be considered as an example of a novel and anxiety-arousing situation for both groups, these differences in the over-all reaction to the test may be considered to be class differences in the response to new and mildly threatening events. The differences suggest that the upper-upper woman is made somewhat less anxious by such events or at least can handle her anxiety in a more controlled and (in her eyes) socially acceptable manner; she is less intensely involved in the situation than is the "Middle Majority" woman and is more apt to reserve judgment.

CHAPTER VII

THE RELATION OF PERSONALITY TRENDS TO SOCIAL CLASS POSITION

Discussion of the Findings

Some of the differences between the UU and MM samples may be readily explained in terms of the more obvious differences between the two groups' life-conditions. For example, the "Middle Majority" woman is in large part confined to her household and the upper-upper woman is not. This difference presumably underlies the "Middle Majority" emphasis on the role of the housewife and the narrowness of the "Middle Majority" view of the extra-familial world, in contrast to the lack of emphasis on the housewife role and the relatively broad context of interest and experience among upper-uppers.

Some of the similarities may be explained in terms of the pervasiveness of middle-class values, which operate in the upper-upper subculture, and in terms of the early influence of "Middle Majority" women on the upper-upper child.

No attempt will be made to give a genetic explanation of upper-upper personality trends. Detailed and extensive knowledge of upper-upper child-rearing practices and of upper-upper attitudes towards and beliefs about child-rearing, which would be necessary, is not available.

In the CBS study, Warner and Henry employed a functional

rather than a genetic interpretation of "Middle Majority" trends. The basic assumptions of this kind of an interpretation seem to the student to be as follows:

The behavior of any individual is in large dependent upon that individual's perception of the world in which he lives. His behavior is adaptive vis-à-vis the world he perceives.¹ For a "normal" individual, in the sense of an individual who is functioning adequately in his various social statuses,² the perceived world is not drastically different from the "real" world, since if the individual is to continue without marked disturbance his behavior must be compatible with actual life-conditions he faces. A "normal" individual's behavior will therefore tend to be adaptive vis-à-vis the world as it actually exists. Since in our society social class membership determines many of the life-conditions of an individual, the personality trends of a "normal" individual are harmonious, or at least compatible, with the prescriptions, prohibitions, preferences, and expectations of the subculture of the social class of which he is a member.³

¹Or, rather, the world he prehends, to use Sullivan's term. The assumption that an individual's behavior has meaning in terms of the world he prehends, no matter how bizarre and maladaptive that behavior may appear to an observer, is a fundamental assumption of most theories of psychology. See, for example, H. S. Sullivan, "Psychiatry: Introduction to the Study of Interpersonal Relations," A Study of Interpersonal Relations, ed. P. Mullahy (New York: Hermitage Press, 1949), pp. 98-121, and, for discussion of a specific case, Andras Angyal, "The Psychodynamic Process of Illness and Recovery in a Case of Catatonic Schizophrenia," Psychiatry, XIII (May, 1950), 149-165, especially 153-159.

²Using status in its specific, not general, sense. See Ralph Linton, The Study of Man (New York: Appleton-Century, 1936), p. 113.

³This view to some extent coincides with the following:

Using the "Middle Majority" woman as the example, her world is seen as making a set of demands upon her, among which are the following: fulfilling the role of a housewife, a good wife and mother; being responsible and reasonably efficient in the performance of domestic tasks which are repetitive and monotonous; transmitting the values of the "core culture."

Therefore--and this "therefore" implies a system of causal relations not specifically discussed and not yet fully understood in all respects--the "Middle Majority" woman has certain characteristics which enable her to meet these expectations: she believes the role of a housewife is an important one; she feels she should be a good wife and mother; despite feelings of resentment she takes pride in being a good housewife and a good wife and mother; she uses her energy well in performing her tasks; she is highly responsible; she has well-defined and rather rigid notions of morality in terms of which she organizes her sphere of life.

The student feels that there are some difficulties in applying this kind of an analysis to the upper-upper class.

First, the life-conditions of upper-uppers are less well known; it is hard to state, with any degree of assurance or exactitude, the demands, prescriptions, preferences, prohibitions, and expectations which shape the world of the upper-upper woman.

". . .the subjective function of character for the normal person is to lead him to act according to what is necessary for him from a practical standpoint and also to give him satisfaction from his activity psychologically. . .the social character internalizes external necessities and thus harnesses human energy for the task of a given economic and social system." E. Fromm, "Character and the Social Process," *Escape From Freedom* (New York: Rhinehart, 1941), pp. 283-284. *Italics the author's.*

Secondly, to the extent that the life-conditions of the upper-upper women are known, it appears that one of the status-linked differences between upper-upper and "Middle Majority" woman is the relative absence of clear-cut and rigorous demands made upon the upper-upper woman. There is, of course, an elaborate set of expectations, but these expectations appear to be less clearly defined, are less heavily supported by positive and negative sanctions, and permit of more variation than is true for the "Middle Majority."¹

It was suggested in the chapter on the upper-upper subculture that the upper-upper woman is expected to maintain certain minimum levels of behavior. These are very similar to the behaviors expected of "Middle Majority" women. For example, the upper-upper woman is expected to have well-brought-up children, to have a presentable and reasonably clean house, to be faithful and responsible. But while the "Middle Majority" woman is supposed to continue with these behaviors, constantly reaffirming them, the upper-upper woman, once she has achieved the minimum which is required (that is, is both expected and backed up by various sanctions), is permitted and indeed expected to engage in a rather different set of activities, many of them ritual activities of "taste"--flower-growing and arrangement, attendance at concerts, etc. The social pressures operating to keep her interested and active in such ritualized and

¹The demands for certain kinds of overt behavior are less exacting than in the upper-lower and lower-middle classes; furthermore, the demands--found in the subculture of upper-middle intellectual-professional groups--for the "right" kinds of feelings are relatively weak.

status-significant performances seem to be weaker than the pressures operating to keep the "Middle Majority" woman interested and active in her tasks.

Indeed, one may say that one of the major expectations for the upper-upper woman--once the minimum, mentioned above, has been fulfilled--is that she continue to be upper-upper. If one assumes this is true one may then ask: what personality trends in the upper-upper woman operate in such a fashion that she and others like her will behave in a way which ensures the perpetuation of the upper-upper class as a group?

Speculation

It is assumed that some of the personality trends of the upper-upper woman subserve the function of preserving the upper-upper class as a group with a certain subculture.¹ Only two sets of the trends appearing in the UU TATs will be discussed: these are the strong tendency for upper-upper women to see interpersonal relationships as strained, discordant, and unpleasant; and the weaker tendency for upper-upper women to pull back from emotional involvement with the pictures, avoid emotions of strong intensity, and hesitate to welcome change in interpersonal relationships. These two sets of trends are considered to subserve the function of preserving the identity of the upper-upper class as a group.

¹The term "function" is here used largely in the following sense: "Social function refers to observable objective consequences . . .and not to subjective dispositions (aims, motives, purposes)." R. K. Merton, Social Theory and Social Structure (Glencoe: Free Press, 1949), pp. 25-26. *Italics the author's.*

Furthermore, "function" is here used in the sense of latent function, that is, those consequences which are unintended and unrecognized.

This contention is based on the following argument.

For the upper-upper class to survive as a group, upper-uppers must maintain relationships with each other and must not establish close or frequent relationships with persons of lower social status, since otherwise upper-uppers' status symbols will become "contaminated" and lose their significance.¹ For upper-upper women to anticipate interpersonal relationships in a strongly positive light, to welcome the new, to be eager for a wide range of emotional experience and for intense emotional experience, would be dysfunctional in that it would increase the probability of upper-uppers going outside their limited group and forming ties to persons of lower status. On the other hand, for upper-upper women to anticipate interpersonal relationships as unsatisfactory, to feel that any change is unlikely to be for the better, and to tend to prefer emotions of moderate intensity, is functional in that it decreases the probability of their going outside their own social group and increases the probability of their accepting and trying to maintain the status quo.

Some of the other trends in the UU records, for example the relative lack of acceptance of the commands or suggestions of an older authority figure, may be somewhat dysfunctional.² On the other hand, it can be argued that too strict an adherence to the

¹There are other ways of preserving status symbols from "contamination"--such as changing them at frequent intervals--but these will not be discussed here.

²Distaste for authority in general (in contrast to protest against parental figures alone) may weaken intra-group ties yet encourage upper-uppers to stay in their own class, for the social groups into which upper-uppers can move are, barring Bohemias, more insistent on authority relations than is the upper-upper class.

dictates of parental or other authority figures would decrease the adaptability of upper-upper women and eventually lead to rigid and anachronistic patterns which the group could not perpetuate, and one could therefore say that this trend is, in the long run, a functional one. This kind of speculation cannot be documented, however, and the student does not want to give the impression of subscribing to a Radcliffe-Brown view of functional harmony by over-emphasizing the positive functions of these apparently dysfunctional personality trends.¹

Furthermore, these are positive functions when the larger unit is considered to be the social class of which these women are members. They may not be positive functions when the unit to be considered is the total personality of each woman. Indeed, some of the trends mentioned above are probably detrimental to personal adjustment, whether this is defined in terms of subjective feelings of happiness, usefulness, contentment, etc., or in comparison with an ideal-normal standard for personality as outlined in psychoanalytic writings.

¹See A. R. Radcliffe-Brown, The Andaman Islanders (Glencoe: Free Press, 1948), p. 234 and passim. Cf. Merton's criticism of the postulate of the functional unity of society in his discussion of Radcliffe-Brown's definition of function, Merton, op. cit., p. 27.

CHAPTER VIII

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

In summary, the aim of this study was to explore certain aspects of the personality trends of a group of upper-upper class women and, secondarily, to compare these with the personality trends of "Middle Majority" women. The instrument was a selection of ten cards from the Thematic Apperception Test.

The upper-upper sample consisted of thirty women from the New England area. The "Middle Majority" sample of fifty women was taken from the sample used by Warner and Henry in the CBS study.

The major difference between the two samples was assumed to be that of social class position. Age and marital status were ruled out as variables.

Certain aspects of the upper-upper subculture were described. This was followed by a summary of the conclusions of previous studies by Henry, Moore, and others on the style of life and personality trends of "Middle Majority" women. The findings on upper-upper personality trends were presented and the two samples were compared.

The findings on upper-uppers and the differences between the two groups suggest the presence of a personality constellation characteristic of each group. The "Middle Majority" woman sees the world as made up of her own small, closely-knit familial group, outside of which exist frightening and incomprehensible events.

She defines herself in terms of her activities--a wife, a mother, a home-maker. She represses her feelings of hostility and projects her feelings onto the external world, which she then perceives as coercive and threatening. She seeks control over and possession of the world she know; she invests her emotion in a relatively small number of objects and identifies herself closely with them. The upper-upper woman perceives a larger world, a world in which her personal involvement is less, where there is more distance between individuals, and where the cleavage between the familiar and the unfamiliar is less marked. She defines herself in relation to her lineage and her tastes as well as her activities, and when she thinks of herself in terms of her activities she has in mind a variety of roles, none of which are very clearly structured. Her hostility is less sternly repressed and she is less apt to project her conflicts onto her image of the world. She reacts less violently to events which threaten her standards but do not affect her personally; she has less desire for control over the objects in which she has invested emotion, for her emotional investments are more diffuse and she identifies herself less closely with her immediate circle.

Personality differences between the two groups were considered to reflect differences in class subculture and style of life. The similarities in personality trends were considered to reflect similarities in class subculture and style of life, for although the "Middle Majority" may be the stronghold of the "core culture" of the United States, the expectations and values of the "core culture" are well represented in the upper-upper subculture.

More extensive and deeper study of the personality constellation characteristic of upper-uppers could be the subject of future research on this group. Such research might also profitably explore interregional and inter-sex differences.

APPENDIX A

DESCRIPTION OF THE TEST PICTURES

Murray's description of the cards used in this study is as follows:

1. A young boy is contemplating a violin which rests on a table in front of him.
2. Country scene: in the foreground is a young woman with books in her hand; in the background a man is working in the fields and an older woman is looking on.
- 7GF. An older woman is sitting on a sofa close beside a girl, speaking or reading to her. The girl, who holds a doll in her lap, is looking away.
- 6GF. A young woman sitting on the edge of a sofa looks back over her shoulder at an older man with a pipe in his mouth who seems to be addressing her.
4. A woman is clutching the shoulders of a man whose face and body are averted as if he were trying to pull away from her. [There is a half-dressed woman in the background.]
- 3GF. A young woman is standing with downcast head, her face covered with her right hand. Her left arm is stretched forward against a wooden door.
5. A middle-aged woman is standing on the threshold of a half-opened door looking into a room.
14. The silhouette of a man (or woman) against a bright window. The rest of the picture is totally black.
- 7BM. A gray-haired man is looking at a younger man who is sullenly staring into space.
19. A weird picture of cloud formations overhanging a snow-covered cabin in the country.¹

¹Murray, op. cit.

APPENDIX B

SAMPLE RESPONSES

Some of the differences between the two samples can be best illustrated by giving examples of the responses occurring in each sample. These illustrative responses from each group have approximately the same content; the differences exist in the way each subject handles this content.

Two complete UU records and one complete MM record are given below. These are preceded by examples from each sample of the responses compared in the tabulation of themes and examples of the responses to the three cards--3GF, 5, and 14--not included in that tabulation.¹

Card 1

Three sets of responses are given here, illustrating the following themes: (1) the boy who wants to play; (2) the boy who wants to play and meets an obstacle; (3) the boy who does not want to play or take lessons.

UU, about 43: . . . I'm to say it's a young man, studying a violin. . . . And perhaps he's hoping what he's going to, he can play it himself some day. . . . If it were my young man, he'd be only interested in how it was made (laugh) but this looks like more of a dreamer. . . . More? (However much you want.) No, that's . . .

MM, about 29: Well, he looks like he is studying his violin, thinking about it very seriously. Perhaps he has practiced quite a long while, on the violin, and he's just sitting there and just resting and he's probably dreaming of the future he would like on the concert stage. That's just about all. Did I get the four things?

¹The dots in the UU responses indicate pauses, not omissions; short pauses in the MM responses were not indicated by the interviewers in the CBS study.

UU, about 39: It's a little boy who--is that loud enough? (sure)--a little boy who wants to play the violin or else has broken his violin and is very upset by it. Or else he wants to learn how to play the violin and can't figure out exactly how the instrument does work. . . .I would say his father is probably a violinist himself. He would like to follow into, in his father's footsteps. . . . That's all that does for me.

UU, about 28: I think the little boy has just been told by his mother that he has to learn to play this thing and he. . . .doesn't care to. . . . exert himself, he wants to think about other things. And he's got his violin placed on top of his music so he can't possibly see the music. (Going to happen?) Well I think probably, uh. . . .I think he'll probably practice it sooner or later but I don't think he's ever going to do anything with it. . . .because I don't think he's. . . .I think he wishes it were something else as he sees it there. Is that enough? (Sure, fine.)

MM, about 31: This little boy looks like he's very sad. There's a string broke on his violin. Just sitting there looking at it. You can see the broken string. He comes from a poor family and they can't afford to have a string put on for him. Looks like maybe somebody gave him his violin.

MM, about 30: A little boy, just sitting over the violin and wondering how long he'll have to play with it. He wants to go out and play and his mother says he has to practice. In the end he practices. "Do I have to play that thing?"

Card 2

Two sets of responses are given here, illustrating the following themes: (1) a farm family with the girl going to school; (2) a girl dissatisfied with or ambivalent about the farm.

UU, about 35: . . .Well, that, uh, looks as though the, the husband, uh, was plowing on the field and, uh, as if the wife is very contented and happy and hasn't much to worry about as long as they've got a good source of income from the land. And, uh, she could

MM, about 37: A farm. These pictures aren't so interesting. The woman is watching the man plowing and the girl is going to school.

be the daughter who's
on her way to school.

UU, about 43: . . .I should think this was the daughter of, the "book-larned" daughter, of farming people. She looks as if she were trying to make up her mind where she belonged. . .in the fields or at the books. . . The mother I should think was sympathetic to both sides, but she and her father have the back to each other, there's no meeting of minds there.

MM, over 50: These are farmers. The wife watches her husband at work and there seems to be a daughter. I'm very poor in explaining. The young lady looks like a school-girl--maybe she's hoping she doesn't have to be on a farm where you have to do that kind of work. She looks like she wants to accomplish something in her life although the farm looks nice. Maybe she's thinking how hard her mother has to work and wants to make her life easier.

Card 7GF

Three sets of responses are given here, illustrating the following themes: (1) mother telling daughter the facts of life; (2) mother reading to a child who listens; (3) mother reading to a child who does not listen.

UU, about 38: This is a picture of a mother who's, uh, talking to her little girl who's playing with the doll. The little girl looks a little old for a doll, I should say, but evidently she's playing with her doll. Her mother's reading to her at the same time and, uh, it seems that she is perhaps reading to her about, uh, possibly telling her where babies come from or something like that. The whole thing is rather intense.

MM, about 38: A very nice scene. Mother is reading a fairy tale to her little girl. Maybe she's telling her the story of. . .maybe this child has asked a question about her origin after playing with her doll. Her mother is reading her a story that will explain to her about sex. Or maybe it is a fairy tale. Or both subjects.

UU, over 50: . . .Do you make out she's reading? (Mmmm.)The daughter. . .obviously absorbed in what is being read aloud to her, at the adolescent age, of that period,

MM, about 33: Is girl holding a doll or a baby. Mother is reading her a story and impressing her so that the girl is imagining and dreaming about what is happening. That's about all.

when she's thinking about her own future as well as what her, the thoughts stimulated by what her mother is reading.

UU, about 47: Here's a very solicitous mother trying to read aloud to a rather bored little girl, who's looking away, imagining all sorts of things that have nothing to do with the reading, holding her doll rather forgetfully, too. She's probably daydreaming about being out playing with all her companions. And the mother wants to improve her mind with a good deal of good literature.

MM, about 24: This is a mother reading to her daughter. I think it's the Bible. The little girl wants to go out and play; she isn't interested in what her mother's reading. It's Sunday morning, though, so she has to stay in. Her eyes are looking off into the distance. She's thinking of all the fun she could be having.

Card 6GF

Three sets of responses are given here, illustrating: (1) a man making sexual advances; (2) a man catching a woman doing something wrong; (3) a man-woman conflict situation.

UU, about 44: . . . Looks like a wolf (laugh). Girl's all startled; the man's making some big overture (laugh). Might be improper, or it might not, but she's awfully surprised about what he is saying or surprised to see him--he snuck up on her. . . . Can't tell you more about that one, I'd like to know more (laugh), see the sequel.

MM, about 22: She's a business woman with lots of sex appeal. Men are always falling for her. He looks like he's propositioning her. She's surprised. She thought he was different.

UU, about 36: Oh well, she's evidently done something she shouldn't have. She looks quite surprised. The man leaning over the sofa I'm sure has caught her in the act of going through his mail or something (laugh).

MM, about 25: The woman has been caught doing something that she wasn't supposed to do by the man. She is startled, frightened because he's seen her doing it. He is sinister. He looks like he knew all along what she was doing and is taking great delight in catching her at it. He has her in his power now.

UU, about 33: I imagine a lady about thirty and gentleman about forty-eight, her husband, he's saying, "We should go home now," and she doesn't want to in the least and is rather hostile to him.

MM, about 24: Looks as if it's a man and wife quarreling. Wife wanted to go some place--a party or something--and he had made other arrangements. Both wanted to go different places.

Card 4

Three sets of responses are given, illustrating the following themes: (1) a woman restraining a man; (2) a man who wants to leave; (3) a woman encouraging a worried man.

UU, about 33: This is also a magazine type of picture. I think he's got something on his mind and she probably. . .he probably wants to join the Army or something and she's trying to stop him.

MM, about 38: She's stopping him from wanting to kill somebody. He saw her with another man and he's jealous. He wants to run after the man. He don't care what the outcome will be. She's trying to hold him back and telling him that she loves him only.

UU, about 26: Looks like Ida Lupino. . .looks like a typical love affair where the man is getting new ideas and she wants to hang onto the old. There's something theatrical about it, the poster in being . . .uh. . .I don't know, the old tale of a woman trying to hang on while he's got his eye on something new.

MM, about 37: He wants to leave her and she's hanging on to him.

UU, about 30: Now this. . . pair. . .oh he's obviously an artist, I guess, with all sorts of pictures behind him. . .I hope they're pictures. . .and he's kind of discouraged about everything and she's trying to comfort him. They'll get along well although they'll have quite a stormy time.

MM, about 29: I think this man is an artist and he is, he is, he is wondering if he's ever to become a great artist and wondering if all his years of study and work are worth it and this woman is trying to encourage because she has faith in him, in his work as an artist.

Card 3GF

UU, about 28: . . . Well this is a very sad picture; I don't know quite what to make of it; it might be almost anything. . . I'd say the woman was absolutely despondent right there behind that door--somebody might just have died or she might just have killed somebody or she might just have heard that somebody she loved very dearly had been killed.

MM, about 28: Grief, of course, I guess. She's prostrated with grief. A terrible calamity has just happened. Someone has died and she is coming from the bedroom. She's all upset.

Card 5

UU, about 28: (Laugh) I would say that the woman peering in the window here was a rather suspicious housekeeper who was, shall we say, snooping on her employers. The house is a very pleasant, nice house. She probably is hearing some innocent bit of gossip (laugh) to which she will turn a fantastic story and will spread around the neighborhood, none of which will be true.

MM, about 35: What's she looking for? This is a livingroom and she's looking to find her husband. She's suspicious too. . . . No, I know what this is. This is a maid and she's peeking in at her mistress. Her mistress has a caller, a gentleman. The maid will tell the husband when he comes home. . . . Yes, that's what this looks like to me.

UU, about 28: . . . Hm. . . I can't make anything out of this, I just can't. Uh, let's see. . . unless it might be a prying mother who, who's suddenly opened the door to see if her daughter's gone to bed yet or whether the boyfriend's still home.

MM, about 38: I don't know. This looks like a sitting room or something. The lamp is lit. Probably the daughter is entertaining friends and they are making too much noise. The mother comes down and tells them that the neighbors will complain.

Card 14

UU, about 36: And now here you have a man silhouetted against the light. It's suggestive of a, of a, uh, perhaps an artist's studio with the long window up that height and that mass of wall like that. Perhaps he's an artist who has just laid aside his things, which are not visible in the picture, and he's

MM, about 28: It must be evening. A young man, well-built, looking at the moon, thinking, perhaps of his art, music, poetry, painting. He enjoys nature--sky, moon, night. Looking for new ideas.

just stretched out for a little bit of fresh air, looking at the view, taking in the sunshine, it's a very nice day and he's relaxing before he decides to work again.

Card 7BM

The responses given below illustrate the theme of a father-figure giving advice.

UU, about 39: . . .The younger man in this picture is definitely puzzled and gone to the older man for so-, for help. He is, got rather a sour face, the younger man, and the older man's got terrific kindness in his face and terrific knowledge in his face. He's trying to be straightened out by the older gentleman as to what he should do about something that's bothering him.

UU, about 30: Well, this is . . .grandpa. . .or father giving his son some awfully good advice. The son is quite a lot older. And he hasn't asked for it, for the advice. And the old man is really quite fierce about it. And the younger one is pretty dreary and does, and is pretty sure he's not going to follow the advice. But he's awfully mad at his father.

MM, about 29: The older man looks like he's giving some good advice to the younger one. The younger one doesn't think it is good advice or maybe the younger one is telling the older one his troubles. The younger one looks unhappy, that's all.

MM, about 50: He is reading his son a lecture. The son does not like it. They won't speak for a while--that's the way it worked around her, I know.

Card 19

The first four responses given below illustrate the theme of the house or boat in a storm; the last two responses illustrate the theme of a warm house in the midst of cold.

UU, about 23:Either this is an igloo or a house simply swamped in snow. Or . . .well, I think it's a

MM, about 38: What is this supposed to be? It looks like a cabin of some sort in the mountains, sort of a spooky

house. And there's, it's got windows and chimneys, and the stuff behind it is clouds and just general effect and show and ice sort of clinging to the house. And you can see lights in the windows, and it's as if people lived there; I don't see how they get in and out because there aren't any tracks around, and no smoke from the chimney. Uh, it looks as if a terrific storm was going on but people were living here or trying to live there.

UU, over 50: Oh lord, oh lord, this is modern painting. . . . Oh well, it's somebody's igloo caught in the snowstorm.

looking place. That's all.

MM, about 47: What is this? Could this be water? What would you say? Could these be little ships? This looks ridiculous. These must be clouds--such peculiar shapes. I certainly can't say what will happen to them. It looks like the little ships are near the shore. What a conglomeration. All I can see is waves and clouds. What's going to happen to the ships I wouldn't know.

UU, about 41: Good night! Well, it looks like a house to me, terrific wind storm, blizzard in the winter, snow, terrific gale. . . . But I think it's warm and cozy inside. . . . Those look like waves, no, I don't know, it suggests a terrific blizzard in winter to me, and a house with a nice hot stove inside.

MM, about 25: (Laugh) I don't know if I'm modern enough for this. A house hit by a snowstorm. What is this supposed to be? Maybe a contented family is living in there snow-bound. There are some windows. Evil is lurking over there, a ghost.

Record of a UU subject, about 28

1. I think the little boy has just been told by his mother that he has to learn to play this thing and he. . . doesn't care to. . . exert himself, he wants to think about other things. And he's got his violin placed on top of his music so he can't possibly see the music. (Going to happen?) Well I think probably, uh. . . I think he'll probably practice it sooner or later but I don't think he's ever going to do anything with it. . . because I don't think he's. . . I think he wishes

it were something else as he sees it there. Is that enough? (Sure, fine.)

2. Oh, don't tell me. . . .uh. . .this girl in the foreground, I imagine, wait a minute. . .oh. . .got to think this over, may I? (uh-uh.) She's the, uh, either a sister, I think, this girl with the books, she's a student. . .and she's watching. . . the farm couple who look completely happy and healthy and she's wondering to herself whether. . .she, I think she thinks they're stupid and rather fore, near-sighted, and I think she's wondering if she's really right about it, because they look so happy. I would say that was true. I don't think it makes much sense, myself.

7GF. Oh I think this little girl's got, uh, a very good imagination, I think that's her nurse reading to her, and she's probably not, she's probably rather restrained, and she's living that story, and she's living it to the best of her ability because she doesn't have much to go by, except the story.

6GF. Oh. . .this looks like a. . .that's impossible!. . .um . . .this girl looks as if. . .looks a little bit as if she were being psychoanalyzed. She's cross. She looks as if she was, she had been bawled out by this man, who't trying to give her advice. She's, she doesn't like it at all and I think she's. . .I think she looks as if she deserved it.

4. Dime novel story--picture. . . .Um. . .well this could either be. . .looks to me as if it were sort of a picture of a man going off to war, being restrained by his wife, or to fight a flood or something. . . .Or, it could be. . .that, uh, somebody just made a pass at his wife and he's going out to sock him one, I don't know, anything. Am I giving you anything full on this or not? (Fine.)

3GF. Oh. . .She's. . .terrible despair, isn't it. She's . . .looks like either, she's either just. . .lost a child or she's, uh, been beaten by her husband, or, she's just so discouraged about everything and the way it's going that she can't stand it any more. But she looks as if she could, she's quite strong.

5. Well I think the doctor's in his study late, and his wife's getting sore, she's coming in to take him up to bed. She looks as if she'd nagged him a good deal. I think she's angry at him. I can't. . .um. . . .Am I supposed to tell you any more than that? (However much you want.)

14. That looks like a little city boy who's up in an attic somewhere looking up at the sky or the aeroplanes or something and he looks as if he. . .he is confined and wanted more. . .outlook on things.
- 7BM. Gee, I don't know what that is, but it looks like the . . .the viewpoint of age as opposed to the viewpoint of youth. The youth is rather bitter, and the older man is rather. . .more, uh, philosophical about it. . . and he's trying to explain to the younger one why he's wrong.
19. Is this supposed to be anything, to begin with? (Whatever you want to make of it.) It's winter, anyway, I know that much. I think it's either winter--it's winter and I'd say there was water in it. And it's, suggests the supernatural. But it has something to tie it down at the bottom here that looks like windows. Uh, it could be a winter storm. . .Uh. . .rather a cozy house inside there somewhere.

Record of a UU subject, about 39

1. It's a little boy who--is that loud enough? (sure)--a little boy who wants to play the violin or else has broken his violin and is very upset by it. Or else he wants to learn how to play the violin and can't figure out exactly how the instrument does work. . . .I would say his father is probably a violinist himself. He would like to follow into, in his father's footstepsThat's all that does for me.
2. . . .This picture to me represents obviously a farmer and his wife who have always lived on the soil, whose daughter is trying to leave the soil and go into some sort of scholarly achievement. The mother is not quite sure as to which she wants her to do, the daughter's just perplexed 'cause she doesn't want to bother the family by leaving the soil, feels that there's a greater world for her outside. Father is going to stay with his soil and with his farm.
- 7GF. . . .This little girl holding a doll in her hands is obviously a little girl growing up, who, like all little girls, has the motherly instinct. The mother is reading with, to her, and the girl is absolutely indifferent to what's being read and would rather be out doing something else but is holding the doll in self-defense, as long as she's going to have to be read to. The mother is rather indifferent to what she's reading, I don't believe making it too much pleasure for the girl.

- 6GF. . . .Mercy. This girl's being, been taken by surprise by rather a surprise question that she didn't expect the gentleman to give. . . .She may easily turn around and burst into tears or she may easily jump up in a startled fashion. He, on the other hand, is, got a kind face and what he said to her is hard to tell but I don't think it's anything which, uh, cross, I think he's just taken her completely by surprise.
4. . . .Oh. . . .This girl is obviously very enamored by this man. The man is definitely not a bit interested in her and got ideas for future things. I would say, the girl, the man was going on to some other place or else had another wife or woman. And [telephone rang; subject called to someone to answer it] will, uh, leave her and she will just be left, broken-hearted.
[Interruption as subject answered telephone.]
- 3GF. . . .This girl standing by the door with her arm in her, hand over her face, has definitely lost something, whether it's a husband, or a lover, or even a child but she's definitely miserable and doesn't want to face reality and doesn't want to go back, to whatever's facing her in back. And it's, she's definitely a hard-working woman by the muscles in her arms, and, but she's been disappointed and, or lost something, and she doesn't want to face the truth.
5. . . .This woman is definitely peeking into a room, hoping to find somebody there. By her expression it's hard to find whether anybody's there or not, that she anticipates. But she, uh, is definitely looking for somebody who I don't think is there.
14. . . .This boy looking out a window, in a completely dark room, is looking for something beyond, and he's anticipating what he's going to be doing in the future, hoping that he can, can gather his thoughts correctly by looking out of the window and finding what he wants to do through space, and air, and being alone.
- 7BM. . . .The younger man in this picture is definitely puzzled and gone to the older man for so--, for help. He is, got rather a sour face, the younger man, and the older man's got terrific kindness in his face and terrific knowledge in his face. He's trying to be straightened out by the older gentleman as to what he should do about something that's bothering him.
19. . . .This I'd say was definitely modern art. And what it represents to me. . . .is practically nothing, except a bad dream. No, couldn't even comment on that one.

Record of MM subject, about 29

1. Well, he looks like he is studying his violin, thinking about it very seriously. Perhaps he has practiced quite a long while, on the violin, and he's just sitting there and just resting and he's probably dreaming of the future he would like on the concert stage. That's just about all. Did I get the four things?
 2. Well, this, ah, girl comes from farming people. She is thinking of the future and wants to do great things and maybe help her people to grow through her efforts. And her people have been hard-working farmers or people and she is going to begin a new life for them all. I think that's all I can tell from that.
- 7GF. Eh! (Laughs) You even put that down? Well, personally it reminds me of my childhood, they might not get such an answer but it reminds me of when my mother told me about what life really was. Told her about boys, etc. The little girl is bewildered and curious. The mother is an understanding mother and the mother is enlightening her, I should say. That's all, I think.
This is off the record--did anyone else have an idea like that one?
- 6GF. This picture means very little to me. She looks frightened as if he has said something that has taken her off her balance and she is wondering if he can carry out his threats. That's all. I can't suggest any future for that. (Laughs)
Do you smoke? I like a cigarette? I don't but I thought maybe you did.
- 3GF. Well, the woman has had a great disappointment as you can tell at a glance. Worked hard to achieve some goal and realizes that goal can no longer be reached and she is at the end of her rope. That's all.
14. It could be a young intern in his rest period thinking over the years he has studied and the great future ahead being a doctor.
 4. I think this man is an artist and he is, he is, he is wondering if he's ever to become a great artist and wondering if all his years of study and work are worth it and this woman is trying to encourage because she has faith in him, in his work as an artist.
 5. She looks like she might be rather a nag and she has caused trouble in the past through her interfering. Perhaps she is the spinster aunt in the family. Always checking up on people. Means nothing but trouble.

- 7BM. This looks like the professor and his student. He's taught this fellow for years and this fellow is getting ready for perhaps his first great concert and his professor is there to back him and give him confidence. And the fellow feels at this time that he is not capable of this work but he will be a great artist.
19. Oh. . .frankly this type of work is horrible. Well, it suggests very bad dreams of storm--but there is a home back there--I think I see windows, so that there is some place of refuge from this storm.

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