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Explorations in Personality

Explorations in Personality is an account of a three-years* study of fifty young men of college age by twenty-eight psychologists of various schools and persuasions, among whom were three physicians and five psychoanalysts.

The book starts with the exposition of a theory of personality which attempts to reconcile the divergent conceptions of medical and academic psychology. It aims at comprehensiveness, internal coherence, and usability. The focus of attention is always the individual who, while evolving within an ever-changing matrix of social forces, exhibits himself objectively as a unitary force but subjectively as the product of many co-operating or conflicting inner tendencies.

The second part of the book is devoted to the description of numerous different techniques for the systematic study of human behavior under conditions which approximate those of everyday life. The authors were less interested in why a man sees red when he is exposed to light rays of a certain wave length than they were in why he sees red when he is asked to do his boss a favor, or why he sees red when he meets an exponent of collectivism. Special attention was given to the development of techniques for evoking fantasies which would provide data for an orderly investigation of unconscious processes.

The book closes with an account of the results obtained, a long case history being included as an illustration of the order of facts revealed, of the workability of the theory, and the fruitfulness of the procedures.

Academic psychologists may encounter here some facts which have not yet found a place in

textbooks; psychoanalysts with scientific leanings will be interested in the attempt to verify some of their theories experimentally; sociologists will discover that psychology is moving in their direction; and biographers will find most of the elements that have to be considered in interpreting a life history.

Dr. H. A. Murray is a graduate of Harvard, 1915, and the College of Physicians and Surgeons, 1919. A two-years' internship in surgery at the Presbyterian Hospital, New York City, was followed by five years of research in physiology, bio-chemistry, and general biology. Murray conducted researches in the physico-chemistry properties of the blood under Professor L. J. Henderson of Harvard, and in chemical and physiological embryology under Dr. Alfred E. Cohn at the Rockefeller Institute and under Sir F. Garland Hopkins at the University of Cambridge, England, from which university he obtained his doctorate in bio-chemistry.

Becoming interested in the expanding field of medical psychology, Dr. Murray spent some time with Dr. Carl G. Jung of Zurich and a year after his return to the United States became assistant to Dr. Morton Prince, whom he succeeded as director of the Harvard Psychological Clinic when the latter resigned in 1928. In the following years Dr. Murray was trained in psychoanalysis under Dr. Franz Alexander of Chicago and Dr. Harms Sachs of Boston. In World War II, Dr. Murray, " ; Lieutenant-Colonel, M. G, was in charge of the Assessment Staffs of the Office of Strategic Services, for which work he was awarded the Legion of Merit,

EXPLORATIONS IN PERSONALITY

EXPLORATIONS

IN PERSONALITY

A CLINICAL AND EXPERIMENTAL STUDY OF
FIFTY MEN OF COLLEGE AGE

By the Workers at the
HARVARD PSYCHOLOGICAL CLINIC

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UTHO IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

This Book is Gratefully Dedicated
by its authors

to

MORTON PRINCE

who had the vision, raised the endowment and
was the first director of the Harvard Clinic,

to

SIGMUND FREUD

whose genius contributed the most fruitful
working hypotheses,

to

LAWRENCE J. HENDERSON

whose expositions of scientific procedure
established a methodological standard,

to

ALFRED N. WHITEHEAD

whose philosophy of organism supplied the
necessary underlying generalities,

and to

CARL G. JUNG

whose writings were a hive of great
suggestiveness.

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THE ROCKEFELLER FOUNDATION
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MADE THESE RESEARCHES POSSIBLE

THE AUTHORS ARE EQUALLY GRATEFUL FOR LESS TANGIBLE
GIFTS ;
THE SERENITY, LOYALTY AND SUPERIOR COMPETENCE OF
MARJORIE C. INGALLS

WHO ORGANIZED AND SUPERINTENDED THE SCHEDULE OF
EXPERIMENTS AND TYPED THE COUNTLESS REPORTS AND THE
WHOLE OF THIS MANUSCRIPT

PREFACE

THIS is a book of many authors. But in writing it our
purpose
was to make an integrated whole, not a mere collection
of articles
on special topics. The planned procedure for achieving
unity
was this : to have all experimenters study the same
series of
individuals with the same concepts actively in mind,
and then
in assembly a meeting being devoted to each case to re-
port their findings and collaborate in accomplishing a
common
purpose : the formulation of the personality of every
subject. The
degree of unity attained is for others, not us, to
judge. Diver-
sity is certainly conspicuous in spots ; so difficult
is it, particu-
larly in psychology, for a group of men to reach and

hold a
common outlook. Indeed, what is now so hard for us to
realize is
that the job was done at all, that for three years the
many authors
of this book were able to work, think and talk together
with en-
joyment and some measure of productiveness.

Four years ago every investigator at the Harvard
Psychological
Clinic was a pioneer with his own chosen area of
wilderness to
map. Each area was an aspect of human personality a
virgin
forest of peculiar problems. Here he lost and sometimes
found him-
self. Though there were plenty of opportunities for
communica-
tion, his obligations to other experimenters were
minimal and he
was free to follow the wilful drifts of his own elusive
thought. He
enjoyed, in other words, relative autonomy in a
Jeffersonian
democracy of researchers an atmosphere that is ttfearth
to the
nostrils of every seeker after hidden truth.

All we workers were bound by a common compulsion : to
inquire into the nature of man ; and by a common faith
: that ex-
periment would prove fruitful. We devoted ourselves,
therefore,
to the observation of human beings responding to a
variety of
controlled conditions, conditions which resembled as
nearly as
possible those of everyday life. Our emphasis was upon
emotional

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and behavioural reactions, what previous experiences
determined
them, to what degree and in what manner. This
preoccupation

set our studies somewhat outside the university tradition. For it has been the custom in academic psychology to concentrate upon the perceptive and cognitive functions of the human mind or, more recently, upon the behaviour of animals.

The usual procedure at the Clinic was to compare the responses of a group of subjects in two contrasting situations ; each experiment having been devised to validate or contradict a prediction that if conditions were modified in a particular way the responses would also be modified in a particular way. The results which we obtained by following this well attested plan were, in general, of this nature : a majority perhaps seventy per cent of the subjects manifested the predicted change, but a minority reacted otherwise. One result, for instance, was this : after trying to complete a number of tasks, the majority remembered their successes better than their failures. Another was this : that the majority remembered best the tasks on which they had cheated. Yet another was this : that the majority persisted longer in an attempt to perform a mental operation after they had been humiliated in their initial attempt than they did after they had been commended. Now a statistical result of this kind may often be reservedly accepted as partial proof of the operation of a separable factor, but such a result conceals, as Lewin has pointed out, the other important forces, not selected for observation, which contributed to the common (exhibited-by-the-majority) response. In lay words, the subjects who gave the majority response may have done so

for different reasons. Furthermore, a statistical answer leaves unexplained the uncommon (exhibited-by-the-minority) response. One can only ignore it as an unhappy exception to the rule. Averages obliterate the ' individual characters of individual organisms' (Whitehead), and so fail to reveal the complex interaction of forces which determines each concrete event.

Thus we were driven to the conclusion that the indecisiveness of our results was the inevitable outcome of a deficient method. The correct formulation of an experimental finding must, we came

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to feel, include more personality factors or ' variables ' as they are called than the one which the given procedure had been devised to set in motion. Additional factors intuitively apperceived by an experimenter were of some aid in interpreting the results, but they were insufficient and there was no adequate proof of their operation.

We should, perhaps, have anticipated this conclusion since we were accustomed to conceive of personality as a temporal integrate of mutually dependent processes (variables) developing in time, and from this conception it follows that a large number of determining variables as well as their relations must be recognized, and approximately measured, if one is to give an adequate interpretation analysis and synthesis of a single human event.

Since it is impossible to distinguish all these variables simultaneously, they must be discovered one at a time on separate occasions.

This conclusion led to our first important decision, which was : that all experimenters should use one and the same group of subjects. Each worker continued as before with his own problem, but under the new plan he had the findings of other observers to aid him in the interpretation of his results.

It then occurred to us that interpretation might be still further facilitated if we knew more about the past experiences and the aptitudes of the subjects. Our second decision followed : to add a number of interviews, free association hours and psychological tests to the schedule of experiments. The purpose of the entire procedure was to place at the disposal of each experimenter a wealth of information about his subjects and thus to assist him in interpreting his results and arriving at generally valid psychological laws. This was our initial intent, and since it will not be referred to again, I take this opportunity to express the opinion that the reason why the results of so many researches in personality have been misleading or trivial is that experimenters have failed to obtain enough pertinent information about their subjects. Lacking these facts accurate generalizations are impossible.

As I have said, our primary aim was to discover some of the principles that governed human behaviour, but as soon as we be-

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gan to assemble and attempt to organize the biographical data we discovered that we were involved in a deeper and more fundamental problem : the problem of how to conceive of an individual life history. What should we agree to mean by the term ' personality * ? What are the fundamental variables in terms of which a personality may be comprehensively and adequately described ? Before we could compare and organize the results of different experiments it was necessary to construct a conceptual scheme which every experimenter would understand, agree to use and find efficient. This we tried to do. But, as might have been anticipated, we fell short of the goal. Even at the end, after many revisions, we could not think of our scheme as more than a rude array of concepts to classify our findings.

In our explorations each session 'session' being the general term which we shall use to denote a planned meeting between an experimenter (E) and a subject (S), whether it be a conference, a routine test or an experiment was designed to reveal a certain segment of the personality ; that is, to incite and thus bring into relief particular processes, or variables. Though it is supposed that personality is at all times an integral whole that the constituent processes are functionally inseparable it is clear that not all situations provoke the same, variable to the same extent, and, consequently, it can be said that a specific situation

serves to isolate, or dissect, a specific part of the personality. This part can rarely be understood by itself, but it can be studied as a clue to the general structure of the personality. These considerations have led us to the conclusion that if after assembling the results of many sessions the structure of the whole can be formulated, then each session may be reinterpreted interpreted in such a way that it conforms to all the other sessions.

Now, to carry out this procedure to conduct a long series of sessions and to organize the findings from all of them into an intelligible portrait of a subject called for the cooperation of the entire staff. Each experimenter had to relinquish some of his dearly prized freedom. He had to use the terminology of a constantly revised scheme of thought, to arrange the time of his ex-

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periments to fit in with others and to participate in lengthy conferences. It seemed that to obtain the desired comprehensive formulations this amount of collaboration was necessary, yet there was the question of whether for each experimenter the goal was worth the partial sacrifice of intellectual independence. We did not wish to succumb to the great American compulsion to cooperate if it was not clearly necessary. The prospect of what might be achieved, however, appealed to us and so we made our plans and worked together, with many changes in our company,

for
three years.

It is true that we never completely succeeded in merging our separate ideologies. How could such a thing come to pass in a group composed of poets, physicists, sociologists, anthropologists, criminologists, physicians ; of democrats, fascists, communists, anarchists ; of Jews, Protestants, Agnostics, Atheists ; of pluralists, monists, solipsists ; of behaviourists, configurationists, dynamicists, psycho-analysts ; of Freudians, Jungians, Rankians, Adlerians, Lewinians, and Allportians ? To the fact that we never found a language suitable to all, that some of the experimenters entertained reservations to the last, the reader can ascribe some of the annoyance or pleasure he may experience when here and there throughout the book he encounters varieties of terminology or theory.

During the two and a half years of research fifty-one male subjects of college age were interviewed and tested. The first group, intensively studied over a two-weeks period, was composed of young men drawn from the ranks of the unemployed. All the rest of our subjects were college men. The second group composed of eleven students was studied over a period of three weeks, the third group of thirteen over a period of two months, and the fourth group of fifteen, in a more leisurely fashion, over a period of six months. No subject had any knowledge of the theories and practices of psychology. The college students were so chosen by the

Harvard Employment Office that the Arts and the Sciences, high scholarship and low scholarship were equally represented. They were paid for their services at the current wage.

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It has seemed to us that more progress could be made by con-
scientious clinical researches and by seeking experimental evidence for the validity of certain general intuitions about human nature than by devising tests to measure with precision things that have no influence on the course of life. Psychology should not lose sight of human nature as it operates in everyday existence.

We have speculated freely, with an understanding, let us hope, of what we were about. If a psychologist of personality had to limit his discourse to theories that were securely proved he would have nothing to recount. In his realm there are no certainties.

In our explorations we attempted to get below the social derm of personalities. Indeed, we became so bent upon the search for covert springs of fantasy and action that we slighted necessarily some of the more obvious and common phases of behaviour. This has resulted in a certain distortion which may seem great to those whose vivid experiences are limited to what is outwardly perceived and public, to what is rational and consciously intended.

HENRY A. MURRAY

Cambridge, Massachusetts

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EXPLORATIONS IN PERSONALITY

EXPLORATIONS IN PERSONALITY

Chapter I

INTRODUCTION

H. A. MURRAY

MAN is to-day's great problem. What can we know about him and how can it be said in words that have clear meaning ? What propels him ? With what environmental objects and institutions does he interact and how ? What occurrences in his body are most influentially involved ? What mutually dependent processes participate in his differentiation and development ? What

courses of events determine his pleasures and displeasures ? And, finally, by what means can he be intentionally transformed ? These are antique questions, to be sure, which in all ages have invited interest, but to-day they more insistently demand solution and more men are set for the endeavour. There is greater zest and greater promise of fulfilment.

The point of view adopted in this book is that personalities constitute the subject matter of psychology, the life history of a single man being a unit with which this discipline has to deal. It is not possible to study all human beings or all experiences of one human being. The best that can be done is to select representative or specially significant events for analysis and interpretation. Some psychologists may prefer to limit themselves to the study of one kind of episode. For instance, they may study the responses of a great number of individuals to a specific situation. They may attempt to discover what changes in the situation bring about important changes in response. But, since every response is partially determined by the after-effects of previous experiences, the psychologist will never fully understand an episode if he abstracts it from ontogeny, the developmental history of the individual. Even phylogeny, or racial history, may have to be con-

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sidered. The prevailing custom in psychology is to

study one function or one aspect of an episode at a time perception, emotion, intellection or behaviour and this is as it must be. The circumscription of attention is dictated by the need for detailed information. But the psychologist who does this should recognize that he is observing merely a part of an operating totality, and that this totality, in turn, is but a small temporal segment of a personality. Psychology must construct a scheme of concepts for portraying the entire course of individual development, and thus provide a framework into which any single episode natural or experimental may be fitted.

The branch of psychology which principally concerns itself with the study of human lives and the factors that influence their course, which investigates individual differences and types of personality, may be termed 'personology' instead of * the psychology of personality/ a clumsy and tautological expression. 1

Personology, then, is the science of men, taken as gross units, and by definition it encompasses * psycho-analysis' (Freud), * analytical psychology' (Jung), 'individual psychology' (Adler) and other terms which stand for methods of inquiry or doctrines rather than realms of knowledge.

In its intentions our endeavour was excessively ambitious. For we purposed nothing less than (1) to construct methodically a theory of personality ; (2) to devise techniques for getting at some of the more important attributes of personality ; and (3) by

a study of the lives of many individuals to discover basic facts of personality. Our guiding thought was that personality is a temporal whole and to understand a part of it one must have a sense, though vague, of the totality-, It was for this that we attempted comprehensiveness, despite the danger that in trying to grasp everything we might be left with nothing worth the having.

We judged the time had come when systematic, full length

i. Some have objected that personology, as here defined, is what all men, except professional psychologists, call psychology. Since it has to do with life-histories of individuals (the largest unit), it must be the most inclusive, other types of psychology being specialties or branches of it. This view, however, is not generally accepted.

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studies of individuals could be made to bring results. And more than this, indeed, it seemed a necessary thing to do. For if the constituent processes of personality are mutually dependent, then one must know a lot to comprehend a little, and to know a lot that may be used for understanding, good methods must be systematically employed. In our attempt to envisage and portray the general course of a person's life, we selected for analysis certain happenings along the way and, using these as points, made free drawings of the connecting paths. We judged that the spaces without definition would attract attention and it would

become
more evident than it has been in what quarters detailed
research
might yield important facts. For without some notion of
the whole
there can be no assurance that the processes selected
for intensive
study are significant constituents.

Actually, the scheme of concepts we employed was not
ex-
haustive ; one reason being the inability of the mind
to hold so
many novel generalities in readiness. The amount of
space and
time and the number of examiners available put a limit
to the
number of experimental subjects and the number of
techniques
that could be used. Thus, in the end, our practices and
theories
were not as comprehensive as we thought they could and
should
be.

Since in the execution of our plan we went from theory
down
to fact, then back to theory and down to fact again,
the book may
be regarded either as a scheme of elementary
formulations con-
ceived of to explain the ways of different individuals,
or as an
assemblage of biographic data organized according to a
certain
frame of reference.

The Present State of Personology

It might be thought that a number of psychologists from
the
same or different universities, assembling in any
suitably equipped
clinic, could, after apportioning their work, become
engaged with-
out delay in a collaborative study of any group of
normal indi-
viduals. This could occur in clinical medicine but not
by any good

fortune in psychology. For in psychology there are few generally

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valued tests, no traits that are always measured, no common guiding concepts. Some psychologists make precise records of their subjects' overt movements, others inquire into sentiments and theories. Some use physiological techniques, others present batteries of questionnaires. Some record dreams and listen for hours to free associations, others note attitudes in social situations. These different methods yield data which, if not incommensurate, are, at least, difficult to organize into one construction. There is no agreement as to what traits or variables are significant. A psychologist who embarks upon a study of normal personality feels free to look for anything he pleases. He may test for intelligence, or note signs of introversion-extraversion, he may focus on inferiority and compensation, or use the cycloid-schizoid frame of reference, or look for the character traits of pre-genital fixation, or measure his subjects for ascendance and submission ; but he will not feel bound to any particular order of examinations, since there is no plan that custom has accredited. It must be acknowledged that personology is still in diapers enjoying random movements. The literature is full of accurate observations of particular events, statistical compilations, and brilliant (lashes of intuition. But taken as a whole, personology is a patchwork quilt of incom-

patible designs. In this domain men speak with voices of authority saying different things in different tongues, and the expectant student is left to wonder whether one or none are in the right.

A little order is brought out of this confusion though somewhat arbitrarily by dividing psychologists into two large classes holding opposite conceptual positions. One group may be called peripheralists, the other centralists. The peripheralists have an objectivistic inclination, that is, they are attracted to clearly observable things and qualities simple deliverances of sense organs and they usually wish to confine the data of personology to these. They stand upon the acknowledged fact that, as compared to other functions, the perceptions particularly the visual perceptions of different individuals are relatively similar, and hence agreement on this basis is attainable. Agreement, it is pointed out, is common among trained observers when interpretations are ex-

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eluded, and since without agreement there is no science, they believe that if they stick to measurable facts they are more likely to make unquestionable contributions. Thus, for them the data are : environmental objects and physically responding organisms : bodily movements, verbal successions, physiological changes. That they confine themselves to such events distinguishes them from members of the other class, but what characterizes them

par-
ticularly is their insistence upon limiting their
concepts to symbols
which stand directly for the facts observed. In this
respect they
are positivists. Now, since we are reasonably certain
that all
phenomena within the domain of personology are
determined by
excitations in the brain, the things which are
objectively discern-
ible the outer environment, bodily changes, muscular
move-
ments and so forth are peripheral to the personality
proper and
hence those who traffic only with the former may be
called periph-
eralists. If the peripheralists ever do indulge in
speculations about
what goes on within the brain, they usually fall back
upon the con-
ceptual scheme which has been found efficient in
dealing with
simpler partial functions. They resort to mechanistic
or physiolog-
ical explanations. Men of this stamp who study people
usually
come out with a list of common action patterns or
expressive
movements, though occasionally they go further and
include social
traits and interests. Such a man is apt, at least
implicitly, to agree
with Watson that 'personality is the sum total of the
habitual
responses. 1 This is one variety of the doctrine of
elementarism.
To repeat, the man we are distinguishing is a
peripheralist be-
cause he defines personality in terms of action qua
action rather
than in terms of some central process which the action
manifests,
and he is an elementarist because he regards
personality as the sum
total or product of interacting elements rather than a
unity which
may, for convenience, be analysed into parts.
Furthermore, the

implicit supposition of this class of scientists is that an external stimulus, or the perception of it, is the origination of everything psychological. For them, the organism is at the start an inert, passive, though receptive, aggregate, which only acts in response to outer stimulation. From the point of view of consciousness, as

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Locke would have it, mind is at first a sensorium innocent of imprints which, as time goes on, receives sensations from external objects and combines them variously, according to objective contingencies and similarities, to form ideas and ideologies. Those who hold this view are called sensationists.

In contrast to these varieties of scientists are a heterogeneous group, the centralists. The latter are especially attracted to subjective facts of emotional or purposive significance : feelings, desires, intentions. They are centralists because they are primarily concerned with the governing processes in the brain. And to these they think they are led directly by listening to the form and content of other people's speech. Their terminology is subjectively derived. For instance, to portray a personality they do not hesitate to use such terms as wishes, emotions and ideas. Though most of them make efforts to observe behaviour accurately, interpretation usually merges with perception, and overt actions are immediately referred to psychic impulses. Since the latter are

intangible, personologists must imagine them. Hence, men of this complexion are conceptualises rather than positivists ; and further, in so far as they believe that personality is a complex unity, of which each function is merely a partially distinguished integral, they are totalists, naturally inclined to doctrines of immanence and emergence. Craving to know the inner nature of other persons as they know their own, they have often felt their wish was realized, not by making conscious inferences from items of observation but by an unanalysable act of empathic intuition. For this, perceptions, naturally, are necessary, but the observer is only dimly aware of the specific scnsa which were configurated to suggest the underlying feeling or intention of the subject's momentary self. So hold the intuitionists. Finally, as opposed to the sensationists are the dynamicists who ascribe action to inner forces drives, urges, needs, or instincts some of which, inherited or suddenly emerging, may be held accountable for the occurrence of motility without external stimulation. These inner energies of which the personality may be wholly unaware seem to influence perception, apperception and intellection. The more or less mechanical laws

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of the sensationists are only true, it is believed, when a passive, disinterested attitude is adopted by the subject. But under most conditions, attention and conceptualization are directed by wants

and feelings.

These two general classes of psychologists are heterogeneous. It is only certain underlying similarities which prompt us to put in one class peripheralists, objectivists, positivists, mechanists, elementarists, and sensationists ; and to put in another centralists, subjectivists, conceptualists, totalists, and dynamicists. It is clear that a psychologist may belong in certain respects to one class and in others to another. For instance, some psychologists are eclectic, others vaguely hold a middle ground, still others attempt with more or less success to encompass both positions. Then there are those whose natural temper is emotionally subjective but who come to adopt, for their own equilibration, the extreme behaviouristic point of view. These are the holy zealots, the modern puritans of science. Mixtures and contrasts of this sort are not uncommon, but in the main the two classes are distinguishable (vide Extrareception Intrareception, p. 211).

The peripheralists are mostly academic men addicted to the methodology of science. Being chiefly interested in what is measurable, they are forced to limit themselves to relatively unimportant fragments of the personality or to the testing of specific skills. The aim is to get figures that may be worked statistically. 1

Among the centralists one finds psychologists of the ' hormic ' school, psycho-analysts, physicians and social philosophers. These have no stomach for experiments conducted in an artificial labora-

tory atmosphere. They feel no compulsion to count and measure. Their concern is man enmeshed in his environment ;

i. This may be regarded, perhaps, as one of many manifestations of a general disposition which is widespread in America, namely, to regard the peripheral personality conduct rather than inner feeling and intention as of prime importance. Thus, we have the fabrication of a "pleasing personality," mail courses in comportment, courtesy as good business, the best pressed clothes, the best barber shops, Listerine and deodorants, the contact man, friendliness without friendship, the prestige of movie stars and Big Business, quantity as an index of worth, a compulsion for fact-getting, the statistical analysis of everything, questionnaires and behaviourism.

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his ambitions, frustrations, apprehensions, rages, joys and miseries.

In summary, it may be said that the peripheralists are apt to emphasize the physical patterns of overt behaviour, the combination of simple reflexes to form complex configurations, the influence of the tangible environment, sensations and their compounds, intellections, social attitudes, traits, and vocational pursuits. The centralists, on the other hand, stress the directions or ends of behaviour, underlying instinctual forces, inherited dispositions, maturation and inner transformations, distortions of perception by wish and fantasy, emotion, irrational or semi-conscious mental processes, repressed sentiments and the objects of

erotic interest.

The divergencies thus briefly catalogued are rarely constant. And they are hardly more apparent than the divergencies within each group, particularly among the centralists. That the centralists should radically disagree in their interpretations is the result of their subjectivistic bias, the opportunities for projection being limitless. For man the object of concern is like an ever-varying cloud and psychologists are like people seeing faces in it. One psychologist perceives along the upper margin the contours of a nose and lip, and then miraculously other portions of the cloud become so oriented in respect to these that the outline of a forward-looking superman appears. Another psychologist is attracted to a lower segment, sees an ear, a nose, a chin, and simultaneously the cloud takes on the aspect of a backward-looking Epimethean. Thus, for each perceiver every sector of the cloud has a different function, name and value fixed by his initial bias of perception. To be the founder of a school indeed, it is only necessary to see a face along another margin. Not much imagination is required to configurate the whole in terms of it. Such prejudiced conceptions, of course, are not unfruitful. To prove the correctness of their vision to prove their sanity, one might say scientists are led to undertake laborious researches. The analysts, for instance, have made wondrous discoveries by pursuing one instinct, observing its numerous guises and vagaries. Hunting other trails with like genius and persistence all the ways of personality may

eventually

1N1KUJDUCT1UN 11

be explored. Though this has proved to be a successful method of advance, the men who follow it are not well balanced intellectually. They are not well balanced because their thoughts are loaded, the favoured variable being turned up at every throw. Pursuing a single objective and disregarding numberless concatenations, they abstract too arbitrarily from the fullness of experience and upon one entity lay the full burden of causation.

What Course to Follow ?

Now, in view of these divergent trends, what is the proper path to take ? Is it possible that some order will emerge if a variety of methods are employed in the exploration of a group of subjects, the best of contemporary theories being judged in respect to their general success in interpreting the findings ? In our minds the answer to this question was affirmative. Viewed in this way our work was an experiment in reconciliation. It was our thought, at least, that if we took account of what appeared to be the most important factors, and succeeded in measuring them approximately, the conceptual distortions which now exist might be rectified to some extent. It might even be possible, by slight modifications here and there, to construct a scheme which would fit together most of the prevailing theories. For a common theory

and a common language is for psychology an urgent requisite.

Since science-making is a kind of working for agreement, the psychologic forces which give rise to controversy have been matters of concern to us. For instance, we paid some attention to the factors which determine the creation or adoption of a theory, as well as to those that make adherence lasting. Even among ourselves there were marked differences of outlook which were never satisfactorily combined, though attempts were made by some of us to expose by self-analysis any underlying twists that might be narrowing our perspective. We thought by taking steps to solve the problem of divergence our work might be, at least, the staking out of ground for an orderly development. This we take to be the scientific way the only way, if the testimony of the last three centuries of practical and theoretical achievement has

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validity of progressing towards, agreement about * truth/ One should begin at the beginning, and the beginning is proper method and accurate observation. We attempted first of all to make records of events as they occurred. These were the facts, facts not to be confused with the theory that seemed to fit them. In proceeding thus we were supported by the notion that the ability to observe though no doubt a minor virtue may, like the tortoise, in the long run win ; and that a slow-

witted man with
a good method can often succeed where a clever man with
a
poor one fails. However, to choose this path is one
thing, to fol-
low it is another.

Difficulties that Confront the Investigator of Personality

The facts which should be observed in order to obtain a com-
prehensive view of a particular individual may be
classified as
follows :

A. OBJECTIVE FACTS

i. The changing conditions of the physical and social environ-
ment that are perceptible to the subject.

ii. The changing physiological conditions in the
subject's
body. 1

iii. The trends and action patterns (motor and verbal
) of the
subject. These may be initiations or responses.

iv. The apparent gratifications (successes) and
frustrations
(failures) of the subject.

B. SUBJECTIVE FACTS

Reports given by the subject of his perceptions,
interpreta-
tions, feelings, emotions, intellections, fantasies,
intentions
and conations.

What difficulties do these phenomena present to those
who
wish to make a study of them ? In answer I shall limit
myself to
an enumeration of the factors which interfere with
accurate and

i. Since the Harvard Clinic is not equipped for physiological studies, the latter could not be included in the present research.

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sufficient observation under clinical conditions. In reviewing these factors brief mention will be made of the measures to surmount them that were tried out at the Harvard Clinic.

1. Limitations of time, of the variety of conditions and of the number of experimenters. To know a subject well one must see him many times, and observe or hear about his behaviour in many varied situations, when exposed to different treatment by different types of people. In professional studies limits are fixed by the amount of space, the number of experienced examiners and the funds available. In our case, we made a virtue of necessity by deciding that our purpose was to see how much could be discovered in a short time with relatively few sessions and few experimenters, many of whom were inexperienced.

2. Peculiar effect of the laboratory situation. Conditions in a laboratory or in a clinic are, at best, unnatural and artificial, and the subject is constantly reminded that he is being watched and judged. This usually makes him self-conscious and ill at ease, puts him on guard or prompts him to assume a favoured role. Though such attitudes are in themselves significant, they may not be indicative of how a man behaves in his accustomed haunts, which is what one most wants to know about.

This difficulty was partly overcome by having subjects come to the Clinic off and on for a long period time enough for the disappearance of whatever shyness, hostility or suspiciousness was due merely to the strangeness of the situation. Home-like surroundings and the friendliness of examiners helped to put a subject at his ease. The fact that we respected our subjects and became fond of them may have been the reason why in the main they were so natural, friendly, co-operative and confident. This was important since to discover how a man is apt to act and feel in the ordinary situations of his life, one must rely upon his answers to tactful questions and what he writes about himself.

3. Effect of the experimenter and the difficulty of estimating it. Since in almost every session an experimenter is present, the latter, being of the same order of magnitude, is an intrinsic

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member of the total situation. It is not that a solitary subject if secretly observed would reveal more of himself, because what one wants revealed is his behaviour with one or several human beings. Hence, there should usually be another person present. But the point is that the appearance, attitude and underlying needs of the other person are variables in the episode under observation and, since in most sessions the other person is

none other than the experimenter, the latter must make con-
current judgments of himself in these respects, and
this is not
so easy. The difficulty was diminished to some extent
by having
experimenters trained in self-awareness, and, as we did
in two
sessions, by having a concealed observer judging the
attitude
and actions of both subject and experimenter.

4. Limitations of perceptual ability. Since reality is
a process and
the organism, as well as its environment, is changing
every
moment, only a small fraction of what occurs may be
attended
to, apprehended and retained in memory. This is because
one's
perceptual functions are, by nature, deficient in
respect to speed
and span. The limitation here may sometimes be
partially sur-
mounted by increasing the number of examiners or using
various mechanical devices : a moving picture camera,
speech-
recording or movement-recording instruments, appliances
to
measure physiological changes and the like.

5. Limitations of apperceptual ability. Here we refer
to deficiencies
in the ability to interpret behaviour. Interpreting
directional or
purposive activity is so difficult that some
psychologists, in
the hope of obtaining uniformity, have confined
themselves to
the observation of simple movements. There is more
agreement
when this is done, but the records thus obtained are
psycho-
logically unimportant and cry out for understanding.
But it is
much more difficult to interpret records of this sort
than it is
to interpret behaviour at the moment of its occurrence.
Thus,

as we shall maintain in the chapter on the diagnosis of person-ality, apperception must accompany the original perception.

To be sure, this introduces the greatest possibility of error, for the experimenter is required to go * beyond* the facts, facts

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which, at best, are fragmentary. For instance, he must often since a fair proportion of acts are not successfully completed base his diagnosis on the apparent trend (or intention) of the subject's conduct.

The difficulties of diagnosis are diminished to some extent by collecting in advance many common, concrete examples of the overt expression of the tendencies to be studied. But that such guides if taken ' literally ' may lead to error must be apparent. To illustrate, take the act of 'kissing a person.' This would undoubtedly be classified as an expression of love or tenderness, and yet we have only to think of Judas Iscariot to recognize that a kiss may mean something else entirely.

5. Unreliability of subjective reports. There are many reasons why subjects' memories and introspections are usually incomplete or unreliable. Children perceive inaccurately, are very little conscious of their inner states and retain fallacious recollections of occurrences. Many adults are hardly better. Their impressions of past events are hazy and have undergone distortion. Many

important things have been unconsciously repressed. Insight is lacking. Consequently, even when a subject wants to give a clear portrait of his early life or contemporary feelings he is unable to do so. Over and above this are his needs for privacy, for the concealment of inferiority, his desire for prestige. Thus, he may consciously inhibit some of his sentiments, rationalize or be a hypocrite about others, or only emphasize what a temporary whim dictates. Finally, one is occasionally confronted by out and out malingering. So as not to be too frequently deceived as to the reliability of what a subject says, the experimenter must hold in mind, if possible, every limitation and distortion which interferes with accuracy and be always skeptical, though tolerantly so. With most of our subjects there was ground for confidence and perhaps because we trusted their intentions they were disposed to truthfulness.

7. Variability of the subject's personality. In studying a subject over a four-month period it is assumed, as an approximation, that his personality remains potentially the same. The some-

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times marked inconsistencies that occur are put down to the subject's characteristic range of variability, itself an attribute of personality. In many cases, however, the subject's reactions are not inconsistent ; they are determined by factors of which

the experimenter is unaware. There is little opportunity, for instance, to discover what daily shocks, victories, joys and sorrows occur in a subject's life. Sometimes he will volunteer such information and sometimes tactful questioning will draw it out of him, but usually an experimenter is ignorant of the immediately preceding happenings. Thus, many subjects come to a session with an emotional 'set' occasioned by an accidental and to the experimenter unknown series of circumstances which gives him an uncustomary and evanescent manner and impulsion. This is a difficulty which was partially surmounted by seeing the subjects often over a relatively long period of time, the effect of unusual fortune being thereby minimized.

One must consider the possibility, however, that during a four-month term a subject's potential personality may undergo a transformation ; to some extent because of his attendance at the clinic. If such occurs, the experimenter is apt to discount it, believing merely that he is 'getting to know' the subject better.

8. Limitation in the number and variety of subjects. This becomes a confining factor if an experimenter expects to generalize his conclusions. It is always hazardous to apply what is discovered under certain conditions at a certain time with certain subjects to other conditions, times and subjects. Due to the preliminary nature of our studies we have not ventured to do this.

As to the variety of subjects examined at the Clinic, all of them, except for our first group of fourteen, were college stu-

dents, some graduates and some undergraduates. They received remuneration at current prices (forty cents an hour) . None of them was financially well-off. None had studied psychology. Since when they applied at the Employment Office none of them knew the nature of the work that would be offered them and since only one applicant refused the offer, there is no ground for believing that our subjects were selected on the

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basis of a morbid inclination to exhibit themselves. Different sections of the country were represented, different races and different religions. The staff of the Clinic had the impression that they were dealing with an exceedingly heterogeneous group of men, who resembled each other in only one respect : their willingness to assist the experimenters, even to the extent of revealing their mortifications, failures and ineptitudes.

9. Inadequate conceptual scheme. The experimenter is to a large extent bound by the categories defined and agreed upon before he commences to observe. He is * set/ as it were, to perceive one or more of the phenomena which have been listed and nothing else. Thus, if the scheme is limited as, at present, all schemes must be in personology the original observations will be limited and much that is important will pass unnoticed. Ideally, the experimenter's mind should be stocked with variables

which are well-defined, sufficient and appropriate to every circumstance. But since there is a limit to the number which a man may hold in readiness, a usable list of factors will always be deficient in completeness.

Ideally considered, an abstract biography, or psychograph according to our use of this term, would resemble a musical score and those who knew the signs might, by reading from left to right, follow the entire sequence of events. The analysis and reconstruction of each temporal segment would be represented by appropriate symbols among which would be found those which portrayed the environmental forces, the subject's inner set, his initiation or response, and the immediate outcome of the interaction. Reading the psychograph one could apperceive the relations between events and the development of the evolving personality. Such a reconstruction might be taken as the high and distant goal towards which our hesitating steps should be directed.

And now before I close this account of the difficulties that confront the personologist, I should mention one final limitation of any conceptual formulation of a man's experience. It must necessarily do violence to human feelings. It will never satisfy all the needs of anyone and it will surely insult the needs of some. This

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will be so because it is the substitution of heartless,

denotative,
referential symbols for the moving immediacy of living.
By employing such a scheme a person's vital moments, once warm and passionately felt, become transformed into a cruelly commonplace formula, which dispossesses them of unique value. The subject himself is stripped and assimilated to a typological category. Much is thereby lost. The discomfort that people feel in the presence of a psychologist is in part the apprehension that they will be catalogued and filed away in his museum of specimens. The artist's representation of an experience, on the other hand, is a re-invocation of the original feeling or of a similar feeling, equally immediate, exciting and intense. The artist re-creates the * feel ' of it, the scientist substitutes the ' thought ' of it. Passing over the point that many artists are likewise guilty of abstracting (as Norman Douglas's open letter to D.H.Lawrence illustrates), it should be pointed out in rejoinder that the non-sensuous scientific statement though it may annul aesthetic feeling does, by portraying relations, make the event intelligible to the understanding, and this is just the result that some men find so thrilling. The emotion has a different texture than that engendered by the artist, but it is for this that the scientist is willing to pay his price, the partial loss of immediate human feeling.

The Need for Hypothetical Formulations

A little reflection upon the general properties of human nature and the special liabilities of error in observing them reviewed

above and minimized if anything should chasten what
preten-
sions to authoritative truth we might be tempted to
indulge. What
must be known is so complex and our instrument for
knowing
so uncertain. Is it not a vast presumption to believe
that this
fragmentary consciousness of ours can perceive what is
overt and
then imagine what lies behind it ; behind behaviour, as
well as
behind the mental processes that seek to comprehend
behaviour,
the various and subtly interweaving forces which make
up per-
sonality ? Is not doubt, suspended judgment, skepticism
or utter

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silence the only dignified and knowledgeable attitude
to take ?
Perhaps, but it is not likely to be taken, for, as
history shows, the
more complex a problem is and the fewer facts there
are, the more
inclined man is to voice opinions with conviction. But
is con-
viction necessary or advisable ?

The condition of affairs in personology can be
illustrated by a
diagram. The reader may look at this design and ask
himself
what kind of human face it represents :

\
figure i

The figure portrays the items three recorded facts, we
may
imagine of a certain person's life. We should like to
state the
relationship between them in order to * get a picture '

of the per-
sonality. Shall we say (a) * We do not know * ; or
shall we say
(b) * This is the explanation ' ; or shall we say (c
) * We suggest
this hypothesis ' ?

Figure 2 presents two possible explanations. The dark
lines
stand for the facts, the light lines represent the
imagined factors
which, if present, would relate the parts into a more
or less in-
telligible pattern. Interpretations x and y are
obviously different,
as different, let us say, as the conceptions offered by
Ludwig and
Freud, respectively, to explain the course of Kaiser
Wilhelm's
eventful life. Ludwig's biography, 1 one may recall,
explains the
grandiose ideas of the German ruler as
overcompensations for
organ inferiority : a withered arm acquired at birth.
Freud,
however, thinks that the important factor was a
withdrawal of
mother love * on account of his disability. When the
child grew

i. Ludwig, Emil. Wilhclm Hohcnzollern> New York, i927.

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up into a man of great power, he proved beyond all
doubt by his
behavior that he had never forgiven his mother.' 1

The response of a cautious scientist to figure i might
be (a)
1 1 do not know ' ; whereas the response of an

untrained person
is commonly an assertion of some kind, (b) ' This is
the expla-
nation ' (x or y in figure 2). A child is also
inclined^}' give s^ch
a response, not so much because he has not learned to
reason, but

figure 2

because he has not learned to curb articulation of his
thought, .
Piaget, in demonstrating the absence of self-criticism
in the pre-
logical reasonings of youth, neglected to point out
that children
lack the necessary facts for arriving at satisfactory
explanations.
What a child studied by the staff of the Rousseau
Institute does
not say and the trained scientist faced by a situation
of similar
complexity does say is this : ' I do not know.' The
child, much to
the satisfaction of the experimentalist, gives voice to
his intuitions ;
whereas the academic thinker, perhaps heedful of his
reputation,
seldom does. To comprehend an occurrence that is, to
make
a verbal picture of the interrelations of its parts one
requires a
vast amount of data. Without them, everything is
problematical.
The child is usually willing to communicate his
imaginative
flights often with a certain facetious whimsicality ,
whereas

i. FreucKS. New Introdtutory lectures on Psycho-
Analysis, New York, 19^.

the scientist is not. What distinguishes the child from the scientist, however, is not so much his irrationality because, as we have said, he has not enough data to be rational but his readiness, his naive, trusting, careless readiness, to guess in public and expose his ignorance to others. We know that the response of a trained imagination is often (c) ' I suggest this hypothesis ' (x or y in figure 2). It is advanced as a tentative proposal, a man-made theory subject to correction or abandonment. This form of statement may chill the souls of those who hanker for authority, leave indifferent those who seek salvation, make enemies of restless minds clamouring for assertive action, and yet none other is justified when the goal of truth is paramount. No mind reviewing it's past errors can be but humble before the sphinx-like face of nature. The history of science is a record of many momentous defeats and a few tentative victories. Fortunate it is that most of the errors are eventually interred and truth lives after.

Now, at every stage in the growth of a science there is, it seems, an appropriate balance between broad speculation and detailed measurement. For instance, in the infancy of a very complex science and surely psychology is young and complicated a few mastering generalizations can be more effective in advancing knowledge than a mass of carefully compiled data. For in the wake of intuition comes investigation directed at crucial problems rather than mere unenlightened fact-collecting.

Here we
may point to the undeniable enrichment of our
understanding
and the impetus to further studies which has come from
psycho-
analytic theory. In its present stage personology seems
to call for
men who can view things in the broad ; that is, who can
apper-
ceive occurrences in terms of the interplay of general
forces. A
man who has been trained in the exact sciences will
find himself
somewhat at a loss, if not at a disadvantage. He will
find it diffi-
cult to fall in with the loose flow of psychologic
thought. He will
find nothing 'that is hard and sharp. And so if he
continues to
hold rigidly to the scientific ideal, to cling to the
hope that the
results of his researches will approach in accuracy and
elegance
the formulations of the exact disciplines, he is doomed
to failure.

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He will end his days in the congregation of futile men,
of whom
the greater number, contractedly withdrawn from
critical issues,
measure trifles with sanctimonious precision. Perhaps
the best
course for such a man is to quit psychology for a
simpler, more
evolved and satisfying science physiology, let us say.
Nowadays,
to be happy and productive in psychology, it is better
not to be
too critical. For the profession of psychology is much
like living,
which has been defined by Samuel Butler as ' the art of
drawing
sufficient conclusions from insufficient premises/
Sufficient prem-
ises are not to be found, and he who, lacking them,

will not
draw tentative conclusions can not advance. The self-
analysis of
thought may end by crushing what it feeds upon,
imaginative
spontaneity. As Jung says of himself : * I have never
refused the
bitter-sweet drink of philosophical criticism, but have
taken it
with caution, a little at a time. All too little, my
opponents will
say ; almost too much my feeling tells me. All too
easily does self-
criticism poison one's naivete, that priceless
possession, or rather
gift, which no creative man can be without.' *

It is just as well that man has always had at least a
germ of
faith in his omnipotence and omniscognizance. For
without it the
first assertions and assumptions would never have been
made and,
lacking these, the sciences would not have flowered.
Though
science preaches the need for caution, logical analysis
and undis-
puted facts, it is much indebted to those who at the
start made
bold assumptions.

Our conclusion is that for the present the destiny of
personology
is best served by giving scope to speculation, perhaps
not so much
as psycho-analysts allow themselves, but plenty. Hence,
in the
present volume we have checked self-criticism, ignored
various
details, winked a little at statistics, and from first
to last have
never hesitated to offer interpretative hypotheses. Had
we made
a ritual of rigorous analysis nothing would have
filtered through
to write about. Speech is healthier than silence, even
though one
knows that what one says is vague and inconclusive.

It should be clearly understood, however, that every
interpre-
i. Jung, C.G Modern Man in Search of a Soul, New
York: 1934, 9.135.

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tative statement or conclusion in this volume is an
hypothesis or
theory which is ready to abdicate in the face of any
facts which
definitely contradict it. No theory has been set up as
'president
for life.' We have, however, generally avoided
qualifying phrases,
the prefacing of statements with ' it seems ' or ' it
appears, ' because
in a long book this practice makes for monotony and is
annoying
to many readers.

The Order of Procedures at the Harvard Psychological
Clinic

Personology, if it is ever developed, will rest upon an
organized
collection of facts pertaining relevantly to the long
course of
complex events from human conception to human death.
They
will be contained for the most part in case histories
based on
observations of behaviour in natural and experimental
situations,
together with the subject's memories and
introspections. The ques-
tions : what are facts ? how are they discovered ? and
how proved
to others ? will always be fundamental to the science.
But the
discipline will not advance until it is possible to
transform the
raw data of experience into adequate abstractions. Now,
as every
experimenter knows, the latter must be constructed
before the
facts are sought. Naturally, the facts will compel a

reformulation
of the concepts, but if we approach personality without
a tentative
theory, we shall neglect much that is relevant and
include much
that is not. Therefore, in the order of events at the
Clinic, the con-
ceptual scheme came first.

A. CONCEPTUAL SCHEME

The business of every science is the construction of a
conceptual
scheme, and since a conceptual scheme is, by
definition, a con-
densed abstract representation a short word-picture, a
reduced
map, a symbolic formulation of the actuality of
immediate
experience, its success depends upon the selection of a
proper
mode of analysis. Everything that is essential but
nothing that is
unessential to the structure of an event should be
included.
Naturally, opinions will differ as to which variables
should be
measured and which omitted. For the sake of thought,
communi-

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cation and action, an enormous amount of detail must be
put
aside as irrelevant, and, consequently, there is always
the danger
that something crucial has been disregarded. We must
remember
that our map is not the event itself. It is merely a
much reduced
and, at best, a very approximate mental reproduction of
it. If
possible, the scheme should be comprehensive, coherent,
necessary
and convenient.

The data out of which our original concepts emerged

were :

our own experiences, and the lives of others : patients treated at the Clinic, acquaintances, and characters in history and fiction.

We were largely guided in the construction of our generalizations by the theories of Freud and McDougall, as well as those of Jung, Rank, Adler, Lewin and others. The problem, of course, was one of discriminative abstraction, that is, it was necessary to analyse out of a subject-object interaction those factors in the subject and in the object which influenced the course of events. As will be shown in the next chapter, we came down to a theory of directional forces within the subject, forces which seek out or respond to various objects or total situations in the environment. These are commonly termed instincts, or part-instincts by the Freudians, and were so termed by McDougall in his earlier writings. The latter now calls them propensities. Though the Freudians mention only two instincts explicitly, sex and aggression, in their explanations of behavioural phenomena, they refer to numerous other forces which, some think, might just as well be called instinctive : passivity, anxiety and avoidance, masochism, exhibitionism, voyeurism, and so forth. Though the naming and defining of these tendencies actually constitute a primitive classification, the Freudians do not speak of it as such. They are averse sometimes with good reason to defining terms or to building up their constructs systematically. In the beginning of a science this is perhaps the best course to pursue, but now, it seems to us, the time has come

for a more orderly approach. In this we have followed McDougall who, in his classification of propensities, included most of the drives which the Freudians have enumerated.

Now, besides the variables defined as driving forces, we dis-

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inguished others, which may be variously described as dimensions, functions, vectors, modes, or traits of personality. Here we leaned heavily on Jung, Stern, G. W. Allport and a host of psychologists who have tried their hand at characterological description.

Then, since we were concerned with the genesis and history of tendencies and sentiments, we had to distinguish various modes of development ; processes of maturation, learning and socialization. In doing this we were guided by the principles of conditioning, association and organization worked out by Pavlov and the gestalt psychologists, and by such psychoanalytic concepts as fixation, substitution, compensation, sublimation and regression.

In summary, then, it may be said that our variables of personality consisted of a miscellany of general attributes, driving forces, relations between these forces and developmental modes. Each variable was defined to the satisfaction of all experimenters and a large number of concrete examples of its activity assembled to

serve as guides for diagnosis. It was assumed that the degree of intensity of each variable could be marked on a ' zero to five ' scale. With our first group of subjects we had but ten variables ; with our last we had over forty. In defining them and building up our theory of the total personality, we attempted to proceed systematically according to certain principles. 1 A systematic, objective, and perhaps tediously thorough approach seemed advisable, because the ex cathedra method commonly adopted would have accentuated, if anything, the differences and confusions which now prevail among personologists.

B. METHODOLOGICAL PLAN

A series of sessions interviews, tests and experimental procedures was devised to bring into prominence various aspects of personality, particularly those covered by the personality vari-

i. In working out our method of approach we were greatly influenced by Professor L.J.Henderson of Harvard who insisted upon a serious study of Pareto (Pareto, V., 'the Mind and Society, New York, 193 5).

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ables. We employed whatever appropriate mechanical aids could be devised : speech-recording apparatus, galvanometer for measuring changes in skin resistance, tremor-recording apparatus, instrument for measuring sensorimotor learning, moving picture camera, and so forth ; but we did not believe that the use of

instruments was, in itself, a mark of scientific worth.

Some psychologists have an almost religious attachment to physical apparatus taken over from the fundamental disciplines : physics, chemistry and physiology. Working with such contrivances they have the ' feel ' of being purely scientific, and thus dignified. Sometimes this is nothing but a groundless fantasy, since what has made these methods scientific is the fact that applied to other objects they have yielded answers to important questions. It is dubious whether many crucial problems in psychology can be solved by instruments. Certainly if physical appliances do not give results which lead to conceptual understanding, it is not scientific to employ them. For the all-important characteristic of a good scientific method is its efficacy in revealing general truths.

We tried to design methods appropriate to the variables which we wished to measure ; in case of doubt, choosing those that crudely revealed significant things rather than those that precisely revealed insignificant things. Nothing can be more important than an understanding of man's nature, and if the techniques of other sciences do not bring us to it, then so much the worse for them.

Our procedures are precisely described in Chapter VI. At this point it is enough to list the few general principles that our experience invited us to adopt.

1. Each subject should be exposed to many varied

situations.

This is basic. It rests upon the attested supposition that a person has almost as many * sides' as there are different situations to which he is exposed.

2. Each subject should be observed and independently diagnosed by many different types of men and women. This follows

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from the preceding principle : first, because one man has not the time to carry out all the necessary examinations, and second, because to vary conditions sufficiently one must vary the experimenter. There are also other reasons, the chief of which is the desirability of having many estimates and judgments of each subject. In no other way can an experimenter check his own interpretations. In our work we relied not only upon many judgments, but also upon the weighted judgments of the more experienced members of the staff.

3. Experience has taught us not only the necessity for varied sessions and a multiplicity of investigators, but also the necessity for experience in diagnosis. The experimenters, therefore, should be wisely selected and properly trained. The psychologist is and will always be the final judge of all questions pertaining to personality. No fine instrument can replace him. Therefore, as far as he is able, he must himself become an instrument of precision. Now, since in any group of experimenters there will

always be
some who have greater aptitude or who are more
experienced
than others, it is advisable to establish a diagnostic
hierarchy. By
weighting the opinions of the more competent, one gets
the full
benefit of superior judgments as well as of many
judgments. The
problem of diagnosis of how the experimenter can get
beyond
his own sentiments and approximate what is ideally the
true judg-
ment -is, of course, one of the central problems of
psychological
procedure. It is a topic which we shall take up later
in a special
section. At present, we shall merely call attention to
the principle
of weighted judgments as a contribution to methodology.

4. The experimental sessions should be as life-like as possible.
This is important because the purpose of personological studies is
to discover how a man reacts under the stress of common con-
ditions. To know how he responds to a unique, unnatural labora-
tory situation is of minor interest.

5. The subject's mind should be diverted from the true pur-
pose of an experiment. This is usually accomplished by announc-
ing a plausible but fictitious objective. If a subject recognizes the

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experimenter's aim, his responses will be modified by other mo-
tives : for instance, by the desire to conceal the very
thing which
the experimenter wishes to observe.

6. One or more experiments should be observed by a

second,
concealed experimenter. In this way the reports of
experimenters
may be checked from time to time.

7. After some of the sessions, subjects should be asked
to give
a verbal or written report of their view of the
experience : their
impressions of the experimenter, their inner,
unexpressed feelings,
and so forth.

8. Each experimenter should attempt a hypothetical
interpre-
tation of the behaviour of each subject. The tentative
character of
such inferences should be recognized.

C. SESSIONS

A group of about thirteen subjects were engaged to come
to the
Clinic three or four hours a week over a period of
several months.

[The first group of subjects was asked to come much
more fre-
quently than this and the entire period of examination
lasted less
than two weeks.] The subjects were examined
individually. With
the last group of subjects about two dozen procedures
were used,
each procedure consisting of one or two sessions of one
hour's
duration. The entire program of sessions amounted to
about
thirty-five hours. Each subject underwent all the
sessions and in
the same sequence. Twenty-four experimenters took part
in these
examinations ; each of whom recorded his observations,
his mark-
ings on each variable and his hypothetical
interpretations of every
subject. These conclusions, independently arrived at,
were later
brought together for comparison with the judgments of
all the

other experimenters.

Use was also made of a number of specially devised, comprehensive questionnaires, or reaction-studies, from which were obtained marks for every subject on every variable, based, in this instance, on his own reports of his usual behaviour in everyday life. In addition, each subject was asked to write a short autobiography.

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D. DIAGNOSTIC MEETINGS

Five of the more experienced experimenters were selected to constitute a Diagnostic Council. This Council conducted a conference with each subject, the conference being the first in the sequence of sessions to which the subject was exposed. Thus, at the very outset, the members of the Council received an impression of the subject and were able to assign tentative marks on each variable. Subsequently, the Council held meetings to hear and discuss reports presented by other experimenters and, on the basis of these, revised, when necessary, their original markings and interpretations.

E. FINAL MEETING

At the end of all the examinations, a meeting, usually lasting five or six hours, was held on each subject. At this meeting each experimenter read a report of his session with the subject. A specially appointed ' biographer ' conducted the

meeting. He opened with a short summary of the findings, made comments on each report and concluded with a psychograph, or reconstruction of the subject's personality from birth. After the psychograph was read, there was general discussion and, at the end, the markings of the subject on each variable were discussed and finally established by majority vote.

F. STATISTICAL ANALYSIS

Many of the tests were susceptible of quantitative treatment, and so rank orders of the subjects could be obtained and inter-correlated. Rank orders on each of the personality variables, based on ratings by the staff as well as on the results of questionnaires, were likewise intercorrelated. Finally, the test results and the personality variables were intercorrelated. In this way there was an opportunity of discovering what variables were commonly or rarely found together and what variables were potent in determining the outcome of each test. Furthermore, correlations of variables gave a ground for dropping some and compounding

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others. In the mathematical treatment of results, we relied chiefly upon Allport and Vernon whose treatise, *The Measurement of Expressive Movements*, is a model of its kind.

The statistical analysis of the variables finally retained demonstrated that certain of them intercorrelated repeatedly

to a significant degree. Most of these clusters seemed to correspond to our observations of people in everyday life. Hence, we concluded that they might be regarded as syndromes of functionally related factors which, for economy, could be used instead of the separate variables to portray a character. Our results showed, furthermore, that a variable may be an item in several different syndromes, and that its nature is modified by the character of the ensemble of associated variables in which it is found. 1

G. THEORETICAL DISCUSSIONS

The experience of the experimenters in classifying the subjects' behaviour and of the biographers in reconstructing comprehensible life histories provided a basis for estimating the validity of the conceptual scheme originally devised. The question was asked : did this or that subject display any characteristic not adequately covered by one or more of the variables ? If so, what is the psychological significance of this characteristic ; on what underlying processes does it depend ; and how should these processes be defined ? In discussing such questions the inadequacies and inadequacies of the scheme became more apparent. A verification of the scheme was found in its general success. Invariably, there were revisions and redefinitions of the variables and of the dynamic principles determining their operation. Thus, with a new theoretical outline and a new program of sessions, the staff of the Clinic was ready to engage another group of subjects, to carry

out again the entire sequence of events.

This order of procedures repeated several times may be termed
' the method of successive approximations.' The theory
which is
evolved is the product of an assemblage of minds on the
field of

i. The chapter on the intercorrelation of variables and
syndromes had to be
omitted from this volume.

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action. It bears marks of its empirical derivation, but
it has the
advantage of being agreed upon by many different judges
before
being presented as a workable conception.

Our Methods Compared to those of Psycho-analysis and
Academic
Personology

The techniques employed in the present exploration
resemble
in some respects those developed by psycho-analysis and
in others
those devised by personologists in universities. But,
because of our
emphasis upon inhibited or unconscious tendencies as
well as our
persistent attempt to trace things back to infantile
experiences,
our work was more closely allied to the concerns of
analysts.

We differ from psycho-analysis in respect to the length
and
depth of our explorations. Most psycho-analyses take
about two
hundred hours, and some take much longer, up to three
or four
years. With us, however, a subject participates in but
thirty-five
one-hour sessions, of which only about five are devoted

to the recovery of past experiences. Thus in the same period of time we examine about six times as many subjects, but the analyst obtains about six times as much data from each, and because of his close and prolonged personal relationship with the patient he has revealed to him more of the * depths ' of personality. Here, however, it may be said that the length of the analyses is dictated by therapeutic considerations ; that as far as understanding is concerned they are usually carried beyond the point of diminishing returns. Nevertheless, it must be admitted that the psycho-analytic technique is superior to ours in respect to the amount of evidence obtained.

The advantages of our procedure, however, are not negligible :

i. The collaboration of many experimenters who contribute their observations and take part in the final reconstruction of each subject's personality does not permit a one-sided viewpoint. A subject displays different facets of his personality to different experimenters, and despite what most analysts say to the contrary, it is for them to disprove what much evidence seems to show, namely, that the personality of the analyst determines

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to an appreciable extent the attitude that the patient assumes, the course of his free associations, and thus the final diagnosis which is made. Here, we may include the advantage of

expos-
ing a person to a large number of very different
situations.

2. In our theoretical scheme, as well as in our
methodological
approach, we paid more attention to the manifest
personality
than psycho-analysts are prone to do. Moreover, we had
a
better opportunity of judging overt social conduct and
demon-
strable abilities. Thus, the total personality
including the
relation between the conscious and the unconscious, the
mani-
fest and the latent could be seen with greater
definition. A
psycho-analytic case history seldom portrays the
patient as an
imaginable social animal. Even in describing normal
people
the psycho-analysts put emphasis upon the aberrant or
neurotic
features, because these are the things which the
practice of
their calling has trained them to observe. It is as if
in giving
an account of the United States a man wrote at length
about
accidents, epidemics, crime, prostitution, insurgent
minorities,
radical literary coteries and obscure religious sects
and made no
mention of established institutions : the President,
Congress
and the Supreme Court.

3. The fact that we studied a series of individuals
small though
it was gave us a basis for estimating individual
differences,
the normal range of each variable, what variables
commonly
occurred together, what variables were influential in
deter-
mining the outcome of each test, and so forth. Such
statistical
results are certainly of some value in establishing

common tendencies and syndromes and in arriving at general principles.

4. By our procedure there was opportunity to test certain hypotheses under experimental conditions ; and unless one is prepared to throw aside what cumulative experience has shown to be the most effective instrument for arriving at relative certainty, it must be conceded that this is a decided advantage. Most psycho-analysts, by temperament and training, are unsympathetic or opposed to experimental research.

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With us the concepts were considered hypothetical and tentative, and every session was taken as an opportunity to correct or verify them. Thus, the entire organized procedure may be regarded as an experiment to test the ability of the constructed theory to classify and causally relate the facts.

Now that these differences have been pointed out, it should be said that, although we find something to criticize in psycho-analysis, we are not unmindful of the fact that from the start it has been our most constant guide and source of illumination. Without it these studies would never have been planned or finished.

From academic psychology particularly, as said above, from the work of G. W. Allport we learned much in respect to an orderly method of procedure and a proper statistical

treatment of
our findings. We included some of the procedures
commonly
employed in academic studies : intelligence tests and a
variety of
questionnaires ; but these contributed very little to
our under-
standing. American personologists base their
conclusions on a
much larger number of subjects than we studied, and in
this
respect their findings are more representative than
ours. What
they usually study, however, are the physical
attributes of move-
ment, manifest traits and superficial attitudes, facts
which sub-
jects are entirely conscious of and quite willing to
admit. Thus,
their researches do not penetrate below the level of
what is evi-
dent to the ordinary layman. To discover the traits of
subjects,
confidence is placed upon self-estimates or upon what a
few un-
trained judges say about them. The original data, then,
are of
uncertain value, and no amount of factor analysis can
make them
more reliable. Furthermore, since these students of
personality are
apt to ignore the past history of their subjects, their
final formula-
tions are generally too static. To fully understand a
trait one must
know its genesis and history.

In short, then, we might say that our work is the
natural child
of the deep, significant, metaphorical, provocative and
question-
able speculations of psycho-analysis and the precise,
systematic,

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statistical, trivial and artificial methods of academic

personology.

Our hope is that we have inherited more of the virtues than the vices of our parents.

The Future Prospect

As we approached the end of our exploring, innumerable ideas came bubbling up to plague us, ideas of further searches, experiments and tests which should be done in order to settle some tantalizing problem or get a clearer view of certain personalities.

If we had been in touch with a medical clinic or a physiological laboratory, where, let us say, examinations could have been made of the cardiac, gastro-intestinal or endocrine systems of our subjects ; or if we had had with us a sociologist to make detailed studies of the families and communities from which the subjects came, then, surely, many things which now are dubious would be less so. Numerous experiments of different kinds occurred to us as profitable ventures, and it was galling to realize that none of them was possible. We were definitely limited by lack of time, space, number of trained experimenters and apparatus. We came to view our work as a mere point of departure and the Clinic as an anlage of some future institute where more exhaustive studies could be made. Such an institute might eventually bring about a unification of the various schools of psychology and thus lead to a state of affairs such as now prevails in medicine, where all are working within a common scheme.

Reasons could be readily advanced for such studies besides the

essential ones that knowledge is per se a final good and that man is of all objects the most inviting. There are many who believe that an understanding of human nature is the great requirement of this age ; that modern man is ' up against it,' confused, dissatisfied, despairing and ready to regress ; that what he needs is the power to change and redirect himself and others ; and that the possession of this special power can only be won through knowledge. If it is true, as some reasonable men affirm, that culture the best of man's high heritage is in jeopardy, and that to save and further it man, its creator and conserver, must be

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changed regenerated or developed differently from birth then the immediate requisite is a science of human nature.

To study human nature patiently, to arrive at understanding, to gain some mastery ; there would be little hope in the enterprise if it were not for the history of science, the steady, unassertive, conquering pace of disinterested observation, experiment and reflection. Three centuries ago did the fancy of the most imaginative men foresee the miracles of thought and technics that would mark the way of science ? Absorbing this tradition, man may now explore his soul and observe the conduct of his fellows, dispassionate to the limit, yet ever animated by the faith that gaining mastery through knowledge he may eventually surmount himself.

Chapter II
PROPOSALS FOR A THEORY OF PERSONALITY

H. A. MURRAY

IT is now necessary to set forth the conceptual scheme which guided our explorations. It is not a rigid system that was instituted in the beginning and maintained throughout. It has been repeatedly modified to accord with observed facts, and is still evolving. Hence, we can do no more than take a snapshot of it in mid-career, and offer this as a tentative make-shift for orienting thought and directing practical action. The reader will observe that the scheme is the outcome of a prejudice in favour of the dynamical, organismal viewpoint. It is, if he chooses to so regard it, a rationalized elaboration of the perception that a human being is a motile, discriminating, valuating, assimilating, adapting, integrating, differentiating and reproducing temporal unity within a changing environmental matrix.

Since psychology deals only with motion processes occurring in time none of its proper formulations can be static. They all must be dynamic in the larger meaning of this term. Within recent years, however, 'dynamic' has come to be used in a special sense : to designate a psychology which accepts as prevailingly fundamental the goal-directed (adaptive) character of behaviour and attempts to discover and formulate the internal as well as the external factors which determine it. In so far as this

psychology emphasizes facts which for a long time have been and still are generally overlooked by academic investigators, it represents a protest against current scientific preoccupations. And since the occurrences which the specialized professor has omitted in his scheme of things are the very ones which the laity believe to be 'most truly psychological,' the dynamicist must first perform the tedious and uninviting task of reiterating common sense. Thus he comes on the stage in the guise of a protesting and perhaps somewhat sentimental amateur.

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The history of dynamic organismal psychology is a long one if one takes into account all speculations that refer to impelling forces, passions, appetites or instincts. But only lately have attempts been made to bring such conceptions systematically within the domain of science. We discover tentative signs in the functionalism of Dewey and Angell with its emphasis upon the organization of means with reference to a comprehensive end, in Ach's 'determining tendency,' and in James's notion of instinct, but not until we come to McDougall ! do we find a conscientious attempt to develop the dynamic hypothesis. Since then, some of the animal psychologists, notably Tolman, 2 and Stone, 3 have worked with an objectively defined 'drive' which is strictly in accord with dynamical principles, and Lewin, 4 representing

the gestalt school of psychology, has made * need ' basic to his system of personality. But the theory of drive or need has not been systematically developed by the latter investigators, their interest in external determinants of behaviour being predominant.

Outside the universities, the medical psychologists and here we may, without serious omissions, start with Freud 5 have for five decades been constructing a quintessentially dynamic theory. For this theory the academic psychologists, with the exception of McDougall, found themselves entirely unprepared. The psycho-analysts not only presented facts which had never entered the academic man's field of observation or thought, but they used a novel nomenclature to designate certain obscure forces which they thought it necessary to conceptualize in order to account for their findings. McDougall and the analysts have been kept apart by numerous differences, but in respect to their fundamental dynamical assumptions they belong together.

1. McDougall, W. Introduction to Social Psychology, London, 1908 ; Outline of Psychology, New York, 1923.
2. Tolman, E.C. Purposive Behaviour in Animals and Men, New York, 1932.
3. Stone, C.P. Sexual Drive. Chapter XVIII, in Sex and Internal Secretions, ed. by Edgar Allen, Baltimore, 1932.
4. Lewin, K. A Dynamic Theory of Personality, New York, 1935.
5. Freud, S. Collected Papers (4 vols.), International Psycho-analytical Library,

London, 1924-25 ; A General Introduction to Psycho-analysis, New York, 1920 ;
New Introductory lectures on Psycho-analysis, New York, 1933.

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The theory to be outlined here is an attempt at a dynamic scheme. It has been guided partly by the analysts (Freud, Jung, Adler²), partly by McDougall and by Lewin, and partly by our subjects whose actions so frequently corrected our preconceptions. As I have said, the theory is vague and incomplete. At many points it does scant justice to the precisely stated conceptions of other psychologists, even those with whom we find ourselves in substantial agreement. Compared to analytical speculations some of Jung's intuitions, for example it is limited and superficial. The truth is that we have taken from our predecessors only what could be used with profit in the present study.

This book is not a theoretical treatise and there is not the space for a thorough presentation of our concepts. It is only possible to state the principal assumptions and enumerate in the briefest manner the steps that led us to adopt the theory which served us as a plan of action. And in order to get over the ground of fundamentals with as little circumlocution as possible, it has seemed best to crystallize the broad facts of observation, as they have appeared to us, into a set of general postulates or propositions. It will be seen that some of these are mere commonplaces, others

are cloudy, hardly verifiable generalities, still others are highly problematical and call for refutation or further study. The reader should not be deceived by the dogmatic form of statement. Each proposition is provisional. It is asserted flatly so that it may more readily be checked or contradicted.

A. PRIMARY PROPOSITIONS

1. THE objects of study are individual organisms, not aggregates of organisms.

2. The organism is from the beginning a whole, from which the parts are derived by self-differentiation. The whole and its parts are mutually related ; the whole being as essential to an

1. Jung.C.G. Psychology of the Unconscious *
London, 1919 ; Psychological 'types',
London, 1924.

2. Adler, A. The Neurotic Constitution, New York, 1921
; The Practice and Theory
of Individual Psychology, New York, 1924.

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understanding of the parts as the parts are to an understanding of the whole. (This is a statement of the organismal theory. 1)
Theoretically it should be possible to formulate for any moment the ' wholeness ' of an organism ; or, in other words, to state in what respect it is acting as a unit.

3. The organism is characterized from the beginning by rhythms of activity and rest, which are largely determined by internal

factors. The organism is not an inert body that merely re-
sponds to external stimulation. Hence the psychologist must
study and find a way of representing the changing *
states '
of the organism.

4. The organism consists of an infinitely complex
series of tem-
porally related activities extending from birth to
death. Be-
cause of the meaningful connection of sequences the
life cycle
of a single individual should be taken as a unit, the
long unit
for psychology. It is feasible to study the organism
during one
episode of its existence, but it should be recognized
that this is
but an arbitrarily selected part of the whole. The
history of the
organism is the organism. This proposition calls for
biograph-
ical studies.

5. Since, at every moment, an organism is within an
environment
which largely determines its behaviour, and since the
environ-
ment changes sometimes with radical abruptness the con-
duct of an individual cannot be formulated without a
charac-
terization of each confronting situation, physical and
social.
It is important to define the environment since two
organisms
may behave differently only because they are, by
chance, en-
countering different conditions. It is considered that
two organ-
isms are dissimilar if they give the same response but
only to
different situations as well as if they give different
responses
to the same situation. Also, different inner states of
the same
organism can be inferred when responses to similar
external

i. Here the wording has been taken from E.S.Russell (Form and Function, London, 1916 ; the Interpretation of Development and Heredity, Oxford, 1930) who has stated most admirably the organismal viewpoint elaborated by W.E.Rittcr (The Unity of the Organism, Boston, 1919) and others.

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conditions are different. Finally, the assimilations and integrations that occur in an organism are determined to a large extent by the nature of its closely previous, as well as by its more distantly previous, environments. In other words, what an organism knows or believes is, in some measure, a product of formerly encountered situations. Thus, much of what is now inside the organism was once outside. For these reasons, the organism and its milieu must be considered together, a single creature-environment interaction being a convenient short unit for psychology. A long unit an individual life can be most clearly formulated as a succession of related short units, or episodes.

6. The stimulus situation (S.S.) is that part of the total environment to which the creature attends and reacts. It can rarely be described significantly as an aggregate of discrete sense impressions. The organism usually responds to patterned meaningful wholes, as the gestalt school of psychology has emphasized.

The effect on a man of a series of unorganized verbal sounds or of language that he does not understand is very different from the effect of words organized into meaningful sentences that he does understand (or thinks he understands). It is the meaning of the words which has potency, rather than the physical sounds per se. This is proved by the fact that the same effect can be produced by quite different sounds : by another tongue that is understood by the subject.

In crudely formulating an episode it is dynamically pertinent and convenient to classify the S.S. according to the kind of effect facilitating or obstructing it is exerting or could exert upon the organism. Such a tendency or ' potency ' in the environment may be called a press (vide p. 115). For example, a press may be nourishing, or coercing, or injuring, or chilling, or befriending, or restraining, or amusing or belittling to the organism. It can be said that a press is a temporal gestalt of stimuli which usually appears in the guise of a threat of

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harm or promise of benefit to the organism. It seems that organisms quite naturally * classify' the objects of their world in this way : *' this hurts/ * that is sweet,' ' this comforts,' * that lacks support. 1

7. The reactions of the organism to its environment usually ex-

hibit a unitary trend. This is the necessary concomitant of behavioural co-ordination, since co-ordination implies organization of activity in a certain direction, that is, towards the achievement of an effect, one or more. Without organization there can be no unified trends, and without unified trends there can be no effects, and without effects there can be no enduring organism. Divided it perishes, united it survives. The existence of organisms depends upon the fact that the vast majority of trends are 'adaptive': they serve to restore an equilibrium that has been disturbed, or to avoid an injury, or to attain objects which are of benefit to development. Thus, much of overt behaviour is, like the activity of the internal organs, survivalistically purposeful.

8. A specimen of adaptive behaviour can be analysed into the bodily movements as such and the effect achieved by these movements. We have found it convenient to use a special term, actone, to describe a pattern of bodily movements per se, abstracted from its effect. To produce an effect which furthers the well-being of the organism a consecutive series of sub-effects must usually be achieved, each sub-effect being due to the operation of a relatively simple actone. Thus, simple actones and their sub-effects are connected in such a way that a certain trend is promoted. It is the trend which exhibits the unity of the organism. The unity is not an instantaneous fact for it may only be discovered by observing

the
progress of action over a period of time. The trend is
achieved
*by the bodily processes, but it cannot be
distinguished by
studying the bodily processes in isolation.

This proposition belongs to the organismal theory of
reality.
It is in disagreement with the common practice of
studying
a fraction of the organism's response and neglecting
the trend

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of which it is a part. One who limits himself to the
observa-
tion of the bodily movements, as such, resembles the
sufferer
from semantic aphasia. *

In semantic aphasia, the full significance of words and
phrases is
lost. Separately, each word or each detail of a drawing
can be un-
derstood, but the general significance escapes ; an act
is executed
upon command, though the purpose of it is not
understood. Read-
ing and writing are possible as well as numeration, the
correct use
of numbers ; but the appreciation of arithmetical
processes is de-
fective. . . A general conception cannot be formulated,
but de-
tails can be enumerated. (Henri Pieron) *

9. A behavioural trend may be attributed to a
hypothetical force
(a drive, need or propensity) within the organism.
The
proper way of conceptualizing this force is a matter of
debate.
It seems that it is a force which (if uninhibited)
promotes
activity which (if competent) brings about a situation

that
is opposite (as regards its relevant properties) to
the one that
aroused it. Frequently, an innumerable number of sub-
needs
(producing sub-effects) are temporally organized so
as to
promote the course of a major need. [The concept of
need
or drive will be more fully developed later.]

10. Though the organism frequently seeks for a certain
press
in which case the press is, for a time, expectantly
imaged
more frequently the press meets the organism and
incites
a drive. Thus, the simplest formula for a period of
complex
behaviour is a particular press-need combination. Such
a com-
bination may be called a thema. 2 A thema may be
defined
as the dynamical structure of a simple episode, a
single
creature-environment interaction. In other words, the
en-
durance of a certain kind of press in conjunction with
a cer-
tain kind of need defines the duration of a single
episode, the
latter being a convenient molar unit for psychology to
handle.
Simple episodes (each with a simple thema) may
relatedly
succeed each other to constitute a complex episode (
with its

1. Quoted from Korzybski, Alfred. Science and Sanity.
Lancaster, Penn. 1933, p. 19.

2. I am indebted to Mrs. Eleanor C. Jones for this term.

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complex thema). The biography of a man may be
portrayed

abstractly as an historic route of themes (cf. a musical score) . Since there are a limited number of important drives and a limited number of important press, there are a greater (but still limited) number of important themes. Just as chemists now find it scientifically profitable to describe a hundred thousand or more organic compounds, psychologists some day may be inclined to observe and formulate the more important behavioural compounds.

11. Each drive reaction to a press has a fortune that may be measured in degrees of realization (' gratification ') . Whether an episode terminates in gratification or frustration (success or failure) is often decisive in determining the direction of an organism's development. Success and failure are also of major importance in establishing the ' status ' of an organism in its community.

12. In the organism the passage of time is marked by rhythms of assimilation, differentiation and integration. The environment changes. Success and failure produce their effects. There is learning and there is maturation. Thus new and previously precluded combinations come into being, and with the perishing of each moment the organism is left a different creature, never to repeat itself exactly. No moment nor epoch is typical of the whole. Life is an irreversible sequence of non-identical events. Some of these changes, however, occur in a predictable lawful manner. There are orderly rhythms and progressions

which are functions of the seasons, of age, of sex, of established cultural practices, and so forth. There is the 'eternal return' ('spiral evolution'). These phenomena make biography imperative.

13. Though the psychologist is unable to find identities among * the episodes of an organism's life, he can perceive uniformities.

For an individual displays a tendency to react in a similar way to similar situations, and increasingly so with age. Thus there is sameness (consistency) as well as change (variability), and because of it an organism may be roughly de-

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picted by listing the most recurrent themes, or, with more abstraction, by listing the most recurrent drives or traits.

14. Repetitions and consistencies are due in part to the fact that impressions of situations leave enduring * traces ' (a concept for an hypothetical process) in the organism, which may be reactivated by the appearance of situations that resemble them ; and because of the connections of these evoked traces with particular reaction systems, the organism is apt to re- spond to new situations as it did to former ones (redintegra- tion). Some of the past is always alive in the present. For this reason the study of infancy is particularly important. The ex- periences of early life not only constitute in

themselves a significant temporal segment of the creature's history, but they may exercise a marked effect upon the course of development. In some measure they ' explain ' succeeding events. [*
The child is father to the man.' J

15. The progressive differentiations and integrations that occur with age and experience are, for the most part, refinements in stimulus discrimination and press discrimination and improvements in actonal effectiveness. Specific signs become connected with specific modes of conduct, and certain aptitudes (abilities) are developed. This is important because the fortune of drives, and thus the status of the individual, is dependent in large measure upon the learning of differentiated skills.

In early life the sequences of movement are mostly unrelated. Trends are not persistent and disco-ordination is the rule. Opposing drives and attitudes succeed each other without apparent friction. With age, however, conflict comes and after conflict resolution, synthesis and creative integration. (' Life is creation/ Claude Bernard) Action patterns are coordinated, enduring purposes arise and values are made to harmonize. Thus, the history of dilemmas and how, if ever, they were solved are matters of importance for psychology.

16. Since in the higher forms of life the impressions from the external world and from the body that are responsible for

conditioning and memory are perceived, integrated and conserved in the brain, and since all complex adaptive behaviour is evidently co-ordinated by excitations in the brain, the unity of the organism's development and behaviour can be explained only by referring to organizations occurring in this region. It is brain processes, rather than those in the rest of the body, which are of special interest to the psychologist. At present, they cannot be directly and objectively recorded but they must be inferred in order to account for what happens. A need or drive is just one of these hypothetical processes. Since, by definition, it is a process which follows a stimulus and precedes the actonal response, it must be located in the brain.

[7. It may prove convenient to refer to the mutually

processes that constitute dominant configurations in the brain as regnant processes; and, further, to designate the totality of such processes occurring during a single moment (a unitary temporal segment of brain processes) as a regnancy. 1 According to this conception regnancies correspond to the processes of highest metabolic rate in the gradient which Child 2 has described in lower organisms. It may be considered that regnancies are functionally at the summit of a hierarchy of sub-

regnancies in the body. Thus, to a certain extent the regnant need dominates the organism.

The activities of the nerve-cells and muscle-cells are necessary conditions of the whole action, but they are not in any full sense its cause. They enable the action to be carried out, and they limit at the same time the possibilities of the action. . . . Putting the matter in another way, a knowledge of the nature of muscular and nervous action would not enable us fully to interpret behaviour. 8

We distinguished in general the modes of action of higher and

lower unities from the mode of action of the organism as a

whole down to the modes of action of those parts of the cell which,

like the chromosomes, show a certain measure of independence and

i . The term 'regnancy' was suggested to me by Mrs. Eleanor C. Jones.

2. Child, C.M. Senescence and Rejuvenescence ', Chicago. igis.

3. Russell, E.S. The Interpretation of Development and Heredity, Oxford '.1930, p. 186.

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individuality. We came to the conclusion that the modes of action of the subordinate unities condition, both in a positive and a negative sense, the modes of action of the higher unities. Being inte-

grated into the activity of the whole they render possible the vital manifestation of these activities by imposing on them a particular form. 1

Occurrences in the external world or in the body that have no effect upon regnancies do not fall within the proper domain of psychology.

18. Regnant processes are, without doubt, mutually dependent. A change in one function changes all the others and these, in turn, modify the first. Hence, events must be interpreted in terms of the many interacting forces and their relations, not ascribed to single causes. And since the parts of a person cannot be dissected physically from each other, and since they act together, ideally they should all be estimated simultaneously. This, unfortunately, is not at present possible. Much of what has been discovered by other methods at other times has to be inferred.

19. According to one version of the double aspect theory seemingly the most fruitful working hypothesis for a psychologist the constituents of regnancies in man are capable of achieving consciousness (self-consciousness) though not all of them at once. The amount of introspective self-consciousness is a function of age, emotional state, attitude, type of personality, and so forth. Since through speech a person may learn to describe and communicate his impression of mental occurrences (the subjective aspect of regnant events)

he can,
if he wishes, impart considerable information about the
proc-
esses which the psychologist attempts to conceptualize.

20. During a single moment only some of the regnant
processes
have the attribute of consciousness. Hence, to explain
fully
a conscious event as well as a behavioural event the
psycholo-
gist must take account of more variables than were
present

i. Russell, K.S. The Interpretation of Development and
Heredity, Oxford 1930,
p. 280.

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in consciousness at the time. Consequently, looking at
the
matter from the viewpoint of introspective awareness,
it is
necessary to postulate unconscious regnant processes.
An un-
conscious process is something that must be
conceptualized as
regnant even though the S * is unable to report its
occurrence.

21. It seems that it is more convenient at present in
formulating
regnant processes to use a terminology derived from
subjective
experience. None of the available physico-chemical
concepts
are adequate. It should be understood, however, that
every
psychological term refers to some hypothetical, though
hardly
imaginable, physical variable, or to some combination
of such
variables. Perhaps some day the physiologists will
discover the
physical nature of regnant processes and the proper way
to

conceptualize them ; but this achievement is not something to be expected in the near future since an adequate formula-
tion must include all major subjective experiences : expectations, intentions, creative thought and so forth. Tolman, 2
however, has already shown that many of the necessary variables can be operationally defined in terms of overt behavioural indices.

It is not only more convenient and fruitful at present to use subjective terminology (perception, apperception, imagination, emotion, affection, intellection, conation), but even if in the future it becomes expedient for science to use another consonant terminology it will not be possible to dispense with terms that have subjective significance ; for these constitute data of primary importance to most human beings. The need to describe and explain varieties of inner experience decided the original, and, I predict, will establish the final orientation of psychology.

22. One may suppose that regnancies vary in respect to the number, relevance and organization of the processes involved, and that, as Janet supposes, a certain amount of integrative

1. Throughout this book 'S*' will be used to stand for 'subject*' (the organism of our concern) and ' E ' will signify ' experimenter ' (physician or observer).

2. Tolman.E.C. Purposive Behaviour in Animals and Men, New York,i932.

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energy or force is required to unify the different parts. Regnancies become disjunctive in fatigue, reverie and sleep, as well as during conflict, violent emotion and insanity. The chief indices of differentiated conjunctive regnancies are these : alertness, nicety of perceptual and apperceptual discrimination, long endurance of a trend of complex action, increasingly effective changes of actone, rapidity of learning, coherence, relevance and concentration of thought, absence of conflict, introspective awareness and self-criticism.

23. Because of the position of regnancies at the summit of the hierarchy of controlling centres in the body, and because of certain institutions established in the brain which influence the regnancies, the latter (constituting as they do the personality) must be distinguished from the rest of the body. The rest of the body is as much outside the personality as the environment is outside personality. Thus, we may study the effects of illness, drugs, endocrine activity and other somatic changes upon the personality in the same fashion as we study the changes produced by hot climate, strict discipline or warfare. In this sense, regnant processes stand between an inner and an outer personality.

24. There is continuous interaction between regnancies and other processes in the body. For the chemical constitution of

the
blood and lymph, as well as a great variety of
centripetal
nervous impulses originating in the viscera, have a
marked
effect on personality. Indeed, they may change it
almost com-
pletely. The personality, in turn, can affect the body
by ex-
citing or inhibiting skeletal muscles, or through the
power
of evoked traces (images) can excite the autonomic
nervous
system and thereby modify the physiology of organs (cf.
autonomic neuroses). The personality can also vary the
diet
it gives the body, it can train it to stand long
periods of in-
tense exercise, drive it to a point of utter
exhaustion, indulge
it with ease and allow it to accumulate pounds of fat,
poison
it with drugs, bring it in contact with virulent
bacteria, in-
hibit many of its cravings, mortify it or destroy it by
suicide.

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The relations between a personality and its body are
matters
of importance to a dynamicist.

25. Time-binding. Man is a * time-binding ' * organism
; which
is a way of saying that, by conserving some of the past
and
anticipating some of the future, a human being can, to
a sig-
nificant degree, make his behaviour accord with events
that
have happened as well as those that are to come. Man is
not
a mere creature of the moment, at the beck and call of
any
stimulus or drive. What he does is related not only to
the

settled past but also to shadowy preconceptions of what lies ahead. Years in advance he makes preparations to observe an eclipse of the sun from a distant island in the South Pacific and, lo, when the moment comes he is there to record the event. With the same confidence another man prepares to meet his god. Man lives in an inner world of expected press (pessimistic or optimistic), and the psychologist must take cognizance of them if he wishes to understand his conduct or his moods, his buoyancies, disappointments, resignations. Time-binding makes for continuity of purpose.

Here we may stop in order to consider in some detail three crucial theories : the theory of unconscious processes, the theory of needs, and the theory of press.

B. UNCONSCIOUS REGNANT PROCESSES 2

WE have adopted the version of the double-aspect hypothesis which states that every conscious process is the subjective aspect of some regnant brain process, but that not every regnant process has a conscious correlate. 3 It appears, indeed, that to explain any conscious event, as well as to explain any behavioural event, one must take account of more variables than those which are at the moment present in consciousness. 'Regarded as events/ Kohler

1. Korzybski, Alfred. *Manhood of Humanity*. New York, 1921.

2. Much of what is contained in the following exposition is quoted (by permission of the editor, Dr. Carl Murchison) from an article by the author which appeared

in The Journal of General Psychology, 1936, 75, 241-268.

3. The theory is impartial on the question of whether every process has a 'psychic' correlate or pole (according to some metaphysical definition of 'psychic').

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points out, 'the facts and sequences of our direct experience do not, taken by themselves, represent complete wholes. They are merely parts of larger functional contexts.'¹ The following examples, some of which are taken from Kohler, support this opinion.

1. The perception of the *Dipper* is an immediate experience in which the form is given as-a-whole. The stars are not organized into this common shape by a conscious process. The form comes to us 'ready-made.' Presumably there have been previous impressions of actual dippers which have left traces in the brain, and in the present act of perception some interaction between the memory image of a dipper and the impression from the heavens occurred. But this memory image is not in consciousness.

2. In the recognition of a person whom we have met once and not seen for a long time we are frequently conscious of the interaction between the memory image and the present impression. But later, after frequent encounters, immediate recognition occurs. On such occasions, though the memory image is

not in consciousness, to explain the recognition we must suppose that it is still functioning.

3. When of an evening I am conversing with a friend, I am reacting from moment to moment on the basis of a great many realizations and suppositions which are not in consciousness.

For instance, that the floor stretches out behind me I should

be anxious if there were a yawning chasm behind my chair, that I will be free to leave at a certain hour, and so forth.

Such assumptions, though not conscious, are providing a time-space frame for conscious events and hence are determining their course.

4. One may pass a man in the street and immediately think:

'he appears anxious, as if he were about to face some ordeal.'

The conscious perception of the man's face as a physical schema, however, may have been so indefinite that one is

i. Kohler, W. 'The new psychology and physics/ Yale Revifw.ig^Q.ig, 560-576.

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utterly unable to describe the features which contributed to the apperception of his inner state.

5. When one is learning to drive an automobile, one is, at first, aware of every accessory intention and subsequent motor movement, but later, when proficiency has been attained, the details of the activity are seldom in consciousness, We must suppose

pose, nevertheless, that ordered activations are occurring at the motor pole of successive regnancies.

6. Absent-minded acts which involve movements of the body as a whole are performed without awareness of intentions similar to those which usually precede such actions.

7. When, let us say, a man is building a house he is usually conscious from moment to moment of his intention to realize a particular subsidiary effect. Though the idea of the major effect the image of the completely constructed building is not in consciousness, it must be active, since each conscious conation and movement is so clearly subservient to it.

8. Unconscious influence is clearly manifested by the operation of a mental * set ' or * determining tendency ' (ex : fixed intellectual viewpoint).

The firm determination to submit to experiment is not enough ; there are still dangerous hypotheses ; first, and above all, those which are tacit and unconscious. Since we make them without knowing it, we are powerless to abandon them. (H. Poincare) 1

These examples point to the fact that the extent of regnancies is greater than the extent of consciousness. It is as if consciousness were illumined regions of regnancies ; as if a spotlight of varying dimensions moved about the brain, revealing first one and then another sector of successive, functionally-related mental events. The examples demonstrate, furthermore, that, since a

conscious experience depends upon interrelated, extra-conscious variables, it can be understood only when it is viewed as part of the larger whole. Thus, to explain a conscious event, as well as

i. Quoted from Korzybski, A. Science and Sanity \ Lancaster, Penn. 1933, p. i.

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to explain a behavioural event, all the major variables of a regnancy must be known. According to this conception, then, the goal of the introspectionists and the goal of the behaviourists become the same : to determine the constitution of significant regnancies. To agree about this matter, however, the introspectionists must accept the theory of unconscious regnant processes, and the behaviourists must attempt as physicists, chemists, and biologists have attempted to conceptualize the phenomena which underlie appearances.

In the examples cited above none of the variables operating unconsciously were considered to be enduringly inaccessible to consciousness. The very next moment the S might have become aware of one or more of them. There are other unconscious processes, however, processes with which psycho-analysis is pre-occupied which seem to be debarred from consciousness. They are inhibited or repressed, according to theory, because they are unacceptable to the conscious self (Ego) . Also there may be a vast number of potential tendencies some of them, as

Jung has suggested, vestiges of earlier racial life which seldom, or never, find their way into consciousness because they lack the requisite verbal symbols. Some of these tendencies are exhibited distortedly in insanity. Thus, on the * deepest level ' we must consider traces of the racial past and the early infantile past which lack adequate verbal associations (the ' un verbalized,' as Watson would say) . Then, on a * higher level/ we have the inhibited, once verbalized tendencies, many of which are infantile. Finally, we have processes that * pass/ as it were, in and out of consciousness ; as well as those that have become mechanized (habits and automatisms) which can, but rarely do, enter consciousness.

If it is agreed that subjective terminology should be used to stand for regnant processes, and if it is agreed that all conscious processes are regnant but not all regnant processes are conscious, then, just at this point a much debated question presents itself : if at one moment a variable let us say the trace of a perception of food (unconditioned stimulus) is conscious (as an image of food) and therefore regnant, and at another moment it is

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unconscious though still regnant because it causes salivation what term shall we apply to it at the second of these two moments ? There are some men who have argued that the word * image' as well as every other consciously derived variable

applies to an element in consciousness, and that to use the term for something that is unconscious is to commit a logical fallacy. To designate an unconscious process these thinkers favour the use of a term which refers to a physical entity in the brain. I find it impossible to agree with this conclusion because we do not require two terms to designate the same process, and it is particularly confusing if one of the terms is of introspective and the other of extrospective origin. Having chosen the vocabulary of conscious processes we should adhere to it, and not be embarrassed if this practice leads to what sounds like verbal nonsense (' * unconscious conscious processes'). Figures of speech are sometimes useful and in this case are no more metaphorical or absurd than are terms derived from physics when applied to conscious processes.

Since any concepts which can be developed to describe unconscious regnant processes must necessarily be hypothetical (convenient fictions), it is scientifically permissible to imagine such processes as having the properties of conscious processes if, by so doing, we provide the most reasonable interpretation of the observed facts. That the theory of unconscious psychic processes has great resolving power becomes apparent when one applies it to the heretofore mysterious phenomena of psychopathology.

It is possible to define regnant processes, as Tolman and MacCurdy have shown, on the basis of objective data alone. Thus,

such symbols as * perception/ * image, ' * conation ' may be used to refer to hypothetical physical processes the nature of which may or may not be known and, if there is sufficient objective evidence, they may be used whether or not the processes for which they stand are accompanied by consciousness. MacCurdy 1 uses the term ' image, ' or * imaginal process, ' in this way. His definition is as follows :

i. MacCurdy J.T. Common Principles in Psychology and Physiology, London 1915, p. 4 .

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An imaginal process, from the standpoint of an objective observer, is some kind of a reproduction of a specific bit of past sensory experience, which is inferred to exist from the presence of a reaction for which the specific experience would be the appropriate stimulus this reaction not being completely accounted for by any demonstrable environmental event.

C. THE CONCEPT OF NEED OR DRIVE 1

A NEED is a hypothetical process the occurrence of which is imagined in order to account for certain objective and subjective facts. To arrive at this concept it seems better to begin with objective behavioural facts, for by so doing we align ourselves with scientists in other fields, and, what is more, shall be on firmer ground for it is easier to agree about objective facts than about subjective facts.

In starting with a consideration of behaviour we suppose that we are focussing upon one of the most significant aspects of the organism, and hence of the personality. For upon behaviour and its results depends everything which is generally regarded as important : physical well-being and survival, development and achievement, happiness and the perpetuation of the species. We are not interested in overt behaviour to the exclusion of other aspects : inner conflicts, feelings, emotions, sentiments, fantasies and beliefs. But, in accord with many psychologists, we believe that it is best to start with behaviour. And, since here it is my aim to describe behaviour rather than the external factors which determine it, I shall, for the present, have little to say about the nature of the environment.

We must begin by limiting ourselves to a definite temporal unit a temporal unit which holds together psychologically and is marked off! by a more or less clear-cut beginning and ending. For such a behavioural event the following formula is as simple and convenient as any :

B.S. -> A -> E.S.

i . Here, by permission of the editor, Dr. Carl Murchison, I shall quote freely from an article of mine appearing in 'the Journal of Psychology, ig\$6,3, 27-42.

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where 8.S. stands for the conditions that exist at the

initiation
of activity ; E.S. for the conditions that exist at the
cessation of
activity ; and A for the action patterns, motor or
verbal, of
the organism. The difference between B.S. and E.S. (
what might
be called the B-E form of the behavioural event)
describes the
effect which has been produced by the action patterns.

No matter how a behavioural event is analysed, whether
it is
taken as a whole (molar description), or whether it
is analysed
into parts (molecular description), the action patterns
(bodily
movements of the organism) and the B-E form (effect
pro-
duced) can be distinguished. One may always ask, *
What is
done ? * (i.e., * What effect is produced ? ') and c
How is it
done ? * (i.e., * What means are used ? '). These two
objectively
apparent aspects of a behavioural event, though always
intimately
connected, can and should be clearly differentiated.
For instance :

B.S. - A -> E.S.

Food placed before a Crying, followed by Food in the

(1) child with an empty swallowing of food stomach
stomach that is offered by

mother

Food placed before a Eating with a knife Food in the

(2) child with an empty and fork stomach
stomach

It should be noted that the B-E forms in the two events
are
similar, but the action patterns are different.

Though the introduction of new terms is sometimes

confusing
and should be avoided if possible, I require, at this
point, a single
term which will refer only to bodily movements as such
(the
mechanisms, means, ways, modes) and not at all to the
effects
of such movements. The word ' action ' cannot be used
because
it is commonly employed to describe both the movements
and
the effect of the movements. Hoping, then, for the
reader's tol-
erance, I shall introduce the term actone to stand for
any action

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pattern qua action pattern. And, since action patterns
are mostly
of two sorts, I shall divide actones into : motones (
muscular-
motor action patterns) and verbones (verbal action
patterns) .

A motone is a temporal series of more or less organized
muscu-
lar contractions and a verbone is a temporal series of
more or
less organized words or written symbols. The verbone is
con-
stituted by the actual words used. The intended or
actual effect
of a verbone is something quite different.

Now, since the first systematic step in the
construction of any
science is that of classification, we, as students of
behaviour,
must find proper criteria for distinguishing one form
of conduct
from another. The problem arises, shall we classify in
terms of
actones or in terms of effects ? We may, of course, and
shall
eventually, classify according to both criteria, but
the question

is, which method is the more profitable for scientific purposes ?

We can predict that the two classifications will not correspond.

According to one method we shall find in each category a num-

ber of similar actones, and according to the other method we

shall find in each category a number of similar effects. Since

it is obvious that similar actones putting food in the mouth

and putting poison in the mouth may have different effects,

and different actones putting poison in the mouth and pulling

the trigger of a revolver may have similar effects, the aspects

of conduct that are described when we classify in terms of actones

are different from those described when we classify in terms of

effects.

Practical experience has led me to believe that of the two the

classification in terms of effects organizes for our understanding

something that is more fundamental than what is organized by

the classification in terms of actones. Without minimizing the

great significance of the latter, I should like briefly to enumerate

the reasons for this opinion.

i. Physical survival depends upon the attainment of certain

effects ; not upon what actones are employed.

If oxygen, water and nutriment are not assimilated or if injurious sub-

stances are not avoided, the organism will die.

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2. Certain effects are universally attained by living

organisms,
but the actones that attain them vary greatly from one
species
to another.

Some organisms kill their prey with teeth and claws,
others by inject-
ing venom.

3. During the life history of a single individual
certain effects
are regularly attained, but the actones change.

The embryo assimilates food through the umbilical
vessels, the infant
sucks it from the tendered breast of the mother, the
child eats with a
spoon what is put before him, and the adult has to
work, or steal, to get
money to buy food.

4. According to the Law of Effect, which is widely
accepted in
one or another of its modifications, the actones which
become
habitual are for the most part those which, in the
past, have led
most directly to Satisfying' end situations. Hence,
effects de-
termine what actones become established.

5. When confronted by a novel situation, an organism
com-
monly persists in its * efforts * to bring about a
certain result, but
with each frustration it is apt to change its mode of
attack. Here,
the trend is the constant feature and the mechanism is
inconstant.

6. There are some effects which can only be attained by
en-
tirely novel actones.

As a rule, laughter in others is only evoked by a new
joke.

7. That actones are of secondary importance is shown by
the

fact that many biologically necessary effects may be brought about by the activity of another person.

The essential wants of a sick or paralysed child may be supplied by its mother.

We may see, I think, from this brief list of observations that certain effects are more fundamental to life and occur more regularly than any observed action patterns. This agrees with Skinner's conclusions. The latter found in his experiments with rats that if one takes a particular effect the depression of a

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lever as the criterion for the rate of responding, one gets quantitatively lawful results ; whereas if one takes a particular actone for instance, the movement of the rat's right paw (on the lever) one gets irregular and inconsistent results. In other words, the rat may use one of a number of different movements to depress the lever. The movements, Skinner concludes, are ' all equally elicitable by the stimulation arising from the lever, they are quantitatively mutually replaceable. The uniformity of the change in rate excludes any supposition that we are dealing with a group of separate reflexes, and forces the conclusion that " pressing the lever " behaves experimentally as a unitary thing.' *

In passing, it may be said that the 'depression of the lever J is what we should call a subsidiary effect (sub-effect) ,

since, according to the conditions of the experiment, it is an effect which must occur before the major effect 'getting food into the stomach' is accomplished.

At this point a new concept should be introduced, for there are many acts which, because of some accident or because of the organism's lack of innate or acquired ability, never reach an end situation, that is, the total effect (B-E form) is never realized. In such cases, the direction of the movements is usually evident enough, or their preliminary results sufficient, to allow an experienced observer to predict with a reasonable degree of accuracy what total effect is being promoted. Such a succession of minor, subsidiary effects (sub-effects) may be called a trend. Thus, a trend describes the direction of movements away from the B.S. movements which, if unembarrassed, would reach a certain kind of E.S. By the use of this concept we may include for classification actions which, though incomplete, manifest a tendency to achieve a certain end.

* Trend* should be a satisfactory term for psychologists who admit the directional character of behaviour but do not wish to employ a concept that points to something * behind ' the tangible facts.

i. Skinner, B.F. The generic nature of the concepts of stimulus and response.
y. Gen. Psychol., 1935, 12, 40-65.

Now, let us assume that the actual business of classifying in terms of B-E forms has been accomplished. In this classification each category (B-E form) is merely a phenomenal concept, since it is no more than a general description of a trend exhibited by organisms. In other words, it is merely a collective term for a certain class of occurrences. If we were radical positivists, or if we were primarily concerned with environmental changes, we might stop here. But we are not, and so we ask ourselves : what process or force within the organism brings about the observed effects ? We say force because, according to physical theory, all manifest effects of any kind are due to energy overcoming resistance, i.e., force. For the physicist force has now become a measurement of motion, a mere symbol in an equation ; but for generations the notion of force as a propelling activity was indispensable to the physicist and, in my opinion, it will be indispensable (i.e., a convenient fiction) to the psychologist for a long time to come. If the psychologist could deal directly with the brain and measure a drive process (such as I am now conceptualizing), then, perhaps, its force might be defined in terms of pointer readings ; but, unlike the physicist, the psychologist must infer intensities in the brain on the basis of productions that have no meaningful physical dimensions. For example, one psychological index of the degree of a person's passion is the word that he uses to express it. Take * like, ' ' love, '

'adore.' Such a gradation is not representable in physical units.

Here we have to do with nervous energy or force, of which we know little, and, therefore, when we use this term in psychology we are referring to something which is analogous to, but not the same as, physical force. We need such a term for it is impossible to construct a dynamical theory without it. We are able to measure differences in the intensity and duration of directed activity. To what may such differences be referred if not to differences in the force of an organic drive ? Furthermore, as Lewin has pointed out, the notions of organization and equilibrium necessitate a concept of force. It is always a matter of balance, economy or least action of energy. A number of other considerations favour-

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able to this hypothesis will be advanced later. Are there any adequate reasons for hesitating to do what physical scientists have consistently done before us : conceptualize processes ' behind ' appearances ?

Now, to explain the observed phenomena the realization of a certain effect what attributes must be possessed by an organic force ? Let us see. It must be something : (a) that is engendered by a certain kind of B.S. ; (b) that tends to induce activity, activity which, at first, may be restless and random, but, later, becomes effectively organized ; and (c) that tends to

persist until a situation (E.S.) is reached which contrasts with the B.S. in certain specific respects. The E.S. stills the force which the B.S. incites. Thus, the force tends, by producing a certain trend, to bring about its own resolution.

On the basis of this characterization we have constructed a hypothetical entity which has been termed a need (or drive). Each need has (a) a typical directional or qualitative aspect, (B-E) form, which differentiates it from other needs, as well as (b) an energetic or quantitative aspect, which may be estimated in a variety of ways . Thus, the first and best criterion for distinguishing a certain need is the production by the subject of a certain effect, or, if not this, the occurrence of a certain trend.

Between what we can directly observe the stimulus and the resulting action a need is an invisible link, which may be imagined to have the properties that an understanding of the observed phenomena demand.
* Need ' is, therefore, a hypothetical concept.

Strictly speaking, a need is the immediate outcome of certain internal and external occurrences. It comes into being, endures for a moment and perishes. It is not a static entity. It is a resultant of forces. One need succeeds another. Though each is unique, observation teaches that there are similarities among them, and on the basis of this, needs may be grouped together into classes ; each class being, as it were, a single major need. Thus, we may speak of similar needs as being different exhibitions of one need 9

just as when we recognize a friend we do not hesitate to call him

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by name though he is different from the person with whom we conversed yesterday. Between the different appearances of a certain kind of need there may be nothing to suggest it, but everyday experience and experiment show that if the proper conditions are provided the need (i.e., another manifestation of the same kind of need) will be activated. Thus, we may loosely use the term ' need ' to refer to an organic potentiality or readiness to respond in a certain way under given conditions. In this sense a need is a latent attribute of an organism. More strictly, it is a noun which stands for the fact that a certain trend is apt to recur. We have not found that any confusion arises when we use * need ' at one time to refer to a temporary happening and at another to refer to a more or less consistent trait of personality.

With successive activations each need tends to become more fixedly associated with the actones which have successfully led to end situations ; or, in other words, stereotypes of response commonly become established (mechanization of behaviour). When this occurs * habit pattern ' may to some extent replace ' need ' as an explanatory concept (cf. Woodworth 1) .

The seven points which were listed to demonstrate the importance of trends and effects are equally favourable

to the concept of need, since a need is, by definition, the force within the organism which determines a certain trend or major effect. There are sixteen additional arguments in favour of needs which may now be set down.

8. An enduring directional tendency (disequilibrium) within the organism accounts for the persistence of a trend (furthered by a great variety of actions) towards a certain general effect. In some cases no single action pattern endures or recurs ; but something else (some intra-organic factor such as anoxemia or dehydration) must endure or recur because the trend endures or recurs. Difficult to interpret without a concept of directional tension are the following : the resumption of unpleasant work after interruption and the increase of striving in the face of opposition.

9. Complex action is characterized by the occurrence of muscular

i. Woodworth.R.S. Dynamic Psychology, New York, 1918.

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cular contractions in widely separate parts of the organism contractions which manifest synchronous and consecutive coordination. Such organizations of movement must be partially determined by a directional process which is just what a need, by definition, is. Furthermore, the directional process must occur in some central area of communication in this instance, nervous

communication. Thus, the need process must be placed in the brain, for this is the only area to and from which all nerves lead.

It is even conceivable that some day there may be instruments for measuring need tension directly.

10. The concept of a directional force within the organism is something to which one may refer differences in the intensity and duration of goal-directed behaviour. The strength of the action cannot be ascribed to the actones per se, since these may, and commonly do, vary from moment to moment. Not infrequently, for instance, it seems that the intensity of directional activity is maximal at the very time when one actone is being replaced by another (ex : violent trial and error movements).

n. An investigator may often interrupt the action pattern of his subject by bringing about the appropriate effect (the ' goal ' of the subject) himself. This may be termed a gratuity, or gratuitous end situation. According to the need theory this should relieve the need tension and, as it usually does, stop the action. But if the actone itself were the dynamic factor, the presentation of the E.S. would not interrupt it. The actone would continue to its completion.

12. That a need is an important determinant of certain kinds of behaviour is shown by the fact that when it is neither active nor in a state of readiness responses to specific stimuli do not occur.

(a) Animals recently fed do not commonly respond to food. (b) Fe-

male guinea pigs exhibit the copulatory reflex only during oestrous.

13. When a particular need is active, common objects in the environment may evoke uncommon responses responses however which promote the progress of the active need. Thus, the usual s-r (stimulus-response) connection may not be exhibited.

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When a boy, who is quarrelling with a playmate, sees an apple, he may not respond, as he usually does, by eating it, but, instead, may throw it at his antagonist.

It seems highly probable that many of the s-r connections which are considered stable by experimenters are stable only under the conditions of their experiments, that is, when the same need usually hunger is active in the organism.

14. When a need becomes active a characteristic trend of behaviour will usually ensue even in the absence of the customary stimuli.

An animal will explore for food, and a man will search for a sex object.

15. Positivists are usually disinclined to accept the concept of drive, because they cannot, as it were, get their hands on it. It seems like a vague, airy conception perhaps a disguised emissary of theology and metaphysics. That some day definite sources of the drives may be discovered is suggested by certain recent findings, and these constitute another argument in

favour of the
concept.

(a) The recent researches of Riddle J indicate that prolactin, a pituitary hormone, is responsible for the nurturing, or parental activity of rats. (b) The findings of Young 2 show that two secretions, the luteinizing hormone from the pituitary and progesterone from the ovary, bring on oestrus in guinea pigs.

A hormone may be the generator of a drive, but it cannot be the drive itself. A chemical substance, is one thing, the excitation which it sets up in the brain is another.

Up to this point the evidence in support of the concept of internal driving forces has been derived from introspection. I have presented only external public and objective facts. I shall now, without shame, turn to the testimony offered by internal, private or subjective facts, including a few additional objective facts for full measure.

1 . Riddle, O., Lahr, E.L., & Bates, R.W. ' Maternal behavior induced in rats by prolactin.' Proc. Soc. Exper. Bio/., New York, 1935, 73-74,

2. Young, W.C. Paper presented at the Harvard Psychological Colloquium, April 22, 1936, ' The hormonal production of sexual receptivity in the guinea pig.'

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16. Introspection has given us a good deal of information about the subjective entities that are necessary for the formulation of

mental, and, hence, we must suppose, of cerebral events. If the double aspect theory is correct, every subjective entity must have a physical correlate. Consequently, we should expect to find a cortical or sub-cortical process co-existing with the experience of desiring (volition, conation, etc.). 'Wishing for something' or * the desire to do something ' may be as actual and definite as the fact that one * sees a tree out there/ Since a need, as defined, closely resembles in all its relations the inner feeling of tension which seems to impel us to strive for a certain goal, we may tentatively suppose that a need is an electro-chemical process of some sort which is inwardly felt as the force of desire.

The subjective experience of desiring, intending, or planning usually precedes the experience of striving. It is, therefore, pre-motor, just as a need, by definition, is pre-motor.

Since a need is commonly aroused by certain afferent processes, and since it may justly be considered the physical correlate of the force of desire, and since, finally, as we shall see, it directly affects perception and thought, we may tentatively suppose that it is located in the brain, * between J the sensory and motor areas. It is, let us say, a directional tension (one might almost say a facilitation) which is the resultant of certain electrical or chemical processes originating in other, more or less specific parts of the body. This, of course, is highly speculative.

If we assume, then, that desire and drive are two aspects of the same thing, we may use introspection to reveal to us some of the

possible internal relations of drives. For instance, it is reasonable to suppose, as objective researches and introspection suggest, that every need is associated with traces (or images) representing movements, agencies, pathways, and goal objects, which, taken together, constitute a dynamic whole, need integrate. This need integrate may exhibit itself as a fantasy which depicts a possible and perhaps expected course of events. It seems reasonable to think of a drive as a force in the brain exciting a flow of images images which refer, for the most part, to objects once perceived in conjunction with the activity of that drive.

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With this in mind, we may consider a number of other facts, mostly subjective, which seem to call for such a concept of directional tensions in the brain region.

17. Among the commonest subjective experiences is that of conflict between desires, and that of having one desire inhibit another. If psychology limits itself to concepts which refer only to external movements, there will be no way of formulating important psychological events of this sort.

18. Although many psychologists may describe events without explicit mention of affection (pleasure or unpleasure) they are unable to get along without this variable when they have to deal practically with themselves or with others. This is not the time to discuss psychological hedonism, but at least, I may

say, what most people, I think, would agree to, namely, that pleasure is closely associated with a successful trend : the moving towards and final achievement of a major effect. It is less closely associated with activity qua activity movements, let us say, which achieve nothing. Furthermore, introspection seems to reveal that a need does not cease (is not * satisfied ') until pleasure is experienced. In fact, it often happens that we do not properly distinguish a need until an object that brings pleasure informs us of what it was we wanted. The point that I am making here is this : that because of its close connection with happiness and distress, a need is more ' important ' than an action pattern.

19. Experience seems to show that a certain desire may sometimes give rise to a dream or fantasy and at other times promote overt activity. Without the concept of an underlying drive one could not adequately represent the obvious relationship between fantasy and behaviour.

There is a good deal of evidence to support the view that under certain conditions fantasy may partially relieve the tension of a need ; that is, it may be the equivalent of overt action.

20. Introspection and experiment demonstrate that a need or an emotion may determine the direction of attention and markedly influence the perception and apperception (interpre-

tation) of external occurrences. To influence sensory and cognitive processes a need must be some force in the brain region.

(a) Sanford 1 has shown that hunger will influence a child's completion of unfinished pictures, (b) Murray 2 has shown that fear will change a child's interpretation of photographs.

21. Everyday experience informs us that sentiments and theories are to a varying extent determined by desires. A man likes and tries to prove (by rationalizations) the value of what he wants. He also ' projects ' his own needs into his psychological theories.

Every impulse is a tyrant and as such attempts to philosophize.
(Nietzsche)

Metaphysics is the finding of bad reasons for what we believe on instinct. (F. H. Bradley)

22. Introspection and clinical observation reveal that different desires (or trends) may be related in a variety of ways : one form of behaviour may satisfy two or more desires, a desire may inhibit another, one trend may serve finally to promote another, a trend may be succeeded by its opposite, etc. Such relationships cannot be formulated without a concept of different directional processes interacting in one region of the body, the brain.

23. Without a concept of motivating forces most of the phenomena of abnormal psychology would be wholly unintelligible. This applies to compulsion, conflict, repression, conversion, displacement, sublimation, delusion and so forth. And

without such
a concept a therapist would be literally tongue-tied.
He could com-
municate neither with his patients nor with his
colleagues.

When we consider that no therapist or, indeed, anyone
who has to
deal in a practical way with human beings, can get
along without some
notion of motivational force (instinct, purpose, aim,
intention, need,
drive, impulse, urge, attitude, inclination, wish,
desire, or what not),
the suspicion naturally arises that those who entertain
a prejudice against
such a concept do so on metaphysical or c religious '
grounds.

1 . Sanford,R.N. ' The effects of abstinence from food
upon imaginal processes : A
preliminary experiment.' J. Psychol., 1936,2, 129-136.

2. Murray,H.A. ' The effect of fear upon estimates of
the maliciousness of other
personalities.' J: Soc. PjyrAo/., 1933,4, 310-339.

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Need as a Dynamic Concept

In so far as a need is defined as a disequilibrium
which stresses
toward equilibrium, it falls into the category of
finalistic concepts,
of which the Second Law of Thermodynamics is typical.
The
latter has been stated as follows : * In all processes
with which we
are acquainted, every known form of energy at a high
potential
always tends to run down to energy at the lowest
potential circunW
stances will allow.' According to this principle,
affairs tend to
take a certain course. The need theory calls attention
to a similar

phenomenon observable in human behaviour. A trend is like a tropism, a movement away from or towards some source of stimulation, or, again, it is similar to the attraction and repulsion of chemical substances.

Suppose that two hydrogen atoms are some distance apart with the total energy necessary to make a molecule. If they begin to move towards one another under some attractive influence which they exert we display no surprise. But they are moving towards a final end, which is an end, even though they are of course unconscious of it ; and provided that nothing interferes they will reach one another, form a molecule, and the process will be consummated. The atoms move under an irresistible law of attraction towards a final condition which is unavoidable unless outside influences prevent it. The system of the two atoms develops necessarily towards a consummation, and the process has in this sense a ideological quality, though this need not mean that any god or man had consciously planned the end for these particular hydrogen atoms.

Thus all heat processes tend towards an approximate uniformity of temperature, and chemical reactions also move towards a final condition. 1

It seems peculiar that psychologists should make such obstinate attempts to evade the directional or finalistic aspect of living processes, in the name of science, when most sciences have recorded and conceptualized such tendencies. Physiologists, for example, have always been guided by the notion of function. They have always asked themselves, 'What is the function of this

process ? * and by * function ' they have meant '
survivalistic

I. Whytc.L.L. Archimedes, or The Future of Physics, New
York, 1928.

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value.' Take homeostasis, for example. 1 The concept
expresses
the fact that the various activities of the body are
organized in
such a way as to maintain and, if it is disturbed,
restore a steady
state in the body. Homeostasis calls attention to the
direction of
co-ordinated physiological action.

A need is clearly an emergence from the immediate past,
or,
as Schopenhauer would have it, ' a push from the rear/
rather
than a * pull from the future.' The environment may, of
course, be
effective in arousing this ' push,' and to
consciousness the field that
lies before its vision or the imagery which seems to
anticipate
such a field commonly appears in the guise of a pull,
positive in-
centive, or attraction. We should say that the notion
of an at-
tracting or repelling object (press) is a necessary
complement to
the need concept ; also that some reference to a
possible future
is an intrinsic determinant of the moment. But the
future does not
exist. There is merely the present situation with a
field extending
before the subject either as meaningful, patterned
percepts or
meaningful, patterned images. The laying out of images
' ahead
of time ' expresses that aspect of human experience
which is desig-
nated by the words c anticipation, ' ' expectation, ' *

hope.' However, the imaginal representation of the goal (conscious purpose) does not always occur. To put it metaphorically, a need may have no inkling of what it needs. It may be a blind impulse, but an impulse which does not as a rule completely subside until a situation of a certain kind has been arrived at. It is because of this that we speak of drive as a finalistic rather than a mechanistic concept. Those who use finalism in some other sense should not apply it to the need theory as here developed. This, of course, does not supersede the mechanistic account of things. For we must also take cognizance of the stimulus-response sequences, the linked actones and agencies by means of which the closing situation is achieved and the tension lowered.

I hesitate to use the term ' mechanism ' for, as Whitehead has said, ' nobody knows what mechanism is.' However, in modern psychology, ' mechanism ' and ' dynamism ' have been used as

i. Cannon, W.B. The Wisdom of the Body, New York, 1932.

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convenient labels for two contrasting points of view and I think it will not be confusing if I limit them to this application. The words are not important to us. It is the two seemingly opposite mental sets that are important. At one pole stands the psychologist who attempts to show that a human being behaves like a very complicated man-made machine, and at the other stands

the
psychologist who believes that human behaviour is
determined
by conscious purpose. My own position is that in some
events it
is mechanism and in others it is dynamism that prevails
(pro-
viding that the dynamic factor is given a strictly
present organic
status [ex: an existing process in the brain]). In most
be-
havioural events both principles seem to be operating (in dif-
ferent proportions) . I am presenting the facts that
favour dynam-
ism, because at present in America particularly
mechanism
as a general proposition requires no further
demonstration. It
enjoys a large prestige. It is almost synonymous with *
righteous-
ness ' and * purity/ It attracts all the young
scientific climbers. Its
facts are rather obvious. They are relatively clear and
tangible.
They have already been well presented. Everybody agrees
up to
a point. But dynamism, despite McDougall's able
advocacy, is
still ' out of court.' It is * unscientific/ *
mystical, ' ' vague.'

A machine gives an invariable response which may be
pre-
dicted by a study of the physical relations of its
parts. With this
in mind mechanistic psychologists have looked for
actones which
invariably followed specific stimuli (automatic
reflexes). They
have succeeded in finding a number of them (ex : the
knee jerk)
and in showing that they can be adequately explained by
refer-
ence to the passage of impulses over a certain circuit
of nerve
fibres. Thus, mechanistic principles apply to some
actions. How-
ever, it does not seem that they apply to others. There

is adaptive
behaviour, for example ; and even mechanistic
psychologists use
the term ' adaptation,' despite the fact that it stands
for an activity
which has characteristics opposite, to those of a
reflex. Adaptive

i. McDougall.W. Psychologies of 1925* Worcester,
Mass., 1927 ; Psychologies of
1925, Worcester, Mass., 1930 ; with Watson J.B. 'The
Battle of Behaviourism,
New York, 1929.

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behaviour is marked by a change of actones. What
consistency
there is in adaptive behaviour is found in the trend
that follows
a certain kind of stimulation and this, as we have
suggested, must
be attributed to some drive process in the brain. The
introduction
of this hypothetical factor disturbs the mechanists
because they
cannot find a corresponding ' something ' in the
nervous system.
But suppose it were a chemical substance (hormone) that
is
extrinsic to the nervous system ? It is interesting to
note that
mechanistic psychologists attempt to explain everything
solely in
terms of the cerebro-neuro-muscular (somatic) system.
(Hence
they draw most of their analogies from physics.) They
rarely
mention the fluid conditions in the brain. Dynamicists,
on the
other hand, may go so far as to regard the
exteroceptive nervous
system as a mere instrument of the body (torso), an
instrument
that is used to organize the locomotions and
manipulations which
are necessary to bring about the effects that

facilitate (rather than obstruct) the processes of life in the vital organs. The dynamicists get more instruction from chemistry than they do from nineteenth-century physics. At this point I might suggest that the controversy could be described as one between * limb ' psychology (focussing on reflexes, motor coordination and behavioural intelligence) and ' torso ' psychology (focussing on digestion, respiration, endocrines, erogenous zones and reproduction).

The first distinguishing characteristic of dynamism, then, is this : an emphasis upon the lawful connection between a certain kind of stimulus (press) and a certain kind of trend (effect), rather than the connection between a stimulus and an actone. In order to make the record that he desires the mechanist must observe the bodily movements and the dynamist must observe the situation which is changed by the bodily movements. For example, the pupillary reflex might be described as a 'movement of the iris ' (mechanism) or as a ' shutting out of light ' (dynamism). The same effect might have been accomplished by shielding the eyes with the hand. Dynamism's second distinguishing characteristic is the conceptualization of (qualitatively and quan-

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titatively different) pre-motor excitations or forces, which are evoked by appropriate stimuli (press) and remain active until

the situation is modified. The point is that they are not discharged by a bodily response as such. Thirdly, dynamism emphasizes the relation of such forces to the well-being of the organism. It can be observed that a trend moves almost invariably towards supplying a lack, relieving a distension, or getting rid of an irritant. Thus, the final effect upon which everything depends is an occurrence inside the organism which can be described as the rectification of a disturbed vital function. For this reason it seems necessary to put the dynamic variable beneath the skin. Finally, dynamism is distinguished by its gross or molar descriptions of behaviour, some of which merely record the difference between the beginning and the end situation. A dynamicist might say, for example, * 'The man built a house,' without feeling that it was necessary to record the numberless bodily movements, tools, materials, and pathways that were employed in the construction. This point of view can be compared to that of thermodynamics.

The characteristic feature of thermodynamics is that it permits us to deal with energy changes involved in a physical change of state, or in a chemical reaction, without in any way requiring information regarding the molecular mechanisms of the process under investigation. 1

The dynamicist, of course, admits that there are innate reflexive patterns. But it is easier for him to see how these developed philogenetically (as they do ontogenetically) from trial and error adaptive movements and became fixed, than it is to see

how fixed reflexes can, by mere combination, produce creatively effective action.

Dynamicists can point to the fact that most reflexes are now adaptive or were once adaptive. Thus, even what appears now as mechanism was dynamism once. Reflexes that have no adaptive value are either mere reactivities to proximate blows (ex : the tendon reflexes) or vestigial remnants of past adaptations. Indi-

i. Lewis, W.C.McC. A System of Physical Chemistry, London, 1920, p.i.

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vidual life is conditioned by a multitude of previous life cycles. Perhaps the elimination of a species in the evolutionary struggle is favoured by over-mechanization (' trained incapacity ').

If the evidence advanced here is valid, the conclusion should be that mechanism and dynamism represent two complementary aspects of organic life. Certainly there is no dynamism without mechanism. Furthermore, there are, it seems, gradations between actions which are predominantly dynamic and those that are predominantly mechanical. As an example of mechanical activity we may mention, besides simple reflexes : more complex chain reflexes, automatisms and tics of various sorts, obsessional fixations to certain objects, stubborn and invariable habits, inflexible stereo-types of gesture and expression. We note that these

forms of activity are more common during fatigue, periods of absent-mindedness and old age. We speak of a personality becoming mechanized or of a mind becoming 'ossified/ and we mean by this expression the disappearance of novelty, the decrease of adaptability and the loss of creativity. On the other hand, there are forms of behaviour which are far from being mechanical : the appearance of unique adaptations, intuition and insight into new relations, witty repartee, spontaneity and flexibility in manner and expression, and all types of truly creative thought. The poet may be taken as a prototype. To be successful he must write a new poem ; that is, he must do something that has never been done before. All poets have the same elements to work with, namely, the words of the language, but a poet of merit puts these words together in a way that excites wonder and pleasure.

To psychologists who bristle when 'purpose* is mentioned, I am tempted to quote Whitehead : ' Scientists animated by the purpose of proving that they are purposeless constitute an interesting subject for study.' 1

From this exposition it should be clear that the term 'need * or 'drive* does not denote an observable fact the direction of activity, for example. For this we have the terms 'behavioural trend* or * behavioural effect.* Nor does 'drive* refer to any

i. Quoted from Sullivan J.V.N. Limitations of Science^ New York, 1933.

attribute of general activity as such. It refers to a hypothetical process within the brain of an organism which, perseverating for a time, * points ' activity and co-ordinates it. If opposed by another need process, however, it may not manifest itself overtly.

Again, it should be clear that the term ' need ' or ' drive ' does not stand for any physiological occurrences (visceral tension or endocrine secretion) which may lead up to or evoke the directive processes in the brain. The former may be termed * sources ' or ' provokers ' of needs, but they are not themselves need processes. The word * need * (and to a less extent the word ' drive ') seems to disturb some psychologists more than the concept itself, for it smacks of anthropomorphism. The dynamicists are accused of the ' sin of animism ' (projecting life into inanimate objects) despite the fact that the objects of psychological concern are not inanimate. The only sin of this sort that is possible is the * sin of inanimism' (projecting a machine into life), and of this the mechanists are certainly guilty. However, we might have avoided a great deal of misunderstanding if we had used the letter * n ' (as we shall frequently do) to represent the vectorial magnitude in the brain.

An activity in the brain has been conceptualized because it is the regnant processes in this region which we, as

psychologists,
must ultimately attempt to formulate. If we do not, we shall never bring together into one conceptual scheme the facts of behaviour, the facts of brain physiology and pathology and the facts of consciousness. It does not seem possible to place the factor which determines the directional effectiveness or intensity of behaviour either in the afferent or in the efferent systems. It must be post-afferent and pre-efferent. The fact that we cannot conjure up an image of what such a cephalic field force might resemble is no reason for hesitating to use the concept as a working hypothesis. If we were concerned with the individual merely as a unit in a field of social forces, then perhaps he might be treated as physicists treat a body : his behaviour might be represented by an arrow (cf. Lewin *). But we are equally interested in field forces within

i. Lewin.K. A Dynamic Theory of Personality, New York, 193 5.

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the brain : conflicts between rival tendencies, the inhibition of emotion, ' overcoming temptation/ dissociation, and so forth. The individual is not always a unified being. This makes it necessary to conceptualize regnant (mental) forces.

We did not start the present discussion with an assertion. We merely pointed out that an hypothesis of a driving force helps to order some of the facts. According to this view a need is not a

reified entity extrinsic to the system. It stands for the momentary direction of regnant processes in the brain region. It is always in a state of mutual dependence with other cephalic forces. It may change from one split second to the next. To say that an organism has a certain drive when that drive is not at the moment active is to make a very abstract, though convenient, statement. It means that a certain trend has commonly occurred in the past and, if conditions are suitable, it will probably recur in the future.

* Instinct,' the noun, is a word to be avoided, because it has been extensively used in two different senses : to signify innate impulses and to signify innate needs.

It is true that if we consider the structure of the action pattern only, irrespective of the time being its origin, we cannot easily distinguish instinct from habit, for both are in their pure form, automatic stimulus-response processes. 1

It is not the details of the response that are fixed by the innate factor, but rather the general nature of the end towards which the response shall move ; the details are fixed by the limitations of the creature's intelligence and the structure of its sensory-motor mechanism. 2

Another reason for discarding the term 'instinct' is that it limits one to needs which can be proved innate. The problem of whether this or that need is innate is difficult of solution. Most of the primary viscerogenic needs, such as hunger and thirst, seem

to be innate in the usual sense of the term. Presumably they are provoked by internal conditions regardless of the environment.

Other needs, called by us 'psychogenic needs,' though found to

i. Bernard, L.L. *Instincts*. New York, 1924.

i. Garnett, A.C. *The Mind in Action*. New York, 1931.

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operate without obvious dependence upon the viscerogenic needs, were perhaps once subsidiary to the latter. Furthermore, though their manifestations have been observed in all peoples, they are influenced to a great extent by cultural forms, particularly when the latter are represented by the parents.

Needs from a Subjective Standpoint

Using the deliverances of introspection for all they are worth, experience seems to show that the earliest intimation of a succeeding action is a kind of inner tension, viscerogenic or psychogenic. This inner state may be taken as the subjective aspect of what we have termed 'need.' There may be no awareness of what is needed. It may be simply the experience of a vague 'lack' or 'pressure' giving rise to unrest, uneasiness, dissatisfaction. If images of the need object or needed activity appear in consciousness, one commonly speaks of 'desire' or 'wish,' an experience which may occur without motor involvement. We may imagine that an increase of need activity leads to an intention (the de-

cision to perform a certain act) and finally to a conation, or the experience of striving, which, we may assume, corresponds to the excitation of actones.

Desire, intention, conation may be conveniently grouped together. It is even possible that they belong on a single continuum. They appear, in any case, to be irreducible facts of inner experience that call for an objective correlate. Though we are using ' need ' and ' drive ' synonymously, ' need ' seems to be the better word for the initiating apperception of an obstruction (lack, harm) leading to desire, whereas ' drive ' designates more appropriately the ensuing activity (conation) .

Some desires and intentions are subjectively felt to be in conflict with the chief aim of the self or with the ' selected personality ' (Ego Ideal) : what the S wants to be or to become. Such impulses appear as ' temptations, ' ' seductive suggestions ' or ' irresistible compulsions. ' According to a scheme that shall be presented later, all drives that subjectively seem to come from ' without ' the self, that are unacceptable or opposed to the ' best intentions ' .

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of the personality, have been termed ' Id ' needs (idn) . Id needs may or may not be resisted (inhibited or repressed) . Then there are needs, evoked by sudden, close stimuli, that are impulsively and emotionally objectified without a preceding conscious inten-

tion. These may be termed emotional needs (emn) .
Many * emo-
tional ' needs are also Id needs, opposed to the
selected personality.
Then there are some needs that are not represented in
conscious-
ness by an explicit desire, the trend and action
pattern being objec-
tified * automatically.' The first phase in an
emotional need is also
automatic (cf. startle response 1), but the behaviour
that we are
now distinguishing i, is not emotional ; 2, is usually
acceptable to
the personality ; and 3, conforms to previous patterns
of behav-
iour. It is comparable to a pattern of adapted chained
reflexes.
The theory is that it has been * stamped in ' by
repetition. It has
become a habit ; or, in other words, the actonal factor
is now more
conspicuous than the drive factor (mechanization of
behaviour) .
This we shall term an * actonal ' need (an) . A need
may also be
objectified (as unwittingly as an actonal need) in
conformity
with a perceived trend exhibited by another person (
imitation) ;
or in response to demands or persuasions (compliance
). Finally,
one should mention the needs that are engendered by a
dissociated
part of the regnancy, as one finds in hysteria (fugues
and con-
version symptoms).

Needs, Viscerogenic and Psychogenic

Up to this point only two criteria for distinguishing
needs have
been stressed : the kind of trend (effect) observed
objectively and
the kind of effect which the subject says that he
intends or desires.
Though these provide an insufficient basis for a
satisfactory classifi-
cation, we shall, nevertheless, now offer a list of the

needs that we
have found it profitable to distinguish, in order to
assist the reader
in following the further elaboration of the theory.

Needs may be conveniently divided into : i, primary (viscero-
genic) needs, and 2, secondary (psychogenic) needs.
The former

i. Hunt,W.A. and Landis,C. ' Studies in the startled
pattern ; I, II & III. 1 J. PsycAot.,
1936,2, 201-219.

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are engendered and stilled by characteristic periodic
bodily events,
whereas the latter have no subjectively localizable
bodily origins ;
hence the term * psychogenic.' They are occasioned by
regnant
tensions, with or without emotion, that are closely
dependent
upon certain external conditions or upon images
depicting these
conditions. Thus, speaking loosely, we may say that
from a sub-
jective standpoint the viscerogenic needs have to do
with physical
satisfactions and the psychogenic needs with mental or
emotional
satisfactions.

The viscerogenic needs are : i, n Air, 2, n Water, 3, n
Food,
4, n Sex, 5, n Lactation, 6, n Urination, 7, n
Defecation, 8, n
Harmavoidance, 9, n Noxavoidance, 10, n Heatavoidance,
n, n
Coldavoidance, and 12, n Sentience. We also recognize a
need for
Passivity, which includes relaxation, rest and sleep,
but this may
be neglected for the present. 1

It is hard to decide whether one should concoct new

words as names
for the needs or attempt to get along with old and ill-
used terms. In the
present endeavour sometimes one and sometimes the other
of these two
possibilities was adopted but without conviction. It
was found that no
system of nomenclature could be consistently maintained
: appropriate
words were not forthcoming.

*'

The words used for most of the viscerogenic needs
indicate

in each case what effect is brought about by the need
action. The
n Noxavoidance refers to the tendency to avoid or rid
oneself of
noxious stimuli : to look or draw away from repulsive
objects,
to cough, spit or vomit up irritating or nauseating
substances. The
needs for Heatavoidance and Coldavoidance together
refer to the
tendency to maintain an equable temperature : to avoid
extremes
of heat and cold, to clothe the body or seek shelter
when neces-
sary. The n Harmavoidance refers to the tendency to
avoid phys-
ical pain : to withdraw, flee or conceal oneself from
injuring
agents. It includes c startle ' and * fear ' reactions
generally, to loud
noises, loss of support, strangers. The n Sentience
refers to the

i . It is heartening to discover, as P.T. Young's
recent book (Motivation of Be-
havior, New York, 1 936) makes evident, that
psychologists are reaching agree-
ment in regard to the most convenient classification of
viscerogenic drives.

inclination for sensuous gratification, particularly from objects in contact with the body : taste sensations and tactile sensations (ex : thumb-sucking). The need moves in a direction opposite to that of the n Noxavoidance and the n Harmavoidance. But it may be associated with any one of the other needs : local sensations are an important part of sexual activity and they may accompany urination and defecation ; moderate changes in temperature are sensuously agreeable and food may give rise to delicious olfactory and gustatory impressions.

The effect of the need action in each case can be represented by the B-E form.

B.S. E.S.

Lack of food Repletion

Genital tumescence Detumescence

Fluid in the bladder Evacuation

Pain Absence of pain

A few remarks at this point may not be amiss :

1. Some of the needs here distinguished represent gross group-ings of a number of more specific needs. The n Food, for instance, could be divided into separate needs for different kinds of food. Here they are combined for convenience because they all involve ' feeding behaviour ' and the objects are all nourishing.

i. Certain animals go to salt licks as certain tribes used to travel to salt mines for the sole purpose of adding this

necessary ingredient to their diet. ii. Diabetics have an appetite for sugar ; sufferers from deficiency diseases (need ' this or that vitamin, and so forth.

2. It will be noticed that the B.S. for most of the viscerogenic needs are afferent impulses from some region of the body.

3. The viscerogenic needs are of unequal importance as variables of personality. The personological significance of a need seems to depend upon whether there are marked differences between individuals in the frequency, intensity and duration of its

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activity, and upon whether the strength of any psychogenic needs are functions of such differences. A need, furthermore, does not usually become a dominant element of personality if there is no obstruction to its satisfaction. If its activity and gratification can be * taken for granted,' it may be neglected. The n Air, for example, is perhaps the most essential of all the needs from a biological standpoint, since if the organism does not attain this need's E.S. in three or four minutes, it dies. And yet the n Air is rarely of any personological importance. Air is free and most human beings get enough of it. There is little competition for air. The n Sex, on the other hand, ordinarily depends upon the co-operation of another person, is commonly interfered with by rivals, is highly unstable, and is

hemmed in
by all kinds of social restrictions. This is enough to
account
for its importance.

The viscerogenic needs enumerated above may be grouped
in a
number of ways. One convenient grouping (which calls
for the
division of the n Air into inspiration and expiration)
is the fol-
lowing.

A. Lacks

(leading to
intakes)

B. Distensions

(leading to
outputs)

1. n Inspiration (oxygen)

2. n Water

3. n Food

4. n Sentience
Secretion

(life-sources)

7. n Expiration

(carbon dioxide)

8. n Urination

9. n Defecation

fj. n Sex

| 6. n Lactation

Excretion
(waste)

_, _ (10. n Noxavoidance

C. Harms __ .,

,. .. 11. n Heatavoidance

(leading to < _ ., .,

. v 1 12. n Coldavoidance
retractions) TT . .

113. n Harmavoidance

POSITIVE

NEGATIVE

The first six needs may be called ' positive ' or ' adient ' needs because they force the organism in a positive way towards other

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objects : air, water, food, sensuous patterns, a sex object, a suck-ling. The last seven needs, on the other hand, may be called * negative ' or * abient ' needs because they force the organism to separate itself from objects : to eliminate waste matter or to avoid

unpleasant or injuring agents. The positive needs are chiefly characterized subjectively by a desire to reach the E.S., whereas the negative needs are chiefly characterized by a desire to get away from the B.S. The division of needs into lacks with intakes, dis-tensions with outputs, and harms with retractions may also be found useful.

The secondary or psychogenic needs, which are presumably de-pendent upon and derived from the primary needs, may be briefly listed. They stand for common reaction systems and wishes.

It is not supposed that they are fundamental, biological drives, though some may be innate. The first five pertain chiefly to actions associated with inanimate objects. 1

n Acquisition (Acquisitive attitude). To gain possessions and property.
To grasp, snatch or steal things. To bargain or gamble.
To work for money or goods.

n Conservance (Conserving attitude). To collect, repair, clean and pre-serve things. To protect against damage.

n Order (Orderly attitude). To arrange, organize, put away objects.
To be tidy and clean. To be scrupulously precise.

n Retention (Retentive attitude). To retain possession of things. To refuse to give or lend. To hoard. To be frugal, economical and miserly.

n Construction (Constructive attitude). To organize and build.

Actions which express what is commonly called ambition, will-to-power, desire for accomplishment and prestige have been classi-fied as follows :

n Superiority (Ambitious attitude) . This has been broken up into two needs : the n Achievement (will to power over things, people and ideas) and the n Recognition (efforts to gain approval and high social status) .
n Achievement (Achievant attitude). To overcome obstacles, to exer-

i. To some extent the same tendencies arc exhibited towards people (acquiring friends, maintaining loyalties, possessivencss, organizing groups) .

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else power, to strive to do something difficult as well and as quickly as possible. (This is an elementary Ego need which alone may prompt any action or be fused with any other need.)

n Recognition (Self -for ward ing attitude). To excite praise and com- mendation. To demand respect. To boast and exhibit one's accomplish- ments. To seek distinction, social prestige, honours or high office.

We have questioned whether the next need should be distinguished from the Recognition drive. In the present study the two have been combined.

n Exhibition (Exhibitionistic attitude). To attract attention to one's person. To excite, amuse, stir, shock, thrill others. Self-dramatization.

Complementary to Achievement and Recognition are the desires and actions which involve the defence of status or the avoidance of humiliation :

n Inviolacy (Inviolate attitude) . This includes

desires and attempts to prevent a depreciation of self-respect, to preserve one's * good name,' to be immune from criticism, to maintain psychological ' distance.' It is based on pride and personal sensitiveness. It takes in the n Seclusion (isolation, reticence, self-concealment) which in our study was considered to be the opposite of n Exhibition and, for this reason, was not separately considered. The n Inviolacy has been broken up into three needs : n In f avoidance (the fear of and retraction from possible sources of humiliation), n Defendance (the verbal defence of errors and misdemeanours), and n Counteraction (the attempt to redeem failures, to prove one's worth after frustration, to revenge an insult). Counteraction is not truly a separate need. It is n Achievement or n Aggression acting in the service of n Inviolacy.

n Infavoidance (Infavoidant attitude). To avoid failure, shame, humiliation, ridicule. To refrain from attempting to do something that is beyond one's powers. To conceal a disfigurement.

n Defendance (Defensive attitude). To defend oneself against blame or belittlement. To justify one's actions. To offer extenuations, explanations and excuses. To resist ' probing.'

n Counteraction (Counteractive attitude). Proudly to overcome defeat by restraining and retaliating. To select the hardest tasks. To defend one's honour in action.

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The next five needs have to do with human power exerted,

resisted or yielded to. It is a question of whether an individual, to a relatively large extent, initiates independently his own behaviour and avoids influence, whether he copies and obeys, or whether he commands, leads and acts as an exemplar for others.

n Dominance (Dominative attitude). To influence or control others. To persuade, prohibit, dictate. To lead and direct. To restrain. To organize the behaviour of a group.

n Deference (Deferent attitude) . To admire and willingly follow a superior allied O. To co-operate with a leader. To serve gladly.

n Similance (Suggestible attitude). To empathize. To imitate or emulate. To identify oneself with others. To agree and believe.

n Autonomy (Autonomous attitude). To resist influence or coercion. To defy an authority or seek freedom in a new place. To strive for independence.

n Contrarience (Contrariant attitude). To act differently from others. To be unique. To take the opposite side. To hold unconventional views.

The next two needs constitute the familiar sado-masochistic dichotomy. Aggression seems to be either 1, the heightening of the will-to-power (Achievement, Dominance) when faced by stubborn opposition, 2, a common reaction (fused with n Autonomy) towards an O that opposes any need, or 3, the customary response to an assault or insult. In the latter case (revenge) it is Counteraction acting in the service of n Inviolacy. One questions

whether n Abasement should be considered a drive in its own right. Except for the phenomenon of masochism, Abasement seems always to be an attitude serving some other end : the avoidance of further pain or anticipated punishment, or the desire for passivity, or the desire to show extreme deference.

n Aggression (Aggressive attitude). To assault or injure an O. To murder. To belittle, harm, blame, accuse or maliciously ridicule a person. To punish severely. Sadism.

n Abasement (Abasive attitude). To surrender. To comply and accept punishment. To apologize, confess, atone. Self-depreciation. Masochism.

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The next need has been given a separate status because it involves a subjectively distinguishable form of behaviour, namely inhibition. Objectively, it is characterized by the absence of socially unacceptable conduct. The effect desired by the subject is the avoidance of parental or public disapprobation or punishment. The need rests on the supposition that there are in everybody primitive, asocial impulses, which must be restrained if the individual is to remain an accepted member of his culture.

n Blamavoidance (Blamavoidance attitude). To avoid blame, ostracism or punishment by inhibiting asocial or unconventional impulses. To be well-behaved and obey the law.

The next four needs have to do with affection between people ;

seeking it, exchanging it, giving it, or withholding it.

n Affiliation (Affiliative attitude). To form friendships and associations. To greet, join, and live with others. To cooperate and converse sociably with others. To love. To join groups.

n Rejection (Rejective attitude). To snub, ignore or exclude an O. To remain aloof and indifferent. To be discriminating.

n Nurturance (Nurturant attitude). To nourish, aid or protect a help-

less O. To express sympathy. To ' mother ' a child.

n Succorance (Succorant attitude) . To seek aid, protection or sympathy.

To cry for help. To plead for mercy. To adhere to an affectionate, nurturant parent. To be dependent.

To these may be added with some hesitation :

n Play (Playful attitude). To relax, amuse oneself, seek diversion and entertainment. To 'have fun,' to play games. To laugh, joke and be merry. To avoid serious tension.

Finally, there are two complementary needs which occur with great frequency in social life, the need to ask and the need to tell.

n Cognizance (Inquiring attitude). To explore (moving and touching) . To ask questions. To satisfy curiosity. To look, listen, inspect. To read and seek knowledge.

n Exposition (Expositive attitude) . To point and demonstrate. To relate facts. To give information, explain, interpret, lecture.

On the basis of whether they lead a subject to approach or separate himself from an object, these derived needs may be divided into those which are positive and those which are negative, respectively. Positive needs may again be divided into adient needs : those which cause a subject to approach a lifted object, in order to join, amuse, assist, heal, follow or cooperate with it ; and contrient needs : those which cause a subject to approach a disliked object in order to dominate aggressively, abuse, injure, or destroy it. Negative needs, following Holt, are abient needs.

This classification of needs is not very different from lists constructed by McDougall, Garnett, and a number of other writers. At first glance it is quite different from the scheme most commonly used in psycho-analysis. According to the latter there are two fundamental urges, or two classes of drives : ego instincts and sex instincts. Among the ego instincts is the hunger drive and the need for aggression. Hunger is rarely mentioned, but within recent years aggression has become one of the chief variables in the analyst's conceptual scheme. Aggression, the concomitant of hate, is considered to be the force which is operating when an individual attacks, injures and murders others. It may also be turned inward, in which case the subject may abuse, mutilate or even kill himself. Contrasting with aggression and other unnamed ego instincts are the sex instincts the force underlying them all being termed ' libido.' Under sex

has been
subsumed :

1. The sex instinct proper, as biologists have described it, that is, the force which leads to the development of sexual characteristics and to intercourse between the sexes (n Sex).

2. All tendencies which seek and promote sensuous gratification (n Sentience), particularly the enjoyment of tactile sensations originating in certain sensitive regions of the body (the erogenous zones). Thus, analysts speak of oral, anal, urethral and genital erotism.

3. All desires and actions which are attended by genital excite-

i . HoIt.F.B. Animal Drive and the learning Process,
New York, i (j { i .

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ment or by that characteristic emotional state the palpitating, ecstatic-like feeling which is the usual accompaniment of sexual activity. Here one speaks of the erotization of a need (fusions with n Sex).

4. All manifestations of love and humane feeling : the emotions of a lover, feelings of friendship, social inclinations (n Affiliation) and maternal tenderness (n Nurturance) . Here the sex instinct takes the place of the biologist's herd instinct. It binds people together and leads to peace and concord.

5. Self-love, or Narcism, is also considered to be a manifesta-

tion of the sex instinct, but here it is the sex instinct turned inward upon the subject (Narcism, or Egophilia) .

Periodicity of Needs.

Many of the viscerogenic needs are characterized by rather regular rhythms of activity and rest, rhythms which seem to be determined by an orderly succession of physiological events : inspiration and expiration, ingestion and excretion, waking and sleeping. Within certain limits, these rhythms may be modified by the will of the subject or by regimentation imposed from without.

Among psychogenic needs we also find some evidence of periodicity, particularly in the alternations of contrasting needs : sociability and solitude, talking and listening, leading and following, helping and being helped, giving and getting, work and play. Though in most cases, the frequency of such activities may be readily changed, under stable conditions a need may acquire a rhythmic habit which will determine its objectification irrespective of the immediately presenting environment. The organism will search periodically for an appropriate object.

The fact of periodicity speaks for the dynamic importance of intraorganic successions. It also speaks for a theory of dynamic forces rather than theories which attempt to explain behaviour on the basis of chained reflexes.

For convenience, a single need cycle may be divided into : 1, a refractory period, during which no incentive will arouse it ; 2, an inducible or ready period, during which the need is

inactive but

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susceptible to excitation by appropriate stimuli ; and 3, an active period, during which the need is determining the behaviour of the total organism.

A need which is aroused in a subject and not completely objectified may persevere for some time afterwards. During this period the subject will meet situations that present themselves with a need set. That is to say, the need in question will be in a state of high inducibility or high readiness, with a low threshold of stimulation. For example, if it is anger (n Aggression) that has been aroused, the subject will be apt to vent his emotion upon the first object that crosses his path, the object, in such a case, being called a substitute object (Freud) .

Interrelation of Needs

In everyday life a subject may, within a short space of time, exhibit many needs in succession, each of them evoked by some newly arising circumstance. In such events there is no reason for conceptualizing an integration of needs within the personality. Likewise, when a subject makes a decision to follow some particular course of action, he usually has the prospect of satisfying a number of needs in succession. More frequently, however, one finds evidence of a definite, and sometimes enduring relation between needs.

Fusion of Needs. When a single action pattern satisfies two or more needs at the same time we may speak of a fusion (F) of needs. Confluences of this kind are extremely common.

Ex : F n AcqExh : An exhibitionistic subject gets paid to sing a solo in public.

Subsidiation of Needs. When one or more needs are activated in the service of another need, we may speak of the former as being subsidiary (S) * and the latter as being determinant. The determinant need regulates the action from the beginning, but may not itself become overt until the terminal phase of the total event.

i. The letter 'S' standing between two needs signifies that the former is subsidiary to the latter. In other contexts ' S ' means ' subject.'

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A politician removes a spot from his suit (n Noxavoidance) because he does not wish to make a bad impression (n Inf avoidance), and thus diminish his chances of winning the approval and friendship of Mr. X (n Affiliation) from whom he hopes to obtain some slanderous facts (n Cognizance) relating to the private life of his political rival, Mr. Y, information which he plans to publish (n Exposition) in order to damage the reputation of Mr. Y (n Aggression) and thus assure his own election to office (n Achievement) : (n Nox S n Inf S n Aff S n Cog S n Exp S n Agg S n Ach) .

The subsidiation of one major need to another is similar to the subsidiation of sub-needs to a major need. For, as we have pointed out, many consecutively organized accessory actions are usually necessary before an end situation is attained.

To cure a patient suffering from an acute abdominal condition many separate, though integrated, acts are required. The operating room must be prepared for the patient ; instruments, sponges, sheets, and gowns must be sterilized ; the operator and his assistants must wash up and disinfect their hands ; the anaesthetic must be properly administered ; each step in the operation must be effectively performed ; and from then on during the entire course of the convalescence proper measures must be taken to bring about the patient's recovery. Each procedure is an act accessory to the need for Nurturance and, perhaps, also to other needs (Achievement, Acquisition).

Since each sub-need has an end situation (sub-effect) of its own, any need-determined action may be regarded as composed of a progressing series of transitional closures (sub-effects) . During activity a subject will usually be attentive to the single procedure which confronts him. He will have a specific intention (sub-need) in mind, the major need to which the given intention is integrated being * out of mind.' During an operation the surgeon is not imagining the final goal of all his endeavours, the patient leaving the hospital well and happy. His mind is preoccupied with the problem of the moment, clamping that spurting artery, mak-

ing a clean incision through the fascia, separating the muscles and getting good retraction. Each step properly performed is a minor accomplishment (n Ach).

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We see, then, that in most cases a succession of accessory effects must be realized before the major or final effect can be achieved. Thus, the evocation of any need will secondarily excite a series of sub-needs, each of which may be designated, if it is expedient to do so, by referring to the specific minor effect (task) which it aims to achieve. Though each subsidiary effect is but a part of a larger temporal whole, at any moment the attention of the subject is directed towards the accomplishment of just that effect.

Contractions. Needs are commonly related to their opposites in a temporal configuration. A phase of Dominance is succeeded by a phase of Deference. A wave of Aggression is followed by a wave of Nurturance or of Abasement. Abstinence follows indulgence ; passivity, activity, etc. The second trend is called a contra-faction, since it opposes or serves to balance the effects of the first. It may, for instance, be the exaggerated expression of a need following a prolonged period of inhibition. Under this heading should be listed counteractions, defence mechanisms, atonements, reformations. The two opposing needs combined may be termed an ambitendency (A) . The life patterns of some subjects allow

for such contrafactions.

1. A man acts like a Napoleon at home, but in his business is obedient and servile (n Dominance A n Abasement) . 2. A man is very stubborn and resistant with his wife but is worshipfully compliant to his mistress (n Autonomy A n Deference) .

Conflicts. Needs may come into conflict (C) with each other within the personality, giving rise when prolonged to harassing spiritual dilemmas. Much of the misery and most of the neurotic illness in the world may be attributed to such inner conflicts.

1. A woman hesitates to satisfy her passion because of the disapproval of her family (n Sex C n Blamavoidance) . 2. A man hesitates to satisfy his desire to fly an aeroplane because of fear (n Achievement C n Harmavoidance) .

To explain the occurrence of contrafactions and conflicts it seems that one must refer to directional forces which oppose or balance each other. It is as if there were a tendency for psychic

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equilibration which operates in such a way that an exaggerated objectification of one need must be eventually balanced by an exaggerated objectification of its opposite (cf. the balance of sympathetic and parasympathetic tendencies) . If these two consecutive phases of behaviour are merely regarded as expressions of two superficial traits, or attitudes, there is no

answer to the question, why did the second phase follow the first ? Only when one supposes that each attitude is the resultant of a central force that is usually balanced by an opposing force does the matter become intelligible. This is an argument for the need theory.

Needs, Emotions and Affections

All experimenters know that emotion is a topic about which there is no agreement at the present day. To us it seems preferable not to attempt to discuss it in the short space that is at our disposal, but to come directly to our present tentative conclusion without marshalling evidence.

Without pretending to settle anything we may state that for us emotion ' is a hypothetical concept that stands for an excitatory process in the brain most probably in the interbrain (thalamic region) that may manifest itself subjectively or objectively or both. Thus an emotion may occur without the subject's being aware of it (unconscious emotion) . Usually it is felt, the subjective manifestation being that quality of an experience which is generally designated by the word 'emotional 1 ('excited'). The objective manifestation is a compound of autonomic disturbances ('autonomie'), affective actones, and the intensification or disorganization of effective behaviour (motor and verbal). Sometimes the faintest moistening of an eye or the quiver of the voice is enough for a diagnosis. At other times the experimenter re-

quires more evidence : the occurrence of a sufficient
press, signs
)f vegetative upset, characteristic tremors, gestures
and exclama-
:ions, confusion of thought, disorganization of actones
and a sub-
ective report of having been ' much upset.'

It is possible that the separable emotions are
differentiations

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from an elementary general excitement (Stratton 1) or
startle
(Hunt and Landis 2). They grade into one another and
are some-
times difficult to distinguish objectively or
subjectively. Usually,
however, they are definite enough to be named. In
practice, for
instance, temper tantrum, phobia, guilt feelings,
contempt and
depression are useful categories, not often confused.

Our own observations agree with common opinion (and Mc-
Dougall's 3 theory) that certain emotions are linked
with certain
tendencies to action (disgust with retraction, rage
with combat
etc.). We do not find, however, that all emotions have
drives
or all drives have emotions, but the more important
emotions
(ex : i, fear, anger, disgust, pity, shame, lust and
2, elation, de-
jection) are associated either i, with a certain
drive, or 2, with the
fortune facilitation (success) or obstruction (
failure) of a
drive. The association of particular emotions and
drives supplies
us with another index for differentiating some of the
needs.

We are using ' affection ' to refer to hedonic feelings
: pleasure,

happiness, * eupathy, ' 4 contentment and elation (positive affec-
tion), and unpleasure, unhappiness, 'dyspathy,' 4
discontent and
dejection (negative affection). Here we shall deal
with this age-
old problem as we did with the problem of emotion,
giving only
the briefest outline of our working hypothesis.

Affection is considered to be a hypothetical concept
which
stands for some process in the brain probably in the
interbrain
that manifests itself subjectively as feelings of
pleasure or un-
pleasure (which vary in intensity), and objectively (
with much
less clearness) as a compound of affective actones (a
certain
bearing, demeanour, intonation of speech, tempo of
movement,
etc.). Our most direct information about feelings must
come
from introspection, but it should not be supposed that
an affection

1. Stratton.G.M. 'Excitement as an undifferentiated
emotion,' in Feelings and
Emotion, The Wittenberg Symposium, Worcester,! 928.
2. Hunt,W.A. and Landis,C. ^ Studies of the startle
pattern : I, II & III.' J. Psychol.,
1936,2, 201-219.
3. McDougall,W. Outline of Psychology, New York, 1923.
4. ' Eupathy ' is a convenient term for psychical well-
being, joy, contentment ;
and ' dyspathy ' for its opposite : mental distress.

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(as defined above) is always or even usually
conscious. Now, if
we construct an hedonic scale leading from extreme
unpleasant-

ness through the point of indifference to extreme pleasantness, and say that every occurrence which tends to move affection up the scale (i.e., to make the subject feel less unpleasure, or more pleasure) is hedonically positive, and everything that tends to make it move down the scale is hedonically negative, then the results of observation and introspection may be stated as follows :

there are three sorts of pleasure, or three distinguishable kinds of events that are hedonically positive : i. Activity pleasure, accompanying the rise of * energy ' (zest) and its discharge (' overflow') in uninhibited movement or thought. This corresponds to Aristotle's and Hamilton's definition of happiness 1 and to Buhler's ' function ' pleasure. 2 It is marked by free, playful, actonal movement : the catharsis of inner tension. The instant an obstruction is met or fatigue sets in the level of affection falls. 2. Achievement pleasure, accompanying the conquest of oppositions to the will. This is Nietzsche's correlate of happiness. It is different from activity pleasure in as much as here the subject welcomes obstacles (physical or mental), selects the hardest tasks things that demand great exertion and courage , in order to experience the elation of mastering them. If the body and its cravings are regarded as oppositions to the will, the overcoming of inertia, fatigue, fear, appetite or lust brings pleasure. The greater the demands on the subject, the greater the experienced pleasure if he is ^able to meet them. The performance of an easy or habitual task brings no satisfaction, and failure in accomplishment

markedly
lowers the level of affection. Repeated failures lead
to disquieting
inferiority feelings. 8 3. Effect pleasure,
accompanying the satis-
faction of need tension. Every need arises out of a
disequilibrium
(lack, distension, harm or threat) which considered
by itself is

1. Hamilton, William. Lectures on Metaphysics, i\$5gr-6o.
2. Biihler, K. ' Displeasure and pleasure in relation to
activity/ in Feelings and
Emotions, The Wittenberg Symposium, Worcester, 192 8.
3. Achievement pleasure is like activity pleasure in as
much as it accompanies
activity, but it is still more like effect pleasure
because it depends on the results
of activity. It might be called ' Ego effect pleasure.*

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un pleasurable. This does not seem to be a fact to many
other
psychologists but it is a fact to us. We should say
that dissatis-
faction is the common attribute of every need qua need.
The dis-
satisfaction, however, is commonly obscured by i, the
initiation
of behaviour bringing activity pleasure or, in some
cases, achieve-
ment pleasure ; but much more commonly by 2,
anticipatory
images of successful terminal activity which tend to
raise the
affective level. The greatest pleasure seems to be
associated with
a relatively rapid lowering of need tension (Freud, 1
Bousfield 2) .
The ratio : degree of realization/degree of
expectation, is also an
important factor. Thus, roughly speaking, since the
beginning
situation is unpleasurable and the end situation is

pleasurable,
and since the need action leads the S from the former
to the latter,
it may be said that the activity of drives tends to be
hedonically
positive. Opposition interferes with progress,
postpones satisfac-
tion and not infrequently diminishes expectations of
close end
pleasure. Failure to attain the goal often leads to two
kinds of dis-
satisfaction : that arising from the frustrated,
perseverating need
and that arising from the failure of the Achievement
drive (' I
was not able to do it '). For example, a man who is
jilted by a
woman may lose self-esteem as well as the desired
object.

Most people do a great many things everyday that they
do not
enjoy doing. 'I don't do this for pleasure,' a man will
affirm,
thinking that he has refuted the principle of hedonism.
But in
such cases, I believe, introspection will reveal that
the man is
determined (consciously or unconsciously) by thoughts
of some-
thing unpleasant (pain, criticism, blame, self -
depreciation) that
might occur if he does not do what he is doing. He goes
to the
dentist to avoid future pain or disfigurement, he
answers his mail
in order not to lose social status, and so forth. If it
is not the thought
of expected unpleasantness that prompts him, it is the
thought of
expected pleasure, possibly in the very distant future.
Visions of
heaven after death, for example, have often encouraged
men to
endure great suffering on earth.

1. Freud, S. Beyond the Pleasure Principle, London, 192
- 2.

2. Bousfield, W.R. Pleasure and Pain, New

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These considerations commit us to one variety of the now almost abandoned theory of psychological hedonism. We think it is important to re-affirm that :

1. Affection (i.e., the hypothetical physiological counterpart [correlate] of felt affection) may be conceived of as a delicate index of diffuse well-being (health of mind and body) or its reverse. It is made negative by any obstruction to a vital process that arouses a need. Every obstruction, to be sure, is due to some specific factor (lack of oxygen, lack of companions, etc.) which evokes a specific type of behaviour, but the point is that all obstructions giving rise to needs are hedonically negative. This is their common attribute. Furthermore, all adaptive behaviour tends to rectify this state, to facilitate the obstructed process and thereby raise the affective level. Hence, it seems proper to say that need action obeys the pleasure principle (Freud).

2. Instead of saying that all behaviour is a search for pleasure, it seems better to say that all behaviour is the riddance (or avoidance) of painful tension, encouraged perhaps by pleasure-evoking images of expected goals. The emphasis upon * escape from pain ' was given by Plato, Kant, and Schopenhauer.

3. Previous and present levels of expectation and aspiration must never be neglected in attempting to account for a

given
affective state (cf. William James *).

4. It is important to distinguish the three separable kinds of hedonically positive occurrences : i, mere uninhibited activity ; ii,

^overcoming difficult obstacles ; and iii, moving to end situations (relieving wants). These different sorts of pleasure-seeking or pain-riddances are often in conflict with one another. Freud, by neglecting i and ii, gives a one-sided theory which fails to account for the pleasure of exercise and contemplation and fails to provide an hedonic basis for the structuration of the Ego (the development of will power, etc.) .

If the above propositions are approximately correct the experimenter is furnished with another index for distinguishing needs. The exhibition of satisfaction at the attainment or at the gratuitous

i. Jamcs,W. Psychology : Briefer course. New York, 1892, Chap. XII.

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arrival of a certain end situation suggests a need for just such a situation. And of like diagnostic value is the exhibition of dissatisfaction when a certain trend is frustrated.

As the concept of need or drive was developing it was noticed that we were applying it to two somewhat different kinds of phenomena : i, wishes for a certain end situation, together with evidences of satisfaction when it occurred (regardless

of the kind
of behaviour exhibited by the S) ; and 2, behaviour
which tended
directly to bring about a certain situational
transformation. A
subject, illustrating the first phenomenon, might crave
a specific
result but exhibit a trend commonly associated with
quite a dif-
ferent need. For example, a girl who wanted
revengefully to hurt
her parents (n Aggression) exposed herself in a thin
nightgown
to wintry weather with the hope of catching pneumonia (n Abuse-
ment) in which attempt, by the way, she was
successful. She
did it with the anticipation of her parents' subsequent
repentance
and grief. Numerous other illustrations of this sort of
behaviour
come to mind. I remember, for instance, a friend of
mine saying :
1 If you want to destroy a man, flatter him to death.'
One thinks
also of the tendency of some women to spurn (n Rej)
the very
man they wish to attract (F n AftSex). The contrasting phe-
nomenon is exhibited by a subject who ' blows off steam
' by
openly expressing his aggression (catharsis), but does
not par-
ticularly enjoy the fruits of his conduct (that is,
the injury suf-
fered by the object). There is a distinction between
these two
forms of expression which we did not at first perceive
clearly :
the emphasis on the former case being upon the desired
end situa-
tion and in the latter upon the behaviour that is
exhibited.

The instinct theory of McDougall emphasizes the
impulsive,
emotional type of behaviour, illustrated by our second
case, but
does not seem to take account of the more indirect or

deliberate
type of conduct. McDougall, with the laudable intention
of showing the connections between functions, puts into one
category a certain emotion, a certain action and a certain trend (or effect).
Thus, one instinct might be called ' fear,' or ' flight
' or * security ' ;
another * anger,' 'assault' or * object-injury.' To be
sure, these

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different aspects of need action are found together
very commonly
in animals and not infrequently as reactions to sudden
stimuli in
adults (emotional needs). But, according to our
experience, a
theory of motivation must be carried beyond the
primitive, im-
pulsive (thalamic) level of action. It must be made
to include
cool, carefully planned conduct : conduct that does not
display
characteristic emotional actions. Here we believe, with
Garnett, 1
that it is better to have the fundamental concept stand
for the
more inclusive thing : the obstructing organic
disturbance (be-
ginning situation) which of course implies its
opposite, the facilitat-
ing organic satisfaction (end situation) ; and
allow everything
to vary, as it does, between the beginning and the end
situations.

Our own reflections have led us to formulate the two
above-
described phenomena as follows : the need that is
overtly expressed
is put down as a subsidiation of the need that is
finally satisfied
(determinant need) . For example, the formula ' n Aba
S n Agg '

indicates that the subject allowed himself to be harmed in order to harm someone else (masochistic aggression). If the dominant need is entirely concealed (not expressed directly) it is said to be latent (In Agg), and if it is unconscious, as well, this fact is also represented by a symbol : uln Agg. Simple overt aggression, on the other hand, as illustrated by our second case, is put down as it occurs (n Agg), or more precisely, if it is an emotional outburst, it is symbolized thus : emn Agg.

Emotional needs (emn) needs accompanied by agitation of thought and body are most apt to set off actones which are reminiscent of animal, savage or infantile behaviour. The action is regressive and instinctual in so far as the more lately acquired actones do not function. An explanation of this phenomenon might be that the occasion has aroused thalamic centres, generating energy that tends to discharge by the shortest routes the shortest routes being the innate, instinctual or primitive action patterns. Supposedly, the cortex, or some of it, is short-circuited. The action occurs without conscious effort (will). The body moves automatically, just as the leg kicks up when the patellar

i. Garnett, A.C. The Mind in Action, New York, 1932.

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tendon is struck. In the latter case the blow seems to ' do the work, ' though we know that ' nervous energy ' comes from the ex-

cited neurones in the spinal cord. In emotional action it is the sudden, close, pressive situation that seems to 'do the work' by releasing energy in the motor centres of the interbrain which, in turn, leads to action that is effortless. Indeed, it is the attempt to inhibit such behaviour rather than to promote it that is felt to be effortful.

It appears that if an emotional need is abruptly restrained the energy not being discharged residual tension will persevere and lead, perhaps, to a variety of after-effects. These after-effects do not seem to occur if a deliberate, unemotional, consciously-intended action is inhibited. A driving emotion one that is linked with a directional tendency may be regarded as a heated deed momentarily deprived of embodiment. Release of emotion, therefore, has a cathartic effect (activity pleasure) : a subjective value, which may, however, be out of harmony with the results of the executed act. Symbolic behaviour let us say, the killing of an animal in a religious festival can give vent without dire consequences to savage fantasies locked within the organism. It seems that emotional needs are desires for action of a certain kind more than desires for specific end situations. In the distant racial past, it may be supposed, the end situation of successfully executed emotional action was completely satisfying. Under these conditions an individual could remain unified. But as soon as the time arrived that successful emotional action led to distressing results remorse and guilt feelings , persisting inner conflict

came into
being : conflict,- let us say, between the forebrain
and the inter-
brain.

Needs, Actones, Vectors

The word ' actone ' has been used to stand for a simple
bodily
movement, such as pouting, lowering the eyes, smiling,
coughing,
extending the hand (simple motone) ; a compound of
move-
ments, such as rising from a recumbent position,
walking, manipu-
lating, kneeling and bowing (complex motone) ; a
single word

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or phrase, such as ' Yes,' ' Hurry up,' ' I like you,'
* Go to Hell '
(simple verbone) ; and a compound of words, such as
occurs in
a long conversation or speech (complex verbone). Now,
these
are all objective occurrences and they may be recorded
and
measured in terms of frequency, speed (tempo), strength
(em-
phasis), duration, conjunctivity (organization) and a
host of
other defining dimensions. Many of these actones are
commonly
considered to be outward signs of a particular
emotional state,
whereas others are regarded as manifestations of
temperament or
temper. The term * expressive movements,' which
indicates that
these events reveal something that is * inside ' and
are not to be
taken merely as patterns, is currently used to include
all such
phenomena.

Though, in the present study, we have neglected the

problem of temperament having been unable to arrive at any satisfactory scheme for distinguishing its varieties we have observed the presence or absence of numerous variables which are commonly used as indices of it. These observations may eventually lead to something, but at the moment we have nothing to contribute to the subject. Later, when the matter of general traits is considered, the variables that seem pertinent will be defined.

Putting aside, then, the importance of the general dimensions of actones we turn to the question of their relations to needs. It may first be noted that affective actones despite the negative findings of laboratory experimentalists (Landis, 1 Sherman 2) are employed in everyday life with considerable accuracy as indices of emotional states, and, further, that the commonest of these emotions, as McDougall has pointed out, are associated either 1, with a particular drive or 2, with the fortune of a drive. In the first case the affective actonal pattern may be taken as an index of the occurrence of the associated drive (ex : anger is a sign of Aggression) and subsumed under the latter concept ; whereas when an actone portrays gratification or frustration we are in-

1. Landis.C. Emotion : II. 'The expressions of emotion,' in A Handbook, of General Experimental Psychology. Worcester, Mass. 1934.

2. Shcrman,M. and ShermanJ.C. The Process of Human Behavior, New York,i929.

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formed of the fact that * something ' (which can be nothing else than a need) is being facilitated or obstructed, and the nature of the total situation tells us what need it is.

Furthermore, almost every effective actone is commonly associated in a given culture with a certain effect (aim), physical or social (usually the actone and its effect are bound together as two aspects of one act) ; and there are no effects which do not further the fortune of some need. That is to say, every effect may function as a sub-effect to some major effect (goal of a need). Consequently, even though the actone is incompetent (has no effect), by observing it one can guess the need. Indeed, there are many actones which are, as it were, * logical mechanisms ' for a particular need. For example : crying (n Succorance), peering or cocking the ears (n Cognizance), striking out with the fist or kicking (n Aggression), smiling or waving (n Affiliation), turning the head away (n Rejection), reclining (n Passivity). Most of these are socially effective, because they are accepted cultural norms, but the point is that they are customarily associated with a particular need and, knowing the culture, one can usually guess correctly the need that is operating. It is because of the common association in animals of certain actones (or sub-effects) with certain needs that McDougall, in developing his formulation of instincts, was able, without much misunderstanding, to stress action patterns (flight, combat, caring for offspring

) rather than goals.

Psycho-analysis has quite conclusively shown, in certain cases, that many simple actones (ex : hysterical conversion symptoms) ' mean ' something ; that is, they are dissociated parts of a larger context and derive their significance from that context, at the core of which there is always some unconscious need or fusion of needs.

These considerations lead us to the conclusion that in most cases actones may be taken as indices of a need, conscious or unconscious ; a conclusion which is not in harmony with the point of view that enjoys the widest acceptance in the United States. In this country it is generally considered that the elementary units of behaviour are action patterns (actones) rather than

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directional tendencies. It is affirmed that the responses which are most constant and characteristic (that get ' fixed ' in the personality irrespective of the forces that may have engendered them) are reflexive actones (demeanours, gestures, manners, attitudes, specific forms of movement and speech) which have become divorced from and hence may be considered apart from the needs which if there are such entities they once may have satisfied. According to this view the dynamic factor is in the neuro-motor system itself (just as the force of a simple tendon reflex is derived

from energy liberated in anterior horn cells) and not in some pre-motor, possibly endocrine chemical factor (need). In judging this point of view it should be noted first that almost invariably a trend (or effect) is surreptitiously introduced into every action pattern that is distinguished (ex : ' feeding behaviour' includes the fact that food is taken into the mouth). If no effect were achieved the action pattern could not be adaptive (adaptation itself being a general effect). But if we disregard this flaw in the case for mechanism (vide the trend vs. actone discussion, pp. 56-58) we must admit that there is much truth in this conception. It stresses what may be called the ' mechanization of behaviour' (actonal needs), and the fact that the actones thus established by repetition may in a constant environment become as determining as the needs. As the condition progresses the personality becomes more constant, rigid and less adaptable to new conditions (to the delight of personologists who seek consistency) . As an illustration of this, a form of behaviour described by Mapother may be cited :

In 1918 I was billeted in a kitchen with a brick-tiled floor. I had a kitten which had been separated from its mother as soon as its eyes were open. There was snow outside, and the kitten could not go out. In fullness of time it developed a practice of scrabbling at the brick floor with its front paws, turning round and defacating and scrabbling again in a typically feline and perfectly futile attempt to cover up its faeces. 1

One can hardly deny that mechanization occurs as well as its counterpart, socialization (the inculcation of culture patterns) ;

i. Mapother, E. ' Tough or tender.' Proc. R. Soc. Mcd., 1934, 27, 1687-1712.

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otherwise chloroform at forty would not have been recommended. Nevertheless, mechanized behaviour exhibits trends they were once adaptive even though they are no longer and these trends are classifiable according to the scheme that is employed for needs. That is to say, similar trends may and should be put together, regardless of whether some are novel patterns arising out of consciously present needs and others are automatisms. The difference between these two kinds of behaviour is attributable in our scheme to a difference in the strength of another variable (Sameness, or rigidity) . Furthermore, even though a need, from the point of view of consciousness, has been 'worked out' of behaviour, it must nevertheless be in the 'background.' The mechanisms, if they are adaptive, must automatically facilitate ' something/ and they must do it before that 'something' becomes so obstructed that it creates tension in the regnancy (consciousness). It is perhaps only when frustration occurs (when the mechanisms fail) that the inner obstruction, exhibited as a need, comes to consciousness. For instance, we do not become conscious of needing and seeking air (respiration is automatic) until partial

asphyxia
occurs. My own opinion is this : mechanization (actonal consistency with one's self) and socialization (actonal consistency with cultural norms) are widespread, important phenomena but only under rare or abnormal conditions do we find behaviour patterns that exist for long without satisfying underlying needs. And, even if it were shown that such patterns do occur, most of them achieve effects (which would satisfy certain needs if they were present) ; consequently, actonal actions can be classified, as the needs are classified, according to their effects.

Since an actone can be compared to a piece of apparatus (the muscularly controlled limbs being instruments for facilitating the life of the vital organs), the present point may be illustrated by taking the case of a research man in science who has learned certain technical methods. Which is more correct, to say that the man is prompted by intellectual curiosity (n Cog) to investigate and solve certain problems, or to say that the scientific procedure which he has learned determines his behaviour ? It seems obvious

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to us that both factors are effective to varying degrees depending on personality and circumstance. Since an individual cannot become equally proficient in all techniques (actones), his conduct is limited (determined) by the abilities and readi-nesses that he is able to develop. One might say that the needs that

are objectified
and the goals that are selected are the ones which can
be most
easily realized by the actones at a man's disposal. An
extreme
case would be a technician of a single apparatus who
spent his
days making countless measurements of everything that
came
to hand, thus allowing the instrument to determine the
problems.
Looking at the matter from the opposite point of view,
it seems
that the learning of a scientific technique must be
prompted and
sustained, by a desire to investigate (to probe into
things, gain
knowledge, solve problems) as well as by other needs.
If there was
no need of this, or some other, sort to be satisfied by
the acquired
actones, the individual would tend to change his
vocation, to de-
velop abilities which would satisfy a more positive
requirement of
his nature. Or, if the man possessed veritable
intellectual interest
the chances are that he would become absorbed in
certain prob-
lems, and in his attempt to solve them he would learn
or invent
new procedures. He would not be limited by stereotyped
methods.
The emphasis on technique seems to be more appropriate
for
certain personalities and the emphasis on needs and
goals for
others. Also, a psychologist who views men
superficially ' extra-
ceptively' (vide p. 211), 'peripherally*' (vide p. 6)
will be
impressed by repetitions of technique (actones),
whereas the
psychologist who apperceives them deeply intrceptively
(vide
p. 211) centrally (vide p. 6) will be impressed by the
aim
which sustains the technique or endures throughout many
changes of technique.

There is, in addition to the actonal viewpoint, another conception which remains to be considered. It is the one which affirms that all people have the same needs in the same measure and, consequently, they cannot be differentiated on this basis ; what distinguishes them are the modes (other than actones) which they employ to satisfy their needs. No doubt there is much truth in

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this proposition, how much we are not prepared to judge. That we have given it a place in our scheme the reader will discover when, in the succeeding chapter, the various forms of need expression are listed. Some of the modes are covered by the concept of subsidiation. To illustrate : a man may establish a friendly relation (n Affiliation) by flattery (n Deference), by imparting interesting information (n Exposition), by asking questions that the O enjoys answering (n Cognizance), by agreeing with the O (n Similance), by expressing sympathy (n Nurturance), by tactfully exhibiting his own talents (n Recognition), and so forth.

But besides these and others to be discussed later, there are modes which are distinguishable according to the type or general direction of spatial movement. For example, adience and abience (vide p. 79) describe movements towards and away from external objects. Following Lewin, 1 these may be termed

vectors
 (v) . The Adience vector furthers the positive needs
 (Food, Sex,
 Sentience, Achievement, Recognition, Affiliation,
 Deference,
 Nurturance, Dominance, Exhibition, Succorance), whereas
 the
 Abience vector favours the negative needs (
 Harmavoidance, Nox-
 avoidance, Blamavoidance, Inf avoidance) . Contrience
 (Aggres-
 sion) may be included with Adience, and a new vector *
 Encase-
 ment* (surrounding the self with a defensive and
 forbidding
 * wall ') may be classed with Abience. This gives us a
 dichotomy
 that roughly corresponds to extraversion-introversion.
 This way of
 viewing behaviour has been applied by Alexander 2 and
 Horn-
 burger 8 to the activities centring about the erogenous
 zones. For
 example, the mouth may be used to passively take in,
 aggressively
 bite into or disgustedly spit out objects ; and the
 anus may func-
 tion to retain or expel, and so forth. This conception
 can be use-
 fully extended, as Homburger has shown, to characterize
 the play
 of children, particularly in their trafficking with
 objects. For in-
 t

1. Lewin, K. A Dynamic theory of Personality, New York, 1935.
2. Alexander, F. 'The influence of psychologic factors upon gastro-intestinal disturbances,' Psychoanal. Quart., 1934, j, 501-588.
3. Homburger, E. Configurations in play, Psychoanal. Quart., 1937, 6, 139-214.

stance, among children there are those who greedily grab and snatch, those who collect and patiently construct, those who secretively hoard and retain, and those who reject and violently throw down. Finally, there are movements of penetration into objects as well as those of entering and breaking out of enclosures. Though it is clear that certain vectors favour certain needs, we find in most cases that a single vector may serve several needs and a single need may be realized through one of several vectors. According to this broadened viewpoint a vector describes an objective trend (of a general sort) that may facilitate one or more needs. Thus the question arises, which is the better criterion for distinguishing individuals ? We cannot give an answer at the present time because we arrived at vector analysis following Mr. Homburger's exposition of it as we were approaching the termination of our studies and there was not time to test it systematically. The following list of vectors are tentatively proposed :

1. Adience vector, approaching desirable objects. This favours all the affiliative needs.
2. Ingressioji vector, seeking and entering an enclosed space or haven (claustrum) and staying there (n Passivity, n Seclusion, n Harmavoidance, n Rejection). This movement which suggests a 'return to the womb ' is probably highly correlated with the Abience, Encasement and Adherence vectors.
- 3.. Adherence vector, reaching for and clinging to a supporting object

(n Affiliation, n Harmavoidance) . This is the characteristic movement of infantile dependence, the mother being the preferred object (n Suc-
corance). It may be fused with the Ingression vector (entering and refusing to leave a sanctum) .

4. Conscience vector, attacking external objects, the objects being usually disliked (n Aggression) . This may be fused with Injection, or even Ejection (damaging objects by throwing them about or soiling them).

5. Abience vector, retracting or fleeing from disliked, scorned or feared objects (n Harmavoidance, n Inf avoidance, n Rejection) . This may be associated with Ingression or Adherence (n Seclusion, n Suc-
corance) .

6. Encasement vector, remaining fixed and holding one's ground

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against intruders by erecting a wall, holding up a shield or making aggressively defensive movements. This is represented on the verbal level by reticence, taciturnity, ' psychological distance ' (n Inviolacy, n Pas-
sivity, n Seclusion, n Def endance, n Inf avoidance, n Blamavoidance) . Logically, this should be correlated with the Ingression and Retention vectors.

7. Egression vector, leaving or breaking out of an enclosed place (claustrum) . This suggests the re-enaction of birth as well as the angry liberating movements displayed when a child is restrained (n Auton-

omy). This vector is commonly fused with Locomotion.

8. Locomotion vector, moving rapidly through space, running from one spot to another, leaving places (n Autonomy) . This is a very general attribute of behaviour. It is probably correlated with Adience, Egression and Injection. It includes what is commonly termed exploratory activity.

9. Manipulation vector, moving objects about or using them as tools or instruments with which to do things (n Dominance over things) .

10. Construction vector, combining and configuring objects, building things (n Construction) .

11 . Reception vector, sucking or passively taking things into the body (particularly into the mouth), which often suggests dependence upon others for nourishment, affection, comfort, support, possessions, energy, knowledge, encouragement (n Succorance) . It should perhaps also include the passive enjoyment of sensuous impressions (sights and sounds) . It is commonly fused with Adherence.

12. Acquisition vector, grabbing or aggressively acquiring objects (perhaps to put in the mouth and bite) . This goes with Adience, Contrience, Locomotion, Reception.

13. Ejection vector, expelling (pushing out) something (particularly excretions) from the body. This is also exhibited when a child throws things down, smashes objects on the floor, creates disorder, smears and soils. It is not certain whether the following should be included : spitting up, blowing out, vomiting, making loud noises, exploding, dy-

namiting, tearing apart, logorrhoea, slanderous gossip.

14. Retention vector, retaining something (particularly excrement) in the body. Constipation is the physiological prototype of this, but there is also mutism and secrecy, possessiveness and miserliness and the unwillingness to give time, energy or affection to others. This is often fused with Encasement.

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15. Injection vector, sticking an object into something. This trend characterizes the phallic phase of sexual development. Children like to put their fingers into things, to bore, to force sticks into holes, to throw knives, shoot arrows and so forth.

One advantage of vector analysis is the fact that it is based on readily discernible spatial changes, and for this reason there is apt to be good agreement among those who make the initial observations. However, since the vectors are of negligible importance until they are interpreted, the * personal equation' is not diminished.

To conclude the topic of mode, we may say that under this term we list not only all the varieties of action by which a need may be realized, but also the materials, implements, vehicles, machines (agency objects or technics) which the limbs manipulate in order to achieve the desired goal.

Since, as we have said, there is a close relation between certain needs and certain actones (the former being dependent

for their satisfaction upon the latter), and since the effective operation of actones requires ability (innate and acquired talent), it is highly probable that early abilities determine in large measure what needs develop and become dominant. Since actones and effects must be mutually dependent, invention may be the mother of necessity as often as its daughter. We did not make full use of this conception in the present study, though the attempt was made to discover the more prominent abilities and disabilities of each subject (vide p. 441). Interests should perhaps also be mentioned at this point, since many of them involve a particular set of motones (ex : swimming, tennis, mountain climbing, fishing) or a particular class of verbones (ex : political speaking, logic, poetry) which call for special abilities. Interests, abilities and actones are closely interrelated (vide p. 228) .

Cathected Objects, Interests

An object (O *) that evokes a need is said to * have cathexis ' (c) or to * be cathected ' (by the subject or by the need). This is

i. O = object, an entity (thing, person, institution) which evokes reactions in the subject (S).

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one of Freud's many valuable concepts. 1 If the object evokes a positive adient need (indicating that the S likes the O) it is said to have a positive cathexis (value) ; if it

evokes a positive
 contrient or a negative abient need (indicating that
 the S dislikes
 the O) it is said to have a negative cathexis. Such
 cathexes may
 be temporary or enduring. Sometimes one object is
 endowed with
 both positive and negative cathexis (ambivalence).
 Cathexes may
 be further classified according to the need which the O
 evokes in
 the S. Common cathexes, for example, are the following
 : garbage
 (c Noxavoidance), lightning (c Harmavoidance), doctor
 (c
 Succurance), sobbing child (c Nurturance), hero (c
 Defer-
 ence), autocrat (c Autonomy). A need that is
 concentrated upon
 one object or upon objects of a well-defined class may
 be called
 a * focal ' need ; one that is moved by a wide variety
 of objects may
 be called ' diffuse ' (free-floating) . The word *
 object ' is used to
 indicate a single object or a class of objects :
 sensuous patterns
 (ex : music, the landscapes of Van Gogh) , inanimate
 objects
 (ex : tools, a Ford runabout), animals (ex : cats,
 Fritz), persons
 (ex: Slavs, George Smith), institutions (ex: colleges,
 the
 G.A.R.) and ideologies (ex : Utopias, the theory of
 natural selec-
 tion, communism) . Different interests centre about
 different
 cathected objects.

A personality is largely revealed in the objects that
 it cathects
 (values or rejects), especially if the intensity,
 endurance and
 rigidity of each cathection is noted, and if
 observation is ex-
 tended to the cathected groups with which the
 individual is
 affiliated (has ' belongingness ') . In this fashion a
 reasonably

adequatejwr ttajiu^ Insti-

tutions and cultures can also be profitably analysed from the standpoint of their cathected objects, what they value and what they depreciate.

It would be possible to collect facts in favour of the proposition that the kind of objects that an individual cathects is of more significance than the relative strength of his needs. Everyone is

i. Lcwin and Tolman use the term valence to describe approximately the same facts.

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friendly (n Affiliation) to somebody and discriminates (n Rejection) against certain others. What should interest us particularly is the nature of the objects accepted and the nature of the objects rejected. With this opinion we agree readily up to a point. As we see it, the need factor and the object factor are complementary. Indeed, one can often guess what needs are dominant in an individual by knowing the objects of his positive and negative sentiments. Disliking the boss suggests Autonomy, preferring an inferior suggests Dominance, a fondness for unfortunates suggests Nurturance, a hatred of snobs suggests Inviolacy, and so forth. In our experience, the positive or negative cathection of a particular person can often be reasonably well 'explained' on the basis of a fusion of needs, since the object (the other person),

being himself a compound of several needs, is able to satisfy more than one in the subject. However, this falls short of the mark, for there are a great number of enduring cathexes which are due to circumstance rather than to the relative strength of needs. Objects can be cathected (by primary displacement), because, let us say, of their association with birthplace, nationality, parents, an unusual traumatic experience, a glamorous relationship or some other fortuitous event. Then there is secondary displacement with all the mythological imagery of the unconscious to choose from. But we are not concerned here with explanations of conditioning ; we are faced with the fact of different sentiments in different individuals, and with their striking importance in determining attraction or repulsion, respect or disrespect, friendship or enmity. The problem is to generalize for scientific purposes the nature of the cathected objects ; for it does not seem that we can deal with concrete entities in their full particularity. It can have no scientific meaning to say that an S likes Bill Snooks, or enjoys the works of Fred Fudge, or has joined the Gamma club, or belongs to the Eleventh Hour Adventists, though to the gentlemen involved with the S in these associations it may be a matter of concern. Our own opinion is that it is important to know that there is some object cathected, but the object, as such, can have no scientific status until it is analysed and formulated as a compound of

psychologically relevant attributes. The theory of press, we venture to hope, is a step in this direction.

In our work we chiefly distinguished among objects as persons : those that were superior (older, of higher status, stronger, more competent, dominant or more intelligent) and those that were inferior (younger, of lower status, weaker, ineffective, submissive, stupid). A need that was directed towards a superior O was termed supravertive, and one directed towards an inferior object, infravertive. Thus :

n suprAffiliation, the seeking of friendships with people of higher status,
n infrAggression, bullying younger objects,
n supraRejection, disrespect for adults.

Furthermore, we distinguished* ideologies (programs of action, rationalized sentiments, party platforms, mores, philosophies, religious beliefs) from all other objects ; having observed that a need might manifest itself towards a principle, an idea, a theory, as well as towards the personalities who supported it. Thus

n ideo Dominance, to argue in favour of one's theory.

n ideo Nurturance, to see value in another person's theory and to assist in

elaborating it

Besides the great variety of objects in the external world that are candidates for positive cathection, there is the self or Ego firstly and perhaps lastly beloved. An unusual attention to one's

body, feelings and thoughts and a narrow devotion to one's interests, disregarding the well-being of others, is termed Narcism (egophilia or Ego-cathection) . Needs which bring effects that chiefly benefit the subject are called ' egocentric ' (or * egophilic ') . Most actions are egocentric. But there are needs which are also exhibited in behalf of a group or institution (ex : one's country). These are called * sociocentric ' (or ' sociophilic ') . Sometimes men have to be urged to serve the State, in which case circumstances may compel them to manifest Dominance, Aggression, Exhibition and so forth.

Needs that are turned in upon the subject are said to be intraverative. For example :

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n intrAggression, self-blame, remorse, self-injury, suicide.

n intraNurturance, self-pity, nursing a wound.

n intraDeference, self -admiration.

n intraDominance, self-control, will power.

Among significant questions pertaining to cathection are the following :

1. The ratio of positive/negative cathexes. Does a subject like more objects than he dislikes ?
2. The intensity, endurance and inflexibility of the cathexes.
3. The distance in space and time of the cathected

objects. Does,
for example, a subject admire his father or is it a
mythological
figure that appeals to him ?

4. To what extent does a subject support his cathexes
by rea-
soned arguments (rationalizations) ?

5. Are the cathexes imitations for the most part or
have they
been independently arrived at ?

6. Are they conservative or radical ?

7. Does the S identify himself with his cathected
objects and
experience their fortunes as if they were his own ?

The concept of cathection may be employed for still
another
purpose : to represent the characteristic value or
potency of the
subject in the eyes of other men. One can ask, what are
the kinds
and intensities of cathexes he possesses for his
acquaintances, or,
if the S is a public character, for the members of his
native cul-
ture ? Is he annoying (c Aggression) t Does he
command respect
(c Deference) ? Does he attract friends (c
Affiliation) ? Does he
evoke sympathy (c Nurturance) ? Do people generally
ignore
him (c Rejection) ?

Need Integrates

Everyday observation instructs us rhar jyjrk
Hqvcjnpmenr each
need tends to attach to itself (to be commonly evoked
by) cer-
tain objects or certain classes of objects, other
objects or classes
being disregarded. And, likewise, each cathected object
attaches
to itself an aggregate or fusion of needs. Also,
certain character-

istic modes (actones, sub-trends, agency objects and pathways)

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become quite regularly utilized in connection with these needs and objects. Such consistencies of connection lead to the conception of relatively stable organizations in the brain, a notion which is substantiated by introspection. One might say that traces (images) of cathected objects in familiar settings become integrated in the mind with the needs and emotions which they customarily excite, as well as with images of preferred modes. A hypothetical compound of this sort may be called a need integrate, or complex. The integrate may enter consciousness as a fantasy or plan of action, or, under appropriate circumstances, it may be objectified, in which case it can be operationally defined as a reaction pattern that is evoked by certain conditions.

When a need is aroused it has a tendency to seek or to avoid, as the case may be, the external objects that resemble the images with which it is integrated. Failing in this, it projects the images into the most accessible objects, causing the subject to believe that the latter are what is desired or feared. The thing ' out there ' looks like or is interpreted to be the cathected image of the need integrate. This theory accounts for the content of dreams, hallucinations, illusions and delusions. It also makes intelligible the selectivity in attention and response which individuals exhibit when

confronted by a heterogeneous environment. In some people selectivity is so marked that the environment, as objectively laid out, seems of little importance. The subject makes what he will out of it. * If a man has character he has his typical experience which always recurs (Nietzsche) . Thus, * need integrate or complex is a concept that will explain relatively specific recurrent phenomena. It is an internal constellation which establishes a channel through which a need is realized. Compared to it the concept of need is highly abstract. Complexes differ chiefly in respect to the needs, the modes (actions, sub-needs, technics) and the stimulus-objects or goal-objects which compose them. Cultures, as well as individuals, may be portrayed as organizations of such complexes.

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Manifest and Latent Needs

Needs commonly become objectified and exhibit themselves in overt action, when they are aroused. One can observe repeatedly in some people the same directional tendency carried along by the same mode towards the same object. Integrates of this sort tend to become loosely organized into a characteristic temporal sequence : a daily schedule which gives shape to a person's life. Some needs integrate, however, do not become objectified in real action when evoked. They take one of a number of other forms, all of which we have termed latent. * Covert or * imaginal would have been a happier word, since in

these cases
the complexes are not strictly speaking latent. They
are active
fantasies which are merely not manifested objectively,
or, if so
manifested, follow an * 'irreal' (Lewin's term *)
course. Let us
list briefly the chief courses or levels of need
expression.

1. An objectified (overt or manifest) need. This
includes all
action that is 'real' * (seriously and responsibly
directed towards
actual objects), whether or not it is preceded by a
conscious in-
tention or wish.

2. A semi-objectified need. Here we class overt
activity that is
playfully and imaginatively (irresponsibly) directed
towards real
objects, or that is seriously directed towards imagined
objects.

2a. Play, particularly the play of children, but also
many of
the things that adults do 'for fun/ let us say, when
they are
intoxicated.

2b. Dramatics : expressing a need integrate by playing
the pre-
ferred role in a theatrical production.

2c. Ritual, religious or semi-religious practices that
are expres-
sive of some relatedness to imagined higher powers.

2d. Artistic expression : singing a song, playing a
musical com-
position or reciting a poem that gives expression to a
complex.

2e. Artistic creation : composing a work of art (
painting sculp-
ture, music, literature) that por trays a complex, in
whole or in
part.

i. Lewin, K. Principles of Topological Psychology, New York, 1936.

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3. A subjectified need. This covers all need activity that finds no overt expression. The following are significant :

3a. Desires, temptations, plans, fantasies, and dreams. Information as to these important processes must be obtained directly from the subject.

3b. Vicarious living. Here, the subject occupies himself with the objectification by another object of tendencies similar to his own inhibited impulses. He empathically participates in the action. The following are sources of stimulation :

i. contemporary events, actual happenings in the present world

which the subject observes (ex : an execution, a marriage

or a funeral), or hears about from his acquaintances or reads about in the newspaper ;

ii. fiction, fairy tales, stories, plays and movies that the subject

especially enjoys ; or

iii. art objects which represent some element in a need integrate.

The art object may stand for an object of desire or of fear, or it may be something with which the individual can identify himself.

When, in an adult, a need with its integrate is not

actually objectified one usually supposes that it is inhibited. Since such inhibitions are matters of importance in understanding a personality we have found it necessary to distinguish between needs that are overt (manifest) and those that are not. In our study the latter (semi-objectified and subjectified forms of activity) were classed together as * latent ' needs (In) .

In judging an individual it is important to observe which needs are periodically satisfied and which are repeatedly frustrated. Here we have to take account of specific abilities. Frustration may lead to inhibition of a need, to atrophy from hopelessness or to exaggerated re-striving. It is necessary to note the occurrence of gratuitous end situations (unnaturally facile climaxes), common in the lives of the over-privileged. With the latter, needs may be so easily satisfied that they rarely enter consciousness. Hence these people may appear as if they had none. Here, the conclusion must be that it is hard to judge the strength of needs without knowing

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which of them are being regularly stilled during times when the subject is not being observed.

The word ' attitude/ so widely used in social psychology, seems to describe a state intermediate between subjectification and objectification. It is an ' obvious readiness ' to act in a certain way. If the attitude is barely obvious it might be considered

inhibited,
covert, latent. If it is very obvious it might be
judged to be overt
and manifest. Anyhow, it seems that ' attitude,' in so
far as it refers
to behaviour, can be subsumed under the need concept,
because
the latter is the more inclusive. Need is defined to
cover every-
thing from the most incipient inclination toward
assuming a
certain attitude to the most complete expression of
such a tend-
ency. Attitude is limited to the mid-region between
latency and
full realization. It would be hardly appropriate to say
that an
erotic fantasy was an attitude or that committing
murder was an
attitude. Attitudes make up the derm of a personality.
Most of
the social attitudes can be classified as the needs
have been classi-
fied (affiliative, nurturant, dominative, rejective,
etc.). This also
applies to attitudes about ideologies (political
platforms, religions,
philosophies). Verbal activity in connection with such
programs
and beliefs we have termed ideological needs. For
example :

n ideo Aggression, to demolish a theory.

n ideo Affiliation, to be friendly to an idea.

n ideo Rejection, to scorn or vote against a
proposition.

The positive adient needs are expressed by different
types of
positive attitude (favourable to an object) ; whereas
the contrient
and abient needs are expressed by different types of
negative atti-
tude (unfavourable to an object) .

Conscious and Unconscious Needs

It is important to distinguish the needs which are relatively conscious from those which are relatively unconscious (un) . * By consciousness we mean introspective or, more accurately, immediately-retrospective awareness. Whatever a subject can report upon

i . Conventional abbreviations are as follows : Cs = conscious ; Ucs = unconscious. We have used * un ' to stand for * unconscious need.'

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is considered conscious ; everything else which, by inference, was operating in the regnancy is considered unconscious. According to this convenient pragmatic criterion, consciousness depends upon verbalization. Thus, conscious facts (for the experimenter) are limited to those which the subject is able to recall. Consequently, in all organisms below man every regnant variable, being unverbalizable, is treated as if it were unconscious.

A conscious as well as an unconscious need (un) may be either subjectified or objectified. For example, many conscious desires are never put into action and many unconscious needs are exhibited in actions which can be interpreted by others. The manifestations of unconscious needs are usually rationalized or ' explained away ' by the subject. They are attributed to another need or to some other factor : habit, convention, imitation, bad influence, etc. As a general rule, unconscious needs are in opposition to the social personality. Together they constitute what has been

called the alter ego, a partly dissociated self, composed of tendencies that are not 'let out' in everyday life. It is this subterranean part of an individual that may, by a sudden eruption, produce an unpre-
dicted transformation : contrafaction, conversion, regression or creative progression. A dual personality (ex : Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde) is a limiting case. What is unconscious is much more difficult to modify than what is conscious. Hence, one of the steps in the development of personality is that of becoming conscious of what is unconscious.

Unconscious needs commonly express themselves in dreams, in visions, in emotional outbursts and unpremeditated acts, in slips of the tongue and pen, in absent-minded gestures, in laughter, in numberless disguised forms fused with acceptable (conscious) needs, in compulsions, in rationalized sentiments, in projections (illusions, delusions and beliefs), and in all symptoms (hysterical conversion symptoms particularly) . In the present study we became less interested as time went on in conscious overt behaviour it was obvious and the subject knew about it and increasingly absorbed in the exploration of unconscious complexes.

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At this point, a special difficulty arises in connection with the subject who is disturbed or depressed but does not know what is

wrong or what he needs. He is like a sick man ignorant of medicine. For example, there is no instinct that leads a patient with scurvy to drink orange juice. He must be told what he needs. If left to himself he might seek (that is, act as if he * really ' needed) a great variety of things. Similarly it appears that many people do not know what it is they * really ' want, what they * really ' need for their own well-being. They recognize it only when they find it, after much fumbling about or after being shown by someone else. Parents, nurses, educators, psychotherapists, priests and moral philosophers make it their business to tell the young, the deprived and the sick what they need. Perhaps they are wrong most of the time, but when it can be shown that such a prediction is right, that a certain heretofore unexhibited trend of action brings contentment in place of inner disturbance, then there is reason to suppose that a need has been satisfied, a need that was previously active, though entirely unconscious. If, however, there has been no antecedent discontent we must consider the possibility of a new integration of needs, or even of the generation of a new need. It is often fruitful to consider an individual from the point of view of what needs are currently satisfied and what needs (common in others) are not ; and then to consider which ones of the satisfied and which ones of the unsatisfied are really important to his well-being.

D. CONCEPTS OF PRESS AND THEMA. DEFINITION OF NEED

It has been maintained that personology conceptualizes the reactions of individuals on a molar (gross) level. Though it is not limited to the construction of such formulations, this is its distinctive task. The concepts of need, trend and effect, for example, are molar concepts. They describe the general course of behaviour. They might even be used (in the case of an individual whose entire life has been ordered by a controlling purpose) to summarize a biography. But this mode of abstraction results in a one-

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sided portrait that leaves us in the dark as to many dynamic factors about which we quite naturally require information. The representation of the personality as a hierarchical system of general traits or need complexes leaves out the nature of the environment, a serious omission. We must know to what circumstances an individual has been exposed.

To some extent an application of the notion of cathexis will fill the gap, because an enumeration of the positively and negatively cathected objects tells us what entities in the environment had drawing or repelling power. However, the enumeration of concrete cathected objects has meaning only for those who have had experience with them and can, by an intuitive leap, imagine why they repelled or appealed to the subject in question. To say that John Quirk had a focal Affiliation drive is equivalent to the

statement that * he maintained a life-long friendship with George Smythe,' since we have no information about the attributes of George Smythe. Concrete objects and events constitute the data of science, but they cannot be incorporated in a discipline until they can be described as patterns of general attributes. We must build a conceptual home for our perceptions.

What seems to be necessary here is a method of analysis which will lead to satisfactory dynamical formulations of external environments. To us it seems that few psychologists have correctly envisaged this problem. Those who study behavioural reactions record, usually quite scrupulously, the particular stimuli which evoke each response, and when the reaction system is defined it is described as a kind of activity that is evoked by a certain class of stimuli. But upon examination it becomes apparent that the class of stimuli has but one uniformity : the power to evoke the reaction in question. Thus, reactions of class A are responses to stimuli of class X ; and stimuli of class X are those that arouse reactions of class A. In other words, the abstract description of the effective (behavioural) environment, as usually given, is mere tautology. An obvious way to avoid tautology is to become concrete and mention the specific objects or situations which in each instance provoked the behaviour. But it is just here that we do not want to

rest, because to arrive at the generalizations that science demands we must find similarities (uniformities) among events and to find similarities it is necessary to abstract from the concrete. The question is, how shall we classify situations in their own right (i.e., irrespective of the response that they evoke in the organism) ? As psychologists, of course, we must limit ourselves to the parts of the environment with which human beings make contact and to the aspects which ' make a difference.' The usual classification as represented by common speech and the dictionary assigns a name to objects which have similar physical properties, but this mode of symbolization, though it classifies objects in their own right, is of no use to us because it is dynamically (personologically) irrelevant. If we attempted it we should discover that objects which have quite similar physical dimensions (ex : two men that resemble each other) may affect the organism entirely differently and give rise to different reactions, and that objects which are perceptually very different (ex : a stroke of lightning and a wild animal) may affect the organism similarly and bring about similar reactions. As Koffka 1 has emphasized, the physical environment and the behavioural (or psychological) environment are two different things.

Failing to make progress by using any of the above described methods, we finally hit upon the notion of representing an object or situation according to its effect (or potential effect) upon the subject, just as we had become accustomed to represent

the subject
in terms of his effect (or intended effect) upon an
object. By
' effect ' here we do not mean the response that is
aroused in the
subject (a mode of classification that has been
abandoned) ; we
mean what is done to the subject before he responds (
ex : be-
littlement by an insult) or what might be done to him
if he did
not respond (ex : a physical injury from a falling
stone), or
what might be done to him if he did respond by coming
into con-
tact with the object (ex : nourishment from food).
Thus, one
may ask : does the object physically harm the subject,
nourish
him, excite him, quiet him, exalt him, depreciate him,
restrain,

i. Kofflca.K. Principles of Gestalt Psychology, New
York, 193 5.

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guide, aid or inform him ? Such questions are the
outcome of a
dominating conception of the organism as a * going
concern f (a
system of vital processes), the behaviour of which is
mostly di-
rected by occurrences that facilitate or obstruct these
processes.
On the personological level we must deal for the most
part with
social factors which facilitate or obstruct the
psychological well-
being of the individual, but they can be viewed in the
same way
as a physiologist views the culture medium of an
organism. Does
it contain poisons ? Is there sufficient oxygen ? Does
it allow for
the elimination of waste products ?

Our conclusion is that it is not only possible but advisable to classify an environment in terms of the kinds of benefits (facilitations, satisfactions) and the kinds of harms (obstructions, injuries, dissatisfactions) which it provides. When this is done it may be observed that in the vast majority of cases the organism tends to avoid the harms and seek the benefits. The troublesome exceptions to this general rule can be put aside for the present. What we want to represent is the kind of effect that a given object does (or can) have upon the subject. If it is a ' bad * effect the subject tends to prevent its occurrence by avoiding it or defending himself against it. If it is a * good ' effect the S will usually approach the object and attempt to get the most out of it. A single object, of course, may be capable of numerous effects, both harms and benefits.

It may readily be seen that when the objects of the environment are human or animal, they can be symbolized as the subject is symbolized in terms of this or that drive. The natural environment, as we shall see, may be treated in much the same fashion. Thus, the external world appears in the guise of a dynamical process and the complete behavioural event as an interaction of forces.

We have selected the term press (plural press) to designate a directional tendency in an object or situation. Like a need, each press has a qualitative aspect the kind of effect which it has or might have upon the subject (if the S comes in contact with it

and does not react against it) as well as a quantitative aspect, since its power for harming or benefitting varies widely. Every-

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thing that can supposedly harm or benefit the well-being of an organism may be considered pressive, everything else inert. The process in the subject which recognizes what is being done to him at the moment (that says ' this is good ' or * this is bad ') may be conveniently termed pressive perception. The process is definitely egocentric, and gives rise almost invariably, to some sort of adaptive behaviour.

Most stimulus situations are not in themselves directly effective. As such, they are not harms or benefits to the organism. But they are potent evokers of behaviour because they appear as signs of something that is to come. Some people, for example, are more disturbed by omens of disaster than they are by actual misfortune ; and others are more thrilled by thoughts of future events than by these events when they occur. Similarly, there is such a thing as fore-pleasure and fore-unpleasure. Indeed, the power of a stimulus situation does not usually depend upon pressive perception ' the object is doing this or that to me ' but rather upon pressive apperception * the object may do this to me (if I remain passive) or I may use the object in this or that way (if I become active).' Such pressive apperceptions are largely deter-

mined, as investigations have shown, by the impressions and integrations which have occurred in the brain as the result of past experiences. Pressive apperception, indeed, may be defined as a process by which a present situation excites images (conscious or unconscious) that are representative of pressive situations of the past. Through them the past is made to live actively in the present. Thus every conditioned response depends upon pressive apperception, for it is this process which connects an existing, otherwise inert situation with the impression (trace) of a former pressive perception. What is important to note is that pressive apperception is usually unconscious. The creature merely reacts. If it happens to be a mature human being, he will often give reasons to himself or to others for his behaviour, but his explanations will seldom coincide with the unconscious determining integration.

Because the conception of press came to us rather late in the

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course of our explorations it was not suitably compounded with our other concepts. Nor has it yet been applied sufficiently to the interpretation of personality and social cultures. And there is not even space here for an account of what in the theory has already been found usable. Suffice it to say that one can profitably analyse an environment, a social group or an institution from the point

of view of what press it applies or offers to the individuals that live within or belong to it. These would be its dynamically pertinent attributes. Furthermore, human beings, in general or in particular, can be studied from the standpoint of what beneficial press are available to them and what harmful press they customarily encounter. This is partly a matter of the potentialities of the environment and partly of the attributes of the subject. Some individuals, because they are ugly or disorderly or courteous or quiet, have a cathexis for certain kinds of press. That is to say, they arouse certain needs Rejection, Aggression, Deference, Nurturance in others.

Our present classification of press is not considered satisfactory, but a bare outline might be offered at this point :

Press may be classified in a rough way as positive or negative, and as mobile or immobile. Positive press are usually enjoyable and beneficial (ex : food, a friend) ; negative press are usually distasteful and harmful (ex : poison, insult) . Mobile press are moving forces which may affect the subject harmfully or beneficially if he remains passive (ex : an animal or human being) . Mobile press may be either autonomous or docile, autonomous when the activity is initiated in the O, docile when regulated by the S (ex : a compliant subordinate) . Immobile press can have no effect unless the S approaches, manipulates or influences them in some way (ex : a glass of water) . A 'positive autonomous (mobile) press would be exemplified by a sympathetic mother, an affectionate friend, a bestowing philanthropist, a benevolent

leader. And the apperception of the S might be : * he (or she) will be friendly, help me, praise me.' A positive docile (mobile) press would be exhibited by a river that is used to drive a mill, a domestic animal, a servant, a disciple. Here the apperception of the S might be : * I can control it, he will obey me, he is respecting my wishes.' A negative mobile press would be exemplified by lightning, a storm at sea, a carnivorous beast, an angry par-

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ent, a gangster, the * hand of the law,' a bore, a troublesome child. A negative mobile press is always autonomous, since a S does not use an object to bring displeasure to himself. A positive immobile press is manifested by inorganic objects which cannot or usually do not act on the subject unless he approaches or manipulates them. The following might be mentioned : nourishing food, water, shelter, toys, money, building stones, all manner of material possessions. The apperceptions of the S might be : ' It will taste good, it will warm me, I can play it, I can give it to someone.' A negative immobile press would be exemplified by quicksand, ice cold water, a precipice, a barrier, poison ivy, useless instruments, an ugly object and so forth. Here apperception will report : ' It is dangerous, it will hurt me if I touch it, it cannot be used.'

What we have been describing is the external world in the guise of a psychological environment : objects in changing settings characterizable as foods, poisons, sensuous patterns, supports, harbingers of danger, friends, guides, enemies,

suppliants that are prospective of certain consequences if approached, manipulated, embraced, commanded, flattered, obeyed or otherwise responded to. The press of an object is what it can do to the subject or for the subject the power that it has to affect the well-being of the subject in one way or another. The cathexis of an object, on the other hand, is what it can make the subject do.

In our work we concentrated upon press that were manifested by human objects (mobile, autonomous press) and we enlarged the notion to include lacks and losses of positive press (ex : a barren monotonous environment, lack of food objects, poverty, no friends, etc.). A few illustrations will suffice :

p Affiliation, a friendly, sociable companion

p Nurturance, a protective, sympathetic ally

p Aggression, a combative O, or one who censures, belittles or fleers

p Rival (Recognition), a competitor for honours

p Lack (Economic), the condition of poverty

p Dominance : Restraint, an imprisoning or prohibiting object.

The diagnosis of press is fraught with the same difficulty as the diagnosis of need. It is always an interpretation, but an important one. Every individual must make such guesses many

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times a day : ' Will this object please and benefit me,

or will it
displease and harm me ? ' The knowledge of what is good
and
what is bad for man is a large part of wisdom. In
identifying
press we have found it convenient to distinguish
between 1, the
alpha press, which is the press that actually exists,
as far as sci-
entific inquiry can determine it ; and 2, the beta
press, which is
the subject's own interpretation of the phenomena that
he per-
ceives. An object may, in truth, be very well disposed
towards
the subject press of Affiliation (alpha press) but
the subject
may misinterpret the object's conduct and believe that
the ob-
ject is trying to depreciate him press of Aggression :
Belittle-
ment (beta press) . When there is wide divergence
between the
alpha and beta press we speak of delusion.

Pre-actions and Outcomes

Behaviour is inaugurated not only by newly arising
internal
wants and freshly presented press, but by preceding
occurrences.
Among the latter we have found it convenient to
distinguish
' pre-actions ' and * outcomes.' Any action which
determines the
course of future behaviour, may be called a ' pre-
action.' Some
pre-actions are of the nature of promises and pledges.
They call
for some later fulfillment : a further ' living out '
or a repetition
of the word or deed. Others, however, are followed by
actions of
an opposite sort : borrowing by returning, lending by
demanding
payment, generosity by stinginess, depreciating by
praising, fight-
ing by peaceful overtures, rudeness by courtesy (
contraf actions).

If the status of the subject is lowered by his own pre-action (ex : humiliation), then the * sequent-action ' is very likely to be an attempt to re-instate himself (ex: self-vindication). Whereas, if another human being is diminished by the pre-action, there will be a tendency for the subject to bring about a restitution (ex: apology, gift, compliment). Influencing many of these acts is a vague sense of 'justice,' of a balance between what is due the subject and what is due the object. This is closely related to inferiority feelings and guilt feelings.

Besides pre-actions it is necessary to take account of outcomes

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(the fortunes of previous strivings). A man, for example, may react to success by inflation (self-confidence, boasting, demands for recognition) or by deflation (modesty of the victor) . Similarly, failure may give rise to aggression and extrapunitiveness or to abasement and intrapunitiveness (vide Dr. Rosenzweig's paper, p. 585). It may also be followed by Defendance (verbal self -vindication), Succorance (appeals for help or generosity), Inf avoidance (withdrawal), Play (attempts to make a joke of it), Recognition (telling about one's success in some other field) and so forth.

Concept of Thema

A thema is the dynamical structure of an event on a molar

level. A simple thema is the combination of a particular press or pre-action or outcome (o) and a particular need. It deals with the general nature of the environment and the general nature of the subject's reaction. For example :

p Rejection // Rejection : the S is rejected (snubbed) by the O and responds in kind.

o Failure -> n Achievement : the S makes renewed, counteractive attempts to succeed after failure.

Thus, a thema exhibits the press of the stimulus to which a subject is exposed when he reacts the way he does. Since fantasies as well as actual events have themas, every need integrate is also a thematic tendency ; the theory being that in such cases there is an inhibited need for a particular form of behaviour to be aroused by a press which the individual secretly (perhaps unconsciously) hopes to find embodied in some actual person. In our experience, the unconscious (alter ego) of a person may be formulated best as an assemblage or federation of thematic tendencies.

Definition of Need

Marshalling the facts and reflections reviewed in this section it is possible to enlarge upon our initial definition of a need.

A need is a construct (a convenient fiction or hypothetical

concept) which stands for a force (the physico-chemical nature of which is unknown) in the brain region, a force which organizes perception, apperception, intellection, conation and action in such a way as to transform in a certain direction an existing, unsatisfying situation. A need is sometimes provoked directly by internal processes of a certain kind (viscerogenic, endocrinogenic, thalamicogenic) arising in the course of vital sequences, but, more frequently (when in a state of readiness) by the occurrence of one of a few commonly effective press (or by anticipatory images of such press) . Thus, it manifests itself by leading the organism to search for or to avoid encountering or, when encountered, to attend and respond to certain kinds of press. It may even engender illusory perceptions and delusory apperceptions (projections of its imaged press into unsuitable objects). Each need is characteristically accompanied by a particular feeling or emotion and tends to use certain modes (sub-needs and actones) to further its trend. It may be weak or intense, momentary or enduring. But usually it persists and gives rise to a certain course of overt behaviour (or fantasy), which (if the organism is competent and external opposition not insurmountable) changes the initiating circumstance in such a way as to bring about an end situation which stills (appeases or satisfies) the organism.

From this definition it appears that the indices by which an overt or manifest need can be distinguished are these :

- 1 . A typical behavioural trend or effect (transformation of external-internal conditions).
2. A typical mode (actones or sub-effects).
3. The search for, avoidance or selection of, attention and response to one of a few types of press (cathected objects of a certain class) .
4. The exhibition of a characteristic emotion or feeling.
5. The manifestation of satisfaction with the achievement of a certain effect (or with a gratuity), or the manifestation of dissatisfaction when there is failure to achieve a certain effect.

These objective indices have subjective correlates : a subject is usually aware of wanting and striving for a certain effect, he can report upon what attracted his attention and how he in-

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interpret it. He can describe his inner states of feeling, emotion and affection. He can say whether he was really pleased or just pretending. Thus, if the above-mentioned five kinds of phenomena are observed, subjectively and objectively, there will be ten criteria upon which to base a diagnosis of manifest need.

Latent needs (like manifest needs) are parts of integrates composed of actones, sub-needs, feelings, and cathected images embodying press, but either i, they are objectified in play or ritual or artistic compositions, the objects being

make-believe
or symbolic (semi-objectifications) ; or 2, they are
portrayed
in the behaviour or art productions of others, the S
being merely
an empathic observer (vicarious living) ; or 3, they
are not ob-
jectified in any form, the E becoming aware of them
only when
the S speaks aloud his free-associations or reports
upon his dreams
and fantasies (vide p. in). Special methods have been
invented
for evoking latent, imaginal needs and objectifying
them in fic-
tional forms. These will be discussed later (vide p.
529) .

The strength of a single exhibition of a need is
measured in
terms of intensity and duration. The strength of a need
as a
consistently ready reaction system of personality is
measured by
noting the frequency of its occurrence under given
conditions.
In our scoring these three indices of * strength ' were
lumped to-
gether ; a high mark indicating that the need in
question was
exhibited with great frequency, or occasionally with
great in-
tensity or persistence. The criteria of intensity will
be discussed
in a later section (vide p. 251).

Since, according to our conception, a need manifests
itself in a
variety of ways, it is not possible to confine oneself
to a single opera-
tional definition. It seems that the best objective
basis is the
behavioural attainment of an apparently satisfying
effect, an
effect which brings the activity to a halt (usually by
facilitating
a vital process). The best subjective criterion is the
occurrence
of a wish or resolution to do a certain thing (to

bring about a certain effect). According to some psychologists subjective processes are outside the pale of operationism. Naturally, they do not come within the domain of physics, but that a physicist might

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include them if he took up the study of psychology is indicated by Bridgman's choice of a subjective process to illustrate operationism.

As a matter of self-analysis I am never sure of a meaning until I have analysed what I do, so that for me meaning is to be found in a recognition of the activities involved. These activities may be diffused and nebulous and on the purely emotional level, as when I recognize that what I mean when I say that I dislike something is that I confront myself with the thing in actuality or in imagination and observe whether the emotion that it arouses is one with which I associate the name * dislike.' The emotion awakened which I call * dislike ' permits of no further analysis from this point of view, but has to be accepted as an ultimate. 1

As we have said, the objective and subjective criteria above mentioned are but two ways in which a need makes itself known ; others are almost equally valid and useful. Thus, although it is necessary that an experimenter be able to give a clear and accurate account of the occurrences upon which he has based a diagnosis of need he must always be able to distinguish fact from theory

he cannot, in the present state of psychology, base his diagnosis (or his definition) on a single operation. Here, he is in the same predicament as a physician who makes a diagnosis on the basis of numerous incommensurate signs or operations (subjective pain, temperature, blood count, urine examination, etc.) and next day, when faced by another subject, makes correctly the same diagnosis on the basis of a somewhat different collection of signs.

Furthermore, since during any occasion a need is but one of many interacting processes, all of which vary qualitatively and quantitatively from occasion to occasion, measurements of need strength must necessarily be crude and various. For instance, there seem to be about twenty equally valid indices of the intensity of a drive (vide p. 253) . All of which leads us to the conclusion that a rigorous operational definition of need is inadvisable, and perhaps impossible at the present time.

Some psychologists have strenuously objected to the concept

i. Bridgman.P.W. The Nature of Physical Theory, 1936, pp. 8,9.

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of need, on the basis that it is either a simple tautology or a hazardous unscientific guess. A friend of mine writes :
* I observe
a man enter a room and sit down on a couch. What do I add to
an understanding of the event by stating that he had a

"need
to sit on that couch " ? * The answer to such a
question is that the
* need to sit on that couch ' is either a concrete
example of a cer-
tain class of needs (ex : need for Passivity) or it
is a sub-need
which furthers the trend of one or more determinant
needs : per-
haps a need for Similance (other people are sitting
down), a need
for Cognizance (to discover whether the couch is
comfortable
or not), a need for Affiliation (to be near a
cathected object who
is sitting on the couch), etc. One cannot say which of
a number
of possible needs are operating without further facts.
The ex-
perimenter must observe how the subject behaves when he
sits
down, must ask, ' Why did you sit down on that couch ?
' and
so forth. The attribution of a particular need is
always an hy-
pothesis, but one which can sometimes be substantiated
by suffi-
cient evidence (subjective and objective), and when
so substanti-
ated may lead to important generalizations about a
personality.
The mere fact that a particular S sat on a particular
couch, how-
ever, is of no scientific interest. It is an outcast
fact begging to be
understood and to be accepted with others of its kind.

When it is stated that an individual has a strong need
for
Aggression, let us say, it means merely that signs of
this need
have recurred, with relative frequency, in the past. It
is an ab-
stract statement which requires amplification, for it
does not tell
us : i, whether the manifestations of Aggression are
emotional
(accompanied by anger) and impulsive *(emn Agg), or de-

liberate and calm, or habitually automatic and actonal
(an Agg) ;
or 2, what actones are habitually employed motones (fists)
or verbones (words of belittlement) or what needs act
in a
subsidiary capacity ; or 3, whether the need is focal
or diffuse,
and; if focal, what are the negatively cathected
objects (people,
institutions, ideas) and what press do they exemplify
(does the
S attack prohibiting authorities [n suprAgg] or
weaklings [n
infrAgg] ?) ; or 4, whether the need is directed
inwardly

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(intrAgg) resulting in self-condemnation and guilt
feelings ; or
5, whether the need integrate is objectified in overt
behaviour or
inhibited and latent (In Agg), manifesting itself
only in fantasy
or in a preference for aggressive scenes and stories ;
or 6', whether
the subject is conscious of his wish to belittle others
and of his
enjoyment over their defeats ; or 7, whether the need
is sustained
by an aggressive Ego Ideal or exemplar ; or 8, whether
the ac-
tivity is in the service of another need (to redress
an injury [n
Agg S n Inv] or to attain power [n Agg S n Dom]) ;
or finally,
9, whether the aggression serves the subject only or
whether it
furthers an important social cause (n socio Agg) .

What factors determine the establishment of a need as a
ready reaction system of personality ? This is an
important
problem to which only vague and uncertain answers can
be
given. In the first place, observation seems to show

that the relative strength of needs at birth (or shortly after birth) is different in different children. Later, the strength of some needs may be attributed to intense or frequent gratifications (rein-forcements), some of which rest on specific abilities. Indeed, some needs may emerge out of latency because of gratuities or the chance attainment of end situations through random movements. (The need for morphine, which can be more potent than hunger, is developed solely by repeated gratifications.) Some needs may become established because of their success in furthering other more elementary needs. The gratification or frustration of a need is, of course, largely up to the parents, since they are free to reward or punish any form of behaviour. Certain innate or acquired abilities will favour the objectification of some needs and not of others. There is much evidence to show that the sudden frustration of a need particularly if preceded by a period of intense gratification leads to residual tension. This seems to be particularly true for emotional * thalamic ' needs that are abruptly obstructed or inhibited. A * thalamic charge, ' let us say, perseverates in such a way as to control fantasy and, if the occasion offers, to explode into overt behaviour. Such inhibited 'thalamic' needs often become fused with the Sex drive. In

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this way they become * erotized.' A need may also

become established by repetition, due to the frequent occurrence of specific press. But if the stimulus becomes stale, habituation sets in and the need becomes less responsive. Emulation (n Similance S n Superiority) is a potent factor in accentuating certain needs the S wanting to be like his exemplar , and so is Deference : Compliance, and Affiliation. Here we have to do with cultural factors. Certain cultures and sub-cultures to which an individual is exposed may be characterized by a predominance of certain needs. Not infrequently Contrarience (the desire to be different from or the exact opposite of a disliked object) operates to enhance the strength of some need. There are still other factors, no doubt, that work to determine what needs become dominant. For instance, there is the occurrence of conflict and the inhibition of one need by another. However, in view of our ignorance of such determinants, we require observation and experiment rather than any further reflections of this sort.

E. MISCELLANEOUS CONCEPTS

Energy

AMONG the facts of subjective experience is the feeling or the quality of feeling to which the term ' energy ' is very commonly applied.

Not only can an individual introspect at any moment and give an estimate of the degree to which he feels ' energetic ' ;

but his judgement will often be found to correspond with what an observer would say on the basis of external signs.

Evidently we are dealing here with a continuum between two extreme states,

subjectively and objectively discernible : zest and apathy. The various aspects of zest may be designated by such words as alertness, reactivity, vigilance, freshness, vitality, strength, * fire, ' ' pep, ' verve, eagerness, ardour, intensity, enthusiasm, interest ; whereas under apathy may be subsumed lassitude, lethargy, loginess, ' brain fag/ indolence, ennui, boredom, fatigue, exhaustion. The former state yields prompter, faster, stronger, more frequent and persistent reactions reactions that are apt to be more correct, relevant, novel, adaptive, intelligent, imaginative or creative than

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those produced during the latter state. Zest is highly correlated with pleasure and activity (physical and mental), apathy with unpleasure and inactivity.

To the topic of energy (vital energy, psychic energy) much thought and many words have been devoted, but, as yet, no theory acceptable to the majority of psychologists has been proposed. Psychologists who deal with small segments of the personality have usually been able to dispense with the concept, but few practical psychologists agree that it is possible to do so, even a crude notion being better for them than none. The consequences of feeling fresh and energetic are so very different from the consequences of feeling stale and exhausted that to omit all observations bearing on this point is to leave a great gap in

one's account of personality. We are certainly dealing with a magnitude which is correlated with the capacity to do work, but the variable is only roughly analogous to energy as the physicist conceives it.

In the development of the need theory the notion of energy or force was employed to account for differences in the intensity and endurance of directional behaviour. It seemed necessary to express the fact that some needs are * stronger ' than others. To use energy in this connection is to fall in line with the hormic theory of McDougall, 1 as I understand it. Here, however, we are talking about energy that is * general ' or associated with functions (actones), not the energetic aspect of drives. That the two are different is demonstrated by the fact that a need may be intense a man may be starving or extremely desirous to accomplish an intellectual task and yet, . if he is 'worn out by over-work* he will not move a muscle or a thought. The need is great, but there is no available ' energy ' (we say) in the actones (muscular system or intellectual system) that must be employed to reach the goal. It seems that fairly strong needs may occur in the absence of actonal energy in which case they remain latent and actonal energy may exist without needs. But it does not follow from this that general (or actonal) energy and drive energy are unrelated.

i. McDougall, W. in Psychologies of /pjo, Worcester, Mass., 193<>.

For when a person is fresh, his drives commonly partake of the increased tone ; they seem stronger in themselves. Similarly, when a person is exhausted all his appetites are usually diminished. This fits in with an observation that has been made repeatedly : animal or human subjects that are rated high in one positive need are usually rated high in others. This applies even to needs that are antipolar. For example, the most assertive (n Dom) and aggressive (n Agg) child may also be the most affiliative (n Aft) and sympathetic (n Nur). Some of the animal psychologists have concluded that it is necessary to conceptualize a general drive factor, and at times this has seemed to us the best solution. The ' need for Activity ' was what we called it, and in contrast to it we defined the 'need for Passivity/ At other times it has seemed best to 'explain' intensity of movement and speech by referring to Energy : general, widely-disposable energy (' blood-stream energy ') or energy residing in the actones (muscular system, intellectual system) by means of which the drives fulfil themselves. According to the latter formulation it is actonal energy which, when combined with ability, allows for the quick and effective expression of all drives that employ the functions in question.

The concept of Energy ' overflowing/ as it were, into action or, with equal justification, the concept of 'need for Activity*

may be utilized to account for random behaviour in children and adults. Random behaviour is displayed most clearly during the first weeks of life. At this time one can observe periods of almost incessant activity (flexions, extensions, rotations, squirmings), activity that is inco-ordinated and therefore ineffective the eyes, head, arms and legs may all move at once in different directions. These movements are not dependent upon external stimulation, nor do they appear to ' seek ' anything. Since the child does not even attend to his movements, it is not possible to say that during these periods he is trying to achieve mastery of his limbs. The most that can be said is that random behaviour is the expression of vitality, of actonal metabolism (katabolism after anabolism) . It belongs to the givenness of life.

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We might speak here of actonal energy, associated with physical movements and associated with thought (speech), which in the absence of drive tends to become kinetic, giving rise to restless-ness, play, random actions, disjunctive fantasy, voluble speech. Indeed, there is evidence for supposing that this actonal energy may precede need tension, that a need may be generated and be- come established as a result of the discovery by random action of a satisfying end situation (cf. drug addiction) .

These facts and reflections lead to the conclusion that every functional system (we can profitably confine ourselves

to the
muscular system : physical action, and the thought
system : verbal
action) assimilates and builds up a certain amount of
energy,
which tends (of its own accord), if nothing intervenes,
to be-
come kinetic. It does this, as it were, for its own *
satisfaction/ The
exercise is a catharsis. It helps to oxidize
ineffective accumulations.
It facilitates life. (The reader will excuse me, I
hope, if for the
time being I speak of ' energy ' as if it were a thing
rather than
a measurable attribute of an event.)

The concept of specific actonal energies is proposed to
account
for the fact that the fatigue of one function (
intellection, let us
say) diminishes but little the energy available for
another func-
tion. Physical exercise may be vigorous after the mind
has been
worn out by exertion, and vice versa.

Besides the specific energies of each system we must
also dis-
tinguish general (' bloodstream ') energy which is
closely related
to the actonal energies. This general energy factor
seems to be
determined partly by the condition of the blood (
oxygen, carbon
dioxide, waste products, presence of thyroxin, adrenin
and other
hormones), partly by metabolic conditions in the
separate systems
(which contribute oxidation products to the blood)
and partly by
the fortunes of the drives (success or failure, or
expectations of
success or failure). General energy is also affected
by the weather,
diet, drugs, physical illness and so forth. Our
conception of energy
has some relation to Spearman's ' g, ' 1 but it is a
different variable

in as much as it has been entirely abstracted from skill or ability.

i. Spearman, C. *The Abilities of Man*, New York, 1927.

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In our studies we put the various actonal energies together with general energy under one heading, Energy, which, for greater clarity, was divided into two variables : Intensity and Endurance (vide p. 208) . From what has been said it will be clear that the following indices of Energy are appropriate :

1. Subjective and objective signs of zest (as briefly defined above) .
2. Subjective and objective signs of activity pleasure.
3. A relatively large total of vigorous activity per day (as compared to the amount of rest and sleep) .
4. The prevalence of random motilities (physical movements and speech) . Here we refer to excessive actones : a surplus of abundant, rich, extravagant or playful flourishes of gesture and language.
5. High intensity and duration of all positive drives, particularly Achievement, Play, Dominance, Aggression, Affiliation, Deference, and Nurturance.

As we progressed in our studies it became apparent that there were two factors, not one, to be distinguished : the general energy level and the disposition of a subject to discharge as contrasted with the disposition to conserve whatever energy is available. Closely

correlated with this dichotomy are the opposing tendencies : 1, to play a stimulating or initiating role (n Dom) in social or sex relations, and 2, to remain passive or receptively compliant (n Def). It was here that the concepts ' need for Activity ' and ' need for Passivity ' became particularly useful. It seems that the need for Activity (overt motility) is usually associated with a high energy level and the need for Passivity with a low level, but there are numerous exceptions. In some people spontaneous activity is decidedly low, despite the fact that the energy level, as far as one can estimate it, is sufficient. The need for Passivity seems, on the one hand, to be related to the force of inertia and, on the other, to be in the service of the need for rest ; that is, the organism seeks to conserve its energies, to avoid exhaustion, and to be free of the necessity of decision. The tendency for Passivity is subjectively represented by the desire to relinquish the will, to relax, to drift, to daydream, to receive impressions. In the face of external forces it

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yields because this is easier (or more exciting). The tendency inclines a person towards a placid, vegetable existence, free from excitation or stimulation, or towards a life of waiting for external stimulation (let us say, for a lover) . Freud describes Passivity as the tendency to reduce excitations to a minimum, to * return to the womb/ or even to an inorganic state. We may suppose here that

the stressful integration of the pregnancy breaks down ; that ' it goes into solution.' The operation of this tendency, then, leads to a state of relaxed disjunctivity, to sleep, to unconsciousness. One commonly finds it after an intense or prolonged exertion of the will, particularly if the will has been exercised against a social group. When, in an utterly exhausted state, the will relaxes, a person may experience a most blissful feeling. (We have reports that such affections occur just before a drowning man loses consciousness.) The need for Passivity may also arise as the aftermath of inner conflict. It is, indeed, one of the best means of resolving tension. A person says : * What difference does it make to me ? * He relaxes mind and body and the disturbing turmoil passes over. His troubles fall away like water. The efforts of Orientals to reach the state of Nirvana may be taken as an extreme instance of this general tendency.

When fused with the Sex drive Passivity leads to the attitude which is classically feminine : deference and abasement in erotic interaction. Its presence in a man is a mark of bisexuality, which, in turn, is correlated with homosexuality. Heterosexual Activity in women and heterosexual Passivity in men, however, are very common present-day phenomena.

Though Passivity was not defined soon enough to be given a place in our conceptual scheme we found that we could not get along without it. Consequently, the reader will find references to this somewhat vague factor in the succeeding pages.

Divisions of the Personality

Freud and the psycho-analysts after him have distinguished three parts of the personality : the Id, the Ego and the Superego. As determinants of behaviour these functions may be character-

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ized as follows : the Id is the aggregate of basic instinctual impulses ; the Ego is the organized, discriminating, time-binding, reasoning, resolving, and more self-conscious part of the personality ; and the Superego is the intra-psychical representative of the customs and ideals of the community in so far as they have been communicated by the parents.

This scheme has proved its usefulness in formulating and treating the neuroses, all of which are the result of moral conflict between elementary needs and social standards (that have become assimilated to form conscience). This almost universal dilemma can be well represented as an opposition of Superego and Id, the Ego standing between as puppet or final arbiter. Although the conception is a vague oversimplification, which leaves many facts unexplained, we have not been able to improve on it. In fact, we have found it as helpful in dealing with normal subjects as in dealing with abnormals.

The Id. This is the generic term under which all innate drives are subsumed, among which the viscerogenic needs should

be especially emphasized. We are apt to use the term when we observe the excitation of emotional impulses associated with primitive actones (savage assault, panicky fear, flagrant exhibitionistic sexuality). At such times conscious control is in abeyance and the individual merely reacts. He feels that he is overcome by irresistible forces outside himself. Strong temptations and compulsions are also assigned to this category.

The Id, however, is not composed entirely of active passions. The need for Passivity (which may manifest itself as indolence and slovenliness) belongs to it. Hence it is often necessary to stir up the Id instead of checking it.

Furthermore, all impulses of the Id are not asocial or anti-social as most analysts affirm. There are, for example, certain gregarious and conforming tendencies (empathy, imitation, identification) which operate instinctively and unconsciously. Also, the highest as well as the lowest forms of love come from the Id.

Viewing the Id from the point of view of perception and intelligence, we find that its operations are carried on by associations

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of imagery, mostly unconscious, that do not conform closely to the course of natural events. To the Id we ascribe hallucinations, delusions, irrational beliefs as well as fantasies, intuitions, faith

and creative conceptions. Thus almost everything, good and bad, has its primitive source in the Id.

The Superego System. Since the environment is a factor in every episode of personality, and since from a psychological point of view the social environment is more important than the physical, it is necessary to pay particular attention to the culture in which the individual is imbedded, the 'culture' being the accepted organization of society as put into practice and defended. For our purposes, the organization may be partially described in terms of the time-place-mode-object (tpmo) formulas which are allowed or insisted upon for the expression of individual needs. A child is allowed to play during the day but not at night (time) . He may defecate in the toilet but not on the floor (place). He may push other children but not hit them with a mallet (mode) . He may ask his father but not a stranger in the street for money (object). No need has to be inhibited permanently. If the individual is of the right age and chooses the permitted time, the permitted place, the permitted mode and the permitted object, he can objectify any one of his needs. However, the Id impulses of no child are readily modified to fit civilized patterns of this sort. They come insistently (cannot wait for the proper time or place), erupt in primitive forms (with instinctual actones) and are directed indiscriminately towards this or that object. To socialize a child the proper tpmo formulas are gradually imposed by a variety of methods : suggestion,

persuasion,
example, rewards, promises, punishments, threats,
physical co-
ercions and restraints. This is done first by parents,
surrogates and
nurses, and later by other elders : teachers, priests,
policemen and
magistrates. To the child, then, as well as to the
adult, the culture
is a compound of behavioural patterns that are imposed
by
stronger authorities. It is fear of the pain or of the
belittlement
these authorities can inflict or of the distress that
the withdrawal
of their love and protection will engender that is most
influential

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in finally bringing about a sufficient acceptance of
social forms.
The tpmo pattern, as a loose organization of * Do's '
and * Don'ts, '
preached and perhaps practised by the parents, asserted
to be the
only 'Right/ sanctioned by religion and strengthened by
the
image of an avenging deity, becomes, to a greater or
less degree,
internalized as a complex institution, known commonly
as con-
science. This may be termed the Superego system. A
strong
Superego is usually more exacting than current laws and
conven-
tions. It may be elevated far above worldly
considerations by
fusion with the Ego Ideal. It endures, with certain
modifications,
throughout life. It is, as it were, always there to
influence the
composition of regnancies. Its first function is to
inhibit asocial
tendencies, its second is to present cultural or
religious aims as
the ' highest good.' Its operations are largely

unconscious.

The Ego System. Introspection yields much information in regard to the internal factors that influence behaviour. Everyone has experienced * resolving to do something ' or * selecting a purpose.' Such an experience must modify the brain (i.e., must leave a latently perseverating disposition), because at some future date it will be found that behaviour is not the same as it would have been if the 'resolving' experience had not occurred. Decisions and intentions of this sort * accepting a goal, ' * planning a course of action, ' ' choosing a vocation, ' as well as promises, compacts and ' taking on responsibility ' (all of them related to time-binding and the establishment of expectations and levels of aspiration) seem to be attended by a relatively high degree of consciousness, and, what is more, by a feeling that the ' self ' is making the decision, freely willing the direction of its future conduct. We should say that such conscious fixations of aim were organized to form the ' Ego system. 1

Introspection also teaches us that when other non-instituted (unaccepted) needs and impulses (impulses that seem to disrupt, oppose or nullify the established Ego system) arise in consciousness, they are felt to come from ' outside * the self, or from a ' deeper layer ' of the self, from the ' bodily ' or ' animal part ' of the self. All such unacceptable impulses have been subsumed

under the term * Id.' Need integrates of the Id are usually to be distinguished by their instinctual (animal-like), primitive (sav- age-like) or infantile (child-like) modes and cathexes. They are usually restive and insistent and impatient of the schedule of ac- tivity instituted by the Ego. It may be said, I think, that though the Ego derives its original strength from emotional needs and is repeatedly refreshed by them, it can operate for periods without their urgent activity (just as a man who has no appetite can force himself to eat). Every need is associated, of course, with numerous modes, some of which belong to the Ego system and some to the Id. Thus, the Aggression drive expressing itself in verbal criticism of the President or in physical assault upon a gangster might be part of an Ego system, whereas other more violent forms of expression might belong to the Id.

The concept of Ego emphasizes the determining significance of i, conscious, freely-willed acts : making a resolution (with oneself) or a compact (with others) or dedicating oneself to a life-long vocation, all of which * bind * the personality over long periods of time ; 2, the establishment of a cathected Ego Ideal (image of a figure one wants to become) ; and 3, the inhibition of drives that conflict with the above mentioned intentions, de- cisions and planned schedules of behaviour. One 7no*ex of the degree of structuration (strength) of the Ego is the ability of an individual to * live by ' his resolutions and

compacts.

The Ego system stands, as it were, between the Id and the Superego. It may gradually absorb all the forces of the Id, employing them for its own purpose. Likewise, it may assimilate the Superego until the will of the individual is in strict accord with the best principles of his society. Under such circumstances what the individual feels that he wants to do coincides with what he has to do (as prescribed by his culture). The Ego, however, may side with the Id against the Superego. It may, for example, inhibit or repress the Superego and 'decide' in favour of a criminal career. A strong Ego acts as mediator between Superego and Id ; but a weak Ego is no more than a * battleground.'

Interests. If we observe a series of objective episodes (ex-

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ternal press and overt trends) occurring in the life of an individual, we never fail to notice certain resemblances. The personality exhibits sameness. We say that the man possesses certain consistent traits. However, we can usually observe more than this. Viewing successive episodes over a sufficient span of time we can note developments. We can perceive that some episodes are the logical outgrowths of others and that together they form temporal systems bound together by the persistence (constant repetition) of one or more needs integrated with certain modes and directed

towards certain cathected objects (things, people, institutions, ideologies). Every such system may be called an interest (complex need integrate).

The concept of interest focusses attention upon the cathected objects and modes of activity rather than upon the needs that are engaged. It takes the needs for granted. A man enters politics and almost overnight much of his behaviour becomes oriented in such a way as to further this interest. This is certainly a fact of significance and it can be stated without considering what combination of needs prompted his decision or what needs are satisfied by his political activity. He may be affiliative, dominative, aggressive, exhibitionistic or seclusive, but this is another matter.

The concept of interests is closely related to the concept of cultural patterns or organizations, since most interests are not only possessed in common with other people, but they have an accepted institutional or ideological form. These sometimes quite rigid communities of mode and purpose stand ready to canalize the random activity of each new generation. Their suggestive and dominative influence is so great and omnipresent that some psychologists have been tempted to think of personality as constituted by its different memberships. A person may be sufficiently described, it is claimed, in terms of the mores and aims of the different groups (sub-cultures) to which he belongs. This point of view can be accepted with several important qualifications.

Institutions are congealed need patterns shared by many ; they are supported by new members with similar integrates ; and they are modified or abandoned by members whose needs change.

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They do, however, determine specifically what actones and what objects will be cathected.

Institutions and needs are complementary forces. From the point of view of the drive theory, an institution is engendered and maintained because it tends to satisfy certain needs that are held in common by many people. Among numerous existing institutions the individual tends to select for membership those which give the best opportunity for the fulfilment of his particular set of tendencies. As the needs of the members change the institution changes, though here there is usually a certain lag. A whole-hearted member of an institution one who transfers value from himself to the object acts for the institution as he would act for himself. He attempts to further its aims in competition with other institutions, he is hurt when it is ridiculed, feels depressed when it declines, defends it, fights for it, belittles other groups, and so forth. Thus an institution will allow a socio-centric man of this stamp to express all his needs in behalf of a * cause ' (opposed to other ' causes ') as well as in his own behalf.

The endurance and progressive development of interests make

it necessary to conceptualize the gradual establishment of persisting organizations of control in the brain. Without a notion of such interest systems one cannot explain why many successive samples of an individual's behaviour sometimes nearly all his behaviour for months or years (cf. Balzac's Quest of the Absolute) can be meaningfully related to each other according to their function in furthering a dominant aim. A purposive system conserved in the brain is the conceptual cord upon which we string our beads, the observed episodes. All such organizations of interest may be assigned to the Ego System, though many of them have come to operate because of Superego influence.

The Habit System. Behaviour that has become automatic, that proceeds without much conscious intervention, that recurs repeatedly in the same form, may be conveniently ascribed to a habit system. This is formed by the structuralization (mechanization) of what has frequently recurred, whether determined by the Superego, the Ego or the Id. The habit system accounts for

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most rigidities, particularly those which the individual himself cannot abandon.

Thus, as we see it, regnancies are the resultants of external press, of freshly aroused emotional needs (Id), of conscious intentions (Ego), of accepted cultural standards (

Superego) and
of customary modes of behaviour (habit system) in
varying pro-
portions. The relative strength of these influences
determines what
tendencies will be objectified.

This brings us to the end of this long, yet all-too-
brief, sum-
mary of the theory and concepts that guided our
researches.
Now it is necessary to give an account of the variables
of per-
sonality which we attempted to distinguish and measure
in our
subjects.

Chapter III VARIABLES OF PERSONALITY

H. A. MURRAY

AUTHORS whose works are read with enjoyment cover the
bare
framework of their thought with prose that moves like
muscle,
employing lively images and graceful turns of speech to
bring
its contours to the semblance of palpitating life. At
no point does
a bony surface unpleasantly protrude. But here it must
be differ-
ent. This section is the first chapter of an anatomy.
There is
room in this place only for the disarticulated bones of
thought.
Perhaps later they will be made to rise from the dead
and support
something more living than themselves the red cells of
the
blood, we may recall, are born in cavities of bone but
now these
elements must be examined in isolation.

Does not every elementary textbook of chemistry, botany, zoology, etymology, human anatomy and medicine begin with a tedious account of the different entities that constitute its subject-matter ? Is there any way to avoid memorizing a classification ? Is it not necessary that a surgeon, though ceaselessly engaged with life, hold fixed in mind the name and place of every bone, muscle, tendon, organ, artery, vein and nerve in the body ? And if pointing, describing, defining, naming and classifying is necessary in the more fundamental sciences, is it not reasonable to suppose that psychology must follow the same path ? I am convinced that the answer to this question is 'yes,' despite the current tendency among psychologists to legislate against the 1 class * theory and fashion their science in the likeness of physics. We believe that a primary task for psychology is the proper analysis of behaviour into functions or phases, each of which, though necessarily concrete and unique in every actual occasion, may be subsumed under a construct, a construct that defines a uniformity (a class of such entities).

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Without objects conceived as unique individuals, we can have no Classes. Without classes we can, as we have seen, define no Relations^ without relations we can have no Order. But to be reasonable is to conceive of order-system*y real or ideal. Therefore^ we have an absolute

logical need to conceive of individual objects as the elements of our ideal order systems. This postulate is the condition of defining clearly any theoretical conception whatever. The further metaphysical aspects of the concept of an individual we may here ignore. To conceive of individual objects is a necessary ^{re}su^osition of all orderly activity*

In this chapter will be found an attempt to define and illustrate each of the variables of personality that were employed in the present study. Though the list is the outcome of two years' experience, we do not regard it as more than a rough, preliminary plan to guide perception and interpretation. If we had thought that personality could be well viewed as the working of one major tendency this chapter might have been made more interesting to the casual reader. For it is possible to become emotionally identified with a single urge if the author animates it to heroic proportions and gives the reader a dramatic account of its vicissitudes, conflicts, frustrations and successes. A volume on the 'will-to-power' may be as exciting as a biography of Napoleon. A chronicle of the sexual instinct is as intriguing as the memoirs of Casanova or St. Anthony. But if one has been driven to the view by observed facts that personality is the outcome of numerous forces now one and now another being of major import then it is impossible to choose a hero. And what is more distressing is that it is necessary to include an account of many entities within a space that ordinarily would be assigned to one. If a volume could be devoted to each variable, something as

interesting as
fiction could be written, but when every concept must
be torn
out of its concrete living embodiments only minds
disciplined
to hard labour will be able or willing to follow the
account.

In the preceding chapter it was made clear that our
conceptual
scheme was biased in favour of the dynamic or
motivational as-

i. Josiah Royce, quoted in Korzybski, Alfred, Science
and Sanity, Lancaster,
Pa., 1933,

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pects of personality. We have especially had * our eyes
out ' for
objective facts pertaining to trends or effects of
motor and verbal
action, and we have attempted to correlate the observed
directions
of behaviour with subjective reports of intention (
wish, desire,
impulsion, aim, purpose). From these and other sorts of
facts
we have attempted to infer the operation of one of a
class of
hypothetical directional brain tensions (drives or
needs). Some
psychologists may prefer to regard each variable as a
mere label
to denote a category into which a great number of
behavioural
patterns have been arbitrarily placed. Even to these,
if we have
been successful in putting together what belongs
together, the
classification may be of some use.

Forty-four variables in all were distinguished. 1
Twenty of these
were manifest needs, eight were latent needs, four
referred to

certain inner states, and twelve were general traits. An alphabetical list of these variables (with their abbreviations) will help the reader to understand the more comprehensive descriptions that follow.

Alphabetical list of manifest needs

- 1 . n Aba n Abasement (Abasive attitude) .
2. n Achn Achievement (Achievant attitude).
3. n Aff = n Affiliation (Affiliative attitude).
4. n Agg n Aggression (Aggressive attitude) .
5. n Auto = n Autonomy (Autonomous- attitude) .
6. n Cnt = n Counteraction (Counteractive attitude).
7. n Def n Deference (Deferent attitude) .
8. n Dfd n Defendance (Defendant attitude) .
9. n Dom = n Dominance (Dominative attitude).
- 1 o. n Exh = n Exhibition (Exhibitionistic attitude) .
- 1 1 . n Harm = n Harmavoidance (Fearful attitude) .
12. n Inf=n Infavoidance (Infavoidant attitude).

n Inv n Inviolacy (Inviolate attitude) . This need is considered to be a composite of Infavoidance, Defendance and Counter-action.

i. From this point on all the variables that have been used in the present study will be capitalized in order to distinguish them from other psychological terms.

13. n Nur = n Nurturance (Nurturant attitude).

14. n Ord n Order (Orderly attitude)'.

1 5. n Play = n Play (Playful attitude).

1 6. n Rej = n Rejection (Rejective attitude).

n Sec = n Seclusion (Seclusive attitude) . This need has been taken as the opposite of Exhibition, not as a separate variable.

1 7. n Sen = n Sentience (Sentient attitude) .

1 8. n Sex==n Sex (Erotic attitude).

19. n Sue = n Succorance (Succorant attitude).

n Sup = n Superiority (Ambitious attitude) . This need is considered to be a composite of Achievement and Recognition (see below) .

20. n Und n Understanding (Intellectual attitude).

The following needs are occasionally referred to but were not systematically used in the present study :

n Acq = n Acquisition (Acquisitive attitude).

n Blam n Blamavoidance (Blamavoidant attitude) .

n Cog = n Cognizance (Inquiring attitude).

n Cons n Construction (Constructive attitude) .

n Exp = n Exposition (Informing attitude) .

n Rec = n Recognition (Self- forwarding attitude) . This was included

under Exhibition,

n Ret n Retention (Retentive attitude) .

The twenty needs listed above were rated in terms of

the frequency and intensity of their overt behavioural manifestations. In the first two years of experimentation considerable disagreement in respect to such ratings arose because some of the experimenters found in the subjects evidence of need tensions which were not objectified. It was thought that a rating should reflect the subjectified as well as the objectified tensions. According to theory it is inhibition which blocks the objectification of need tension. Hence, given a certain amount of tension the degree to which a need is objectified is a function of the strength of the inhibiting barrier. Consequently, to determine the total strength of a need one should consider the amount of internally inhibited tension as well as the amount of externally exhibited activity.

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The former has been called, for convenience, a latent need and the latter a manifest need.'

In conformation with clinical impressions, our findings indicated that inhibited needs produce marked subjective effects and indirectly influence overt behaviour. It seemed important, therefore, to take account of them. Experience justified the selection of eight needs as being those most commonly inhibited. It seemed that the amount of inhibited tension of each of these needs could be very approximately estimated by the use of specially devised techniques.

Alphabetical list of latent needs

1 . In Aba repressed Abasement (Passivity and Masochism) . The

desire to suffer pain, to succumb sexually.

2. In Agg = repressed Aggression (Hate and Sadism).
The desire to

injure and inflict pain.

3. In Cog = repressed Cognizance (Voyeurism). The
desire to see

and inspect. To probe into private matters.

4. In Dom repressed Dominance (Omnipotence). The desire
for

complete power. To magically control Os.

5. In Exh *= repressed Exhibitionism (Exhibitionism).
The desire to

show off and expose one's body in public.

6. In Sex repressed Sex. The desire for heterosexual
relations.

7. In Homo-sex = repressed Homosexuality. This is
really not a sepa-

rate need. It is the Sex drive focussed on an O of the
subject's sex.

8. In Sue repressed Succorance (Anxiety of
Helplessness). The de-

sire for security, support, protection, sympathy, love.

Besides these eight latent needs there were four other
internal
factors which we attempted to distinguish and estimate
:

Alphabetical list of miscellaneous internal factors

1. El Ego Ideal : the operation of images portraying the subject (or an accepted exemplar) achieving noteworthy successes. High levels of aspiration. This is a manifestation of a latent or unrealized Achievement drive.

2. N Narcism : self-love in any of its various forms.

Se Superego : ' Conscience ' : inhibiting and punishing images rep-

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representative of parental, social and religious authority. The operation of this factor may be ' quiet * (unconscious inhibition without conflict) or it may be ' disturbing ' (conflict). Thus, we have two distinguishable conditions :

3. Sel Superego Integration : a condition in which the dictates of

' conscience ' have been so far accepted by the Ego that the subject wills the obligatory (the socially demanded action).

4. SeC = Superego Conflict : a condition of conflict in which asocial

impulses are ' at war with conscience.' There may be some asocial conduct or there may be merely asocial desires (conscious or unconscious) . These are opposed by domineering and prohibiting forces. The effects of the latter are as follows : c pangs of conscience, ' guilt feelings, remorse, diffuse anxiety, obsessions of doom and disaster, self -corrective compulsions, depressions, neurotic symptoms and so forth. (The n Blamavoidance seems to

be sufficiently covered by these two variables.)

In addition to these thirty-two variables twelve other traits were selected for measurement.

Alphabetical list of general traits or attributes

1. Anx = Anxiety : startledness, apprehension, timidity, worry.

2. Cr Creativity : manifest ability to produce and develop original

ideas ; to devise new methods, construct hypotheses, offer novel explanations, compose works of artistic merit.

3. Conj/Disj Conjunctivity/Disjunctivity ratio.

Conj = Conjunctivity : co-ordination of action and thought ; organization of behavioural trends and purposes. This describes the ability to make a coherent pattern of one's life. Unsuccessful efforts that the subject makes in this direction are not included in the rating.

Disj Disjunctivity : disco-ordination of action and thought ; disordered and conflicting behaviour.

4. Emo = Emotionality : the amount of emotion, affection and au-

tonomic excitement that the subject manifests : zest, elation, anger, fear, dejection, shame, etc. The opposite of Emotionality is Placidity.

5. End Endurance : the protensity of a behavioural trend. This in-

cludes ' power of endurance,' persistence and conative persevera-

tion. Opposite to these are transience, impersistence and imper-severation.

6. Exo/Endo Exocathection/Endocathection ratio.

Exo Exocathection : the positive cathection of practical action and co-operative undertakings. A preoccupation with outer events : economic, political, or social occurrences. A strong inclination to participate in the contemporary world of affairs.

Endo Endocathection : the cathection of thought or emotion for its own sake. A preoccupation with inner activities : feelings, fantasies, generalizations, theoretical reflections, artistic conceptions, religious ideas. Withdrawal from practical life.

7. Intra/Extra Intrareception/Extrareception ratio.

Intra = Intrareception : the dominance of feelings, fantasies, speculations, aspirations. An imaginative, subjective human outlook. Romantic action.

Extra = Extrareception : the disposition to adhere to the obviously substantial facts. A practical, 'down-to-earth,' skeptical attitude. Enjoyment of clearly observable results. An interest in tangible or mechanical results.

8. Imp/Del = Impulsion/Deliberation ratio.

Imp=* Impulsion : the tendency to act quickly without reflection. Short reaction time, intuitive or emotional decisions. The inability-

ity to inhibit an impulse.

Del Deliberation : inhibition and reflection before action. Slow reaction time, spastic contraction, compulsive thinking*

9. Int Intensity : strength of effort ; quick and forceful move-

ments ; emphasis and zest during activity ; ardently expressed opinions ; power of expression.

10. Proj/Obj Projectivity/Objectivity ratio.

Proj Projectivity : the disposition to project unconsciously one's own sentiments, emotions and needs into others. To maintain wish-engendered or anxiety-evoked beliefs. Mild forms of the delusions of self-reference, persecution, omnipotence, etc.

Obj Objectivity : the disposition to judge oneself and others in a detached and disinterested manner ; psychological realism.

1 1 . Rad St/Con St Radical sentiments/Conservative sentiments ratio.

Rad St = Radical sentiments : the origination, promulgation or defence of sentiments, theories or ideologies that are novel, questionable or opposed to tradition.

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Con St Conservative sentiments : the maintenance of well-accredited conventional views, and a rejection of new ideas. A dislike of innovations.

1 2. Sa/Ch Sameness/Change ratio.

Sa Sameness : adherence to certain places, people and modes of conduct. Fixation and limitation. Enduring sentiments and loyalties ; persistence of purpose ; consistency of conduct ; rigidity of habits.

Ch = Change : a tendency to move and wander, to have no fixed habituation, to seek new friends, to adopt new fashions, to change one's interests and vocation. Instability.

A brief review of the forms of need activity (described in the previous section) may be helpful.

a. Motones. i. Exterojactive system. Needs may be satisfied by overt

physical acts : eating, pushing, embracing, holding, etc.

Erogenous Zones.

Oral: Oral-Succorance (sucking), Oral-Aggression (biting),

Oral-Rejection (spitting), etc.

Anal: Anal-Retention (constipation), Anal-Aggression (soiling), etc.

Genital : Genital- Abasement (Masochism), Genital-Aggression

(Sadism), etc.

ii. Enterof active system. Needs may be manifested by observable autonomic changes and expressive movements : fear, anger, shame, love, etc.

b. Verbones. Needs may be satisfied by speech : calling, persuading,

praising, boasting, condemning, inquiring, etc.

c. Ideological. Needs may be directed towards ideas rather than people.

n ideo Dom (forcing opinions on others), n idco Rej (ignoring the ideas of others), n ideo Aff (harmonizing opinions), etc.

d. Intravertive. The needs, as given, are considered to be directed out-

ward, toward or away from objects (extravertive needs). But they may also be directed inward, toward the body or toward parts of the personality. Here we have to do with intravertive needs. Thus, extr Aggression would be expressed by criticizing or injuring others, whereas intr Aggression would be expressed by criticizing or injuring the self (Ego-depreciation or suicide).

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e. Latent (Subjectified and Semi-objectified). Inhibited desires, fan-

tasies, dreams, play, artistic creations and religious ritual.

f . Focal. A need may be manifested only towards one or a very few kinds

of objects. If focality is not specified a need is assumed to be diffuse.

g. Egocentric or Sociocentric. A need may be purely personal (narcissic)

or it may be engendered by social pressure : n socioAgg (fighting in an army), n socioDom (commanding to gratify a group), etc.

h. Infravertive and Sup-overlive. A need may be directed towards a

superior O or an inferior O ; infr Affiliation (to make friends with inferiors), supraAggression (to attack an authority), n infraDef-erence (to praise children), etc.

In marking a subject on a given variable a, b, c, g and h are lumped together ; whereas d, e and f are taken up separately.

Most of the needs to be described are social reaction systems which lead a subject (i) to raise his status ; (2) to conserve and defend the status he has attained ; (3) to form affiliations and to co-operate with allied objects (or institutions), as well as to praise, direct and defend them ; or (4) to reject, resist, renounce or attack disliked hostile objects. An individual may be predominantly eager and ambitious, retiring and defensive, sociable and helpful, or critical and aggressive. But equally important is the nature of the cathected objects, values, or interests in respect to which he is ambitious, retractive, affiliative or hostile. A man may desire prestige but since he cannot excel in everything, he must select certain lines of endeavour and neglect others. What he chooses will constitute his system of values, and this will determine in large measure whom he likes, whom he praises, whom he excludes and whom he attacks. He will feel inferior about some things his poverty, his game of golf, his flat nose, his lack of taste, his accent but he will not hide and conceal himself when the social situation calls for other virtues : humour, physical agility, scientific knowledge. These considerations make it neces-

sary to construct a rough classification which will order according to some intelligible scheme the main fields of interest and ability.

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This catalogue will be presented at the end of the present chapter, after the behavioural trends which orient themselves in respect to these instincts have been outlined.

After describing the various manifestations of each variable we shall list the 'statements covering that variable which were used in our behavioural questionnaire, and, in the case of some needs, append a list of aphorisms (used in a sentiments questionnaire) which might appeal to a subject who ranked high on the variable in question.

For the general reader the first paragraph devoted to each variable will suffice as description.

n Dominance n Autonomy n Aggression

n Deference n Abasement

This group of five needs may be taken together. The Dominance drive is manifested by a desire to control the sentiments and behaviour of others. Those who are willing to follow and co-operate with an admired superior object are swayed by the Deference drive. Usually a man is deferent to those above him and domineering to those below him. The n Autonomy controls those who wish neither to lead nor be led, those who want to go their own way,

uninfluenced and uncoerced by others. It appears as defiance or as an escape from restraint (for example, when a man moves to a more tolerant environment). The Aggression drive is accompanied by anger and operates to supplement Dominance when the latter is insufficient. It is aroused by opposition, annoyances, attacks and insults. Thus, it is opposed to Deference but may fuse with Dominance or Autonomy. When Aggression is fused with Sex the ensuing behaviour is called Sadism : erotic-like pleasure in inflicting pain. Directly opposite to Aggression is Abasement. This is probably a sub-need, subsidiary to n Harmavoidance, n Blamavoidance, or n Infavoidance. However, in the form of Masochism erotic pleasure in suffering pain the Abasement drive, fused with n Sex, seems to have its own peculiar end situation. In a sense, n Dominance, n Autonomy and n Aggression

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are also subsidiary, since they are almost always called forth when there is * something else to be done. 1 A leader orders (n Dom) a subordinate to build something (n Cons) ; a child wants freedom (n Auto) to play (n Play) ; Aggression is aroused because some other need (n Sex) is thwarted, and so forth. Likewise, the average subject is deferent only when the action suggested by the leader conforms to his own system of needs.

n Dominance (n Dom)

Desires and Effects : To control one's human environment. To influence or direct the behaviour of Os by suggestion, seduction, persuasion, or command. To dissuade, restrain, or prohibit. To induce an O to act in a way which accords with one's sentiments and needs. To get Os to co-operate. To convince an O of the ' Tightness ' of one's opinion.

Feelings and Emotions : Confidence.

Trait-names and Attitudes : Dominative, forceful, masterful, assertive, decisive, authoritative, executive, disciplinary.

Press : infraDom : Inferior Os ; p Deference : Compliance ; p Abasement.
supraDom : Superior Os ; p Dominance ; p Rival.

Gratuities : Children, servants, disciples, followers.

Actions : General : To influence, sway, lead, prevail upon, persuade, direct, regulate, organize, guide, govern, supervise. To master, control, rule, over-ride, dictate terms. To judge, make laws, set standards, lay down principles of conduct, give a decision, settle an argument. To prohibit, restrain, oppose, dissuade, punish, confine, imprison. To magnetize, gain a hearing, be listened to, be imitated, be followed, set the fashion. To be an exemplar.

Motones : To beckon, point, push, pull, carry, confine.
Verbones : Commands : ' Come here J * Stop that ' *
Hurry
up ' ' Get out,' etc.
Mesmeric influence : To hypnotize.

ideo Dominance : To establish political, aesthetic, scientific, moral, or religious principles. To have one's ideas prevail. To influence the * climate of opinion.' To argue for one cause against

another.

so do Dominance : To govern a social institution.

Fusions : The commonest fusion is with n Agg (Autocratic power) .

Coercion : To force an O (by threats) to do something.

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Restraint : To put up barriers. To limit motion. To forbid certain acts.
To enforce the law.

Also with : n Ach (to achieve things as leader of a group) , n Exh (to be dramatically forceful in public) , n Aff (to be a genial, humane leader) , n Sex (to take an assertive erotic attitude) , n Nur (to guide and correct a child) , n Sec (the silent man of power behind the throne) .

Needs which may be subsidiary to the n Dom : n Agg (to punish in order to control) , n Exh (to dominate Os by fascination) , n Sue (to control Os by exciting pity) , n Aff (to be friendly to voters) , n Sex (to control through sexual attraction jemme fatale) .

Needs to which n Dom may be subsidiary : n Ach (to persuade a group to get something done) , n Auto (to argue for freedom) , n Aff (to bring about harmony within a group) , n Acq (to put over a business deal) .

Conflicts with : n Aba, n Inf, n Sue, n Auto, n Aff, n Nur, n Play, n Def .

intraDom : Will power. To develop self-control. To restrain instinctual drives. To be master of oneself.

Subjns and Semi-objns : Magic and sorcery. To control the gods.

Pathology : Delusions of omnipotence.

Social forms : The government of a country : King, President, Congress, Parliament, Legislature, Courts of Law. With n Agg : Army, Navy, militia, police.

Statements in Questionnaire 1

1. I enjoy organizing or directing the activities of a group team, club, or committee.

2. I argue with zest for my point of view against others.

3. I find it rather easy to lead a group of boys and maintain discipline.

4. I usually influence others more than they influence me.

5. I am usually the one to make the necessary decisions when I am with another person.

6. I feel that I can dominate a social situation.

7. I enjoy the sense of power that comes when I am able to control the actions of others.

i. In the questionnaire given to the Ss the statements for this variable (as well as those for other variables) are not presented consecutively (as above). Each statement is separated from its fellow by nine statements illustrative of other, different variables (vide p. 436).

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8. I assert myself with energy when the occasion

demands it.

9. I feel that I should like to be a leader and sway others to my opinion.

10. I feel that I am driven by an underlying desire for power.

n Deference (n Def)

Desires and Ejects : To admire and support a superior O. To praise, honour, or eulogize. To yield eagerly to the influence of an allied O.

To emulate an exemplar. To conform to custom.

Feelings and Emotions : Respect, admiration, wonder, reverence.

Trait-names and Attitudes : (a) Deferent, respectful, admiring, laudatory, worshipful ; (b) compliant, obliging, cooperative ; (c) suggestible.

Press : Superior O ; p Dominance, p Exhibition. The O has greater directional force or more attracting power (' mana ') than the S.

Gratuities : A parent or allied leader with an admirable character.

Actions : General : To move towards, fix gaze upon, salute, bow down to an admired O. To believe in conformity with the wishes of a superior O. To accept the leadership of a more experienced O.

Acclaimance : To watch, listen attentively to, praise, applaud or honour a superior O. To eulogize, celebrate or acclaim an O. To elevate, vote for or give a title to an O. To elect an O to high office. To idolize a leader. To choose a superior ally. Hero worship. To raise a statue. To express gratitude or give thanks.

Compliance : To do willingly what a superior O suggests

or dictates.

To co-operate eagerly. To perform little services. To work happily in a subordinate position. To follow advice.

Fusion with n Similance S n Superiority : To emulate a great man. To become superior by resembling a superior O.

ideo Deference : To admire the ideology of an exemplar. To become a disciple. To accept the ideas of others. Credulity and suggestibility.

Hypnotic Suggestibility : A variety of suggestibility.

Focal n Def : Admiration for one or a few great men.

The Ego Ideal

figures are constructed from such exemplars.

Fusions with : n Sue (to follow a sympathetic guide), n Cog (to learn by accepting the opinions of a superior O), n Aba (to humbly serve a domineering person), n Sex (to feel erotic pleasure in yielding), n Nur (to praise in order to console), Sa (to remain loyal to the same Os), Ch (to change allegiances), Con St (to follow conserva-

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tive leaders), Rad St (to follow radical leaders), n Sup (to emulate

a great man).

n Dom and n Def : An S who is loyal to superiors, dominant to

inferiors.

Needs to which n Def may be subsidiary : n Rec (to obey orders in order to be promoted), n Blam (to flatter in order to avoid opposition and censure), n Dom (to flatter in order to be chosen leader),

n Acq (to serve for pay, to act as an S in an experiment), n Inf (to obey and thus avoid responsibility for failure), n Aff (to praise in order to make a friend) .

Conflicts : Any need (supported by the n Auto) which impels an S along another course : n Dom, n Ach, n Rec, n Rej, n Agg, n Exh.

Measurement : Subjects are marked according to the amount of diffuse Deference. Intense focal Deference is treated as a separate factor.

intraDef : Willing submission to conscience. Consecration to an ideal.

Subjns and Semi-objns : Religion : worship of deities, ceremonials of deference, hymns of praise, offerings of gratitude, serving God and obeying his laws. The poet's submission to his c Muse.'

Social Forms : All members of a State or institution are expected to be deferent : to obey the leaders, to praise and defend the * faith.'

Statements in Questionnaire

1. I am capable of putting myself in the background and working with zest for a man I admire.
2. I see the good points rather than the bad points of the men who are above me.
3. I accept suggestions rather than insist on working things out in my own way.
4. I am considered compliant and obliging by my friends.
5. I often seek the advice of older men and follow it.

6. I give praise rather freely when the occasion offers.
7. I often find myself imitating or agreeing with somebody I consider superior.
8. I usually follow instructions and do what is expected of me.
9. In matters of conduct I conform to custom.
10. I express my enthusiasm and respect for the people I admire.

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Sentiments of Deference 1

1. No gift is more precious than good advice.
2. The fairest lives are those which regularly accommodate themselves to the human model.
3. The first duty of every citizen is to regard himself as made for his country.
4. Let a man keep the law, any law, and his way will be strewn with satisfaction.
5. The victory always remains with those who admire rather than with those who deride.
6. It is not so necessary to find heroes as to see the hero in every man.
7. It does not take great men to do things, it takes consecrated men.
8. Only by compromise and the closest co-operation may we abolish the evils that confront us.

9. Love is a willing sacrifice.

10. Before you begin get good counsel ; then, having decided, act promptly.

11. Laws deliver man from anxiety ; they choose a side for one, and give one a master.

12. We acquire the highest form of freedom when our wishes conform to the will of society.

13. Honour thy father and thy mother.

14. Without the authority conferred on government the human race cannot survive.

15. Our chief want in life is somebody who will make us do what we can.

n Autonomy (n Auto)

Desires and Effects : To get free, shake off restraint, break out of confinement. To resist coercion and restriction. To avoid or quit activities prescribed by domineering authorities. To be independent and free to act according to impulse. To be unattached, unconditioned, irresponsible. To defy conventions.

Feelings and Emotions : (a) Feeling of restraint. Anger. (b) Independence and irresponsibility.

i. As in the behavioural questionnaire, the sentiments of each variable (in the sentiments questionnaire) were interspersed with the sentiments of other variables.

Trait-names and Attitudes : (a) Autonomous , independent, free, wilful, unrestrained, irresponsible ; (b) rebellious, insurgent, radical, defiant ; (c) negativistic t stubborn, resistant.
Press : Negative : p Physical restraint (Barriers, Confinement).
p Dominance and p Aggression : Coercion, Prohibition, Restraint.
Positive : p Open Spaces, p Tolerance.

Gratuities ; Indulgent parents. A progressive school. A c free ' country.

Actions : General: To do as one pleases regardless of rules or conventions. To refuse to be tied down by family obligations or by a definite routine of work. To avoid organized athletics or regular employment.

To look on marriage as a form of * bondage.' To love adventure and change, or seclusion (where one is free to do and think as he likes).

Motones : To break loose from physical constraint. To escape from prison. To run away.

Verbones : To speak one's mind. To defy authority. To demand ' free

speech.' To swear and blaspheme. * To hell with you ! ' Freedom : To escape from the confines of four walls. To play truant.

To avoid the dominance of authority and- convention by running away, resigning, leaving the country. To wander. To seek independence in isolation (open spaces, wilderness), or in tolerant, uninhibited communities (the Latin Quarter, Tahiti) . To quit civilization. To travel alone and unencumbered.

Resistance : To refuse to comply with the directions or commands of another O. To argue against authority. To be * as obstinate and stubborn as a mule.' To disobey one's parents. Negativism. Defiance.

ideo Auto : To advance original or revolutionary theories.
Fusions : The commonest fusion is with n Agg (the revolutionist). Also
with : n Ach (to achieve things without guidance), n Rej (to shut out objectionable Os who interfere with concentration), n Play (irresponsible amusement), n Cog (to be a pioneer, an explorer, an experimenter), n Exh (to attract attention by being eccentric), n Dom (to lead a new movement), n Inf (to escape from failure and coercion) .

Needs which may be subsidiary to n Auto : n Dom (to argue for freedom), n Aff (to join an association to fight for liberty), n Sue (to plead for freedom) .

Needs to which n Auto may be subsidiary : Any needs which are blocked, for instance : n Play (to miss school in order to play), n Ach (to be independent in order to achieve a purpose), n Cnt (to refuse to obey

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out of pride), n Inf (to refuse to comply in order to avoid a potentially humiliating situation), n Sex (to enjoy free love).

Conflicts with : n Aff (ties of all kinds), n Blam, n Ach, n Def, n Sue, n Nur.

intraAuto : Free-will. To liberate the Ego from the restraints of conscience and reason. To be irresponsible. Laughter.

Subjns and Semi-objns : Playful mirth. Drunken orgies. Celebrations, festivals, and reunions. Black Mass and Saturnalia.

Social forms : Radicals and Progressives. Creators.
Criminals and law
breakers.

Statements in Questionnaire

1. I am unable to do my best work when I am in a subservient position.
2. I become stubborn and resistant when others attempt to coerce me.
3. I often act contrary to custom or to the wishes of my parents.
4. I argue against people who attempt to assert their authority over me.
5. I try to avoid situations where I am expected to conform to conventional standards.
6. I go my own way regardless of the opinions of others.
7. I am disinclined to adopt a course of action dictated by others.
8. I disregard the rules and regulations that hamper my freedom.
9. I demand independence and liberty above everything.
10. I am apt to criticize whoever happens to be in authority.

Sentiments of Autonomy

- 1 . He shall be the greatest who can be the most solitary, the most concealed, the most divergent.
2. A man can learn as well by striking out blindly on his own as he can by following the advice of others.
3. The greatest fortunes are for those who leave the common turnpike and blaze a new trail for themselves.

4. The superior individual has no respect for government.

5. Society everywhere is in conspiracy against the manhood of every one of its members.

6. As men's prayers are a disease of the will, so are their creeds a disease of the intellect.

7. Whoso would be a man, must be a nonconformist.

8. There is a time in every man's education when he arrives at the conviction that imitation is suicide.

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9. The state is made for the individual ; the individual is not made for the state.

10. A member of an institution is no more nor less than a slave.

11. Adherence to convention produces the worst kind of citizen.

12. A man must make his own decisions, uninfluenced by public opinion.

13. A member of a group is merely an unnecessary duplicate. It is the man who stands alone who excites our admiration.

14. The individualist is the man who is most likely to discover the best road to a new future.

15. To accept a benefit is to sell one's freedom.

n Aggression (n Agg)

Desires and Effects : Physical : To overcome opposition forcefully. To

fight. To revenge an injury. To attack, injure or kill an O. To oppose forcefully or punish an O.

Verbal : To belittle, censure, curse or ridicule maliciously an O. To depreciate and slander. (The end that is sought is the expulsion or the painful humiliation of the O.)

Feelings and Emotions : Irritation, anger, rage (temper tantrum) ; also revenge and jealousy. Hatred.

Trait-names and Attitudes : (a) Aggressive, combative, belligerent, pugnacious, quarrelsome, argumentative ; (b) irritable, malicious, resentful, revengeful ; (c) destructive, cruel, vindictive, ruthless ; (d) critical, accusatory, abusive ; (e) domineering, severe, despotic.

Press : p Aggression : Assault, Belittlement, Censure, Ridicule, Punishment ; p Dominance : Coercion, Opposition, Prohibition, Restraint ; p Superiority : Any object who is too self-assured, boastful, vain, pompous ; p Rival ; p Rejection ; p Repellent O.

su^r Aggression : Aggression against superior Os : parents, authorities, leaders, the State (cf. parricide) .

infr Aggression : Aggression against inferior Os : children and defenceless animals. Bullying.

Common agency objects : Stones, sticks, knives, guns, 'poison.

Actions : General : To move and speak in an assertive, forceful, threatening manner. To jostle and push Os out of one's way. To curse or blame those who impede one's progress. To adopt a terrifying attitude and take the best by force. To experience * fits of

rage, ' to scream, kick
and scratch.

Physical aggression : Assault : To strike, to ' pick a
fight.'

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Murder : To kill an O.

Destruction : To break things. To dismember.

Zonal aggression : Oral Agg : Biting ; Anal Agg :
Soiling.

Verbal aggression : Belittlement : To criticize,
depreciate, slander.

Censure : To reprimand, blame or scold.

Ridicule : To make fun of an O. Malicious satire.

idea Aggression : To attack a system of thought or of
sentiments.

socio Aggression : To fight for one's country. To
punish criminals and

traitors. To kill enemies.

Fusions with : n Dom (aggressive leadership), n Sex (
sadism), n Auto

(to use force to escape confinement), n Exh (prize
fighting), n Dfd

(to fight in self-defence), n Acq (to fight for
possessions, to rob a

man).

Needs to which n Agg may be subsidiary : n Sex, n Rec,
n Dom, n Cnt

(to defend honour), n Auto (to kill a tyrant).

Conflicts with : n Harm, n Blam, n Inf, n Aba, n AfF, n
Def, n Nur.

intrAgg : Self-criticism (inferiority feelings).

Self-censure (guilt feel-

ings). Self-mutilation (castration). Suicide.

Subjns and Semi-objns : Murder stories. Public
executions. Religious

blood-lettings (Mithraic ceremonial).

Social forms : Fn Dom : Autocratic despot. Army, navy and police. Fn

Auto : Revolutionary movements. Law breakers.

Statements in Questionnaire

1. When a friend of mine annoys me, I tell him what I think of him.
2. I am apt to enjoy getting a person's goat.
3. I like physical competition such as football, boxing or wrestling
the rougher the better.
4. I protest sometimes, when a person steps in front of me in a waiting
line.
5. I treat a domineering person as rudely as he treats me.
6. I try to get my own way regardless of others.
7. I argue or bluff my way past a guard or doorman if necessary.
8. Sometimes I use threats of force to accomplish my purpose.
9. I get into a fighting mood when the occasion seems to demand it.
- i o. I often blame other people when things go wrong.
- n. I get angry and express my annoyance when I am treated with dis-
respect.
12. I am considered aggressive by some of my acquaintances.

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- 1 3. When a good fight is on, I am one of the first to pitch in.

14. I am apt to express my irritation rather than restrain it.

15. I often let myself go when I am angry.

16. I often disregard the personal feelings of other people.

17. I enjoy a good hot argument.

18. Occasionally when a youngster gets fresh with me, I threaten to punish him.

19. I can become quite dictatorial when I am dealing with a subordinate.

20. I rebuke my friends when I disapprove of their behaviour.

Sentiments of Aggression

1. When swords are drawn, let no idea of love, not even the face of a father, move you.

2. Destroyers of tyranny have contributed most to humanity.

3. A person seldom falls sick without the bystanders being animated with a faint hope that he will die.

4. Men are just what they seem to be, and that is the worst that can be said of them.

5. A bold attack is half the battle.

6. To keep a secret enemy that is a luxury which even the highest men enjoy.

7. Interiorly most people enjoy the inferiority of their best friends.

8. Anger is one of the sinews of the soul; he that lacks it has a maimed

mind.

9. Anger in its time and place may assume a kind of grace.

10. Every normal man must be tempted, at times, to spit on his hands, hoist the black flag, and begin slitting throats.

11. Love force, and care little how you exhibit it.

12. Revenge is a luscious fruit which you must learn to cultivate.

13. It does not matter much what the man hates as long as he hates something.

14. Marriage is a field of battle.

15. We are much nearer loving those who hate us, than those who love us more than we like.

n Abasement (n Aba)

Desires and Effects : To submit passively to external force. To accept injury, blame, criticism, punishment. To surrender. To become resigned to fate. To admit inferiority, error, wrong-doing or defeat. To con-

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fcss and atone. To blame, belittle or mutilate the self. To seek and enjoy pain, punishment, illness and misfortune.

The n Aba is perhaps always a sub-need, but because of its general importance it is given a separate status.

Feelings and Emotions : Resignation or aboulia. Shame, guilt, remorse

or contrition. Inferiority or humility. Helplessness or despair.

Trait-names and Attitudes : (a) Abasive, submissive, acquiescent, pliant, meek, humble, servile ; (b) impotent, passive, patient, resigned ; (c) contrite, penitent, prostrate ; (d) timorous, weak, cowardly.

Press : p Aggression and p Dominance.

Actions: General: To adopt a passive, meek, humble, or servile attitude. To stand aside, take a back seat, let others push by and have the best. To submit to coercion and domination without rebellion or complaint. To allow oneself to be ' talked down.' To accept censure without rebuttal. To allow oneself to be bullied, dispossessed of objects. To receive physical injuries without retaliation.

Surrender : to ' give in,' to acknowledge defeat.

Renunciation : To give up material Os, or narcissic aims. To resign in favour of another O.

Penitence : Self-blame, self-accusation.

Atonement : To do something to balance a wrong. To expiate or atone for a sin by humiliating oneself. To wear sack-cloth and ashes. Under this may be classed many self-mutilations, self-inflicted illnesses and suicides.

Fusions with : n Sue (to pray meekly), n Exh (to make an exhibition of martyrdom), n Def (to be very humbly compliant, to suffer in order to show devotion and reverence), n Cnt (to suffer pain stoically, to will the obligatory '), n Sex (masochism). 'Needs which may be subsidiary to the n Aba : n Auto (to disobey so as

to be punished), n Agg (to pick a fight in order to be licked).

Needs to which the n Aba may be subsidiary : n Harm (to surrender in order to avoid more pain), n Aff (to confess in order

to retain friend-
ship), n Blam (to apologize in order to avoid censure
; to atone for a
crime), n Rec (to ' fish for compliments'), n Inf (
to stand back
or surrender in order to avoid further failure), n Agg
(to be injured
by an O in order to have the right to retaliate).
Conflicts with : n Cnt, n Dfd, n Ach, n Agg, n Dom, n
Auto, n Inf,
n Rec, n Ret.

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intrAba : To offer no resistance to instinctual or
Superego tendencies. To
be overwhelmed by Ucs forces. To repress nothing.
Psychic deflation.

Pathology : Masochism (to enjoy pain and suffering).

Subjns and Semi-objns : Religious acts : Confession of
sins, atonements
and self-mutilations.

Social forms : Slaves.

Statements in Questionnaire

1. I am seldom able to hold up my end in a fight.
2. When something goes wrong I am more apt to blame
myself than
to blame the other fellow.
3. There are times when I act like a coward.
4. I am more apt to give in than to continue a fight.
5. My friends think I am too humble.
6. feel nervous and anxious in the presence of
superiors.
7. am rather submissive and apologetic when I have done
wrong.

8. am shy and inhibited in my relations with women.
9. am sometimes depressed by feelings of my own unworthiness.
10. feel that I must suffer before I can achieve my purpose.

Sentiments of Abasement

- 1 . A man who knows that he is a fool is not a great fool.
 2. The moral man does not desire anything outside of his position.
 3. When Heaven is about to confer a great office on any man, it first disciplines his mind with suffering.
 4. Do little things as though they were great things and you will live to do great things as though they were little things.
 5. There is nothing which the body suffers which the soul may not profit by.
 6. There is no man living who would willingly be deprived of his right to suffer pain for that is his right to be a man.
 7. Charity should begin with your enemies.
 8. Meekness is better than vengeance.
 9. Render good for bad ; blessings for curses.
 10. Perhaps the only true dignity of man is his capacity to despise himself.
- 1 1 . 'Tis vain to quarrel with our destiny.
 - 1 2. The first step to self-knowledge is self-distrust.

13. All fortune is to be conquered by bearing it.

14. The life of no man is free from struggle and suffering.

15. If you wish to mount the ladder you must begin at the lowest rung.

n Achievement Ego Ideal

The n Achievement may accompany any other need. It is the desire or tendency to do things as rapidly and/or as well as possible. Thus, there is a great variety of acts from blowing smoke rings to discovering a new planet which may gratify the Achievement drive. The Ego Ideal is merely the aggregate of the imagined goals of the n Achievement (In Ach). It is, let us say, a conception of the ideally successful self. It may take any one of many different shapes from the perpetrator of the * perfect crime ' to the prophet of a new religion.

n Achievement (n Ach)

Desires and Effects : To accomplish something difficult. To master, manipulate or organize physical objects, human beings, or ideas. To do this as rapidly, and as independently as possible. To overcome obstacles and attain a high standard. To excel one's self. To rival and surpass others. To increase self-regard by the successful exercise of talent.

Kinds of Achievement : The n Ach is focalized according to kind of Interest (vide). For instance : n Ach (Phys), the desire for athletic success ; n Ach (Caste), the desire for social prestige ; n Ach (In-tell), the desire for intellectual distinction.

Feelings and Emotions : Zest, ambition. (These may
conic as counterac-
tions to inferiority feelings.)

Press : p Task ; p Rival.

Trait-names and Attitudes : Achievant y ambitious,
competitive, aspiring.

Actions : To make intense, prolonged and repeated
efforts to accomplish
something difficult. To work with singleness of purpose
towards a high
and distant goal. To have the determination to win. To
try to do
everything well. To be stimulated to excel by the
presence of others,
to enjoy competition. To exert will power ; to overcome
boredom and
fatigue (intraDom).

Fusions and Subsidiations : The n Ach fuses readily and
naturally with
every other need. Indeed, it is considered by some that
the n Achieve-

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ment often called the ' will-to-power ' is the dominant
psycho-
genie need. Perhaps in most cases it is subsidiary to
an inhibited need
for Recognition.

Conflicts with : n Aba, n Inf, n Blam, n Play, n Aff, n
Exh.

Subjns and Seipi-objns : Great deeds in fantasy and
play. Writing
' achievement ' stories.

Social forms : Every recognized profession or
occupation may be re-
garded as a channel for the n Achievement.

Statements in Questionnaire

1. I am driven to ever greater efforts by an unslaked ambition.
2. I feel that nothing else which life can offer is a substitute for great achievement.
3. I feel that my future peace and self-respect depend upon my accomplishing some notable piece of work.
4. I set difficult goals for myself which I attempt to reach.
5. I work with energy at the job that lies before me instead of dreaming about the future.
6. When my own interests are at stake, I become entirely concentrated upon my job and forget my obligations to others.
7. I enjoy relaxation wholeheartedly only when it follows the successful completion of a substantial piece of work.
8. I feel the spirit of competition in most of my activities.
9. I work like a slave at everything I undertake until I am satisfied with the result.
10. I enjoy work as much as play.

Sentiments of Achievement

1. Fame ! Glory ! They are life-giving breath and living blood. No man lives unless he is famous. (n Rec)
2. Ambition is a gallant madness.
3. Power is the morality of men who stand out from the rest and it is also mine. (n Dom)
4. When a man is no longer anxious to do better than well, he is done

for.

5. I like best that which flies beyond my reach.

6. Ambition is the parent of many virtues.

7. Only ambition will bring a man's mind into full activity.

8. My aspirations are my nearest friends.

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9. Man is complete and upstanding only when he would be more than man.

10. Better to reign in hell than serve in heaven (n Dom).

1 1 . To be superior a man must stand alone (n Auto)
.

1 2. No bird soars too high if he soars with his own wings (n Auto).

13. It is not to die we fear, but to die poorly : to fall forgotten, in a multitude (n Rec).

14. God, give me hills to climb, and strength for climbing.

i 5. Freedom cannot exist alone. Power must accompany it.

Ego Ideal (E I)

The Ego Ideal is composed of all the fantasies which portray the subject, or a hero, accomplishing great deeds or achieving recognition. These are the desiderata of the need for Achievement,
Taken together at any stage of a subject's life, they represent his highest hope, the dramatization of himself as a man of destiny.

This instituted fantasy always partially unconscious goads the individual to ever greater efforts. Failure to actualize it depresses him.

The E I is in truth a subjectification of the Achievement, but because of its importance it is given the status of a separate variable.

Kinds of Ego Ideal. The Ego Ideal is focalized according to the kind of

Interest (vide).

Relation to other variables. The Ego Ideal is the best indication of an unfulfilled Achievement drive (In Ach). It is usually accompanied by action, but it may lead to paralysis of action when the Ego Ideal is so high that it is futile to strive for it. If the Ego Ideal is very high and the individual believes that he has approached it, or if he finally identifies himself with it, it is an indication that Narcism is dominant (delusions of omnipotence and grandeur). The Ego Ideal usually consists of a composite of internalized exemplars. Thus, its formation is preceded by the need for Deference, admiration of another object being accompanied by a tendency to emulate it. If the n Achievement is extremely high, however, the S will usually admire very few people. In such an individual the needs for Rejection and Autonomy will be high and the need for Deference will be low. Here, Deference may be intense but it will be focal.

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Measurement. The height of the E I ; the vividness,

perseveration and frequency of E I imagery ; the determining effect of this variable upon other variables.

Statements in Questionnaire

1. I dream a good deal about my future successes.
 2. I feel that most of my acquaintances have a rather low standard of achievement.
 3. I feel that some far goal deserves my effort more than any daily duty.
 4. I admire immensely and attempt to emulate in one way or another certain great men of the past.
 5. I am guided in most of my decisions by an over-riding ambition.
 6. I am repeatedly swayed to action by exultant hopes of possible success.
 7. I spend a good deal of time planning my career.
 8. I energize myself by dramatizing my life as an ascending struggle against opposition.
 9. No immediate compensation could console me for the failure of my highest hopes.
- I o. No one can demand from me as much as I demand from myself.

n Sex n Exhibition

n Sentience n Play

This group of needs is loosely related. They are directed towards the enjoyment of ' sensations * : erotic excitement, sensuous pleasure, dramatics, humour, fantasy and play.

n Sex (n Sex)

Desires and Ejects : To form and further an erotic relationship. To have sexual intercourse.

feelings : Erotic excitement, lust, love.

Trait-names and Attitudes : Erotic, sensual, seductive.

Press : p Sexual O.

infra or supra Sex : The selection of a younger or an older O.

Homo or Heterosexual : The selection of the same or the opposite sex.

Actions : General : To make advances, to 'pick-up* a man or woman, to seduce a sexually appealing O. To enjoy the company of the opposite sex, to be fond of mixed parties, to like dancing.

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To be in love. To desire only the chosen object : to work and play together, excluding others ; to exchange sentiments and ideas.

Motones. To hold hands, embrace, kiss, copulate.

Verbones. To flirt, praise, express sympathy, make love.

Fusions with : n Aff (Erotic love), n Agg (Sadism), n Aba (Masochism), n Exh (Exhibitionism), n Cog (Voyeurism), n Sue (Anacletic love), n Nur (Nurturant love), n Def (Idolatry), Dom and Agg Active role. Def and Aba Passive role.

Needs which may be subsidiary to the n Sex : n Aff (to win the affection of an object). n Exh (to fascinate an O), n Ach (to demon-

strate talent).

Needs to which the n Sex may be subsidiary : n Acq (prostitution),
n Aff (to maintain an enduring love), n Dom (to gain control over
an O), n Cnt (to avoid being called innocent and inexperienced),
n Nur (to have a child) .

Conflicts with : n Ach, n 8lam, n Inf, n Rej.

intraSex : Auto-erotism and masturbation.

Subjns and Semi-objns : Erotic fantasies and dreams.
Romantic poetry,
love stories, etc.

Social Institutions : Marriage. Organized prostitution.

Statements in Questionnaire

1 . spend a great deal of time thinking about sexual matters.

2. fall in love rather easily.

3. feel that my sexual instinct is as strong as my ambition.

4. have more pleasure with a woman than with a man.

5. sometimes lose myself in extravagant sexual fantasies.

6. have difficulty controlling my sexual impulses.

7. am attracted by every good-looking woman I see.

8. regard every attractive woman with searching curiosity, looking her over from head to foot, measuring, discriminating, estimating possibilities.

9. I prefer women who have a strong sexual appeal.
I o. I have had a good deal of actual sex experience.

n Sentience (n Sen)

Desires and Effects : To seek and enjoy sensuous impressions.
Feelings and Emotions : Sensuous or aesthetic feelings.
Trait-names and Attitudes : Sentient, sensuous, sensitive, aesthetic.

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Press : p Sensuous O.

Zones of Sentience : i . Perceptive :

(a) Tactile (n tSen). To stroke and be stroked. To touch fabrics. Fusion with n Sex : Stimulation of erogenous zones : oral, mammary, urethral, anal, and genital. Thermal sentience (warm water, rays of sun).

(b) Olfactory (n oSen) . Pleasurable odours, scents, perfumes.

(c) Gustatory (n gSen). Delicious food, sauces, desserts, wines.

(d) Auditory (n aSen). Natural sounds, human voice, poetry and music.

(e) Visual (n vSen) . Pleasurable sights : colour, light, form, movement, a beautiful face, clothes, decoration, landscapes, architecture, painting and sculpture. Vivid imagery.

(2) Kinetic : Kinaesthetic (n kSen) . Pleasurable muscular movements ; dancing, skating, gymnastics, diving, etc. Actions : To seek and find delight in the enjoyment of any of the above sense impressions. To have delicate, sensitive perceptions.

To perceive and comment upon the sensuous quality of objects. To remark upon the atmosphere, the temperature, colours in the room,

pictures, various sounds and odours. To remember and in the description of events include sensuous details.

To use expressive language. To use exact and novel metaphors.

To display a genuine delight in one or more of the Arts.

Fusions with : n Sex (diffuse libidinous satisfactions), n Aff (to be with a beautiful person), n Exh (to give an artistic performance in public), n Def (to yield to the enticing power of a beautiful O).

"Needs which may be subsidiary to n Sen : n Sue (to cry for the mother's

body), n Auto (to break away from puritanical conventions).

Needs to which n Sen may be subsidiary : n Sex (sensations to excite

erotic feeling) .

Conflicts with : n Ach, n Blam, n Rej, n Dom.

intraSen : To delight in the beauty of one's own body. To enjoy sensuous imagery.

Social forms : Restaurants, perfumery shops, theatres, concert halls, museums, parks, picture galleries.

Statements in Questionnaire

i . I notice and am responsive to slight changes in the colour of the sky, in the temperature and quality of the atmosphere.

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2. I enjoy myself observing in great detail the facial expressions, gestures and mannerisms of the people I see.

3. I enjoy the sensuous quality of my own imagery.

4. I repeat to myself certain thrilling phrases I have heard or read.

5. I observe and am affected by the decorations and colour tones in a room.

6. I amble about in the country or lie in the grass attending only to the odours of the earth, the drift of clouds, the rustling of leaves, the song of birds.

7. I think that the arts are more important to me than the sciences.

8. I can be as intensely excited by a novel or a poem as I am by anything else.

9. I wish that I could own objects purely for the aesthetic pleasure they give me etchings, pottery, ironwork, carved figures, paintings.

10. I attach great value to certain words purely because of their sound.

11. I feel that a certain perversity adds a flavour to pleasure.

12. I find that a smell or fragrance will evoke very vivid memories in me.

13. I find that apathy or depression can be transmuted by an object, a sound or a scene of beauty, into sheer delight.

14. I enjoy the rhythm as much as the meaning of good prose.

15. I search for sensations which shall be at once new and delightful.

16. I love good food and good wine, and have become quite a connoisseur in such matters.

17. I prefer good music to the disturbing presence of most people.

18. I have found that any overpowering feeling even sorrow pleases me privately.

19. I get pleasure from anything which has a long legendary past, a special pleasure coming from the associated richness.

20. I find myself feeling into* objects and people, and within myself experiencing their essence.

n Exhibition (n Exh)

Desires and Effects : To make an impression. To be seen and heard. To excite, amaze, fascinate, entertain, shock, intrigue, amuse or entice Os.

Feelings and Emotions : Vanity. Exuberance and self-confidence.

Press : p Audience. A cathected O to be attracted.

Trait-names and Attitudes : Exhibitionistic, histrionic, dramatic, spectacular, conspicuous.

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Actions : Motones : Self-display. To make the self conspicuous by wearing unusual or colourful clothing. To seek the limelight, pose for effect, enjoy it when all eyes are upon the self. To wear little clothing or go naked. To join a Nudist colony.

Vet bones : To talk a good deal : tall stories, anecdotes and jokes. To hold the floor, monopolize the conversation. To attract attention by mannerisms, expressive gestures, emphatic or

extravagant speech. To
enjoy an audience.

To attempt to entertain others. To speak, or perform in
public. To
act, take part in dramatics, play music, dance, show-
off. To play the
clown.

Oral-Exhibition : to sing, or speak with poetic
feeling.

To talk a lot about the self, to exaggerate one's part
in an adven-
ture, to dramatize the self, to pose as a unique,
mysterious, incalculable
person, a person with hypnotic power.

Indirect form : to represent the self in art forms ; to
write self-
revealing novels or autobiographies.

Fusions with : n Ach (to work at something in public
) , n Sen (to dis-
play beauty or perform on a musical instrument in
public) , n Aff (to
interest others and be the life of the party) , n Play
(to amuse others
by playing the fool) , n Dom (to persuade others with
dramatic force,
to be a ' spell-binder ') , n Sex (to display genitals
) , n Sue (to make
a pitiful, tragic spectacle of the self, to excite
sympathy by exhibiting
one's wounds) .

Needs which may be subsidiary to the n Exh : n Ach (to
work on a per-
formance which is to be done in public) .

Needs to which n Exh may be subsidiary : n Sex (to
seduce an O) , n Aff
(to win affection by fascinating or amusing Os) , n
Dom (to domi-
nate by fascination and enticement) , n Acq (to earn a
living by acting
on the stage, by selling goods in public auctioneer).
Conflicts with : , n Inf (fear of failure) , n Blam (
fear of lame
* vanity is unbecoming*). The antipole of the n Exh is

the n Seclu-
sion (the desire for privacy and concealment) .
Measurement : n Exhibition n Exh minus n Sec.
intraExh : Self-dramatization.

Social forms : Public performances : theatres,
vaudevilles, circuses, hip-
podromes, amusement parks. Magicians and monologists.
With n Sen-
tience : Concerts and operas.

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Statements in Questionnaire

1. Sometimes when I am in a crowd, I say humorous things which I expect strangers will overhear.
 2. I often dramatize a story which I am telling and demonstrate exactly how everything happened.
 3. I talk rather freely about myself, even to casual friends.
 4. When I am in a group, I try to increase the enjoyment of others by telling amusing stories.
 5. prefer to be looked at than not.
 6. like to have people watch me do the things which I do well.
 7. am apt to show off in some way if I get a chance.
 8. often take the lead in livening up a dull evening.
 9. do a thing sometimes just to watch the effect it will have upon other people.
 10. amuse others by playing the clown when the occasion warrants it.
- 1 1. boast a bit about my achievements from time to

time.

12. feel pleasantly exhilarated when all eyes are upon me.

13. do quite a bit of talking when I am in mixed company.

14. act on the principle that a man will never get ahead if he does not blow his own horn from time to time.

15. I am rather successful at entertaining others.

16. I enjoy holding the floor or performing before a group playing the piano, showing tricks, acting in charades, etc.

17. I am pleased if I am called upon for a story or a speech.

18. I often exaggerate my part in an event in order to make myself appear in a more interesting light.

19. I feel dissatisfied if I remain unnoticed.

20. I love to talk and it's hard for me to keep quiet.

n Play

General Description. Some people devote their free time to various forms of amusement : sports, dancing, drinking parties, cards and other indoor games. A playful attitude may also characterize their working hours. They like to laugh and make a joke of everything. We attribute this to the operation of the n Play : the tendency to act for ' fun,' without further purpose.

This variable manifests itself best in children's play : enjoyable, stressless, make-believe ' activity. It is random, whimsical, fantasy-driven

behaviour, which releases internal tension, but achieves no exterior effects. Subjectively, it is experienced as 'activity pleasure.' It ceases the moment a serious obstacle is encountered, the moment it is necessary to become 'serious,* to adapt to a stubborn fact. Thus play, like fantasy, is undirected ; it is not propelled and pointed towards a definite goal by a will process. There is an inseparable gradation between a playful attitude and an achievant attitude. They become fused when a child becomes intent upon accomplishing a chosen ' unreal ' task, or later when the Achievement drive takes the form of sport. In our studies, Mirth playing jokes and the enjoyment of humour was subsumed under the n Play. It is questionable whether Play and Achievement should be included within the definition of need, but in the present study it was found convenient to do so. Play is sometimes an ' escape from reality,' an enjoyable relaxation of stress. Good-natured humour, even though slightly aggressive, is classed as Play.

Trait-names and Attitudes: (a) Playful, gay, jolly, merry, blithe, jovial ; (b) easy-going, light-hearted, sportive.

Statements in Questionnaire

1. I feel that if I were free from the necessity of making a living I should devote a good deal of time to the pursuit of unmixed pleasure.
2. When I am working, I spend a good deal of time planning or anticipating future pleasures.
3. I believe that I have the disposition of a 'man of

pleasure' rather
than a ' man of great ambition.'

4. I spend a fair proportion of my time amusing myself
parties,
dances, shows, card-games or drinking bouts.

5. I prefer the company of amusing, fun-loving people.

6. I treat sex as an amusing game rather than a serious
undertaking.

7. I cultivate an easy-going, humorous attitude toward
life.

8. I seek, at the cost of some distant goal, whatever
makes me feel most
cheerful here and now.

9. I act on the principle that a wise man is known by
his ability to play.

10. I seek amusement as an antidote for worry.

n Affiliation n Rejection

Narcism

The n Affiliation describes a positive tropism for
people, the
n Rejection a negative tropism. Occasionally, one finds
one or the

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other extreme : a person who likes almost everyone or a
misan-
thrope. But usually both needs operate, the need that
is aroused
being determined by the object encountered or the class
to which
the object belongs (profession, political party,
nationality, re-
ligious sect, etc.) . Narcism is Affiliation turned
inwards.

n Affiliation (n Aff)

Desires and Effects : To draw near and enjoyably cooperate or reciprocate with an allied O : an O who resembles the S or who likes the S.

To please and win affection of a cathected O. To adhere and remain loyal to a friend.

Feelings and Emotions : Trust, good-will, affection and love. Sympathetic empathy.

Trait-names and Attitudes : Affiliative, friendly, sociable, genial, affectionate, trusting, good-natured.

Kinds of Affiliation : Interests (vide) may determine the O preferred.

Press : Positive : p Allied object : p Affiliation.
Negative : p Friendless Environment.

infra or supr A filiation : Friendships with inferior or superior Os.

Actions : General : To meet and make the acquaintance of Os. To form, maintain or accept synergies with Os. To show good-will and love. To do things which please an O. To avoid wounding, to allay opposition.

Motones : To draw near and stay with. To wave, shake hands, go arm

in arm, place hand on the shoulder, embrace.

Zonal : Oral : Kissing.

Verbones : To greet, say hello and goodbye, question in a friendly way.

To give information, tell stories, exchange sentiments.

To express

trust, admiration, affection. To confide in an O.

Continuance : To approach, touch, accompany, and live near allied Os.

To be gregarious.

Similance : To feel and act like an allied O. To imitate and agree with, to be * as one with.'

Co-operation : To achieve things with an O.

Reciprocation : To communicate or play with an O. To converse, telephone, write letters. To share benefits, possessions, knowledge or confidences with an O. To enjoy erotic relations with a beloved O (Fn Sex Aff).

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ideo Aff : To be receptive to ideas. To harmonize one's sentiments with those of others. To resolve differences.

Types of Affiliative Synergies : The aim of the n Affiliation is to form a synergy : a mutually enjoyed, enduring, harmoniously co-operating and reciprocating relation with another person. The S must like and be liked by the O before a synergy is possible. A synergy should result in the reinforcement of emotions and needs. Hence, some degree of similarity seems to be essential. The following varieties may be recognized : Fn Sue Aff (friendship with a sympathetic protecting O), Fn Def Aff (friendship with an admired exemplar), Fn Nur Aff (friendship with a younger dependent O), Fn Dom Aff (friendship with a compliant O), Fn Exp Aff (friendship for a pupil), Fn Cog Aff (friendship for a teacher). The following are also of interest : Complementary Aff (friendship based on contrast), Supplementary Aff (friendship based on similarity). Diffuse Aff. Many friends of different types. Focal Aff. One or a few friends. Sa & Aff. Long enduring synergies. Ch fcf Aff. To drop friends and acquire new ones. To be fickle and changeable.

Fusions : Since most things may be done in co-operation with another, almost every need may fuse with the n Aff. For instance : n Ach (to collaborate in accomplishing anything) , n Agg (to fight together against a common enemy), n Nur (to co-operate in caring for a child). Likewise, reciprocation involving any two antipolar needs may occur : n Cog and n Exp (to ask or answer questions), n Nur and n Sue (to give or receive sympathy) .

Needs which may be subsidiary to the n Aff : All needs, as suggested above. Also : n Auto (to break out of prison to join a beloved O), n Aba (to apologize, to admit mistakes), n Blam (to avoid doing anything that would annoy an O), n Acq (to make money in order to entertain friends), etc.

Needs to which the n Aff may be subsidiary : All needs, as suggested above, n Dom (to make friends in order to be elected to high office).

Conflicts with : N, n Ach, n Rej, n Dom, n Agg, n Auto, n Inf, n Cnt.

Measurement : T/ie chief criteria are: 1. friendly feeling ; 2. desire to associate, play and converse ; 3. efforts to resolve differences, co-operate and maintain harmony ; 4. readiness to trust and confide ; 5. the number, intensity and duration of friendships.

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intrAff : To be on good terms with one's self. To regard one's own weaknesses with humorous tolerance. To resolve

conflicts. Narcism.

Subjns and Semi-objns : An imaginary companion.

Social forms : Clubs and social organizations. (with n
Sex) Marriage.

Statements in Questionnaire

1. I am in my element when I am with a group of people who enjoy life.
2. I become very attached to my friends.
3. I give myself utterly to the happiness of someone I love.
4. I feel ' out of sorts ' if I have to be by myself for any length of time.
5. I like to hang around with a group of congenial people and talk about anything that comes up.
6. I make as many friends as possible and am on the lookout for more.
7. I accept social invitations rather than stay at home alone.
8. If possible, I have my friends with me wherever I go.
9. I am desperately unhappy if I am separated from the person I love.
10. I make a point of keeping in close touch with the doings and interests of my friends.
11. I become bound by strong loyalties to friends and institutions ; it may be a college, a club, a vocational group or a political party.
12. I make friends rather quickly and feel at ease in a few minutes.
13. I go out of my way just to be with my friends.

14. I make special efforts to promote good feeling when I am with other people.

15. I enjoy co-operating with others more than working by myself.

16. I feel that friendship is more important than anything else.

17. I enjoy myself immensely at parties or other social gatherings.

18. I like to play around with people who don't take life too seriously.

19. I am very free in expressing cordiality and goodwill to others.

20. I have a good word for most people.

Sentiments of Affiliation

1. A man's friends are his magnetisms.

2. The feeling of friendship is like that of being comfortably filled with roast beef.

3. Humanity is not a vain word. Our life is composed of love, and not to love is not to live.

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4. The humblest of friendships is a treasure more precious than all the triumphs of genius.

5. One of the greatest experiences in life is to give some of one's innermost soul into the safekeeping of a friend.

6. One cannot be in love with life if he does not love humanity in general.

7. Go often to the house of thy friend, for weeds choke up the unused path.

8. He has achieved success who has lived well, laughed often and loved much.

9. Goodwill subdues its opposite, as water fire.

10. The ornament of a house is the friends that frequent it.

11. It is more important to cultivate the heart than the head.

12. We arrive at wisdom through our intimacies with people.

13. A man's wealth is measured by his friendships.

14. Wherever you go plant companionship as thick as trees.

15. There is no satisfaction in any good without a companion.

n Rejection (n Rej)

Desires and Effects : To separate oneself from a negatively cathected O.
To exclude, abandon, expel, or remain indifferent to an inferior O. To snub or jilt an O.

Feelings and Emotions : Disgust, scorn, boredom, indifference.

Trait-names and Attitudes : (a) Rejective, exclusive, forbidding, scornful, aloof, haughty, snobbish ; (b) insulated, detached, indifferent ;
(c) discriminating, critical, selective.

Kinds of Rejection : Interest (vide) may focalize the need.

Press : infraRej p Inferior O. p Repellent O.

supraRej : To reject a disliked superior O, to out-snob a snob.

Actions : General: Vulnerability to annoying, coarse, rude, vulgar, stupid, boring, childish, mean, cheeky, presumptuous, unattractive Os.
To be sensitive, easily repelled, hard to please. To adopt a disdainful, forbidding, superior attitude. To remain aloof and indifferent. To be a severe critic. To be unwilling to suffer fools. To demand a high standard of ability, intelligence, wit or imagination. To be very discriminating and critical in the choice of friends and exemplars. To reject a suitor. To break with a friend. To withhold love (N).
Motones : To debar unpleasant Os. To close and lock the door. To avoid meeting stupid people. To cross the street, refuse invitations.

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Zonal : Genital : Frigidity and impotence.

Verbones : Silence. * I shall never speak to you again/
To eliminate or
exclude : ' Shut up ' ' Get out of here ' * Leave the room '
' I'm through with you.'

Zonal : Oral : Mutism. To be close-mouthed.

Exclusion : To keep out unwelcome intruding Os. To remain secluded and unapproachable. To be psychically insulated. To refrain from intimacies and confidences. To blackball. To refuse to admit, invite, shake hands with, or marry an inferior.
Expulsion : To expel, disinherit, excommunicate.
Abandonment : To desert a child. To drop a friend.
Withdrawal : To leave home. To resign from a group :

club, institution, or business. To avoid people. To seek solitude.
Contrarience : To be different from inferior Os. Not to do as the Philistines do. To be distinguished by contrast.
Belittlement : To criticize other Os scornfully (Fn Agg).
Censure : To blame other Os scornfully (Fn Agg).

Fusions with: n Sec (to withdraw so as to enjoy privacy), n Auto (keeping interference at arm's length), n Inf (excluding people who might ridicule), n Agg (to punish an O by exclusion, exile, excommunication, boycotting ; to slander an O as a moral pariah).

'Needs to which n Rej may be subsidiary : n Cnt (to reject an O who might reject the S), n Ach (to exclude Os who divert S from the pursuit of his goal), n Aff (to exclude uncongenial Os for the sake of harmony).

Conflicts with : n Aff, n Sue, n Exh, n Nur, n Blam, n Def, n Aba.

intraRej : Criticism, inhibition and repression of what the S considers to be weak, childish, disgusting, or unseemly in himself. Scorn of one's own past.

Social forms : Immigration laws. Institutions, clubs, or places to which only the elite, the cultured or the otherwise distinguished are admitted.

Statements in Questionnaire

- i.
- 2.
- 3-
- 4-

5-

am intolerant of people who bore me.
maintain a dignified reserve when I meet strangers,
am very discriminating in my choice of friends,
get annoyed when some fool takes up my time,
am offended by the tastes of many people I meet.

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6. I often seclude myself, so that every Tom, Dick and Harry cannot bother me.

7. usually ignore rather than attack an opponent.

8. feel superior to certain forms of competition.

9. find it easy to * drop ' or * break with J a friend.

10. avoid very close intimacies with other people.

1 1 . often cross the street to avoid meeting someone I know.

12. am indifferent to the petty interests of most of the people I meet.

13. Sometimes I think that the vast majority of people are either fools or knaves.

14. am a bit scornful of people whose ideas are inferior to my own.

15. usually keep myself somewhat aloof and inaccessible.

1 6. am repelled by people with bad manners.

17. often snub or 'high-hat* a person I dislike.

1 8. often express my resentment against a person by having nothing more to do with him.

19. I will do anything rather than suffer the company of tiresome and uninteresting people.

20. I prefer the company of older, talented or generally superior people.

Sentiments of Rejection

1. Solitude is one of the highest enjoyments of which our nature is capable.

2. Life is a well of delight, but where the rabble drink, there all fountains are poisoned.

3. Fish and visitors smell after three days.

4. The world is full of people who are not worth speaking to.

5. Every blackguard is pitiably sociable, but true nobility is detected in the man who finds no pleasure in the companionship of others.

6. The more I know of men the more I admire dogs.

7. The friendships of the world are oft confederacies in vice.

8. The man who walks in solitude is the one who in the long run achieves the greatest success.

9. Playing around with a crowd of people spoils the character.

10. As a rule, a man is sociable in just the degree to which he is stupid and lazy.

11. Few men are raised in our estimate by being too closely examined.

12. Familiarity breeds contempt.

13. Society is a hospital of incurables.

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14. Clubs are for the bores and the bored.

15. Love is the business of the idle.

Narcism (N)

Narcism (or Egophilia) is technical for self-love. The term designates the object upon which positive cathexes are localized, namely the self. It is often accompanied by obliviousness or disrespect of others.

Direct manifestations. (I) Self-absorption, self-admiration, self-pity, autoerotism 5(2) Superiority feelings and delusions of grandeur ; (3) Self-display and extravagant demands for attention, praise, honour, aid, compassion or gratitude ; and (4) Susceptibility to neglect or belittlement, hypersensitiveness, excessive shyness and delusions of persecution.

Indirect manifestations. (I) Ruthless self-seeking, demands for benefits, attempts to dominate and demonstrate power, delusions of omnipotence 5(2) Object depreciation : indifference, belittlement, exploitation, suspicion or hatred of others, misanthropy ; and (3) Ego-centricity and projectivity : the perception and apperception of the world from an entirely personal or subjective standpoint.

These are extreme manifestations of the following :
intraDeference,
intraAffiliation, intraNurturance, intraSex, n
Superiority, n Exhibition,
n Succorance, n Inviolacy, n Aggression, n Dominance, n

Autonomy and
n Rejection.

Antipole of Egophilia is Altrophilia (or object-love
). The equator of
egophilia and altrophilia is Sociophilia.

Sociophilia. (1) Respect for the commune and
forgetfulness of pri-
vate interests ; (2) Suitable self-confidence,
readiness to co-operate, to
fulfill any function ; (3) Fair demands, good-natured
resiliency 5(4)
Justice, thoughtfulness of others ; (5) An objective,
social attitude.

Another antipole of Egophilia is Ego depreciation : (1
) Self-criti-
cism, inferiority feelings and delusions of
unworthiness ; (2) Seclusive-
nese, modesty and humility ; (3) Acceptance of
criticism and censure,
readiness to confess and atone ; (4) Self-abnegation
and abasement ;
(5) Deference, acknowledgement and praise of others,
self-sacrifice
and devotion. This tendency may alternate with Narcism.

Statements in Questionnaire

I. I often think about how I look and what impression I
am making
upon others.

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2. I can become entirely absorbed in thinking about my
personal affairs,
my health, my cares or my relations to others.

3. My feelings are easily hurt by ridicule or by the
slighting remarks
of others.

4. When I enter a room I often become self-conscious
and feel that the
eyes of others are upon me.

5. I dislike sharing the credit of an achievement with others.

6. I love to talk about my innermost feelings to a sympathetic friend.

7. I dislike being with a group unless I know that I am appreciated by at least one of those present.

8. I talk a good deal about myself, my experiences, my feelings and my ideas.

9. I feel that I am temperamentally different from most people.

10. I often interpret the remarks of others in a personal way.

11. I enjoy it immensely when I am left alone with my own thoughts.

12. I feel that my own judgements uncorrupted by other men's experience are most valid.

13. I feel that I should like to write or create something which would express my inner vision of the true values of life.

14. I spend a good deal of time trying to decide how I feel about things and why I feel as I do.

15. I easily become wrapped up in my own interests and forget the existence of others.

16. I feel that I have enough on my hands without worrying about other people's troubles.

17. I feel that other people have not counted much in my life.

18. I am secretly 'put out' when other people come to me with their

troubles, asking me for my time and sympathy.

19. I pay a good deal of attention to my appearance :
clothes, hats, shoes,
neckties.

20. I have great faith in my own ideas and my own
initiative.

n Succorance n Nurturance

The n Succorance is the tendency to cry, plead, or ask
for
nourishment, love, protection or aid ; whereas the n
Nurturance
is the tendency to satisfy such needs in a succorant O.
Thus, the
two needs are complements. The Succorance drive seeks a
nur-
turant O and the Nurturant drive seeks a succorant O.
The most

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obvious example is the child-mother relationship. The
Succorant
need is always a sub-need, in as much as it is evoked
in the service
of some other drive : n Food, n Water, n Harmavoidance,
n
Affiliation, and so forth.

n Succorance (n Sue)

Desires and Effects : To have one's needs gratified by
the sympathetic
aid of an allied O. To be nursed, supported, sustained,
surrounded,
protected, loved, advised, guided, indulged, forgiven,
consoled. To
remain close to a devoted protector. To have always a
supporter.

Feelings and Emotions : Anxiety of helplessness ;
feelings of insecurity,
forsakenness, despair.

Trait-names and Attitudes : (a) Succorant[^] dependent, helpless ; (b) forlorn, grieving, tragic ; (c) suppliant, petitioning, begging, pleading.

Press : 'Negative : p Insupport : Physical (Danger of falling or drowning), Parental (Family Discord, Inferior Father), Economic (Poverty), Social (Insolidarity). p Loss : Death of Parents, p Rejection : Unconcern, Abandonment, Expulsion. Positive : p Nurturance : Sympathy and Aid.

Gratuities : p Support : Enclosed place (claustum), Parental (Family Concord), Economic (Family Affluence), Social (Solidarity). p Nurturance and p Affiliation.

Actions : General : To attract or seek out nurturant Os. To capitalize mishaps. To be particularly drawn to nurturant Os sympathetic Os who are in a position to give advice, aid or support. To crave affection and tenderness. To * blossom ' when treated with kindness. To accept favours unhesitatingly. To enjoy being fussed over. To avoid being alone. To adhere closely to a haven.

Motones : To weep, adopt a pathetic or tragic attitude, hold out arms, extend the hand (beggar's cup). To exhibit wounds. A tantrum of despair.

Zonal : Oral Succorance : To suck nourishment from the breast. Verbones : To cry for help : ' Murder ! Fire ! Police ! ' S.O.S. To tell of misfortunes, hardships, accidents and failures. To exaggerate an injury, an illness, a mental symptom. To complain of being miserable, depressed, sad, worried, tired. To appeal to an O's good-nature, mercy

or forbearance. To seek advice. To go frequently to doctors.

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ideo Sue : To seek aid in arriving at a philosophy of life.

socio Sue : To plead for a cause.

Fusions with : n Harm (to move away from danger towards a protector a child clinging to its mother), n AfF (anaclitic love a relationship with a stronger, wiser, nurturant O), n Exh (to make an exhibition of one's wounds), n Aba (to humbly, abasively plead for aid), n Dom (to rely entirely upon servants).

Needs which may be subsidiary to the n Sue : n Aba (to suffer or become sick in order to excite pity and receive undivided love).

Needs to which the n Sue may be subsidiary : Any need, but more particularly : n Food and n Water (crying for nourishment), n Harm (calling for help in a dangerous situation), n Acq (to beg for money, to plead for a toy), n Aff (appeals for friendly sympathy), n Sex (to excite erotic compassion), n Auto (a child crying to get his own way, a petition for freedom), n Dom (to control an O through pity, the despotism of the invalid), n Blam (to ask for clemency), n Nur (to plead in behalf of another O).

Conflicts with : n Cnt, n Ach, n Nur, n Rej, n Dom, n Dfd.

intraSuc : To look within for consoling thoughts. To * wait upon the spirit.'

Subjns and Semi-ob^ns : Supplications and prayers to deities.

Social forms : Children, orphans and widows. Beggars. Unemployed. The blind, the sick.

Statements in Questionnaire

1. I feel anxious and uncertain when I am suddenly faced by a critical situation.
2. I usually tell my friends about my difficulties and misfortunes.
3. I prefer to have some friend with me when I receive bad news.
4. I think of myself sometimes as neglected or unloved.
5. I find that tears come to my eyes rather easily.
6. I enjoy the comforting realization that I know one or two oldei people whose wisdom and sympathy I can rely upon.
7. I feel lonely and homesick when I am in a strange place.
8. I like sympathy when I am sick or depressed.
9. I experience a vague feeling of insecurity when I must act on mj own responsibility.
10. I am rather easily discouraged when things go wrong.
- 1 1 . I * feel out ' the opinions of others before making a decision.

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12. I like it when people ask me about my health or state of mind.

13. I am rather dependent upon the presence and judgement of my friends.

14. I think that most people are rather self-centred and heartless.

15. am drawn to women who are sympathetic and understanding.

16. feel that my lot in life has been a hard one.

17. am apt to rely upon the judgement of some member of my family.

18. feel lost and helpless when I am left by someone I love.

19. am apt to complain about my sufferings and hardships.

20. want sympathy, affection and understanding more than anything else.

n Nurturance (n Nur)

Desires and Effects : To give sympathy and gratify the needs of a helpless O : an infant or any O that is weak, disabled, tired, inexperienced, infirm, defeated, humiliated, lonely, dejected, sick, mentally confused. To assist an O in danger. To feed, help, support, console, protect, comfort, nurse, heal.

Feelings and Emotions : Pity, compassion, tenderness.

Trait-names and Attitudes : (a) Nurturant, sympathetic, compassionate, gentle, maternal ; (b) protective, supporting, paternal, benevolent, humanitarian ; (c) indulgent, merciful, charitable, lenient, forbearing, forgiving, tolerant.

Press : Positive : p Succorance.

sufraNur : Caring for a superior O nursing a sick parent.

Gratuities : Children, dependents.

Agency Objects : Medicines. Also food, candy, money, toys, valuable Os.

Actions : General: To be particularly attracted to the young, the unfortunate, the sorrowing. To enjoy the company of children and animals. To be liberal with time, energy and money when compassion is aroused. To be moved by the distress of others. To feel more affectionate when an O exhibits a weakness. To be moved by tears.

To inhibit narcissistic needs in the presence of an inferior O. To refrain from bothering or annoying an O. To be lenient and indulgent. To give freedom. To condone. To become indignant when children are maltreated.

Motones : To do things to gratify the needs of an inferior O. Thus any need may be subsidiary to the n Nur. To embrace, support, defend, heal. To give refuge.

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Zonal : Mammary Nur : To give the breast to an infant.

Verbones : To encourage, pity, console, sympathize with an unhappy

O. To express condolence. To assuage, calm, appease, pacify, encourage with praise.

Bestowal : To give material Os. To give money to the poor, toys to children, food to wayfarers.

ideo Nur : To encourage creative wo*rk. To help a pupil in the construction of a philosophy. To be generous with one's ideas. To be tolerant of the theories of others.

Fusions with: n Aff (a tender affection for a sick friend), n Sex (erotic feeling for an unfortunate person), n Dom (to guide a person for his own good), n Play (to play with children), n Def (to care for a sick parent), n Aba : Atonement (self-sacrifice as an expiation), n Agg (to perform a surgical operation), n Dfd (to defend an abused friend).

Needs which may be subsidiary to the n Nur : n Agg (to fight an O who has been molesting a child), n Sex (to marry solely for children), n- Aba (to allow a child to win) .

Needs to which the n Nur may be subsidiary : n Aff (protecting an O so as not to lose it), n Dom (doing kindnesses to win votes), n Blam (assisting an O so as not to be considered selfish) .

Conflicts : N, n Rej, n Agg, n Harm, n Inf, n Sue, n Ach.

infra Nur : Self-pity. Sulk. Pre-occupation with an injury to one's own body favouring a lame leg.

Subjns and Semi-objns : Worshipping the Christ child. Caring for pets, feeding pigeons and squirrels, watering plants. Playing with dolls.

Social forms : Churches, Charities and Social Service Agencies. Hospitals, asylums, orphanages, almshouses. Societies for the Prevention of Cruelty.

Statements in Questionnaire

1. I take pains not to hurt the feelings of subordinates.
2. I will take a good deal of trouble to help a younger man to get him a job, to intercede for him or in some other way to further his interests.
3. I go out of my way to comfort people when they are in misery.
4. I enjoy the company of younger people.
5. I give my time and energy to those who ask for it.
6. People are apt to tell me their innermost secrets and troubles.

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7. I am easily moved by the misfortunes of other people.
8. I am drawn to people who are sick, unfortunate or unhappy.
9. I am especially considerate of people who are less fortunate than I.
10. I feel great sympathy for an ill-used or defeated * under-dog, ' and I am apt to do what I can for him.
11. I feel the needs and interest of others almost as if they were my own.
12. I often go out of my way to feed, pet or otherwise care for an animal.
13. I enjoy putting my own affairs aside to do someone a favour.

14. I am considered, by some of my friends, as too good-natured, too easily taken in.

15. I praise or otherwise encourage people who are depressed.

16. I sympathize with people more often than I blame them.

17. I am quite gentle and protective in my relations with women.

18. I enjoy playing with children.

19. I feel the failures of my friends as if they were my own.

20. I am always ready to give or lend things to others.

Sentiments of Nurture

1. Unselfishness and sympathy are more desirable than high ideals and ambitions.

2. Weaklings deserve respect and consideration. The world should not merely belong to the strong.

3. Sweet mercy is nobility's true badge.

4. Altruism is the rock of life.

5. What we win through authority we lose ; what we win through devotion we keep.

6. Pity is the touch of God in human hearts.

7. If you would fall into any extreme, let it be on the side of gentleness.

8. It is not enough to do a generous thing, you must do it generously.

9. Man shall be as the shadow of a great rock in a weary land.

10. We are all born for love. It is the principle of existence and its only

end.

11. Pity is the last consecration of love, is, perhaps, love itself.

12. To lay down your life for a friend. This is the summit of a good

life.

13. Love is more just than justice.

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14. Better do a kindness near home than go far to burn incense.

15. Love is wiser than ambition.

n Blamavoidance Superego

A man living in a society must inhibit, if he wishes to avoid

the possibility of punishment, whatever impulses arise which do

not conform to the patterns (tpmo formulas) of his culture. The

n Blamavoidance is the mechanism which operates to save the

individual from the moral censure and retribution of society.

The S does not objectify an asocial wish because he fears external

punishment (pain, penalty, confinement, rejection).

When it

is an inner punishment (guilt feelings and remorse)

that the S

fears, we attribute the inhibition to an additional factor, the

Superego.

n Blamavoidance (n Blam)

This variable was not used in the present study, but it is out-

lined here as an introduction to the two variables that were employed : Superego Integration and Superego Conflict.

Desires and Effects : To avoid blame or rejection (loss of affection).
To inhibit narcissistic, asocial impulses and to perform altrophilic or sociophilic acts in order not to be rebuked by other Os (parents, teachers, friends) . To be inoffensive.

The original form of the need is that of escape, i.e., to flee from punishing Os after a misdeed has been committed. Later, images of punishment become associated with asocial forms of behaviour, and then n Blam becomes an inhibiting force.

Feelings and, Emotions : Anxiety and apprehension.
Guilt feelings and remorse.

Trait-names and Attitudes : (a) Blamavoidant, inhibited, over-anxious, fearful ; (b) scrupulous, unobjectionable, conscientious, conventional, dutiful ; (c) propitiatory, apologetic, remorseful.

Press : p Aggression : Punishment, Censure, p Dominance, p Rejection.

Actions: General: To be concerned about public opinion, what 'the neighbours will say.' To be careful to do nothing that will annoy, antagonize or alienate the affections of others. To be afraid of provoking opposition or hostility. To wonder whether people are disapproving.

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Inhibition : To inhibit and repress asocial impulses : narcissistic Acq,

Agg, Auto, Dom, Exh, Sex. Not to cheat or lie if there is any likelihood of getting caught. To be respectable, polite, courteous, decorous, proper, ethical.

If the n Blam is strong and the asocial impulses are weak the S will always act in a socially-responsible manner. But if an asocial tendency docs become objectified (a misdeed or crime is committed) the n Blam will operate in one of several ways :

Fusion with n Aba : apology, contrition, confession, atonement,
with n Sec : concealment, obliteration of clues,
with n Harm : flight, escape from disapprobation.
ideo Blam : To inhibit the expression of unconventional ideas.

Fusions with : n Def (to be obedient in order to avoid blame), n Aff (to please and not to displease), n Nur (to avoid offending an O), n Inf (to avoid the humiliation of censure), n Sec (to be silent and thus to avoid saying anything which might offend).

Needs which may be subsidiary to the n Blam : n Aba (to be humble in order to avoid censure), n Def (excessive politeness in order to avoid punishment), n Dfd (giving excuses in order to avoid blame).

Needs to which n Blam may be subsidiary : n Ach (to avoid offence, to be diplomatic, in order not to provoke opposition), n Auto (to obey the law in order to avoid interference or imprisonment).

Conflicts with : n Auto, n Acq, n Agg, n Exh, n Dom, n Sex.

Measurement : A low n Blam is more easily inferred than a high. It is indicated by selfish, inconsiderate, irritating,

asocial, immoral behaviour.

intraBlam : Repression of guilty memories and thoughts.

Subjns and Semi-objns : (cf. Superego Conflict)
Fantasies of punishment, eternal torture, Hades, Purgatory, an avenging deity.

Statements in Questionnaire

1. I feel upset if I hear that people are criticizing or blaming me.
2. I refrain from expressing unconventional opinions to people who may disapprove of them.
3. I apologize profusely when I am blamed for something.
4. I keep out of trouble at all costs.
5. Before I do something I am apt to consider whether my friends will blame me for it.
6. I never do anything that will provoke opposition if I can help it.

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7. I do a great many things just to avoid criticism.
8. I feel mortified if I am told that I have acted selfishly.
9. In coming to a decision I always take other people's interests into account.
10. I take pains not to incur the disapproval of others.

Traces of punishments or threats of punishment or threats of

rejection (cf. ' Your parents won't love you ')
become aggregated
in a child's mind and fused with the general inhibiting
system.
This compound of images (of the unhappy consequences
that
might follow certain forms of behaviour) acts as an
internal re-
sistance. This barrier has been named * Superego* by
Freudian
analysts. It appears to be a product of the n
Biamavoidance, but
it is so important that it has been given the status of
a separate
variable.

Superego (Se)

The Superego may be defined as the aggregate of all the
internalized
or imaginatively constructed figures of moral
authority, functioning as
conscious or unconscious images to inhibit or otherwise
modify asocial
behaviour. This instituted composite of parental and
cultural influences
corresponds roughly to the system of rewards and
punishments admin-
istered during childhood.

But the Se is more than the images of punishment which
may be
anxiously anticipated if certain prohibitions are
broken, for when fully
developed it is positively cathected by the Ego and
accepted as a scheme
of ethical principles which must be obeyed (Fn Def
Blam). Hence, if
narcistic, asocial or 'evil* impulses do become
objectified, the subject
will submit to self-punishment ; that is, there will be
guilt feelings and
remorse, self-imposed resolutions and prohibitions,
confessions and atone-
ments. Thus, the Superego is synonymous with '
conscience.' It may be
discerned from this that the Superego process is a
subjectified (or semi-
objectified) form of the need for Biamavoidance.

Instead of the external dominative object, we find a figure of fantasy : the Lord, the God, the Father, the omnipotent, the omnipresent, eternal Judge.

Positive Superego. As a positive force the Superego presents to the individual certain ideals of social or saintly conduct, the conception of a life consecrated to mankind or God. This usually involves objectified,

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semi-objectified or subjectified forms of the n Deference (obedience) and the n Nurturance (charity) .

Negative Superego. The Superego is much more important as a negative or prohibiting force ; its primary function being to inhibit asocial tendencies : narcissistic n Acq, n Agg, n Auto, n Sex, etc. If successful in this (intraDominance), it is * silent,' that is, it only manifests itself negatively by the non-appearance of asocial actions (Superego Integration). If it is only partially successful as an inhibitor, signs of internal conflict may appear : the symptoms of a * bad conscience ' (Superego Conflict). These are :

1. Guilt feelings and remorse. Self-accusations.
2. Morbid anxiety, apprehension, free-floating fear.
3. Nightmares of being pursued, mutilated, devoured, punished.
4. Depressions and suicidal thoughts.
5. Obsessional doubts, perplexities and hesitations.
6. Self-corrective compulsions : repeating, counting,

ordering, cleans-
ing, praying. Compulsive thinking.

7. Pre-occupation with moral and religious ideas.

These processes are the result of intr Aggression. The needs involved are chiefly the following : n Harm, n Aba, n Sue, and, of course, n Blam.

Statements in Questionnaire : Superego Integration (Sel)

1. I have developed a good deal of self-control.
2. I avoid gay and irresponsible pleasure-seekers.
3. I seldom do anything for which anyone could reproach me.
4. I am scrupulous about telling the truth.
5. I prohibit myself the enjoyment of certain unprofitable pleasures.
6. I control my sexual impulses by instituting prohibitions and restrictions.
7. I carry a strict conscience about with me wherever I go.
8. I have a strong sense of responsibility about my duties.
9. I think that I have a more rigorous standard of right and wrong than most people.
10. I am seldom tempted to do anything wrong.

Statements in Questionnaire : Superego Conflict (SeC)

1. I often ask myself : * Have I done right ? '
2. I am apt to lower my eyes when someone looks me square in the face.
3. I am sometimes depressed by feelings of my own

unworthiness.

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4. feel sometimes that people disapprove of me.
5. am concerned about moral problems and dilemmas.
6. have had a few severe nightmares.
7. feel remorse when I think of some of the things I have done.
8. am apt to be peculiarly bothered by certain problems which keep recurring to my mind.
9. Sometimes I feel after I have done something that I have not done it correctly, and that I must repeat it to satisfy myself.
10. Sometimes I have a vague feeling of anxiety as if I had done wrong and would be found out.

Sentiments of Superego

1. The moral man watches diligently over his secret thoughts.
2. To starve is a small matter ; to lose one's virtue is a great one.
3. I find that there is no worthy purpose but the idea of doing some good in the world.
4. Be not lenient to your own faults ; keep your pardon for others.
5. He that loses his conscience has nothing left that is worth keeping.
6. He conquers who conquers himself.
7. The higher type of man makes a sense of duty the

groundwork of
his character.

8. The real fault is to have faults and not try to
amend them.

9. There is no medicine for a tortured mind.
i o. The evil that men do lives after them.

11. It is better to be faithful than famous.

I 2. Every evil deed brings with it its own angel of
vengeance.

1 3. Not to attain happiness, but to be worthy of it,
is the purpose of our
existence.

14. Virtue is merely a struggle wherein we overcome our
weaknesses.

15. He who says what he pleases, must hear what does
not please him.

n Infavoidance n Dcfcdance

n Counteraction

In this group are to be found the behaviour patterns
which
resist the descent of a person's status. Under n
Infavoidance have
been classed desires to avoid situations which might
lead to a
lowering of self-regard ; under the term n Defendance
are grouped
the attempts to defend the self verbally against
depreciating and

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belittling judgements, and under n Counteraction we
have classi-
fied the efforts that are made to regain a valuation of
the self by
positive action. These were once considered to be
different aspects

of one need n Inviolacy : the tendency to maintain status, to remain or become uncriticizable by self or by others.

n In] avoidance (n In])

Desires and Effects : To avoid humiliation. To quit embarrassing situations or to avoid conditions which may lead to bclittlement : the scorn, derision or indifference of others. To refrain from action because of the fear of failure.

Feelings and Emotions: Inferiority feelings. Before and during an event : nervousness, anxiety, embarrassment. After the event : shame, mortification.

Expressions of Emotionality : Hesitation, speechlessness, confusion, flurry, trembling, blushing, stammering, sweating.

Trait-names and Attitudes : Infavoidant, sensitive, shy, nervous, embarrassed, self-conscious, shrinking.

N arcisensitivity : Susceptibility to adverse opinion. The disposition to be easily * hurt/

Kinds of Inferiority : These conform to the classification of interests (vide).

Press : p Aggression : Bclittlement, Ridicule, p Rejection.

Actions: General: To avoid doing or to stop doing something which one does not do well. To avoid repeating a failure. To be hesitant to make friendly advances. To fear rejection. To be afraid to propose marriage. To avoid tests of strength and athletic skill. To avoid doing things in public. To avoid strangers or critical audiences. To avoid the

company of superior contemptuous Os. To associate with inferiors.

Promotion of Ailment : To get sick in order to avoid a difficult situation or test. To escape participation by staying in bed.

Concealment : To hide parts of the body or of the mind. To cover

blemishes. To conceal a mutilation or disfigurement : lame foot, withered arm, deafness, freckles, etc. To conceal ignorance. To avoid certain topics of conversation. To conceal humiliating facts.

Withdrawal : In the midst of a humiliating moment to retreat, retire

or take flight. To slink out with * tail between legs.'

To resign, change

one's job, leave the country.

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Fusions with : n Dfd (to offer anticipatory extenuations and justifications), n Sec (to remain silent and unexposed), n Exh (to demonstrate an excellence in order to draw attention from a blemish ; to be conspicuous in order not to be a nonentity), n Aba (to admit inferiority c Pm no good at this ' in order to ward off criticism), n Rej (to scornfully exclude Os who have made S feel inferior), n Ach (substitute achievement), n Blam (to avoid moral inferiority and censure).

Needs which may be subsidiary to the n Inj : n Sue (to appeal to another O for assistance), n Rej (infraRejection : to avoid association with inferior Os, so as not to be identified with them), n Def (to let others make decisions in order not to have to take the blame for failure) .

Needs to which the n Inf may be subsidiary : n Ach (failures and humiliations detract from S's accomplishments) .

Conflicts with : n Ach, n Dom, n Agg, n Acq, n Sex, n Aff, n Exh.

in train / : To repress and forget humiliations and failures.

Statements in Questionnaire

- 1 . I worry a lot about my ability to succeed.
2. After I have made a poor showing before others, I usually recall the occasion with distress for a long time afterwards.
3. I often avoid open competition because I fear that I may appear in a bad light.
4. get rattled when I have to speak before a group.
5. usually lack self-confidence when I have to compete against others.
6. feel that my self-esteem has been shaken when I fail at something.
7. keep in the background when I am with a group of confident and boisterous people.
8. feel nervous if I have to meet a lot of people.
9. am easily hurt by the snobbishness or exclusiveness of others.
10. am awkward in asserting myself.
- 11 . Before presenting some work which I have done, I often apologize or explain why it has not been done better.
12. I hesitate to put my abilities to the test, because I dread the humiliation of failure.

13. When I meet a stranger, I often think he is a better man than I am.

14. I often shrink from a situation because of my sensitiveness to criticism and ridicule.

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15. I have fits of depression and think of myself as a failure.

16. I am cautious about undertaking anything which may lead to humiliating consequences.

17. I am nervous and apprehensive before taking an important examination or test.

18. I feel embarrassed and uncomfortable in the presence of people who are socially gifted.

19. I think that I have made more than the usual number of blunders for a person of my age. ^

20. I think that some of my acquaintances look down upon me.

n Defendance (n Dfd)

Desires and Effects : To defend the self against assault, criticism and blame. To conceal or justify a misdeed, failure or humiliation. To vindicate the Ego.

Feelings and Emotions : Guilt feelings, inferiority feelings. Anxiety. Indignation.

Trait-names and Attitudes : Defendant, self-defensive, self-vindicative.

Press : p Aggression : Assault, Punishment,

Belittlement, Ridicule, Cen-
sure.

Actions : Motones : The S defends himself physically.

Verbones : The S defends himself verbally. He is c on
his guard ' ;
bristles when criticized ; has a ' chip on the shoulder
' ; interprets
harmless remarks as slurs. He suppresses his
ineptitudes. He resists in-
quiries into his private affairs. He will not admit
guilt under fire. He
is ready with excuses. He * argues back.'
ideo Dfd : The S defends his sentiments and theories.
Vindication : To explain, justify, offer extenuations
for, or rational-
ize inferiority, guilt or failure.

Suppression : To suppress, conceal or fail to mention
something which
is considered discreditable. To maintain a wall of
reserve.

Disavowal : To deny or refuse to admit guilt,
inferiority, weakness.
To rationalize it away as unimportant. To lie.

Fusions with : n Agg (to fight back, to justify the
self by criticizing the
accuser), n Sue (to rationalize misdeeds and beg for
mercy), n Sec
(to remain defensively apart), n Nur (to defend a
friend), n Rej
(to ignore accusers) .

Needs to which the n Dfd may be subsidiary : n Inv (to
maintain self-

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respect), n Harm (to ward off injury), n Blam (to
escape censure

by justifying one's actions).

Conflicts with : n Aba, n Def, n Aff.

intraDfd : The S condones his own actions. He regains
self-respect by

thinking of extenuations. Self-justification.
Social forms : Lawyers and Legal Aid Bureaus who defend
the accused.

Statements in Questionnaire

1. I can always think of something to say in my own
defence.
2. I am put on my guard by anybody who seems to want to
know about
my personal affairs.
3. I am apt to get into arguments with people who
criticize my way of
living.
4. I keep my private feelings concealed behind a wall
of reserve.
5. If I believe some man is going to snub me I snub him
first.
6. I am usually unwilling to admit that I am in the
wrong.
7. I can usually find plenty of reasons to explain my
failures.
8. I am on the defensive when my abilities are being
tested.
9. I usually manage to justify my conduct, to myself
and others.
- IO. I stick to my own opinions when I am opposed.

n Counteraction (n Cnt)

Desires and Effects : To master or make up for a
failure by restriving.
To obliterate an humiliation by resumed action. To
overcome weak-
nesses, to repress fear. To efface a dishonour by
action. To search for
obstacles and difficulties to overcome. To maintain
self-respect and
pride on a high level.

It was not apparent at the time the experiments were being done that the n Counteraction should be regarded as the n Achievement acting as a subsidiary to the n Inviolacy : when an S accomplishes something in order to wipe out or compensate for a failure, disability, etc. The concept is nevertheless useful in so far as it characterizes a particular sort of behaviour : efforts directed towards the hardest goals, unwillingness to receive aid, attempts to efface injuries and belittlements.

Feelings and Emotions : Shame after a failure or an exhibition of cowardice. Determination to overcome. Pride. Zest for re-striving.

Trait-names and Attitudes : Counter active y resolute, determined, indomitable, dauntless, dogged, adventurous.

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Kinds of Counteraction : (vide Interests) .

Press : p Obstacle. A frustration or previous failure.

Actions : The actions are the same as those of the n Ach, with this addition : they are done for pride's sake or for honour's sake. To re-enact after a trauma the same event until anxiety is mastered or, after a failure, to try to accomplish that very thing. The activity that is required depends upon the kind of humiliation that has occurred. The n Cnt is usually focal. For instance : Re-striving for Achievement (Econ) : To attempt to make up a financial loss. Traumatic Re-striving (Accident) : to make efforts to deal successfully with a formerly traumatic situation.

Independence : To accomplish things unaided. To repress Anxiety,
n Harm, n Sue, n Aba, n Inf. Stoical behaviour.

Fusions with : n Ach (to seek adventure and opposition, to enjoy the most difficult tasks), n Agg (to revenge an insult by a superior O),
n Auto (to do forbidden things just to prove they can be done),
n Dfd (to ' take a dare,' to defend himself against the accusation of cowardice), n Sex (to engage in sexual intercourse so as not to be scorned as inexperienced).

Needs which may be subsidiary to the n Cnt : To do this or that because
if the S did not do it he would feel ashamed, n Auto (to refuse to comply for pride's sake) , n Agg (to fight so as not to be called a coward).

Conflicts with : n Harm, n Inf, n Sue, n Aba, n Def, n Aff, n Blam.

Subjns and Semi-objns : In dreams, fantasies and play the child overcomes traumas and becomes a hero (counteractive Ego Ideal) .

Statements in Questionnaire

1. often do something just to prove that I can do it.
2. can usually inhibit an emotion which I do not wish to feel.
3. enjoy dangerous undertakings.
4. try to work things out for myself when I am in trouble.
5. usually refuse to admit defeat.
6. When I get bad news, I hide what I feel and behave as if I didn't

care.

7. I go out to meet trouble rather than try to escape it.

8. I return to a task which has stumped me, determined to conquer it.

9. To me a difficulty is just a spur to greater effort.

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10. Sometimes I feel that I must do everything myself, that I can accept nothing from others.

11. I am apt to turn away from those who try to sympathize with me.

12. I dislike it when I am asked about my health or about my frame of mind.

13. I would rather go without something than ask a favour.

14. I usually refuse to admit that I am tired or disappointed when I am.

15. I am determined to conquer all my fears and weaknesses.

16. I usually say 'No' when others offer to assist me.

17. I will go to any length rather than be called a quitter.

18. I often refuse to take suggestions from others out of pride.

19. I seldom admit that I feel embarrassed or inferior.

20. I prefer difficult tasks to easy ones.

n Harmavoidance Anxiety

The primitive reaction of withdrawal from a painful stimulus and the tendency to fear and avoid such stimuli at a distance have been grouped with other acquired fears (fears of bodily injury, disfigurement, illness and death) under the heading Harmavoidance drive, n Infavoidance and n Blamavoidance are supposedly derived from (originally conditioned to) the n Harmavoidance.

n Harmavoidance (n Harm)

Desires and Effects : To avoid pain, physical injury, illness and death.

To escape from a dangerous situation. To take precautionary measures.
Feelings and Emotions : Fear, anxiety, apprehension. Fright, terror.
Expressions of Emotionality : Trembling, sweating, pallor, stammering,

verbal disjunctivity.

Trait-names and Attitudes : (a) Apprehensive, fearful, anxious, timid,

frightened, panic-stricken, pusillanimous ; (b) cautious, hesitant,

wary, prudent, careful, vigilant.

Press : Negative : p Danger : Physical danger, Infection ; p Insupport.

Positive : p Refuge ; p Nurturance.

Kinds of Fear : (a.) Natural dangers : Lightning, earthquakes, volcanoes,

storms at sea, floods, tornadoes, fire.

(b) Animals : wild animals, bulls, watch dogs, snakes, rats, etc.

(c) Accidents : railroad, automobile, airplane. Also falling from

heights, riding horseback, drowning.

(d) Brutality : rough games, boxing, fighting, gangsters, burglars,

enemies.

(e) Physical punishment : spanking, flogging, torture, mutilation.

(f) Infections : general or specific : gonorrhoea, syphilis, fevers.

Agency Objects : Lifeboat, lifebelt, fire extinguisher, fire escape, parachute, weapons of defence, drugs, antitoxin, disinfectants, etc.

Actions : General : To avoid danger. To be cautious and hesitant about undertaking something. To hang back ; shun, evade, or shrink from a perilous situation.

Flight : To recoil, retreat, draw back, withdraw or flee from danger.

Concealment : To hide from an enemy. To stand still and make no

noise so as to be unobserved. Immobilization reaction (sham-death).

Prevention : This form becomes fused with intraHarm (fear of internal disease). To avoid infection. To avoid contact with contaminated Os. To take measures to prevent illness : to wear rubbers or a heavy coat, to abstain from alcohol and certain foods, to be inoculated.

To take drugs alkalis, etc.

ideo Harm : The fear and avoidance of disturbing ideas and doctrines.

To inhibit the expression of beliefs because of the fear that they will

be disproved, that one will be left without strong supporting convictions.

Fusions with : n Dfd (to defend the self against assault), n Inf (to avoid both injury and humiliation), n Blam (to inhibit asocial tendencies in order to escape physical punishment), n Sec (to seclude one's self and avoid harm) .

Needs which may be subsidiary to the n Harm : n Sue (S.O.S., to go to a doctor for assistance), n Acq (to acquire a protective weapon), n Cons (to build an ambush), n Aba (to surrender in order to avoid further injury), n Def (to follow a guide in order to avoid danger), n Aff (to take a friend along in case of danger), n Agg (to have an enemy put to death) .

Needs to which the n Harm may be subsidiary : n Ach (to keep well in order to accomplish something), n Nur (to keep well in order to be able to nurse a child), n Exh (to keep well for appearances' sake) .

Conflicts with : n Ach, n Cnt, n Rej, n Dom, n Agg, n Def, n Aff, n Nur.

intraHarm : (a) Fear and avoidance of illness and death. Hypochondria.
Bodily phobias : fear of heart disease, cancer, stomach trouble, etc.

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Avoidance of exertion. Cautious dieting. Excessive rest and sleep. This may occur with Prevention (extraHarm). It is also closely associated with Superego Anxiety (cf. n Blam). (b) Fear and inhibition of overpowering asocial impulses. Fear of mental confusion and chaos.
Fear of insanity.

Subjns and Semi-objns : Nightmares. Delusory fears.
Belief in Hell and
the Devil.

Pathology : Ucs Fears : Autonomic neuroses :
tachycardia, hyperthyroid-
ism, asthma, gastric ulcer, colitis, etc. Free-floating
anxiety. Fear of
closed or open spaces. Specific phobias. (cf. n Blam :
Superego Con-
flict.)

Statements in Questionnaire

1. I avoid passing through certain districts at night
on account of a
vague fear of assault.
2. I think that I would be timid and fearful if I were
challenged to
a fight.
3. I fear certain things, such as lightning, high
places, rough water,
horseback riding, aeroplaning, etc.
4. I am conscious of a vague fear of death.
5. I am afraid of physical pain.
6. Sometimes I experience a vague dread that I may be
attacked by
someone.
7. Sometimes I fear that I may be injured in an
accident.
8. I am afraid of certain animals : snakes, bulls,
watchdogs, etc.
9. I am somewhat afraid of the dark.
10. I am apt to be apprehensive when I am alone in an
empty house at
night.

Anxiety (Anx)

Experience and reflection led us to divide apprehensive

avoid-
ance reactions into three classes : Harmavoidance, Inf
avoidance,
Blamavoidance. These distinctions are based chiefly on
the press
that are feared and avoided : an object that can cause
physical
pain, an object that can scorn and belittle, an object
that can
morally blame and punish, respectively. The feelings
and emo-
tions are similar in the three classes and the
reactions are often
alike : riddance, avoidance or inhibition. Whether we
were wise

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in making the above divisions is questionable. Being
uncertain,
we decided to add another variable, Anxiety, which
would stand
for apprehension and worry of every sort. This factor
includes all
emotional reactions associated with the three
avoidances (n Harm,
n Inf and n Blam), as well as those related to other
possible
sources of dissatisfaction (worry about collegiate
standing, money
matters, love and so forth) . The objective signs of
Anxiety have
already been described.

n Order Impulsion/Deliberation

Conjunctivity/Disjunctivity Emotionality/Placidity

Sameness/Change

The variables in this group are all related to the
degree of
organization, stability or rigidity of a personality.
The n Order
describes behavioural trends that are directed towards
the organ-
ization of a subject's immediate environment :

cleanliness and care of his body and its vestments ; arrangement of his possessions, putting everything in its proper place ; orderliness of bureau drawers, desk, books, furnishings ; upkeep of his garden, lawn, car ; neatness and scrupulous precision in his work.

Conjunctivity describes co-ordination of movement, speech, and purposes, the ' shape ' of a person's day and the orderly progression of his life.

Sameness stands for fixation and repetition : consistency, dependability and rigidity of character. Deliberation describes the tendency to reflect before acting, to consider all sides of a question, to plan out a course of behaviour. Placidity stands for a calm, passive, phlegmatic or well-controlled emotional system. Co-variation of these factors is common, but not by any means universal.

n Order (n Ord)

The n Order seems to be related to the n Construction (cf. creation of forms), a need which is not included in this study ; to Sameness (cf. repetition compulsions) ; to a high Superego and to the n Blamavoidance (cf. scrupulousness and precision to avoid censure). In a sublimated form it may be related to the n Sentience (enjoyment of balance and significant design), particularly

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if there is a preference for classical art forms ; though artists themselves, in respect to their personal appearance and belongings, are

proverbially unkempt and disorderly. It is as if their need for Order was expressed in their creative work, and that everything else, including' themselves, was left in disorder.

Desires and Effects : To put things in order. To achieve cleanliness, arrangement, organization, balance, neatness, tidiness and precision.

Feelings and Emotions : Disgust at disorder.

Actions : General : To be neat and clean in one's personal appearance.
To sit and move about in an orderly, restrained manner.
To arrange work, dust off the table, put things in their place. To have a special place for everything. To straighten things. To write neatly in a straight line, erase, keep papers clean, copy a page if it is untidy. To keep accounts. To be exact and precise in speech, in the routine of the day and in transactions with others. To be scrupulous. To aim for perfection in details. To keep a room in order ; to sweep, dust, polish ; to hang pictures straight j to arrange the furniture ; to pick-up. To keep a country place in order, mow the lawn, cut the hedge, rake the path, throw away rubbish.
Fusions with : n Ach, n Sen, n Blam, n Inf, n Aba, n Exh.

Conjunctivity (Conj)

This is scored as the ratio of Conjunctivity to Disjunctivity (Conj/Disj) . Some persons function in a coherent, co-ordinated and integrated fashion ; others are confused, unco-ordinated, and disorganized. We have used the term Conjunctivity to describe the former and Disjunctivity to describe the latter.

It is convenient to distinguish :

First-degree Conjunctivity : co-ordination and organization in performing a single unit of work.

Second-degree Conjunctivity : organization and integration of interests as exemplified by a subject's behaviour during a phase or epoch of his life : harmony among purposes, freedom from conflict, well-ordered plan of life.

In the laboratory only first-degree Conjunctivity can be observed. It may be recognized as an attribute of motones, verbones or trends of behaviour.

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1. Motor Conjunctivity : muscular co-ordination, integration of skilled movements, manual dexterity and athletic skill. Manual dexterity may be measured by special tests.

2. Verbal Conjunctivity : verbal clarity, coherence of ideas, rationality of thought. Lucid well-structured sentences.

3. Conative Conjunctivity : co-ordination of purposeful trends, organized behaviour, economy of movements that reflect regnant processes : intentions and decisions.

Statements in Questionnaire Conjunctivity

1. I know what I want to say without having to fumble about for the right word.

2. I stick to a plan of action which I have decided upon.

3. I am on time for my appointments.
4. I am systematic and methodical in my daily life.
5. I usually get through my work efficiently without wasting time.
6. I organize my daily activities so that there is little confusion.
7. When I have to undertake something difficult, I make out a scheme of procedure.
8. I can maintain the thread of a conversation without making unnecessary digressions.
9. I say what I have to say in a few simple words so that I am easily understood.
10. I have arranged my life so that it runs smoothly and without conflict.

Disjunctivity

1. I have so many ideas that my conversation lacks clarity and continuity.
2. I find it difficult to exclude irrelevant ideas and pin myself down to one line of thought.
3. I go about my work in a somewhat inefficient and unco-ordinated manner, making many useless moves.
4. I often go from one thing to another in my daily life without much plan or organization of thought or action.
5. I lack simplicity, consecutiveness and logical sequence when I try to explain something to someone.

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6. I often interrupt the trend of a person's thought by interposing inconsequential ideas or by describing a personal anecdote.

7. I find it difficult to lead an orderly life because my impulses are so conflicting.

8. I am somewhat fitful and contradictory in some of the opinions I advance.

9. My desires are often at war with one another.

10. There are times when my life lacks clear purpose, order or design.

Sameness (Sa)

Here the score is based on the ratio of Sameness to Change (Sa/Ch). Sameness is measured in terms of (i) degree of fixation, (2) frequency of repetition and (3) degree of rigidity.

Sameness. (i) Fixation. To measure the degree of fixation the S must be observed (or a history must be obtained) over a span of months and years. The characteristic finding is that the same object, or the same class of objects, is cathected from year to year. These are some of the signs : to adhere to one place (the same room, house, neighbourhood, city) ; to select a few chosen pathways and haunts (the same streets, restaurants, shops) j to like and associate with the same people (members of the family, school and college friends) ; to maintain the same tastes, sentiments and beliefs (political party, preferred authors, creed) ;

to wear the same clothes, smoke the same brand of cigarettes, like the same dishes, enjoy the same music, etc.

(2) Repetition. This applies to regularity of routine, moods, modes of behaviour and purposes. Characteristic attributes : to rise at the same time, exhibit a consistent attitude, follow a prescribed order of behaviour, use stereotyped gestures and modes of speech j to be a ' creature of habit ' : dependable and consistent.

(3) Rigidity. This stands for a lack of plasticity, a dislike of novelty, an inability to change cathexes or modes when conditions require it.

Change. (i) Lack of Fixation. To have no fixed habitat, to enjoy moving from place to place, to wander and travel. To have few permanent attachments. To seek novelty, experiment, adventure. To be fickle in love. To enjoy new sights, new books, new people, new ideas.

(2) Lack of Repetition. To be irregular in rising, eating, working, playing and resting. To exhibit mood swings, unpredictable responses, sudden inconsistencies of purpose.

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(3) Plasticity. The ability to move, change loyalties or adopt new modes of behaviour when necessary.

Sameness represents the conserving force in nature. It binds and holds things together. It is the power of association. It brings about the structuration of function. Memory is based upon it. It leads to repetition which is a necessary part of the learning process.

Repetition is also used as a disciplinary measure. The child is taught to repeat correctly whatever he has done incorrectly. Thus such actions become associated with Super-ego activity, repetition being the commonest of the self-corrective compulsions.

Sameness men are set in a mould ; Change men are as unstable as the weather. The reactions of the former are predictable, their interests constant, their attachments fixed. The latter, on the other hand, are flexible. They change their methods, their habits and their preferences. They are more adaptable, more easily influenced, readier to shift their allegiances from one object to another. They are opportunists who are usually, but not always, impersistent. If they do persist in an endeavour to reach a goal, they are quite ready to change their tactics, their loyalties and their principles to attain it. Sameness seems to increase with age.

Statements in Questionnaire Sameness

1. I can become devotedly attached to certain places, certain objects and certain people.
2. I am somewhat disturbed when my daily habits are disrupted by unforeseen events.
3. I respect custom and consequently am somewhat resistant to untested innovations.
4. I find that many of my tastes and sentiments have remained relatively constant.
5. I am guided in my conduct by certain principles which I have ac-

cepted.

6. I find that a well-ordered mode of life with regular hours and an established routine is congenial to my temperament.

7. I am consistent and dependable in my dealings with others.

8. I am a creature of habit ; I can even endure monotony without fretting.

9. I prefer to associate with my old friends, even though by so doing I miss the opportunity of meeting more interesting people.

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10. I am usually consistent in my behaviour : go about my work in the same way, frequent the same preferred places ; follow the same routes, etc.

Change

1. I crave variety and contrast ; enjoy anything for a change.

2. I frequently start new projects without waiting to finish what I ha\e been doing.

3. I find that novel prospects new places, new people, new ideas appeal to me immensely.

4. I have often experienced rather marked * swings of mood ' from elation to depression.

5. I could cut my moorings quit my home, my parents and my friends without suffering great regrets.

6. At times I act and express myself quite differently than I do ordinarily,

7. I find it difficult to keep to any routine.

8. I find that my likes and dislikes change quite frequently.

9. I am quick to discard the old and accept the new :
new fashions
new methods, new ideas.

10. I am rather fickle in my affections.

Impulsion (Imp)

This is scored as the ratio of Impulsion to
Deliberation (Imp/
Del).

Impulsion is the tendency to respond (with a motone or ver-
bone) quickly and without reflection. It is a rather
coarse variable
which includes : (i) short reaction time to social
press, (2)
quick intuitive behaviour, (3) emotional drivenness,
(4) lack of
forethought, (5) readiness to begin work without a
carefully
constructed plan. The S is usually somewhat restless,
quick to
move, quick to make up his mind, quick to voice his
opinion.
He often says the first thing that comes into his head
; and does
not always consider the future consequences of his
conduct.

Statements in Questionnaire

1. I often act on the spur of the moment without
stopping to think.

2. I waste no time in asking for what I want.

3. I often act impulsively just to blow off steam.

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4. I have a ready word for most occasions.
5. I act as the spirit moves me, obeying whatever impulse is strongest.
6. When I have to act, I am usually quick to make up my mind.
7. Sometimes I start talking without knowing exactly what I am going to say.
8. I am easily carried away by an emotional impulse.
9. I am apt to say anything though I may regret it later rather than keep still.
10. I am rather spontaneous in speech and action.

Deliberation is easier to observe than Impulsion. It is marked

by : (1) long reaction time to social press, (2) inhibition of initial impulses, (3) hesitation, caution and reflection before action, (4) a long period of planning and organizing before beginning a piece of work. The S may have obsessional doubts : a * load ' of considerations which he must ' lift ' before beginning.

He usually experiences difficulty in an emergency.

Statements in Questionnaire

1. When suddenly confronted by a crisis I often become inhibited and do nothing.
2. I repress my emotions more often than I express them.
3. I think much and speak little.

4. I am slow to decide upon a course of action.
5. I consider a matter from every standpoint before I form an opinion.
6. I am slow to fall in love.
7. I usually make a plan before I start to do something.
8. I dislike making hurried decisions.
9. I do most things slowly and deliberately.
10. I am poor at repartee, quick retorts, snap-judgements.

Emotionality (Emo)

This variable is estimated in terms of the frequency, intensity and duration of manifest emotion (emotional expression) and of reported * felt ' emotion. The following are signs : To be frequently excited ; to show emotion (anxiety, fear, embarrassment, anger, elation, affection, grief) on slight provocation ; to speak with passion ; to exhibit marked fluctuations of mood ; to exhibit

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autonomic changes : trembling, sweating, blushing, palpitation of the heart, stuttering, inco-ordination of movement.

Statements in Questionnaire

1. My feelings and emotions are easily aroused.
2. give full vent to my sentiments when I am stirred.
3. have unaccountable swings of mood-, elations and depressions.

4. am considered somewhat excitable by my friends.
5. am rather sensitive, impressionable and easily stirred.
6. have intense likes and dislikes.
7. display * temper ' when the occasion warrants it.
8. can get quite ' heated-tip ' over some matter which interests me.
9. find it difficult to control my emotions.
10. am influenced in my decisions by how I happen to be feeling at the time.

The opposite of Emotionality is termed Placidity.

Statements in Questionnaire

- 1 . I am calm and placid most of the time.
2. I usually express myself dispassionately, with caution and restraint.
3. I take part in things without much display of enthusiasm.
4. I am moderate in my tastes and sentiments.
5. It takes a good deal to make me angry.
6. I am considered rather phlegmatic by my friends.
7. I find that my life moves along at an even tenor without many ups and downs.
8. I do things in a leisurely sort of way without worry or irritation.
9. My emotional life is marked by moderation and balance.
10. I am rarely very excited or thrilled.

Creativity (Cr)

Creativity was introduced to describe responses that were neither repetitious, consistent, stereotyped, rigid, banal (Same-ness) nor random, merely novel, sensational, irresponsible, inconsistent, fickle, odd (Change). The variable was applied to insightful adaptations to new conditions (ingenuity, intuition, quick learning). This might be called * behavioural' Creativity.

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The term was most especially employed, however, to cover originality and imagination in the handling of words and ideas (artistic and scientific thought). As many of our procedures called for imaging, plot construction and story-telling the artistic type of imagination was given more opportunity to display itself than was the conceptual. Thus our marks on this variable were in most cases based on judgements of the quality of literary fancy and creativeness.

Intensity Endurance

These variables may be regarded as two measures of liberated vital energy (a concept which was discussed at some length in the preceding chapter, vide p. 129). We shall not review the evidence already presented, but shall content ourselves with a brief list of the manifestations of energy :

1. Subjective and objective signs of zest : alertness, vitality, vigour, enthusiasm, effort.

2. Subjective and objective signs of activity pleasure (enjoyment of action for its own sake ' : physical exercise, conversation, thought) .

3. Long periods of activity (n Play or n Achievement), few or short periods of rest ; the ability to get along without sleep.

4. A large amount of random motility (physical or verbal) : restlessness, excessive motion, talkativeness, abundance of extravagant language, etc.

5. Speed, strength and long duration of all behavioural reactions. At this point one can hardly differentiate between general energy and drive energy.

Energy also leads to vigorous emotional responses (particularly of lust and anger). It has been found convenient to divide this factor into two variables, Intensity and Endurance.

Intensity (Int)

Some persons impress themselves more forcefully than others upon the objects of their environment. They are more ' energetic.'

Various aspects of this factor may be represented by the following

common words : power, strength, force, gusto, zest, eagerness, enthusiasm, emphasis, vividness, loudness, demonstrativeness. All

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these may be regarded as evidences of tension, effective or affective, liberated in a moment of time. The tension may express itself

by an unusual number or a marked strength of physical or verbal acts. The demonstration may not endure. It may be followed by a period of temporary exhaustion. The opposite of Intensity is Apathy.

An apathetic S may :

move about in a slow and lethargic manner ; sink into a chair, loll, slouch, lie back with feet outstretched, yawn, sigh, appear to be fatigued ; look with ennui and without enthusiasm at people and things ; appear unconcerned, disinterested, supercilious, bored ;

relax his muscles ; wear a placid, unresponsive countenance ; respond slowly and without emotion ; work lazily without manifesting effort or concern ;

express himself but little and then without ardour ; speak quietly in a low voice or in a monotone without inflection or emphasis, as if his words were not important and he did not care whether he were heard or not ; use flat, banal expressions ; show little emotion, except possibly shyness, timidity, apprehension or nervousness.

Statements in Questionnaire

1. I am intense about the things which interest me.
2. I go at things with considerable zest and gusto.
3. I feel fresh, vigorous and ready for anything, most of the time.
4. I express myself with emphasis when I am interested in a topic.
5. I work hard when I work, and play hard when I play.
6. I am energetic in the development and expression of

my ideas.

7. I work like a fiend at a problem that interests me.

8. I spend myself freely, since I have plenty of energy.

9. Sometimes I tackle a job as if my life depended on it.

10. I can expend a great deal of effort in a short time.

Endurance (End)

This variable was selected to stand for the persistence of effort

(vigorous activity) . Intensity expresses how hard a man works ;

Endurance how long he works. The latter is an easier concept to

deal with, because it is simply a matter of determining the dura-

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tion of directed action. When it is mental activity that is being

measured, however, there may be some difficulty (unless it is

accompanied by verbal expression) to rule out undirected fantasy.

In the clinic it is hardly possible to measure Endurance. The

sessions are too short and other factors, such as the amount of

interest that is aroused by a given task, are too obtrusive.

The S with low Endurance may :

show signs of fatigue even when dealing with interesting material ;

fall off in his performance as time goes on ; complain of weariness ; ex-

plain that he has not had enough sleep ; find it difficult to concentrate

for any length of time, etc.

The rating on this variable is based mostly on the subject's autobiographical reports.

Statements in Questionnaire

1. I can work at an arduous task for a long time without getting tired of it.
2. can stand very long periods of exertion.
3. am a horse for work. I am seldom exhausted.
4. finish most everything I commence.
5. can enjoy a long spell of continuous activity.
6. stick at a job even though it seems I am not getting results.
7. enjoy long discussions. They rarely weary me.
8. I am able to keep working, day in and day out, without getting bored or tired.
9. I can get along with less than the average amount of rest and sleep.
10. I usually persist in the pursuit of a purpose. My motto is : 'Never say die.'

Extracception/Intracception Projectivity/Objectivity

Exocathection/Endocathection

With this group of variables the attempt was made to segregate some of the factors which were included by Jung under the terms extraversion and introversion (vide the discussion of Jung's concepts, p. 232). We were concerned first with what is commonly called subjectivity and objectivity, a dichotomy which we found

great difficulty in formulating. The former (called by us Intra-

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ception) seemed to be an attitude that is engendered by strong personal feelings, fantasies, sentiments, and wishful speculations ; whereas the latter attitude (Extrapeption) seems to depend on the determining influence of sense data (physical and social factors) and the disposition to come into accord with them. The subjective attitude leads to self-expression and the emotional valuation of events. The objective attitude leads to the dispassionate recognition of fact, as well as to conformity in social behaviour (reasonableness). These tendencies are only opposites in the sense that one arises out of internal conditions and the other is provoked by external requirements. As with all other contrasting variables they are both exhibited in some measure by everyone. It is only for convenience that one speaks of intrapeptors and extrapeptors.

Endocathection describes a turning inward (reverie or reflection) and a cathexis of the products of mental activity. This is different from Intrapeption, for a man may turn outward to engage in practical affairs (Exocathection) with his head full of romantic aspirations and ideals (Intrapeption) ; or he may turn inward (Endocathection) to speculate about the physical properties of Nature (Extrapeption) . Projectivity describes the tendency

to misinterpret (because of the influence of desire, emotion, and sentiment) natural and social occurrences, the motivations of others and one's own inner experiences.

Extraception (Extra)

This is scored as the ratio of Extraception to Intraception. Extraception is a term that describes the tendency to be determined by concrete, clearly observable, physical conditions (tangible, objective facts). The sense of touch seems to control the personality, material substance, in one form or another, being the most undeniable (cf. Dr. Johnson kicking the stone) and valued fact. The subject is drawn to solid things. He needs them to support his locomotions (cf. ' He keeps his feet on the ground '), to employ as tools, to sustain his sense of reality. He likes to explore his surroundings, observe the workings of Nature, and produce

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tangible results. His thinking is dominated by the disposition to bring ideas into accord with observed facts or by the need to further some practical aim. Thus a person of this type (extra-ceptor) has an inclination to invent implements, construct machinery or engage in experimental research. In human dealings extraception leads to an emphasis upon overt behaviour and observable traits, the tendency to accept social standards, and a readiness to co-operate impersonally in group activity.

Intraseption, on the other hand, is the disposition to be determined by diffuse personal feelings and inclinations (intangible subjective facts). For such a man the desire for happiness seems basic. Thinking is dominated at first by fantasies : wishful creations or imaginative reconstructions of external happenings. Later the intraseptor may attempt to describe his emotional impressions of actual events or to conceptualize the facts of his inner life. The behaviour of the intraseptor is very apt to be the outcome of mere energy, of a mood, a fantasy (ex : play of children), a cherished scheme, romantic desires or Utopian speculations. The intraseptor is controlled by a valuating (aesthetic or moral) attitude which impels him to make judgements (that may be of deciding importance) as to the human good of this or that, but which interferes with his disinterested observation of objective occurrences. In his relations to other people the intraseptor is inclined to make immediate inferences as to their affections and motivations ; he becomes personal and subjective and finds it difficult to co-operate with those whose sympathies he does not share.

The extraseptor is commonly characterized by several of the following adjectives : objective, factual, accurate, impersonal, practical, denotative in speech, empirical, utilitarian, impartial, cool and phlegmatic, reasonable in action, insensitive, sociocentric, conforming, tough-minded, inductive, systematic in observations, scientific, psychologically superficial, materialistic, mechanistic,

pluralistic.

The following adjectives are commonly used to describe the intraceptor: subjective, imaginative (fanciful), somewhat inaccurate, personal in his dealings, impractical, connotative in

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speech, metaphysical, partial in his opinions, warm and passionate, 'unreasonable' in action, sensitive, egocentric, individualistic, tender-minded, deductive, intuitive in his observations, artistic or religious, psychologically penetrating, idealistic, dynamistic, monistic or dualistic.

It is very difficult to describe these two tendencies since they manifest themselves in so many ways ; the differences among extraceptors or among intraceptors (due to other factors) being as great as the differences between extraceptors and intraceptors.

Extraceptive perception and apperception are marked by the exclusion of everything except bare sense data (objective facts) : tangible objects and their physical relations and the outward behaviour of other people. It is usually orderly, systematic and conventional.

Intrceptive perception and apperception on the other hand are characterized by the intrusion of affections and images evoked by the facts : sentiments, imaginal elaborations, symbolic meanings, interpretations of the feelings and motives of other people. It is selective ; emphasizing and elaborating upon one or more details to the exclusion

of others.

The intrareceptive mode of apperception seems to be basic to an intuitive understanding of other people. It may be largely unconscious and inarticulate ; and it is certainly liable to err grossly, but there is no other way of immediately apprehending the primary tendencies which explain the multiplicity of superficially dissimilar phenomena. The organism, as a whole, is controlled by regnant processes in the brain, and for these we have only terms which represent their subjective aspect. Thus, to understand human beings in a dynamical situation we must know what motivating forces are in operation at the moment, and since these are concealed and cannot be perceived, they must be inferred. The fundamental process involved in making this inference is ' participation ' (empathy, emotional apperception). This primitive process is natural to children, and well developed in artists and women. It is enhanced by passivity and obstructed by a highly conscious, critical, and rationalistic attitude. The intrareceptive person who becomes conscious and critical of his own psychology may learn to correct for the projections which commonly occur, and by constant practice his interpretations of others may become reasonably reliable. The extrareceptive person, on the other hand, by not using the process of ' participation,' permits it to remain in an undeveloped state. Thus he may be confused by complex emotional situations, and he

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will be deficient in his interpretations of the more irrational phases of

human experience : dreams, fantasies, the play and perversities of children, the erotic impulses of adolescents, the religious practices of savages, the poetical and metaphysical utterances of adults, the vagaries of neurotic and psychotic patients.

If an extrareceptive person becomes personally implicated in a tense emotional situation, or if he is asked in a test to interpret the underlying motives of some other individual, he will often project more than the intrareceptive person. This is to say, there will be a greater degree of personal reference in his interpretations than in the explanations given by an intrareceptor of equal age and development. The reason for this is that participation is an undifferentiated process in the extrareceptor. It has never been exposed to the discipline of self-criticism.

The extrareceptive attitude usually involves conscious attention to external affairs and a separation of the ego from the unconscious. Though such people are usually alert, with a clear focus of consciousness, the area of consciousness is relatively small ; since they are not continuously influenced by nor aware of the intrareceptor's marginal, semi-conscious flow of imagery and feeling. Looking at the matter from this standpoint, the extrareceptive person seems to be extraordinarily simple, uncomplicated and unconscious. What is not plain and outspoken is for him non-existent. For this reason the person with extrareceptive apperceptions will find that dealing with physical phenomena, as in strict science, is an enterprise especially congenial to his temperament.

Extrareceptive thinking is predominantly inductive. It leads to the explanation of natural events in terms of the mechanical

interaction of physical bodies, and of human events in terms of bodily appetites, economic pressures and social custom. It starts from bare facts or practical operations, analyses them, constructs classifications and finally arrives at generalizations (useful fictions) which describe the data in a summary form. It is anti-sentimental, disinterested and skeptical. It is congenial to operationism and positivism (vide the discussion of peripheralists and centralists, p. 6).

Intrceptive thinking is apt to be deductive, its deepest sources being vague diffuse feelings (acceptances and rejections). It leads quite naturally to the development of social, aesthetic, philosophical or religious theories. Such theories are usually influenced by wishes, by optimistic or pessimistic sentiments or by experienced values. As a rule the intrceptive thinker strives for internal coherence, logical form, and aesthetic

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balance. But the fruits of his cerebration may also take the form of metaphorically phrased mystical ideas or sharp aphoristic illuminations. Despite its habitual subjective bias, intrceptive thinking has made numberless contributions to science (ex : Periodic Law in Chemistry). For the emergence of a seemingly plausible generalization often acts as a stimulus which impels the thinker to seek illustrative exemplifications in the external world. There is a tendency among intrceptors to explain physical occurrences as resultants of energetic processes and to interpret human action in terms of motivating forces (ex : the world

will, elan vital,
libido, demi-urge, instinct).

Extracceptive action is aimed at the achievement of tangible results : manufacture of objects, money, power, status, office, prestige. It is practical and usually effective, since much attention is paid to technique and method. It strives for quantity, speed and economy. Its ends have survivalistic or comfort-giving value. This is best manifested by applied science and business. The extraceptor is inclined to regard human beings as objects to be manipulated. He is sensible and hard-boiled.

Intracceptive action is the outcome of personal feelings, * hunches, 'valuations, enthusiasms. It expresses the personality, gives vent to a point of view or objectifies desire. The action is often a catharsis or self-dramatization, which is not always adapted to the imagined goal, though it may have considerable inner value. This is best manifested by the play of children, dancing, courtship and artistic creations. It is an intraceptor that is usually the initiator of a new movement, but extraceptors are required to make it function effectively.

Extracceptive feeling is apt to conform to the pattern of the culture. It leads to social adaptation and co-operation. It induces the subject to join and become an effective member of groups and institutions, particularly those of good standing. Such a person is usually restrained and matter of fact. He enjoys plain dealings with plain people, and avoids situations that may become too personal, for he is uncomfortably disturbed by irrational processes in others as well as in himself. Engaged in social action he can submerge his personality and endure co-operation

and routine without revolt. He may express a good deal of fellow-feeling but his appreciation of art and his understanding of psychological subtleties are usually meagre. Most of his tastes and sentiments are echoes of authoritative judgments. He chooses what is generally considered good, in contrast to the intraceptor who accepts only what is good for him.

Intrceptive feeling is personal and individualistic 5 and often op-

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posed to current opinion.. It commonly takes the form of aesthetic or moral tastes and sentiments. It may lead the subject to prefer solitude or the company of a few congenial friends ; or possibly to choose writing as a medium of self-expression. Though sensitive, the intraceptor is often impelled to make vehement public declarations of his views. He may be expansive, or given to daydreaming and self-analysis. In any case he cannot abide a cold, indifferent human climate. He blossoms when he feels that he is warmly appreciated. Being more aware of his feelings than the extraceptor, he is quick to realize what is humanly wrong in existing social conditions. Thus, he is apt to sympathize with the individual rather than with the group (authorities). His temperament is that of an artist and at some point one can always find tenderness, wonder and reverence.

It should be pointed out that there may be an ambivalence involving Intrception and Extrception. An individual may veer

from one extreme to another. Particularly is it likely that an essentially intrceptive person will come to hold an extrceptive doctrine. He may be forced to adopt this attitude as a balance to an extreme emotionality in everyday life, or he may come to it because of the respectability it now enjoys. Thus, a man's expressed theories cannot be used as infallible indices of the Extrceptive/Intrceptive ratio. We suspect, for instance, that many who violently attack Intrception are attempting unconsciously to rid themselves of this very tendency. The diagnosis can often be made by watching such a person's behaviour in concrete situations.

The influence of Intrception and Extrception upon widely different functions, and the lack of clarity in our own minds in respect to the exact nature of these variables, led us to employ eighty statements (a ' shotgun ' questionnaire) as a preliminary exploration of the range of the two factors.

Statements in Questionnaire
Intrception :

1. I enjoy psychological novels more than other kinds of literature.
2. I believe that I have an instinctive understanding of the underlying motives of other people.

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3. I enjoy an intimate conversation with one person more than a general conversation with several.

4. I feel that I know a good deal about my own motives and feelings.

5. When I hear a person speak, I think more about his personality than I do about what he is saying.

6. I am apt to become rather deeply and emotionally involved with one person or another.

7. I like to review in my mind the impressions which other people have made upon me.

8. I think that I have a fair understanding of women.

9. I often think I can feel my way into the innermost being of another person.

10. I feel things deeply and personally, and am sensitive to the deeper feelings of others.

11. My fantasies are an important part of my life.

12. In the conduct of my life I bother very little about practical details.

13. I often imagine myself accomplishing great deeds.

14. I feel that ideals are powerful motivating forces in myself and in others.

15. I like to dramatize events in which I am participating.

16. I am influenced in the conduct of my life by a vision of my destiny.

17. I often do things merely for my private emotional satisfaction, no matter whether anything is accomplished or not.

18. I feel that a person's life should be the full expression of his inner-

most self.

19. I often hope for a situation which will allow me to act out one of my fantasies.

20. I am apt to make up stories by myself about the private thoughts and experiences of the people whom I meet.

21. I have moods of expansive elation when I feel like embracing the whole world.

22. My hopes and expectations are very exuberant when I embark upon a new enterprise.

23. I accept the verdict of my own feelings as the surest guide to what is right.

24. I have, at times, been utterly dejected by disillusionment.

25. My best thoughts often come at times of emotional stress.

26. I feel that the heart is as good a guide as the head.

27. I like to associate with people who take life emotionally.

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28. Without zest and excitement life seems pale and shallow.

29. My head is full of ideas clamouring for expression.

30. I believe that the world may be well lost for love.

31. I usually see things as a whole ; am apt to disregard minor details.

32. I live in my imagination as much as I do in the

external world.

33. I believe in the value and importance of inner revelation.

34. I generalize freely ; am apt to make rather sweeping and exaggerated statements.

35. I rely as much on intuition or faith as I do on the results of past experience.

36. I give my imagination free sway when I am thinking or talking.

37. I am thrilled by ideas which are large and all-embracing.

38. I am apt to see an underlying symbolic meaning in the stories that I read.

39. Some of my friends think that my ideas are impractical if not a bit wild.

40. Sometimes I think of natural objects as possessing human qualities.

Extracception :

1. I am more interested in a person's behaviour than in his inner life.

2. In the moulding of character I think that external conditions are more important than inner tendencies.

3. I dislike morbid psychological novels.

4. I spend very little time worrying about problems of love and sex.

5. I like to work with mechanical appliances : machinery, electrical apparatus and so forth.

6. I enjoy scientific articles more than fiction or

poetry.

7. I am apt to judge people in terms of their tangible accomplishments.

8. Mathematics has been one of my best subjects.

9. I am rather detached and impersonal in my dealings with other people.

10. I am often at a loss to explain the behaviour of people who are emotionally unstable.

11. I am practical and efficient when there is something to be done.

12. I am interested in the business and financial problems of the day.

13. I am interested in all kinds of new mechanical devices.

14. I am much more apt to think of an object's utility than of its symbolic value.

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15. I stick to the unadorned facts when I tell about something that happened.

16. I spend very little time thinking about distant goals and ultimate ideals.

17. I work for tangible and clearly-defined results.

18. I find it rather easy to work out an effective, sober plan of action.

19. I accept the world as it is and do not try to imagine how it might be.

20. I always attempt to substantiate the facts of a case before giving a judgement.
21. My anticipations remain within the realm of what is probable, i.e., they are based on past experience.
22. I am temperamentally opposed to the 'romantic' point of view.
23. I have few, if any, emotional problems.
24. I find it easy to think things out calmly without the interference of sentiment.
25. I like to keep myself free from emotional entanglements.
26. I act on the principle that a man's first duty is to adjust himself to his environment.
27. I am rather moderate and judicious in my judgements of other people.
28. I am quite conventional in my behaviour.
29. My relations with other people are simple and uncomplicated.
30. I keep my feet on the ground, i.e., I adopt a common-sense and matter-of-fact attitude towards life.
31. I should say that my ideas were sound and sensible, rather than unusual or imaginative.
32. When I tackle a subject I read what others have written about it before I begin.
33. I am specially interested in ideas that are thoroughly practical.
34. I believe that the economic interpretation of

history is as valid as any.

35. I adopt a somewhat skeptical or agnostic point of view towards most theories.

36. It is easier for me to deal with concrete facts in one special field than with general ideas about man or nature.

37. I am rather * tough-minded ' or ' hard-boiled ' in my interpretations and judgements.

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38. I am inclined towards a mechanistic (or materialistic) conception of nature.

39. I believe that science offers as good a guide as there is to the future.

40. When I think out a problem I keep very close to the facts.

Projectivity (Proj)

This is scored as the ratio of Projectivity to Objectivity. Projectivity describes egocentricity in perception, apperception and conception. The S ' projects ' into others his own wishes, fears, interests, and pet theories. He may be animistic towards the inanimate or inanimistic (projecting a ' machine ') towards the animate. Common signs are these : The S misinterprets events, gives fantastic explanations, seriously ascribes various motives to others on insufficient evidence (people seem to be looking at him, praising him, blaming him, scorning him, plotting to injure him,

etc.). He quarrels with people because of some trivial misunderstanding. His thinking is guided by sentiment, he sees his theories exemplified by the course of events, is dominated by prejudice, and influenced by 'halo* tendencies. He holds beliefs that conform to hopes or worries, is unable to see another person's point of view, misinterprets his own behaviour, refuses to admit the operation of bias. In extreme cases hallucinations and unmistakable delusions occur.

Piaget 1 uses the term egocentricity to describe certain phenomena characteristic of the child. They are also characteristic of Projectivity as we define it. The child does not differentiate clearly between the images in his mind and the objects in the external world. His dreams are considered at first to be events which have occurred in the environment about him. His vivid fantasies are associated with a conviction of actuality and his make-believe is as real as stubborn facts. In his adventures the obvious happenings become so inseparably merged with his elaborate imaginations that in his subsequent accounts of things he cannot distinguish what was outside from what was inside. His parents are apt to

i. PiagctJ. The Language and Thought of the Child, New York, 1926 ; Judgment and Reasoning in the Child, New York, 1928.

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think that he is telling lies for his own amusement or their decep-

tion. The child is animistic and is inclined to favour allegorical and anthropomorphic explanations of the natural events : there is a man in the moon, the sun is a benevolent father, the clouds are malicious devils, the wind is the breath of God. He plays games in which the action is more affective than effective ; that is, it expresses tensions and emotions without achieving tangible results. Many of such activities are similar to the practices and rituals of primitive people. The child identifies himself with objects of some remoteness, with animals and with the heroes of story books. When a toad is run over by an automobile he feels the pain as if it were in his own body. He has convictions in regard to the feelings and motives which sway members of his circle. His own emotions are uniquely important to him. They are hyperbolically expressed and ardently dramatized. His thoughts are often fantastic, being mere associations of emotionally determined images. His conceptions of the world are frequently vague and extravagant. The trend of his fantasies leads him to suppose that natural occurrences bear some reference to his welfare, that his parents are continuously thinking about him, that the stars are watching him, that the flight of a bird conveys a special message to him of good or evil.

Objectivity describes the absence of Projectivity. The S is impartial, detached, disinterested, tolerant, understanding. Common signs are these : The S is aware of and responds to the conditions that actually exist. He observes the plain facts,

clearly differen-
tiates between what is subjective (within his self)
and what is
objective (outside his self), is conscious of his
inner feelings and
inclinations and regards them with an impartial eye. He
observes
behaviour accurately and makes reliable inferences as
to the prob-
able inner states of other people. He has true insight,
and is able
to interpret the motives of his acquaintances
reasonably well.

Since the S is by definition unconscious of his own
projections
(at the time they occur), it is hardly possible to
get evidences of
Projectivity by direct questions. Consequently, this
variable was
not covered in the questionnaire.

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Exocathection (Exo)

This is scored as the ratio of Exocathection to
Endocathection.
The variable has to do with the relative importance to
the sub-
ject of : (1) practical, concrete, physical or social
action, and (2)
fantasy, reflection, imagination or abstract thought.
This di-
chotomy is often confused with Extracception and
Intracception.

Exocathection. The S is most interested in practical
activity
and the affairs of everyday life, domestic, economic,
political and
social. His chief interests are earning a livelihood,
competing with
others, and participating in contemporary events. He
wants to be
actively in the * thick ' of things, adapting to
reality.

1. Exo + Extra : To adapt to the world as it stands ;
to be

interested in tangible results ; to be very practical ;
to amass
a fortune. To secure a permanent position ; to become a
member of clubs and institutions. To be without
illusions ;
to conserve established values. To work effectively
with me-
chanical appliances.

2. Exo + Infra : To live imaginatively ; to dramatize
the self ;

to express one's sentiments and beliefs in action. To
initiate
and further progressive social movements. To speak
against
abuses ; to propose reforms. To concoct new schemes :
busi-
ness ventures, political innovations ; to be guided by
a
vision of the future. To seek adventure ; to become in-
volved in amorous affairs.

Endocathection. The S is most interested in 'things of
the
mind ' : cultural and intellectual pursuits. He gives
the highest
value to general ideas, symbols and artistic
productions. He enjoys
serious discussions or creative activity rather than
immediately
practical action. He seeks solitude for uninterrupted
speculation
and reverie.

i. Endo -f- Extra : To be interested in ideas and
theories about
substantial events (ex : physical sciences). To reflect
and
write about external occurrences and systems : history,
eco-
nomics, government, education. To collect data and
think
inductively.

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2. Endo -f- Intra : To devote oneself to artistic or religious representations. To dream, brood and introspect ; to become absorbed in the attempt to solve inner conflicts and spiritual dilemmas. To seek the deepest psychological truths. To think deductively or idealistically ; to develop a metaphysical system.

Statements in Questionnaire
Exocathection :

- 1 . I can deal with an actual situation better than I can cope with general ideas and theories.
2. I have a rather good head for business.
3. I like being in the thick of action.
4. I am interested in everything that is going on in the world : business, politics, social affairs, etc.
5. I am extremely interested in the activities of other people.
6. I like to do things with my hands : manual labor, manipulation or construction.
7. I am a practical person, interested in tangible achievement.
8. I like to have people about me most of the time.
9. I would rather take an active part in contemporary events than read and think about them.
- IO. Money and social prestige are matters of importance to me.

t

Endocathection :

1. I am inclined to withdraw from the world of restless action.
2. I would rather know than do.
3. I spend a lot of time philosophizing with myself.
4. I think more about my private feelings or theories than I do about the practical demands of everyday existence.
5. I dislike everything that has to do with money buying, selling, and bargaining.
6. I would rather write a fine book than be an important public figure.
7. I like above all to discuss general questions scientific or philosophical with my friends.
8. I would rather grow inwardly and achieve balance and fullness of experience than win success in practical affairs.

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9. I am more interested in aesthetic or moral values than I am in contemporary events.
10. I am apt to brood for a long time over a single idea.

Two variables were added at the last moment : n
Understanding and Radical Sentiments.

n Understanding (n U.nd)

We were never able to decide as to whether differentiated thinking (cognition) should be considered a drive or a function. Cognition is usually involved as a process in adaptive

behaviour.

In James's words, thinking is 'delayed action.' But there are forms of thought which do not lead the thinker to action ; they inhibit action or lead away from action. There is thought which has as its final aim the representation in symbols of the order of nature.

To understand (conceptualize) relations is sufficient. It is a final value. Perhaps this activity represents an endopsychic form of the need for Construction, since it is a structurally coherent system (of ideas, to be sure, rather than materials) which the meta-physician, as well as the scientific rationalist, attempts to create.

An edifice of logically inter-articulated concepts is the end situation which satisfies and quiets the tension. If the scheme can be shown by observation and experiment (n Cognizance) to fit the facts that are turned up by nature then the thinker (the extra-ceptive thinker at least) has his final reward. This sort of intellectual activity requires disinterested detachment rather than vigorous action, and even when the construction that a philosopher imposes on nature is merely an intricate rationalization of his own behavioural sentiments, it does not usually lead the creator himself to adopt a new course of action, though it may, of course, affect others in this way. For these reasons, we have chosen to regard intellection as a need, the trend of which is to analyse experience, to abstract, to discriminate among concepts, to define relations, to synthesize ideas, and to arrive at generalizations that are comprehensive and verifiable. The need may be regarded as

primarily endopsychic, though it may result eventually in spoken or written aphorisms, propositions, hypotheses, theories, systems

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of thought. The extraceptor tends to become an operationist (physical scientist), the intraceptor an interpreter of subjective experience. Naturally there is a high correlation between n Understanding and Endocathection. The latter, however, is more inclusive, since it embraces reverie, inner brooding, mystical experience and artistic imaginings. The artist, like the scientist and the philosopher, orders and reconstructs his impressions, but his aim is to embody his experience in a concrete form that has perceptual and emotional, rather than conceptual, value. This activity was not subsumed by us under the n Understanding. It was our practice to classify it as Creativity and n Sentience, although the advisability of so doing is questionable.

Under the n Understanding we have classed : the tendency to ask or to answer general questions ; interest in theory ; the inclination to analyse events and generalize ; discussion and argument ; emphasis on logic and reason ; self-correction and criticism ; the habit of stating opinion precisely ; insistent attempts to make thought correspond to fact ; disinterested speculation ; deep interest in abstract formulations : science, mathematics, philosophy.

Statements in Questionnaire

1. I enjoy reflection and speculation as much as anything.
2. I am more excited by general ideas than by concrete facts.
3. I am rather logical and coherent in my thinking.
4. I search for the most general interpretation of every actual occurrence.
5. I spend hours formulating my ideas as clearly as possible, so that I can be understood by others.
6. I enjoy reading books which deal with general ideas books on science, aesthetics, philosophy, etc.
7. I have often brooded for a long time in an attempt to solve some fundamental problem.
8. When I wish to arrive at the truth, I make a conscious attempt to eliminate sentiment and prejudice.
9. I enjoy debating with my friends about the relative value of various ideas or theories.

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10. I am interested in facts and events only in so far as they manifest the operation of general laws.
11. I feel that I should like to dedicate my life to the search for truth.
12. I lay great emphasis upon words or concepts which exactly express my thought.

13. I feel that the attempt to arrive at a deep understanding of life is more important than practical activity.

14. I feel that I should like to devote my life to teaching and scholarship.

15. I am more practiced in dealing with general ideas than in making decisions.

16. I think that reason is the best guide in solving the problems of life.

17. I find that I can usually defeat others in an argument.

18. I am critical of current ideas and theories.

19. I feel that I have a number of ideas which some day I should like to put into a book.

20. I feel that I have the general disposition of a philosopher.

Radical Sentiments (Rad Sts)

This was scored as the ratio of radical to conservative sentiments (Rad Sts/Con Sts). The variable stands for the proportion of expressed sentiments, tastes and opinions that are (1) novel, original, unique ; or (2) contrary to those held by the majority of respected citizens. The radical subject usually exhibits the negative Aggression against long-established customs, conventional views, prevalent mores. Sometimes such radicalism is diffuse. The subject favours modern art, the rejection of sex taboos, socialism, the freedom of the press, the elimination of religion, nudism, progressive schools, the humane treatment of criminals, etc. Radical-

ism is usually opposed to authority, to any force that restrains liberty. It favours the weak, the dissatisfied, the oppressed minority. Thus, radicalism is often an indication of supprAggression (inhibited) and infraNurturance. It may be an expression of the stern father and rebel son thema.

Special tests and questionnaires are used for measuring the strength of this variable. Much is also revealed in interviews. It

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should be understood that it does not apply to radical behaviour. Among our subjects the most radical sentiments were expressed by succorant, abasive and infavoidant subjects.

Miscellaneous Variables

The conceptual scheme used with our final group of subjects included a few additional variables, some of which seemed to direct attention to important aspects of personality. Here, however, our data is not sufficient to warrant definition and exposition. A list will be enough : n Acquisition, n Retention, Expansive/ Contractive, Social Solidarity (security of belongingness in one or more stable groups), Superiority/Inferiority feelings, Opti- mism/Pessimism, n Cognizance (taking the form of diffuse curi-

osity), Neuroticism.

The list of separable factors employed during the last two years of experimentation may be conveniently arranged on a sheet for scoring :

PERSONALITY MARKING CARD

MANIFEST VARIABLES: MARKING SCALE: 0 to 5
(2, JUST BELOW AND 3, JUST ABOVE Av.)

n Aba

n Cnt

nRej

nPlay

n Exh

-

Sel

n Sue

nDfd

nDef

n Ach

Exo/Endo

nOrd

Anx

n Auto

-

nAff

-

Ego Ideal

Intra/Extra

-

Sa/Ch

n Harm

RadSt

n Nur

Narcism

Proj/Obj

Conj/Disj

nlnf

n Dom

nSex

Int

nUnd

Imp/Del

SeC

n Agg

n Sen

End

Cr

Emo

LATENT VARIABLES : MARKING SCALE : 0 to 3

n Sue (Helpless-
ness)

n Agg (Sadism)

nExh(Self-
display)

n Sex

n Dom (Omnip-
otence)

n Aba (Maso-
chism)

n Cog (Voyeur-
ism)

n Homo-Sex

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Values, Interests and Abilities
Cathected Attributes and Conditions

People commonly admire themselves or others because of
cer-

tain endowments, gratuities, acquired abilities or achievements. What they specifically admire determines to a large extent their system of values. It is a matter of sentiments : the kinds of interest and the kinds of ability that are valued. The best of these, being represented in a subject's Ego Ideal, control the direction of the n Infavoidance and the n Counteraction, or may form the basis for inferiority feelings and the need for Defendance. The values that are realized by others may canalize the n Deference in a subject and provoke n Similance as well as the n Affiliation. The values that are not realized by others may focalize the n Rejection (ex : a scorn for those who do not measure up to a particular standard). Thus, from one point of view, the important thing is not whether a subject has a need for Achievement or for Affiliation or for Rejection, but rather what it is he wishes to achieve, affiliate himself with, or reject.

Our classification of the most commonly cathected attributes may be convenient, but it has no scientific significance. The following list is by no means exhaustive :
Gratuities (Endowments of inheritance or fate) :

Race Superiority. To belong to a great race.

National Superiority. To be the citizen of a great nation.

Caste Superiority. To belong to the upper class ; to come from an aristocratic family.

Consanguineous Superiority. To be descended from or related to a great man. To have a distinguished father.

Economic Superiority. To be born of rich parents ; to inherit a fortune.

Gratuities or Achievements :

Physique Superiority. To be comely, beautiful, lithe. To have a powerful or well-proportioned body.
Possessions Superiority. To own more Os or more valuable Os than others.

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Superiority by Contiguance. To come from a superior county, state, or city. To live near superior people. To be near a superior O. To have visited the homes of the great.

Superiority by Similance. To resemble a superior O in one way or another : physique, habits, tastes, theories. To do as the great have done.

Affiliation Superiority. To know many Os. To be on familiar terms with superior Os.

Contrarience Superiority. To be unique. To be different and thus exceptional.

Experience Superiority. To have had many experiences. To have travelled, participated in many events, known many people, perceived and suffered. To have known 'life.'

Innate Superiority. To be sensitive to the most rewarding experiences. To discriminate values with assurance. To have a deeper understanding of life. To have a superior ' soul.'

Abilities or Achievements :

Physical Ability, n Ach (Phys). Athletics. The ability to play games which demand bodily skill or prowess : football, baseball, rowing, hockey, tennis, golf. Physical agility or endurance : swimming, riding, skiing, mountain-climbing, exploration.

Mechanical Ability , n Ach (Mech). The ability to understand and manipulate mechanical appliances and instruments ; to repair and construct apparatus : electrical and mechanical. Technical skill in the applied sciences.

Economic Ability, n Ach (Econ). The ability to make money, to understand economic problems and make the most of financial opportunities. A ' good head for business ' ; to buy and sell at profit. To bargain and speculate successfully. (n Ach fused with n Acq.)

Dominative Ability, n Ach (Dom). The ability to influence, lead and govern others in an effective way. To act promptly and decisively, and to inspire or persuade others to do likewise. To take responsibility in emergencies. To maintain discipline. To construct plans and systematize co-operative endeavours. (n Ach fused with n Dom.)

Social Ability y n Ach (Soc). The ability to make friends easily, to get on ' with people, to be liked and trusted. A gift for enduring friendships. Also the ability to express oneself in the presence of others ; to amuse and entertain ; to be popular. (n Ach fused with n Aff.)

Erotic Ability, n Ach (Sex). The ability to please, attract and excite the opposite sex. To court successfully ; to love and be loved. (n Ach fused with n Sex.)

Intellectual Ability, n Ach (Intell). The ability to comprehend, remember and ' handle ' general ideas ; to extract the intellectual content of a book and discourse about it intelligently. The capacity for learning and scholarship. (n Ach fused with n Und.)

Scientific Ability, n Ach (Sc). The ability to comprehend and deal with scientific ideas ; to understand natural phenomena : physical and chemical processes ; to think in terms of abstract theories, scientific concepts and mathematical laws. (n Ach fused with n Und.)

Aesthetic Ability, n Ach (Aesth). Artistic appreciation and judgement. The ability to feel with delight the sensuous qualities of objects ; to be sensitively attentive to impressions : sights, sounds, tastes and odours ; to discriminate values in art, literature or music, to appreciate the beautiful. (n Ach fused with n Sen.)

Art-Creative Ability, n Ach (Art-Cr). The ability to create in the realm of art ; to give adequate expression to feeling and imagination ; to write poetry, short stories or musical compositions ; to model or paint. (n Ach, n Sen and Creativity.)

Theory-Creative Ability, n Ach (Th-Cr). The ability to construct explanatory concepts in science ; to make up plausible theories in philosophy or in the humanities ; to build a rational system of coherent principles ; to devise good hypotheses. (n Ach, n Und and Creativ-

ity.)

No one who has had the patience to read through this section can be expected to come away from it now with a clear head. Just as after a momentary uncovering of a heterogeneous array of objects on a table one finds oneself unable to give a complete account of what has been perceived. Neither names nor meanings have become rooted. A mere list of concepts is like a series of nonsense syllables. No item calls forth and becomes a member of a society of relevant associations ; nor is there time to discover or manufacture relations between the separate items. It is because of the impossibility of holding more than a few things in mind at once that one often welcomes an author who directs attention

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to a single factor. One can agree or disagree, both of which are emotionally satisfying. But if too much is mentioned one is left unattached and uninterested.

However, if life is complex, if an event is the concrescence of numberless mutually dependent factors, and if an adequate formulation of it must take account of many of them, what then ? The answer would appear to be that a student has to set himself to the task of memorizing the elementary anatomy of a science before he can think about the subject at all. The concepts must be

so actively alive in him that they pop into
consciousness without
deliberation, time and time again. In the present case
perhaps
the best method of orientation is that of selecting and
holding
constant a certain press (or varying it systematically
) and observ-
ing differences of response (in different individuals
or in the same
individual at different times). For example, in an
emergency
(p Danger) does an S become emotional (Emo), act
impul-
sively (Imp), exhibit discoordination (Disj), or is he
calm,
deliberate and conjunctive ? Is his behaviour
predictable (Sa) or
fickle (Ch) ? Does he retract from the situation (n
Harm or n
Inf), does he ask for help (n Sue), does he
surrender (n Aba)
or does he face it manfully (n Cnt, n Ach) ? Or
again, if the
press is that of criticism (p Aggression :
Belittlement), what is
the commonest response: blaming the other fellow (n
Agg),
defending the self (n Dfd), humbly accepting the
blame (n
Aba), pleading for gentleness (n Sue), taking it all
as a friendly
joke (n Aff, n Play) ? After failure (o Frustration
) does an
individual return to the same task with greater
determination to
succeed (n Cnt, n Ach), or, avoiding that task, does
he strive for
another goal (n Inf, n Ach) or does he become
discouraged and
give up the fight (n Aba) ? Does he attempt to
prevent loss of
prestige by offering justifications and excuses (n Dfd
) , or dis-
arm criticism with flattery (n Def) or by getting a
laugh (n Exh,
n Play), or does he withdraw and seek isolation (n
Inf, n Sec) ?
Or again, when a subject is introduced to a sociable

group (p
Affiliation, Group) does he reciprocate on equal terms
(n Aff),
or, being impressed by the importance of the company,
does he

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become over-courteous and suggestible (n Def), or
does he show
off (n Exh) and attempt to dominate the situation (n
Dom) ?

If someone proposes a course of action (p Dominance)
does the
S become stubborn (n Autonomy) and go off in a huff (n
Rej),
or does he readily comply (n Def) and co-operate in a
friendly
manner (n Aff) ? In every case we are dealing with a
thema (the
combination of a certain press and a certain need),
which, in our
minds, is a suitable method of analysing an event
dynamically.

The behavioural reaction alone is an abstraction
hanging in the
air if its connection with a press or a preceding event
is not ex-
hibited. And besides the press, one should know also
the nature
of the activity, object or topic that is involved in
the situation.

What kind of interest is expressed by the object whom
the S re-
jects or flatters ? What kind of ability does the task
require ?

What kind of value does the S fail to achieve ?

Finally, there is
the outcome for the subject, success or failure. With
this informa-
tion the chief gross factors of a behavioural
occurrence may be
portrayed on a molar level.

Before closing this chapter on variables I feel that I
should say
a few words about the two pairs of attitudinal traits

which have
been most widely accepted by personologists. I refer to
extra-
version-introversion and ascendance-submission.

Extraversion and Introversion

To Jung belongs the credit of being the first to call
attention
decisively to two opposing tendencies in personality,
named by
him extr aversion and introversion. He affirmed that
both attitudes
occurred in every individual, but as a rule one or the
other clearly
predominated (in frequency and intensity). Hence in
most cases
one could legitimately speak of either an extraverted
type or an
introverted type. Within a few years after the
publication of
Jung's long and thickly documented book (Psychological
Types,
1923) all the world was using his terms and
personologists, in
America particularly, were busily engaged devising
paper and
pencil tests to measure the strength of each tendency
in different
individuals.

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To his own preferred pair of opposites Jung assimilated
nu-
merous previously suggested dichotomies (Apollonian
and Dio-
nysian, Promethean and Epimethean, shallow
consciousness
and contracted consciousness, emphatic and abstractive,
tender-
minded and tough-minded, classic and romantic, and so
forth).
He approached the problem from different standpoints,
arriving
always at his own conception, which he illustrated by
countless

examples drawn from many realms of knowledge. Sensitive he penetrated to the deeper springs of human action, drawing many subtle distinctions. Among others he came to the conclusion that it was necessary to distinguish four functional modes thinking, feeling, sensation and intuition each of which was usually modified by an extraverted or introverted attitude. Considered in toto Jung's descriptions of type differences are more insightful, richer in anecdote and reference and more suggestive theoretically than anything that is to be found in the literature of personology. It is, therefore, particularly unfortunate that he did not systematically set down in one place a condensed list of what he considered to be the crucial indices of extraversion and introversion, respectively. This would have clarified his position and saved the confusion that has arisen as a result of the selections and projections of personologists of diverse temperaments. American psychologists, for example, with their emphatic preference for clear-cut behavioural differences, have seen fit to neglect much of what Jung considered important and to use only what fitted their own somewhat limited point of view. The result has been a miserable vulgarization of the original concept an operation which has become only too common in this country. Would that we had been able to escape this error ourselves. The American personologists cannot be blamed entirely ; for amid the abundant illuminations in Jung's book one runs foul of many vague metaphors, confusions and contradictions. Perhaps some one

will attempt an exhaustive systematization of what he has written. Here I must content myself with the briefest outline.

The fertility of Jung's thought is exhibited by the number and variety of contrasting tendencies that he has set forth to illustrate

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different aspects of what he considers to be the basic pair of opposites : extraversion and introversion. One can find scattered through his writings 1 innumerable significant distinctions, only a few of which can be listed here :

a. Degree and manner of social participation and expression.
The extravert is heartily gregarious, he makes friends easily, feels at home even among strangers and rarely loses touch with the spirit of a gathering ; the introvert, on the other hand, prefers solitude or the company of a single trusted friend ; in a group he feels himself 'on the outside looking in,' but would rather remain unnoticed than be called upon to express himself before all the others. The extravert is uninhibited in his social actions, he takes the initiative and may, according to his nature, be cordially affectionate, dominant, exhibitionistic or aggressive ; the introvert, being more sensitive and self-conscious, is held back or rattled in his responses by fear, shyness or feelings of inferiority. The extravert is demonstrative, open and accessible ; the introvert is reticent, taciturn, shut-in and impenetrable, as if

enveloped by a defensive shell. The extravert is more trusting of the average man's goodwill as well as more assured of his own ability to cope with hostility if it should arise ; the introvert, however, is apt to be suspicious of others and distrustful of his own readiness to do the right thing in an emergency. In a fight the extravert takes the offence, the introvert the defence. The extravert expresses his emotions smoothly and fully (though perhaps crudely) on suitable occasions ; whereas the introvert, uncertain of consequences, restrains the expression of his feelings but cannot end them, for they persevere malgré lui, perhaps to explode at some later, less appropriate moment. All these inhibitions, defensive barriers, and avoidances (n Harm, n Inf and n Blam) of the introvert, it seems to me, may be put down to hypersensitiveness (narcissensitivity) .

b. Cathexis. The extravert gives determining value to the

i. Jung, C.G. Psychological types, New York, 1923 ; two Essays on Analytical Psychology, New York, 1928 ; Contributions to Analytical Psychology, New York, 1928 ; Modern Man in Search of a Soul, New York, 1933.

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outer world (social relations, possessions, power, prestige, public opinion) ; the introvert cathects the inner world (his feelings, fantasies, personal judgements, reflections, theories). The extravert is excited by and adapts his behaviour to

contemporary events,
in which he wants to play an active role, whereas the
self-
absorbed introvert remains relatively indifferent,
being habitually
under the spell of a moody drift of reverie, an inner
dilemma, an
absorbing idea, or a great scheme for future
achievement. The
extravert does not brood or introspect, he escapes from
himself by
ceaseless activity and thus he is almost bound to be
superficial
about psychological matters ; in contrast to this is
the introvert's
tendency to dream, mull over his experiences and
analyse his
motives. The extravert will talk to almost anyone about
what he
has seen and done but he has little to say about his
subjective
life, because even when he is aware of it which is
relatively
seldom it does not particularly interest him ; the
introvert,
however, though defensively secretive and aloof with
strangers,
may reveal some of his precious inner life to a
sympathetic friend.
The extravert talks to please, to inform or to
influence people,
whereas the introvert is more concerned about finding
the exact
words to express his thought. The extravert is
stimulated to think
and say his best things by the presence of others ; the
introvert pre-
fers to debate a problem with himself, to read and put
his ideas into
writing. The differences in this class are covered by
the concepts
Exocathection and Endocathection.

c. Degree of social conformity. The extravert's course
of action
is determined by his desire for social approval ; being
no better
than his day, he is gratified by any sort of praise or
public acclaim.

The introvert, on the other hand, is more apt to do something solely because it pleases him ; he rejects easily won applause and is only satisfied when he comes up to his own exacting standard.

The extravert works for immediate rewards ; the introvert for a far-off goal (posterity, an ideal) . The extravert is vain, the introvert proud. The extravert keeps his eye on what others are doing and he conforms to and is moulded by the groups of which he is a member ; but the introvert rarely feels himself a bona fide par-

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ticipant ; he may acquiesce and * go through the paces ' in a perfunctory manner, but inwardly he remains separate and unique.

The extravert takes the prevailing moral order for granted, he may or may not succeed in living up to it but he rarely doubts

that what the * best people ' say is * Right ' ; the introvert, on the other hand, is more apt to reject accepted dogmas and come to his own conclusions ; he may not be actively defiant but he is often radical in his sentiments and stubbornly resistant in his behaviour.

The extravert is ready for opportunities as they arise, is quite suggestible to invitations and falls into line when the occasion

dictates ; the introvert, on the other hand, dislikes suggestions,

wants to follow his own routine without interruption and becomes

negativistic when coerced. The extravert is more adventuresome

in action but does not hesitate to ask favours or call on his friends

for aid whenever it might benefit him ; the introvert, though perhaps secretly more dependent, generally refuses assistance, preferring to 'go it alone,' to make his own decisions and be solely responsible for his achievements. The introverted symptoms falling into this group are sufficiently described by n Inviolacy, with n Rejection : Contrarience, n Defendance : Concealment and n Autonomy : Resistance as subsidiations.

d. Degree of activity and free energy. The extravert is active and kinetic, the introvert passive and potential. The extravert, responsive, impulsive and impatient, acts confidently without reflection ; whereas the introvert is a slow, deliberate and cautious fore-thinker. These differences may be subsumed under high vs low Intensity (Energy, n Activity) and Impulsion vs Deliberation) .

e. Degree of contracting for sever ation. The extravert is characterized by a large and varied intake and output (expansive or porous reciprocity), he seeks, takes, bestows and wastes much ; the introvert, on the other hand, is contractive and conservative, he assimilates only what has meaning for him, preserves it and gives out little. The extravert gambles recklessly for large returns, the introvert holds steadfastly to what he has. The extravert seeks change, excitement and fresh adventure ; the introvert is satisfied

to remain in one place (immobilization) surrounded by familiar objects, and pursue his chosen occupation. The extravert is quick to absorb the latest ideas and put them into practice ; the introvert, distrustful of novelty, is inclined to adhere to his own fundamental beliefs. The extravert likes to get things done quickly and hurry on to something new, neglectful of details, since he finds it easy to abandon a task if it bores him ; the introvert, on the other hand, perseverates (long secondary function), hates to be hurried, distracted or forced to change the trend of his thought, can endure monotony and is often bothered by the persistence of obsessional ideas. The extravert is apt to be carefree, and perhaps irresponsible and disorderly ; whereas the introvert is more often scrupulously neat, precise and, in his chosen work, a perfectionist. The extravert is diffuse, variously involved in a multiplicity of relations ; the introvert is focal with a narrow range of deeper and more concentrated interests and friends.

The distinctions in this group are quite important for psychology, but we are uncertain as to how they can best be formulated. One might speak of expansive motility vs contractive immotility, using the first term to include Change, quick intake (Reception vector), quick output (Ejection vector), talkativeness, movement and travel (Locomotion vector), and leaving places (Egression vector). In contrast to this, contractive immotility might include Sameness, staying in a closed place (Ingression vector), adhering to a supporting object (Adherence

vector),
perseveration, collecting and hoarding objects (Retention vector),
and developing an impenetrable psychological * wall ' (Encase-
ment vector). It will be observed that contractive immotility is distinguished by the same symptoms as Freud's anal-erotic character * (secondary reactive anal erotism or anal antherotism in our terminology, vide p. 379) .

f. Perceptive and cognitive attitude. The extravert perceives, understands and values the world as it affects his senses, par-

i. Freud, S. Collected Papers, Vol.11, London, 1924, No.iv. 'Character and anal erotism,' (1908) p.45, and No.xv. 'On the transformation of instincts with special reference to anal erotism,' (1916) p. 164.

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particularly the sense of touch, hard substance being for him the ultimate fact ; the introvert, on the other hand, being chiefly influenced by psychic processes, perceives motility and behind motility the working of energies and directive forces. The extravert emphasizes observable facts and inductions arising from them ; the introvert assimilates the facts to his own system of fantasies and deductive speculations. The extravert is insensitive, objective, practical, impersonal and experimental ; the introvert is sensitive, subjective, theoretical, personal and philosophical. The extravert is materialistic and tough-minded in the sense that he values most what is obvious and irrefutable (money,

position,
prestige) ; the introvert is idealistic and tender-
minded in so far
as he takes the testimony of his own feelings and
sentiments as
the criterion of what is true, good and beautiful. The
extravert
is at his best when dealing with inorganic matter ; the
introvert
when dealing with human emotions. The distinctions in
this class
were first separated from the other manifestations of
extraversion
and introversion by Hinkle 1 who called her pair of
opposites
objective and subjective. We have followed her example,
but for
several reasons have termed our variables Extraversion
and Intra-
ception (vide p. 211).

Ten years' work and reflection have led me to the
conclusion
suggested by the preceding summary, namely, that Jung
has sub-
sumed under the term ' extraversion ' and under the
term ' intro-
version ' a number of variables which are not always
correlated,
and he has not stated clearly which of these he
considers most
typical of the underlying disposition. To illustrate,
we might
suppose that the following tendencies have been
mentioned as
symptoms of extraversion : Ai, Bi, Ci, Di, Ei, Fi, Gi,
Hi ; and
the following contrasting tendencies as symptoms of
introversion :
A2, B2, C2, D2, E2, F2, G2, H2. Systematic observation
indicates
that a small proportion of individuals may be found who
exhibit
most of the extravert symptoms and a small proportion
who ex-
hibit most of the introvert symptoms but the vast
majority of

i. Hinkle B.M. The Re-Creating of the Individual, New

York, 1923.

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people are mixtures of extravert and introvert qualities. Hence, if a person with Ai, 62, D2 and Hi is encountered, one is uncertain as to what diagnosis should be made. If it were agreed that A and H were fundamental indices there would be no confusion, but no such agreement exists. In short, as others have concluded, it seems that extraversion and introversion are not unitary variables.

Putting aside Extrarception and Intrarception (objectivity and subjectivity) which seem to describe attitudes that are clearly different from the other factors, we come down to a very crude division between the outward and more social and the inward and less social. The extravert seems to be the simple, healthy, uninhibited, readily adapting herd animal, whereas the introvert is somewhat held back within himself. My own opinion is that Jung has been misled by the supposition that there must be one reason why the introvert is held back. It is true that he has mentioned many reasons in fact, I can think of no possibility that he has omitted, but he has consistently attempted to subsume them all under one heading. We have been led to differ at this point by the fact that not all of the variables into which we analysed introversion were found to correlate. For this reason, they cannot legitimately be put into one category. However,

several syndromes of intercorrelating variables do emerge from the data and these can be used as a basis for distinguishing the more important varieties of introvert.

I. Passive introvert. Low Intensity (Passivity) and low Impulsion (Deliberation) are consistently correlated (.24 to .62).

Since sleep represents the extreme of introversion as well as the extreme of Passivity, and since both are related to low metabolism, there is reason to suppose that due to difference in glandular balance, the rate of energy release (as exhibited by physical, verbal or mental motility) differs among individuals. Those with a high degree of kinetic energy would tend quite naturally to be more

i. Guilford J.P. and R.B. Personality factors S, E and M, and their measurement, J. Psychol., 1936, 2, 109-127.

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alert, to respond with greater speed and emphasis, to have stronger positive drives, and on this account to become assertive, dominant and aggressive (extraversion) .

II. Sensitive, avoidant introvert. All the avoidant needs (Harm-avoidance, Infavoidance, Blamavoidance) have repeatedly been found to intercorrelate (.37 to .85) . These tendencies are linked with timidity, narcissensitivity and inferiority feelings. Intraception and Narcism are also common in this type of subject. Since there is reason to suppose that some children are innately

more susceptible than others to pain, frustration and belittlement (or made so by early illnesses and traumas), narcissensitivity is probably at the core of this syndrome. Such children are generally fearful; they retreat, whimper or sulk with slight provocation; and their mothers discover that they must be treated with unusual gentleness. Due to narcissensitivity unpleasant occurrences seem to be remembered with more poignancy than pleasant ones and this leads to a generalized tendency to inhibit the outgoing positive needs. The possibility of innate differences in the ratio of inhibitory/excitatory nervous processes, unrelated to sensitivity, fear or anxiety, cannot be dismissed; but until shown to occur it is only necessary to conceive of inhibitory predominance arising from fear of insupport, danger, rejection, ridicule, punishment and so forth. This would be sufficient to explain the characteristic caution, hesitation, avoidance of new situations, clinging to trusted objects, retraction, shyness and confusion of the introvert. A fair proportion of individuals combine syndromes I and II, but if large groups are taken the correlation between the two is rarely significant (.03 to .24).

III. Reserved, inviolate introvert. We have not been able to find an adequate formulation for this type: a 'wall' of diffident reserve that conceals and protects a proud and sensitive soul (Encasement vector). There is no timidity or inferiority apparent these have been repressed, but instead there is a resistant bar-

rier or bristling defence. Such a person keeps his distance, is 'hard to get to know,' appears self-sufficient, indifferent, somewhat haughty, or depreciative of others, hides his emotions, re-

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fuses aid and cannot be victimized by praise or affection. We have to do here with Inviolacy and Seclusion and the negative aspects of Rejection (firm exclusion), Autonomy (negativistic resistance) and Defendance (self-concealment). The last three needs intercorrelate consistently (.38 to .62), but the syndrome as a whole correlates negatively with syndromes I and II.

IV. Abstracted, imaginative introvert. It seems that some children are more absorbed than others by their fantasies and reflections. Such Endocathection may be intensified by social frustrations and subsequent avoidances or by long periods of solitude, but imaginative and intellectual power should also be taken into account. For the mere fact of having 'brains' will often incline a boy towards reading, reflection and creative thought, all of which require solitude, inwardness and some diminution of social activity. With this in mind, it is entirely understandable that Jung originally connected introversion with thinking and extraversion with feeling. Anyhow, there seems to be no basis for denying that intellectual activity, particularly if it is creative, generally leads to introverted modes of living. Endocathection correlates highly

with n Understanding (.70) and both of these variables correlate with syndrome II (.26 to .56) .

V. Contracted, perseverating introvert. The variables Sameness, Order and Retention (vide p. 80) usually intercorrelate positively (.00 to .50). To these may be added * cognitive perseveration, a variable which we once employed but later dropped.

These define a fairly clear type, marked by : limitation of the field of activity ; focalized and enduring attachments ; persistent cogitations and obsessive broodings ; attentiveness to order, neatness, cleanliness and precise detail ; secretiveness ; resistance to change, to interruptions or to demands for haste. The syndrome correlates variably with syndrome I (.09 to .73) and variably with syndrome III (.14 to .48).

In summary, we venture the opinion that, excluding Extracception and Intracception, five factors : passivity, avoidant inhibition, protective diffidence (the two latter being due to narcisensitivity), endocathection, and contractive perseveration, may be held ac-

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countable for various aspects of what has been called introversion. We should suggest that if extraversion and introversion are used as variables they should be treated separately, not considered to form a single continuum. For there are some individuals who are both more extraverted and more introverted than others. Like

manic-depressive subjects, they swing from active, social participation to periods of solitary, passive reverie.

Ascendance and Submission

Though our results indicated that the Allports' A-S Reaction Study L was the most reliable of the dozen-odd paper and pencil questionnaires which were used at one time or another in our explorations, we did not adopt the traits 'ascendance' and 'submission' because, as defined by the test, each of them is analysable into three or more of our own variables. Ascendance, for example, breaks up into Dominance (leading and guiding groups), Aggression (expressing irritation when annoyed or frustrated) ; Exhibition (showing off! in public) ; and Submission may be analysed into Infavoidance, Blamavoidance, Seclusion and Abasement. It might be possible, I think, to unify each of these two groups of diverse behavioural trends if one could find the two proper, contrasting underlying factors. I suggest that self-confidence (superiority feelings) and self-distrust (inferiority feelings) would serve to unite in a psychologically intelligible manner all the reactions under ascendance and submission respectively. The fact that several of the responses that are used as indices of ascendance are examples of adolescent bumptiousness or crusty ill-humour rather than veritable 'ascendance,' leads one to suspect that among those who get high scores on this test there would be many individuals whose self-assurance was a not-too-convincing mask for repressed inferiority feelings, as well as

those whose confidence was built on a basic sense of security and solid achievement.

i. Allport, G.W. and F.H. 'The A-S Reaction Study/ described in the J. Abn. & Soc. Psychol., 1922, 23, 118-136.

Chapter IV JUDGEMENTS OF PERSONALITY

R. WOLF AND H. A. MURRAY

THE relations between variables (hierarchical order, fusions, sub-sidiations, contrafactions, conflicts, inhibition of one need by another, as well as what Allport and Vernon I have termed the ' congruence ' of traits) are as important as the variables themselves.

But one can hardly describe relationships without a preliminary identification of the variables that are related. Hence, leaving aside the possibility that by one act of intuition a subject may be apperceived as a unified whole, that without any intervening process of analysis he may be immediately ' recognized ' as one recognizes a square leaving this unproved supposition aside, it may be said that in its first stages the diagnosis of personality consists of crudely quantitative estimates of the attributes which successively attract attention.

a. The Diagnosis of Needs

Some of the variables that constitute our conceptual scheme are general traits, not difficult to distinguish. Attributes such as reactivity, speed of movement, impulsiveness, emphasis, disco-

ordination, emotionality, endurance, expansiveness, are on the very face of behaviour. They are its manifest dimensions, and it is likely that someday psychologists will have an appropriate battery of tests for each of them. But the diagnosis of social acts (some of which are automatic or unconscious) and the diagnosis of latent inhibited tendencies present difficulties that seem insurmountable. Besides the characteristics common to all activity which make observation and recording unreliable the speed of its progression, its complexity, the fact that it is not repeated, etc. there are the special characteristics of adaptive behaviour to confuse and trouble the experimenter. Generally speaking, it is pos-

i. Allport, G.W. and Vernon, P. Studies in Expressive Movement, New York, 1933.

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sible to observe action patterns with a sufficient degree of accuracy. A subject makes certain movements which a camera can register, or he says certain things which a stenographer can record. The facts stare the judges in the face and the probability of their agreeing among themselves is relatively high. Agreement about actions, however, is but a little step towards an understanding of personality, for actions qua actions are usually of minor importance. According to our theory, at least, what the psychologist has to discover is the need, desire, intention or direction of striving within the subject. In short, all but the most

superficial
studies of personality are concerned with motivation.
As Allport
put it : ' The only really significant congruences in
personality
must be sought in the sphere of conation. It is the
striving of a
man which binds together the traits, and which shows
how es-
sentially harmonious they are in their determination of
his be-
haviour.* 1

The question is, how is motivation to be diagnosed by
observa-
tion ? Assuming for the moment that every act is
preceded by a
conscious wish or intention, can we objectively infer
the intention
by listening to a subject's words and watching his
movements ?
It follows from what has been said about trends and
effects that
if a subject is thoroughly capable and unopposed he
should suc-
ceed in achieving an effect that corresponds to his
intention. Ob-
serving the effect one could infer the intention.
Unfortunately,
affairs do not usually progress in this clear-cut
fashion. There are
many complicating factors that disturb a simple
intention-effect
relation. In the first place, an intention is not
usually realized in
social life, due to opposition, interruption, internal
conflict or the
subject's inability. And even when the effect is
realized it may be
even harder to detect than the intention of the
subject, since very
often the effect of a successful social act is a change
of state within
another human being : the arousal of interest, mirth,
pleasure, ir-
ritation, friendliness, sympathy. Thus again we are
confronted by
the problem of something that is ' inner.' Furthermore,
it is not

i. Allport, G.W. 'The study of personality by the intuitive method. 1 J. Abn. & Soc. Psychol., 1 929, 24, 14-27.

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the effect actually achieved that we primarily want to know about (it might have been a mistake, a chance result). We want to know the need, the intended effect.

If sometimes no effect is produced and at other times the effect is inappreciable or equivocal, it might be concluded that the E should focus on the actones of the S and from them guess the effect intended, but this too is difficult. Great differences of intention may be expressed by the slightest modifications of tone and gesture. An operational definition of a need in terms of actones is out of the question. The actones change from culture to culture, from week to week. There are fashions in speech, new words are invented and meanings are modified. The culture may even determine specific gestures for the expression of emotion and feeling.

We have been speaking as if needs were conscious intentions, in which case we might solve our problem by getting the subject to state his desire. We might ask : what are you trying to do ? Here, however, we are confronted by more problems ; for the S is often unconscious of his motives or, if conscious, is unwilling to reveal them. The S may have a host of secondary conflicting

motives. He may want to show himself in the best light, to be consistent, to exhibit independence, to be different, to give the normal response, to mislead or please the E, to amuse himself, and so forth. Then there are the fusions and subsidations to complicate matters. An action that is commonly employed in the service of one need may be used in the service of an opposed need. For example : (1) damning with faint praise, (2) telling a negativistic child to do the opposite of what you want it to do, (3) separation to increase another's love, (4) making a boy pay a debt (to you) in order that he may preserve his self-respect.

One could write a volume on the difficulties of judging motives which might be bewildering enough to drive a rational man out of personology, or, if not this, to persuade him that only the simplest reflexes can be brought into the realm of science. It seems to me, however, that matters are not so hopeless as they appear on the surface. Man has powers beyond mere perception

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and rational inferences. He has feelings and emotions which can be trusted to aid him in understanding others. Although little is known about the processes involved, it is clear that in everyday life there is more understanding than misunderstanding. If this were not so, human relations would be chaotic and unreliable.

Up to the present, no one has succeeded, so far as I know, in giving an adequate account of the intuitive process when applied to the understanding of human behaviour. We have reason to believe that it involves a rather special ability which is not equally distributed in the population. The ability seems to depend on factors that are innate and factors that are acquired through personal experience and constant exercise. Novelists and dramatists are proverbially ' uncanny ' in their ability to see behind the face - of things, whereas most physical scientists are below the average. Is it that the kinds of bits into which events are broken by the scientist's objective eye do not reproduce, when recombined, the original whole ? Is it that the artist's perceptions follow more closely the true trend of action ? The temperament and training of a scientist lead him to rely on analytical perception and rational induction and to repress emotion and feeling ; and I suspect that it is just this repression, when it becomes automatic, that so diminishes his ability to apperceive psychological events. If this is correct, the psychologist would make more progress if, instead of adopting the technical attitude found efficient in the physical sciences, he adopted the one which now gives the best results and attempted to perfect and discipline it. My own opinion is that psychology should begin as the physical sciences did originally and as psycho-analysis has done recently with the methods used in everyday life.

In every science we can use only the senses we actually possess, although we can increase their exactness and eliminate to some extent their defects.

Psycho-analysis in contrast to earlier psychological methods has simply refined and systematized the everyday methods used to understand other persons' mental situations. 1

i. Alexander,?. Lectures to the Harvey Society. 1930-31.

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It seems that personological diagnosis is an apperceptive process which does not proceed consciously by logical steps. Adams * is perhaps correct in saying that it is an inference based on the assumption that a person who moves and speaks in a certain way must be experiencing subjectively what we experience when we behave in that way. It is certainly true that it is hard to understand behaviour that does not resemble anything we have ever done ourselves or felt like doing. But the assumption and inference which Adams refers to must be unconscious, since in most cases the interpretation is given to us directly. Moreover, it seems to be accompanied by a sensitive feeling process which, like a resonator, is set off by the gestures and words of the subject. The name for this process is 'empathy,' an involuntary occurrence whereby an observer experiences the feelings or emotions which in his personality are associated 1, with the situation in which the subject is placed or 2, with the forms of behaviour that the subject exhibits. It does not seem possible to account

for correct interpretation on the basis of sensory experience alone, as Kohler² does, since two people may give the same report of a perceived event (the objective signs) and yet differ markedly in their interpretations of it.

The complement of empathy is projection. We feel something (by empathy) and we imagine that the other person feels the same (projection). This seems to be the initial phase of all intuitive understanding. After repeated experiences we may cease to feel recognizable emotions, but we still have a resonating mental process that is like an emotion recollected in tranquillity. And, with training and experience, we cease to project with conviction. Every projection is merely an emotional hypothesis which we permit to occur, but which we immediately expose to the criticism of objective facts and whatever rational considerations are pertinent. The two phases together might be called * critical empathy.' Consciously * putting oneself in the place of another ' or allowing the flow of one's thought and feeling to follow his words (identi-

1. Adams, D.K. ' The inference of mind.' Psychol. Review, 1928, ⁵, 235-252.

2. Kohler, W. Gestalt Psychology, New York, 1929, Chap. y.

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fication) furthers the empathic process. The results are most reliable, of course, when the experimenter is observing

an event
that falls within his personal experience.

Then, there is another emotional process (which so far as I know has not been described) that aids understanding. It is not the resonating supplement, but the complement (reciprocal) of the subject's inner processes. The E sets himself opposite to, rather than flowing with, the subject's movements and words, and, becoming as open and sensitive as possible, feels how the subject's attitude is affecting him (the E). In this way he apprehends the press (as it * hits ' him) . If he feels excluded he imagines Rejection in the S ; if he feels that he is being swayed to do something he imagines Dominance ; if he feels anxious or irritated he infers Aggression, and so forth. Finally, there is the cathexis (rather than the press) of the subject. An E can ask himself : what drive is the S evoking in me ? Anger and aggression in the E suggest the same in the S ; compassion and tenderness suggest Succorance, and so forth. For this I cannot think of a less awkward term than * recipathy ' (reciprocal feeling rather than resonating feeling) . Recipathy seems to be the mode most commonly adopted with strangers, whereas empathy is more appropriate for familiar, allied objects. Perhaps recipathy is the preferred method of the introvert (to whom all men are strangers) and empathy the habitual mode of the extra vert (as Jung suggests) .

It must be obvious that such participating feelings (empathy and recipathy) promote projection and hence distortion. How-

ever, the distortion is not as great as that which occurs when the emotional processes in the E are unconscious and denied. And herein lies the fallacy of the mechanized (overscientificated) psychologist who believes that he can keep his feelings out of it. If he has unresponsive feelings, then well and good. He cannot make a sensitive interpretation and he usually knows that he cannot and does not attempt it. If, on the other hand, he has a medley of emotions which he denies or believes have been excluded, then, ten to one, they will operate unconsciously to prejudice all his observations. Better to make allies than enemies of one's emo-

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tions. To rid oneself of troublesome projections one must become aware of them, make allowances for them in judging and by constant practice check their sovereignty. To become aware of them, introspection and self-analysis are necessary ; and a psycho-analysis by a trained practitioner may help.

What we are advocating here is more time and thought devoted to training psychologists in sensitivity and accuracy, and less time, if need be, to the perfecting of mechanical instruments. We hold no brief for uncontrolled, free-floating intuition. But we do maintain that critical emotional participation (empathy and recipathy) may be cultivated to advantage and, when corrected by all other means at our disposal, is the best instrument that we possess for

exploring the ' depths ' of personality.

It is easy to see why so many psychologists have been repelled by approaches that rely on apperception. There is no science without agreement, and to date the results of experiments clearly show that interpretations of psychologists do not agree. Everyone has read of how, a century ago, the * personal equation ' dilemma arose in the field of astronomy. At present, it is the cause of obsessional neuroses among psychologists. No one, so far as I know, has tested the ability of specialists to judge wishes, desires, intentions or drives in human subjects, but there have been experiments in judging more * outward* and hence less equivocal attributes, namely traits ; and the results have been thoroughly disheartening. (Arlitt, 1 Rugg, 2 Hollingworth, 3 and others.)

With the conviction that a science of personology can never be reared on ground so unstable as that provided by the concept of trait, a number of psychologists have attempted to discover what units of behaviour judges could agree about.
D.S.Thomas, 4 for

1. Arlitt.A.H. ' Variability among a group of judges.' Psychol. Bull., 1926, 2 3, 617-619.

2. Rugg,H. ' Is the rating of human character practicable ? ' J. Educ. Psychol., 1921, 72, 425-438, 485-501; 1922, /j, 81-93.

3. Hollingworth.H.L. Vocational Psychology and Character Analysis, New York :

19-29-

4. Thomas,D.S. Some New Techniques for Studying Social

Behavior, Child Development Monograph No. r, Teachers College, Columbia University, New York, 1929.

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example, set herself the task of devising procedures for observing the social behaviour of children which would be as free as possible from the 'personal equation/ It became clear that judges could not agree about complex behaviour. And though there was more agreement when simpler categories (* hit, ' ' point, ' ' push, ' * embrace, ' * pull ') were selected to guide perception and recording, even here reliability was disappointingly low. It was only later when other still less questionable, though more general, behavioural units (contacts with other individuals, contacts with materials, no contact with either individuals or materials) were set up that the observational records of different judges were found to agree. The results were of * apparently great precision.' 1 This was an achievement in technique which may lead eventually to important findings.

We have been attempting to approach the same goal agree-ment about behavioural units from exactly the opposite direction. Instead of trying to find something (no matter what) about which we could agree, we have tried to find ways for coming to an agreement about something important. In other words, we have been more ashamed of triviality than of disagreement.

The lack of success in reaching agreement is partly due to the neglect of frequent discussion as well as to the vagueness and confusion of even the best terminology. The problem is essentially the same as that which confronts the medical diagnostician. The latter observes the physical signs and with the help of a detailed subjective report of symptoms infers the nature of the underlying condition. This inference is his diagnosis. Agreement is usually reached by repeated conferences and re-examinations. We have attempted to do the same. The facts are recorded and interpretations are discussed. But even when agreement has been reached we are not inclined to regard the diagnosis as anything but a more or less probable conclusion.

We might have made a better scientific showing if we had

i. Thomas.D.S., Loomis,A.M., Arrington,R.E.
Observational Studies of Social Behavior, Vol.I, Social Behavior Patterns, Institute of Human Relations, Yale University,1933.

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termed our drives * behaviour mechanisms,' and, stressing the objective trends and effects, offered neat operational definitions of each. This cannot be done and anyone who attempts to perpetrate such a hoax is willing to do anything for prestige ; or he has been woefully misled by a current fad. Motivation is the crux of the business and motivation always refers to

something within the organism. But we must now turn to another aspect of diagnosis : quantitative estimations.

b. Estimations of the Strength of Needs

To participate in social life is to make, implicitly or explicitly, countless judgements of the character of one's fellow-men. And what should now be pointed out is that most of these judgements are of the nature of rough measurements of the strength of this or that trait. When it is said that a certain person is cautious, it means that he is cautious more frequently or more intensely than most people. It is not considered unintelligent to ask, ' How cautious is he ? ' Thus people think quantitatively about many of the attributes of personality. Gross errors, misinterpretations and exaggerations constantly occur, but, on the whole, experience seems to show that even the rough calculations of untrained people are worth something. They determine to a large extent what attitudes are adopted towards objects, and as a general rule these attitudes are suitable.

The question is, ' Can these estimates be made more accurate, more reliable, more scientific ? ' Can experimenters agree among themselves in respect to such estimates ? The attempt to measure the strength of the variables of personality is an endeavour which in the minds of some is premature and doomed to failure. A variable exhibits itself in so many different and incommensurate forms and, in each of its appearances, is so differently combined

with other variables some of which are entirely unknown-
that only a very naive and uncritical person can suppose that reliable measurements are possible. It is a matter of degree, of course. Truly reliable measurements are not possible. But, if, as experience shows, the unreliable measurements of everyday

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life are sufficient for adaptation, it is reasonable to suppose that by a critical study of the commonly employed indications of quantity one might learn to make judgements that are consciously controlled and hence more reliable.

The basic proposition is that there is no elementary variable which is not possessed and manifested, at least occasionally to a slight extent, by everyone. In the case of needs, our indefiniteness as to what is being measured must be admitted. A psychologist cannot, as a chemist can, physically break up a behavioural compound and measure each of its constituents separately. Even if we should assume that a defined variable represents a separable process, it must be evident that the intensity or frequency with which it is displayed will depend largely upon the strength of other operating variables, some of which facilitate and some of which oppose it.

Thus what one measures is always the resultant of numerous concatenating influences. Psychology is a long way from its ideal :

the formulation of events as the interaction of forces of different strength. The vision of such a possibility, however, encourages us to continue our studies despite the barrenness and artificiality of the initial results.

In judging the strength of needs it is necessary to keep constant if possible, or make allowances for, the factors which affect the phenomenon measured. Of these the most important are : level of diffuse energy, general intelligence, special abilities, degree of inhibition, knowledge of the presenting situation.

Estimations of Manifest Needs

Since there is reason to believe that every drive is manifest to some extent and latent to some extent, it is not strictly correct to speak of a ' manifest drive ' and a * latent drive.' Such expressions, however, are more convenient than their equivalents : ' the amount of drive manifested ' and ' the amount of drive that is not manifested.' A drive is manifested when it is embodied (objectified) in overt behaviour (physical or verbal) that seriously engages itself with real objects. It is latent (unmanifested, sub-

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jectified, inhibited, covert or imaginal) when it does not lead to serious overt behaviour, but takes the form of desire, resolutions for the future, fantasy, dreaming, play, artistic creation, watching or reading about the exhibition of the need in others. For the

present, we shall confine ourselves to the measurement of what is manifest.

Overt needs, as we have pointed out, exhibit themselves in several different ways, of which the most direct are (1) an effect or trend (series of sub-effects) and (2) simple or complex actions. The principal indirect manifestations are these: (3) cathection of (attention to) objects, (4) an initiating emotion, and (5) affection: pleasure with the attainment and displeasure with the unattainment of an end situation. These three indirect manifestations may occur without overt action, and when they do they may be used as indices of a latent, rather than a manifest, need.

Needs may be distinguished qualitatively in terms of the kind of trend, the kind of action, the kind of object cathected, the kind of emotion and the kind of end situation which arouses affect. Since a trend (effect) cannot be achieved without actions, these two aspects of need activity must be considered together. Consequently, there are four types of reaction and the question before us is this: what criteria of quantity are applicable to each type?

The generally accepted criteria are four: frequency, duration, intensity and readiness. Since each of these may be used in connection with any one of the four aspects of need activity, we are provided at the outset with sixteen measures of need strength. A strong drive, for example, would be indicated by any of the

following occurrences :

1. A frequently recurrent behavioural trend or emotion ;
2. Intent staring at an object for a long time ;
3. Vehement and emphatic speech ;
4. A readily aroused quick response ;
5. Dejection that persists for days after frustration.

The measurement of frequency and duration is a relatively simple matter. For the former one has only to count, and for the

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latter one needs only a watch that keeps time. The estimation of intensity, however, is another matter. How does intensity manifest itself ? Our own experience and reflection have led us to accept the following measures of the intensity of overt behaviour :

- i. Tempo of action, rapidity of movement or speech,
- ii. Speed of learning, the time it takes the S to learn the method of

reaching the goal.

iii. Actonal potency, the effectiveness of the actonc utilized in objectifying the need. Physical acts, for example, are usually more effective than verbal acts, and some physical acts are more extreme or immoderate than others.

Ex : A graded series for the n Aggression might be :
criticism
given with a smile, a laugh at the O's expense, a mild insult, a

severe accusation, a violent push, a blow in the face, murder,

iv. Amount of terminal activity, size or number of objects with which the S deals.

Ex : A hungry man will eat a huge meal,

v. Strength of action : weight, stress or emphasis of movement or

words,

vi. Number and magnitude of the obstacles that are overcome to reach

the end situation,

vii. Number and strength of the negative needs that are inhibited.

Ex : An ambitious man will endure pain and privation to attain his end.

viii. Number and strength of the positive needs that are sacrificed : what pleasures an S will forego.

These eight measures can only be used in connection with action-tones and effects. Together with those mentioned above this gives us twenty-three indices of need strength.

As measures of readiness the following have been utilized :

i. Speed of response, length of latent period.

ii. Strength of press, or Stimulus-value' of the object. Here we have to do with different thresholds of response. Other factors being equal, the stronger the need the lower the threshold.

Ex : Some men get excited at the slightest provocation,

iii. Inappropriateness of the cathected object. If no fitting objects are

available a man may be aroused by an unsuitable object, one that is commonly connected with another need.

Ex : A hungry man will eat shoe-leather.

iv. Level of aspiration. The need for Achievement is strong when a S selects a difficult goal or unavailable object towards which to direct his efforts.

The first three of these measures are applicable to overt behaviour, attention to objects, emotion and affection. Hence we have twelve instead of four indices of readiness, which, combined with level of aspiration (applicable to behaviour alone), gives us a total of thirty-two criteria of need strength.

All of these more or less valid measures are objectively discernible, but they should be taken in conjunction with subjective reports. When dealing with honest and insightful subjects the latter can be trusted to give reliable clues as to the strength of a need. A subject can and usually is willing to tell what O's attracted his attention and why, whether he responded more quickly, worked faster or harder than usual ; he can measure the intensity of his desire and can tell to what degree he was absorbed ; he can estimate the difficulty for him of the obstacles encountered, the amount of unpleasure endured and pleasure sacrificed ; he knows most about his level of aspiration and can often describe in detail the qualitative and quantitative aspects of his emotional experience ; he can report the amount of pleasure or

unpleasure associated with the terminal situation ; and, finally, he can tell the E how frequently in everyday life he behaves as he did when observed. Thus, subjective reports are invaluable in checking and refining objective results.

Some of the indices that have been enumerated are hardly distinguishable from each other. For example, it may be hard to distinguish : mildness of the stimulus from inappropriateness of the stimulus, these from speed of response, speed of response from tempo of action, tempo from strength of action, level of aspiration from amount of terminal activity, number of obstacles overcome from number of negative needs inhibited, duration from frequency, and so forth. Some of these indices apply to some

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conditions and not to others ; some are appropriate as measures of some needs and not of others.

It is obvious that each index measures the resultant of a multiplicity of factors, of which the tension of the need is merely one, and also that each index is determined by a different set of factors.

Therefore, there is little reason to suppose that more than a few

of the indices will intercorrelate positively. For example, it is improbable that the S who responds the quickest will be the one who perseveres the longest, that the S who manifests the most emotion will be the one who overcomes the most

obstacles, that the S who is most easily aroused will be the one who inhibits the most negative needs. Strictly speaking, each index measures a specific combination of factors, and in some instances the tension or the need may be of negligible importance relative to the other factors.

Our practice has been to take into account, if possible, as many indices as can be measured and on this basis arrive at some coarse rating for the ' lump ' of them.

This is somewhat facilitated by estimating separately some of the general factors that modify each result : Intensity, Endurance, Impulsion, Emotionality and so forth.

Estimations of Latent Needs

We must now deal with needs which are not objectified in action. That is, we must examine the criteria for measuring the strength of tensions which are resisted by other tensions, the latter being due in most cases to the activity of negative needs. Since it is usually a matter of partial, rather than total, inhibition, an inhibited need may display itself for a moment before it is checked. The E may then have the opportunity to observe a quick glance of the eye, a tremor of the hand, a fleeting gesture, a blanching of the face, a slip of the tongue ; which, if he is intuitive, will be sufficient to reveal an underlying impulse.

Completely inhibited needs have no true objectifications. They express themselves only as subjectifications (imaginal processes)

and semi-objectifications (make-believe actions). The common

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varieties of subjectification are as follows : (i) plans, desires, fantasies, free associations, dreams ; (2) empathic feelings and imagery (identification) while reading literature, conversing, reciting or observing events, contemplating works of art ; (3) verbal or musical expressions of sentiment and emotion ; (4) projections : misperceptions and misapprehensions 5(5) rationalizations : the projection of wishes and fears into thinking, and (6) artistic creations. Examples of semi-objectifications are these : (i) play (of children) ; (2) dramatics 5(3) erotic fantasy enactments ; and (4) religious practices.

The chief differences between an imaginal need and an overt need is that the former enjoys in reading, or represents in fantasy, in speech or in play what the latter objectifies in serious action. Thus, instead of pushing through a difficult enterprise, an S will have visions of doing it or read books about others doing it ; or instead of injuring an enemy, he will express his dislike of him to others or enjoy playing an aggressive role in a play. It should be understood, of course, that a need may be partially objectified and partially inhibited, that only some forms of the need may be repressed. Also, what is imaginal to-day may be objectified to-morrow. The term ' imaginal need ' is convenient for the expres-

sion * the amount of need tension that exhibits itself in thought and make-believe action.'

To recognize the needs that are promoting the course of a given series of imaginal processes is difficult, since one is rarely certain of the meaning of the images to the subject. If, as often happens, an image is merely a substitute or symbol for an unconscious image, the subject cannot be of much assistance to the experimenter. Without many hours of free association interpretations will be necessarily very hypothetical.

Most of the criteria of quantity that have been discussed are applicable to the measurement of imaginal or inhibited needs, since imagined behaviour or make-believe behaviour is not essentially different from overt behaviour. For example, fantasies may vary in respect to their : (1) inducibility, (2) actonal potency, (3) level of aspiration, (4) amount of terminal satisfaction, (5)

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degree of concentrated absorption ; (6) number of external incentives rejected or positive needs inhibited, (7) endurance, (8) frequency, (9) accompanying emotion, (10) accompanying pleasure or displeasure. These indices may also be applied to the measurement of trends excited in dreams ; or excited while reading, observing events or conversing ; or projected into perception, apperception or intellection ; or represented by the S in works of

art. It must be obvious that trends exhibited in play or in religious ritual are susceptible to measurement in terms of similar criteria. Space forbids the enumeration of every index that may be applied in measuring each form of imaginal expression. A compressed account must suffice.

Brief Summary of Certain Criteria of Quantity

i. Frequency, intensity and duration of an imaginal thema. The length of time that a fantasy or topic of conversation endures, the number of times it recurs, the potency of its content are measures of an underlying tension which determines the associations. These indices may also be applied to imagery (its vividness), word associations, projections and so forth. For example :

a. Selection of topics of conversation and verbal associations. The course of a person's conversation should be noticed : what topics (objects) are discussed or avoided and what associations are made. Or better, the psycho-analytic technique of free associations may be used. Finally, formal tests may be presented calling for single word associations or chained associations. The stimulus words may be more or less suggestive of certain complexes. Word completion tests should also be included here. It is necessary to estimate the number of times that words depicting a certain class of objects occur, the intensity with which they are mentioned, the duration of the discussion.

b. Sentimentive intensity. Expressed sentiments, favourable or

unfavourable, are indications of the amount of cathexis with which objects of a certain class are endowed. Thus if a sentiment can be properly interpreted, its intensity and the frequency with which it is expressed are measures of the associated imaginal need.

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c. Creative productions. What objects a person constructs, draws, models or writes about may be used for interpretation. If a subject does not do one of these things of his own accord, he may be asked to do it as an exercise or test. He may, for example, be asked to write a story on a particular theme or to construct and present a play with puppets or dolls.

2. Speed of response. In word association tests a short reaction time suggests uninhibited imaginal need tension. A long reaction time, on the other hand, indicates obstruction, and thus an inhibited complex. This has been shown repeatedly in association tests.

3. Inappropriateness of associations. Here we have to do with far-fetched, bizarre or subjectively-determined associations. The theory is that when a fantasy or topic of interest is in a highly inducible state almost any word, image or picture will bring it to mind. To an outsider the association may seem highly irrational.

Ex : i. Jung's researches 1 in word association demonstrated the com-

plex-revealing significance of unusual responses, ii. With some people, no matter how a conversation may commence, it is sure to be brought into the channels of their major interest. (Here we may recall Uncle Toby (Tristram Shandy) who was wounded while fighting in Flanders and could think of nothing else : ' " Sir," replied Dr. Stop, " it would astonish you to know what improvements we have made of late years in all branches of obstetrical knowledge, but particularly in that one single point of the safe and expeditious extraction of the foetus which has received such lights, that, for my part (holding up his hands) I declare I wonder how the world has " "I wish," quoth Uncle Toby, " you had seen what prodigious armies we had in Flanders." y)

4. Multiplicity of forms. The number of different equivalent modes by which a need expresses itself is usually taken as a sign of its strength. This is similar to the phenomenon of spread or irradiation in the cortex. Imaginal needs offer the most striking

! Jung, C.G. Studies in Word -Association, London. ipis.

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examples of this process, which exhibits itself as the repetition of the same thema in a variety of forms or the spread of associations about a central nuclear idea.

Ex : i. A subject (Veal) interprets a certain picture as the representation of a man descending into a mine to save some imprisoned miners by leading them out of a secret exit ; hearing a piece

of music at another time he thinks of a man saving the occupants of an overturned coach ; later, he says that his favourite story is that of Jean Valjean in Les Miserable; carrying the wounded Marius through the great sewer of Paris to its exit into the Seine, ii. A subject (Virt) says of one picture that it is a man who has just failed to save his sweetheart from drowning ; of another, that it is a woman who has been separated from her lover and is about to die ; of another, that it is a man who is prevented from rescuing his wife from a burning building.

5. Protective distortion. A strong need is apt to perceive and apperceive what it ' wants/ or, in the case of a negative need, what it ' fears ' ; that is, an S under the influence of a drive has a tendency to ' project ' into surrounding objects some of the imagery associated with the drive that is operating. The measure is the amount of distortion, that is, how much the O is changed.

Projection commonly occurs without overt action. It may be experimentally induced and the press of the projected imagery may be used as an index of imaginal or inhibited need tension. Here it is necessary to estimate the frequency with which objects of a certain class recur as well as their vividness and potency.

a. Perceptive 'projections. Illusions that occur under natural conditions may be noted. Or, the senses may be stimulated by various ambiguous presentations (ink-blots, pictures presented very rapidly with a tachistoscope, music, indefinite vocal sounds, complex odours, etc.) and the sub-

ject asked to name the objects, scenes or dramatic occurrences that are evoked (pseudo-projections). Picture completion tests are also of value.

b. Apperceptive projections. The interpretations which a person makes of the events of everyday life particularly if he ascribes motives to other objects may be noted. Formal tests may be devised with pictures or written material : apperceptions of motive, thematic apperceptions, story completions and so forth.

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c. Cognitive projections. Here we refer to the amount of wishful thinking. The aphorisms, theories and philosophical principles which a person attends to or adopts may be recorded, with special regard to the amount of rationalization that occurs. At present, there are no formal procedures which bring this factor to the foreground, but it seems that proper techniques could easily be devised.

6. Level of aspiration. A high level exhibited in fantasy is an index of a high Ego Ideal (n Achievement in imaginal form).

Ex : ' I think I'm in hell, thought Eugene, and they say I stink because I have not had a bath. Me ! Me ! Bruce-Eugene, the Scourge of the Greasers, and the greatest fullback Yale ever had ! Marshal Gant, the saviour of his country ! Ace Gant, the hawk of the sky, the man who brought Richthofen down ! Senator Gant, Governor Gant, President Gant, the restorer and uniter of a broken nation, retiring quietly to private life in spite of the weeping protest of one

hundred million people,
until, like Arthur of Barbarossa, he shall hear again
the drums of need
and peril.

1 Jesus-of-Nazareth Gant, mocked, reviled, spat upon,
and imprisoned
for the sins of others, but nobly silent, preferring
death rather than cause
pain to the woman he loves. Gant, the Unknown Soldier,
the Martyred
President, the slain God of Harvest, the Bringer of
Good Crops. Duke
Gant of Westmoreland, Viscount Pondicherry, twelfth
Lord Runny-
mede, who hunts for true love, incognito, in Devon and
ripe grain, and
finds the calico white legs embedded in sweet hay. Yes,
George-Gordon-
Noel-Byron Gant, carrying the pageant of his bleeding
heart through
Europe, and Thomas-Chatterton Gant (that bright boy !
) , and Fran-
gois-Villon Gant, and Ahasuerus Gant, and Mithridates
Gant, and Ar-
taxerxes Gant, and Edward-the-Black-Prince Gant ;
Stilicho Gant, and
Jugurtha Gant, and Vercingetorix Gant, and Czar-Ivan-
the-Terrible
Gant. And Gant, the Olympian Bull ; and Heracles Gant ;
and Gant,
the Seductive Swan ; and Ashtaroth and Azarel Gant,
Porteus Gant,
Anubis and Osiris and Mumbo- Jumbo Gant.' 1

Quantitative intensity is one of the best indications
of the
strength of an imaginal need. It is a matter of how
extravagant,
dramatic and emotionally charged the words, images or
themes

i. Wolfe, Thomas. Look Homeward, Angel, pp.59 1-92,
quoted by permission of
the publishers, Charles Scribner's Sons, New York.

appear to be. At one extreme we have banal words and stories which indicate very little ; at the other, we have unique plots, portentous words, nightmarish visions.

7. Degree of absorption. The importance of a fantasy or of a topic of conversation can be roughly estimated in terms of the degree of distractibility. Is the subject's attention easily diverted and, if diverted, how soon, if at all, will he return once more to his former line of thought ?

8. Degree of affection. The amount of pleasure that accompanies a dream or a fantasy, the zest with which a topic of conversation is pursued, the thrill of excitement attending creative work are all indicative of underlying tension. Likewise, one commonly finds that certain images and ideas evoke a marked degree of revulsion. To discover what objects are associated with pleasure and unpleasure an S may be asked to rate a series of words according to the affect which they evoke.

c. An Experiment in Judging Personalities 1

In our experiments the variables were marked on a 0 (zero) to 5 (five) scale. Each rating referred to a section of the normal frequency curve, as shown in the figure.

It will be noted that the divisions between scores are erected at even sigma units from the mean. Thus, for each variable the standard of comparison was the normal distribution of that variable in the entire college population (as roughly held in mind

by each E). This was the first of many sources of error : the different conceptions of the normal distribution of each variable.

If 10,000 instead of 28 college men had been examined we should have found the marks were distributed about as follows : 0 and 5 each, 2% ; 1 and 4 each, 13.5% ; 2 and 3 each, 34%.

This scale was admirably suited to our purposes. It was possible, for example, in order to facilitate certain calculations, to divide subjects into two groups : those in whom a variable was below

i. Much of what follows is quoted, by permission of the editor, from an article by the authors (Wolf, R. and Murray, H.A., ' An experiment in judging personalities.' J. of Psychol., 1936, 5, 345-365)

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the mean (0, 1 and 2) and those in whom it was above (3, 4 or 5). For other purposes it was more convenient to make three groups : low (0 or 1), average (2 or 3) and high (4 or 5).

Each score (for a single subject on a single variable) was a composite of frequency, duration and intensity. What each examiner had to decide was whether the S displayed the given variable more frequently and intensely or less frequently and intensely than the average (mean) man of his age and status ; and to what extent. An S who displayed mild chronic irritability might

Meanings of Ratings (0/05)

get the same score on manifest Aggression as one who flew into a rage occasionally. A more refined method of marking might have taken account of such differences, but we relied on other variables, Emotionality, Impulsion, Change etc., to represent them. In the beginning we put needs that had an opposite direction on a single continuum (Aggression Abasement, Affiliation Rejection, Autonomy Deference etc.). This proved to be a mistake, and although we continued the practice with certain other variables (Impulsion Deliberation, Conjunctivity Dis-junctivity, Intraception Extraception etc.) we do not propose to do it in the future. This also applies to most rating scales and questionnaires (Extraversion Introversion, Ascendance Sub-mission etc.), for it is not at all uncommon to find individuals who manifest opposite impulses to an extreme degree (cf. manic-depressive cases, sado-masochistic conflicts etc.). If in such a case one averages the marks (found at both ends of the continuum) the final score will put the individual near the mid-line, just where he never is. A rating should never obscure an ambitendency.

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The Problem of the Reliability of Estimates

To list the subjective and objective indices of drive strength

is one thing ; to use them efficiently in practice is another. We have repeatedly called attention to the difficulty of perceiving and retaining enough of what a subject does and says to provide a basis for rational interpretation. In an interview things happen very rapidly and there is much that perishes unrecorded. Judgements can certainly be made, but the question is, do the judgements of different experimenters agree ? If they do not, there is something wrong : the phenomena are too complex to measure, the variables are ill-defined, the indices of strength are inadequate, the judges are examining different samples of the life history, the judges lack ability, are untrained, or are unfamiliar with the scheme of concepts. Are there suitable criteria, we should like to ask, by which one can measure the validity of judgements ? Are there some attributes of personality about which judges can agree and others about which they cannot agree ? Should the latter be eliminated ? Are there marked differences in the ability to make diagnoses of personality ? Can an experimenter be trained to make more reliable judgements ? What influence has the personality of the E upon his judgements ?

These are fundamental questions which call for solution, because all personological studies involve judgements (interpretations) of observed facts, and if these judgements are unreliable everything that follows speculation, statistical analysis, the construction of hypotheses and laws will be still more unreliable.

Tentative answers to some of these questions are provided by the results obtained in the study of groups III and IV (28 subjects in all). And the best we can do now is to review them.

We shall confine ourselves to a study of the ability of judges to make reasonably reliable ratings on a zero to five scale. The less measurable, though more valuable, ability to see relations or to apperceive a personality as a whole will not be examined here.

The burden of diagnosis fell most heavily on the Diagnostic Council of five judges (A, B, C, D and E, respectively) who

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worked together for two years. Each S was first seen by this Council, sitting as a body, for a 45-minute session, termed * the conference,' at which he was asked questions and given certain simple tasks to perform. After the conference each judge independently marked the S on each of the 40-odd variables. The average of the judges' marks on each variable was termed the * conference mark.' During the course of the year the Council held meetings to hear the reports of subsequent sessions and independently to re-mark each S on the basis of the new evidence. Thus, there were several sets of independent ratings which were averaged and thoroughly discussed by the Council. These scores were supplemented by the ratings of other experimenters. The

subjects also marked themselves, or, to be more exact, they filled out a comprehensive questionnaire of 600 items which was designed to cover the manifest variables. At the end of all the examinations a five-hour meeting was held on each S, at which all the reports and marks were read and discussed and a final mark for each variable was decided upon by majority vote.

Obviously, this procedure afforded many opportunities for influence among judges. A judge who was articulate and could clearly present the evidence for his opinion frequently persuaded other judges to change their markings. This, we believe, is as it should be. For, since the prime aim is to find the * true ' mark of each S, each E, before he finally makes up his mind, should be acquainted with the observations and interpretations of all the other judges, some of whom are more competent or have had better opportunities to observe than he. The marks agreed upon by all judges at the last meeting were called * final marks.' We could not think of any method of reaching more reliable estimates and so in lieu of anything better these have been accepted as standard. As such they provide us with figures with which the earlier estimates of individual judges may be profitably compared.

The present study is principally concerned with the accuracy of the judgements that were independently made by the five members of the Council immediately after the initial conference. Assuming that the final mark is ' correct ' one may ask : How

accurate were the independent ratings and how accurate the pooled ratings of five experimenters after observing a new subject for forty-five minutes ? How well did they agree after observing the same event ? Were there marked differences in diagnostic ability among the judges ?

As to relevant facts about the judges, it may be said that they were males varying from 30 to 40 years of age, two of whom (B and E) were physicians, four of whom (B, C, D and E) had been psycho-analysed. One of them (D) had recently arrived from Europe. All of them worked and lunched together for two years. Thus, they became acquainted with each other's personality under natural and informal conditions.

Indices of Diagnostic Ability

How can the accuracy of judges' ratings be determined ? The usual method is to estimate the amount of agreement among judges on the principle that what people agree about is most apt to be true. In our studies, however, since we decided each final mark by majority vote after prolonged discussion, there were no figures for estimating the extent of ultimate agreement. To give others some assurance of the reliability of the final marks, we can only point to our entire procedure : the four months of examination, the number of tests and interviews, the number

of experimenters, the specially selected and trained Diagnostic Council, the frequent markings and discussions. In our own minds, confidence was based upon (a) the number of unequivocal facts which supported each rating, (b) the psychological congruence of each mark with the marks on all other variables, and (c) the fact that each final mark was the decision of a majority. Since our primary aim was to discover the 'right' rating rather than to test the amount of agreement, discussion between judges constituted an important part of our procedure. We were well aware of the power of suggestion, persuasion and 'halo/' but we were convinced that marking by majority vote after discussion is more accurate than averaging marks that are independently assigned. What we usually found in each case

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was that one of the experimenters had observed some crucially important response or was able to give a more plausible explanation of the facts. If the other experimenters had rated the subjects before being told of such facts, on hearing them they would have said, 'Oh, if we had known that we would have marked the subject differently/ Thus, we followed the time-honoured practice of physicians when they assemble to establish a diagnosis.

Although we have no mathematical index of the reliability of

the final marks, it has been possible to estimate the validity of the ratings of the Diagnostic Council after the initial 45-minute conference in terms of three indices.

(a). Index a : agreement among judges in terms of $\langle r \rangle$. On the assumption that the average of a number of judges' ratings is generally more valid than the rating of any one judge that, lacking other measures, it is the most reliable measure obtainable, a crude index of the competence of each judge is the standard deviation of his ratings from the average ratings for each subject on each variable. We could not use Shen's reliability coefficient of personal ratings 1 because this function is based upon a comparison of the ranks of subjects assigned by different judges and according to our procedure the subjects were not ranked by each judge ; nor, since such a large proportion of subjects were assigned the same mark, could valid rank orders be obtained. It seemed worthwhile, however, to calculate the $\langle r \rangle$ of each judge on all variables and the average 0^* of the five judges.

The standard deviations of the individual judges will be given later. Here, we shall merely record the average $\langle r \rangle$ of the five judges. The results on the manifest and on the latent variables will be given separately.

In 1934-35, each judge independently marked the subject immediately after the conference, but in 1933-34 there was a short discussion after the conference before the subject was marked,

which undoubtedly served to minimize gross differences between

i. Shen, E. 'The reliability coefficient of personal ratings.' J. Educ. /6", 232-236.

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the judges. Thus the techniques in the two years were not comparable and we are unable to determine how much, if any, improvement of diagnostic ability, as measured by better agreement, occurred between the first and second year. As might be expected, the average standard deviation on the manifest variables was lower in 1933-34 ($r = .67$, PE .03). In 1934-35 it was $r = .80$, PE .02. In 1933-34 estimations of latent variables were not made, but in the following year the average (T on these was .85, PE .02. Thus, the disagreement was hardly greater than it was on the manifest variables.

(b) . Index b : agreement with final ratings in terms of a. Since the final marks, we believe, are about as accurate as they could be, they may be used as standards with which to compare the conference marks, and thus another index of the validity of the latter may be obtained. As a valid measure of agreement we have used the standard deviation between the two sets of marks. When we examine this function as calculated for the two years, we are surprised to find that, despite the benefit to agreement which was afforded by the discussion after the conferences in 1933-34, the

results obtained in the first year were less accurate than those obtained in the second. The average standard deviation in the first year was 1.13, PE .09, whereas in the second it was .89, PE .03. This result may be interpreted as indicating improvement in the diagnostic ability of the judges from the first to the second year. The average standard deviation between conference and final marks on the latent variables (1934-35) was .92, PE .06, which suggests that the diagnosis of latent variables is not appreciably more difficult than the diagnosis of manifest variables.

(c). Index c: agreement with final ratings in terms of the correlation between ranf(orders of subjects. Assuming again that the final ratings are correct, it is possible to estimate the accuracy of the conference marks by calculating for each variable the correlation between the rank order of subjects based on the conference marks and the rank order based on the final marks. The average of these correlations can be taken as an index of

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the reliability of the judges at the conference. The results are as follows : 1933-34, $r = +.66$; in 1934-35, $r = +.63$. Considering the advantages of discussion before marking enjoyed by the judges in the first year, this finding also points to an improvement in the diagnostic ability of the judges.

We have considered three indices of the diagnostic ability of the Council : (a) Index a, agreement among judges at the conference in terms of r , (b) Index b, agreement between conference and final marks in terms of r , and (c) Index c, agreement between conference and final marks in terms of the correlation between rank orders of subjects. Before considering the question of differences in diagnostic ability among judges we must report upon other matters.

Differences in the Measurability of Personality Variables

At the conference were some variables more accurately measured than others ? To find a tentative answer to this question we may rank order the variables in terms of agreement as measured by the three indices above and compare the results. Here we shall consider only the manifest variables. The comparisons may be mathematically expressed by coefficients of correlation between each pair of rank orders. In Table i the results obtained the second year (1934-35) are placed below the results obtained the first year.

An examination of the table shows that in both years Indices b and c were positively correlated, whereas Index a (based on the agreement among judges) was correlated negatively once with Index b and twice with Index c. In other words, agreement about a rating at the Conference was, if anything, an index of the inaccuracy rather than the accuracy of the assigned mark. For

example, in the first year the members of the Council agreed best in their markings on the variable Affiliation and yet these markings were worst in respect to their agreement with final ratings. Since, as we have said, the final ratings represent the best approximation to the * truth ' of which we were capable, we must conclude either (a) that the standard deviation is not a

2 7

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suitable index of agreement among judges, or/and (b) that agreement among judges after a 45-minute interview cannot be accepted as a measure of reliability. Before we take up this problem, however, we must conclude the present topic : differences in the measurability of variables. Since Indices b and c were highly correlated in both years, we may accept them as approximate measures of the facility with which the different personality

TABLE 1

RANK ORDER INTERCORRELATIONS (r's) OF THE
MEASURABILITY OF VARIABLES AS DETERMINED
BY THREE INDICES

Index a

Index b

Index c

Index a

.01, PE .17
-.23, PE .13

-.26, PE .16
-.24, PE .08

Index b

.01, PE .17
-.23, PE .13

.73, PE .09
.65, PE .08

Index c

-.26, PE .16
-.24, PE .08

.73, PE .09
.65, PE .08

variables may be diagnosed after a short formal interview. If, now, the two rank orders of variables (as determined by Index b and Index c respectively) are combined to form a composite rank order, one for 1933-34 and one for 1934-35, and these two composite rank orders are correlated, the result is $r = +.50$, PE .13. This positive correlation justifies our combining the two composite rank orders into a final composite rank, which represents, as nearly as we can estimate it, the ranking of variables in terms of their measurability or apperceptibility.

Inspection of this final rank order fails to reveal a single differentiating characteristic which holds for all of them. Examining the variables that stand near the bottom of the list, however, we notice (a) that for some (Sex, Creativity) the conference situation provided no adequate stimulus, and (b) that others (Succor-

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ance, Deference) were among the variables that aroused the most discussion during the months of experimentation, the ones that were most inadequately defined. Examining the variables near the top of the list we observe that here the opposite is true, and, furthermore, that among them are the variables most commonly associated with emotion (Anxiety, Emotionality, Impulsion, Aggression) . More than this we cannot say at present.

The Use of e as an Index of Agreement among Judges

The results just reported suggest that κ is not a good measure of validity. No doubt, we should have realized this in the beginning since it is clear that the standard deviation function fails to take account of the range and distribution of the marks. To illustrate : if in marking a diverse group of subjects in respect to a certain trait the judges tended to give conservative (average) ratings, the standard deviation would be low but the marks would not reflect the differences that existed between subjects.

These considerations * led us to employ the correlation ratio t (η), the formula for which is :

in which

v_a = the average variance of the scores about the means of their

arrays, and

v = the variance of all scores about the mean of the whole table.

This formula, however, is not entirely satisfactory, since the ratio as it stands is not necessarily zero when no correlation is present. It merely tends towards zero. It is desirable to have a formula which will yield a score of 1 when there is perfect consistency and

i. We were instructed and guided in our statistical procedures by Dr. Dwight Chapman of the Harvard Psychological Laboratory, and we wish to take this opportunity to express our great indebtedness (Chapman, D.W. ' The statistics of the method of correct matching*.' Amer. J. PsychoL,

1934, 46, 287-298).

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a score of 0 when there is no consistency. Such a formula may be obtained by applying Kelley's correction to the correlation ratio. 1 Kelley's formula for the corrected correlation ratio, (epsilon), is as follows :

$$(N - k) \epsilon = r - \frac{1}{N} \sum_{i=1}^k r_i^2$$

$$(N - k)$$

in which ϵ = the corrected correlation ratio,

r = the uncorrected correlation ratio,
 N = the population of the whole table,
and k the number of arrays in the table.

The value of ϵ was calculated for the conference marks (1934-35) on each of the manifest variables. The average correlation ratio on all variables was .59. There was one 0 (zero) ratio, but all the others were positive between .37 and .84. In order to test the value of ϵ as a measure of validity the rank order of variables according to ϵ was correlated with the rank orders as determined by Index b and Index c respectively. The correlation with Index b (average standard deviation between conference and final marks) was $r = +.02$, PE .15, and the correlation with Index c (correlation of the rank orders of subjects as determined at the conference and at the final meeting respectively) was $r = +.42$, PE .15. These results are better than (.22, .24) those obtained when r was used as an index of agreement between judges, a

finding
which substantiates our rational preference for .
Nevertheless,
the results with (+.02, +.48) are not encouraging
enough to
allow us to say that agreement at the conference is a
good index
of accuracy. For example, one variable (Radical
Sentiments)
stands second in the rank order of e's (epsilons) but
stands fifth
from the bottom in our final composite rank order of
measur-
ability.

i. Kelley, T.L. 'An unbiased correlation measure.' Proc.
Nat. Acad. 5', i 935, 27,
No. p.

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The Influence of Personality upon Judgements of other
Person-
alities

In order to determine to what extent the marking of
the subjects
was affected by the personalities of the judges it was
first necessary
to obtain estimates of the latter. This was done by
having each
member of the Council mark himself and the other four
Es on each
of the personality variables. The score for each judge
on each vari-
able was obtained by averaging his self-rating with the
average
assigned by the other judges, his estimate of himself
being con-
sidered as reliable as the combined estimates of his
four friends.

By using the standard deviation of the self-ratings
from these
scores as an index, rank orders of self-insight on the
manifest and
latent variables respectively were obtained. Rank

orders of ability
to diagnose the other judges on the manifest and latent
variables
respectively were also obtained, using a as an index.
Before ex-
amining these rank orders, however, let us consider the
question :
do judges that rank high in a certain variable tend to
assign high
marks on that variable to others, and those that rank
low tend to
assign low marks ? Or do the judges that have high
scores mark
low, and those that have low scores mark high ? To put
it more
briefly, is there a prevailing tendency to mark by
similarity or to
mark by contrast ? It is generally supposed that most
people project
themselves into others and mark by similarity. Landis,
1 for ex-
ample, has reported that tall people tend to
overestimate height,
that fat people tend to overestimate weight and that
unstable
people tend to overestimate instability. In discussing
this question
it will be convenient to use score to apply to a rating
of a variable
of a judge's personality determined by the method
described above,
and to use mar^{\wedge} to apply to a rating of a variable of a
subject's
personality (assigned by a single judge). Thus the
solution of the
present problem calls for a comparison of scores and
marks.

By averaging the marks assigned by each judge to the
fifteen
subjects on each variable it is possible to rank order
the judges on

i. Landis, C. ' Questionnaires and the study of
personality.' J. Nerv. & Ment. Dis.,
1936, 83, 125-134.

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each variable according to the average height of their inarms. Each of these rank orders may then be compared in turn to the rank order of the judges' scores on the same variable. For example, see Table 2.

Examination of the two parts of Table 2 reveals a general tendency among the judges to mark by contrast on the need for Order. The highest marks are assigned by judges D and C who are themselves below average in orderliness, and the lowest ranks are assigned by judges A and E who are above average in orderliness.

TABLE 2
n ORDER

Average mark of 15 subjects
as assigned by each Judge

Score of each Judge

- i. Judge D
2. " C
3. " B
4. " A
5. " E

3- I 5

2.57

2 -33

2.20

2.13

i. Judge A

2. " E

3- " B

4 . " C

5. " D

4-37

3.87

3.00

1.87

1.50

With no other variable, however, was there a clearly exhibited tendency to mark either by similarity or by contrast. To determine whether the judges exhibited a general tendency that operated to a slight extent throughout the series of judgements, the judges who stood first and second in the rank order of scores were classed as ' high ' in that variable and those who stood fourth and fifth were classed as ' low.' The third (medium) position was neglected. The rank order of assigned marks was divided in the same way. The results have been tabulated in Table 3.

The findings indicate that the tendency to mark by contrast was, if anything, a little stronger than the tendency to

mark by similarity.

Two other methods of dealing with the data were used, both of which indicated the same thing : that a very slight tendency to mark by contrast prevailed. On examining the marks given by the individual judges, however, it was discovered that only one of

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the judges (D) manifested this tendency (17 marks by contrast, and only 4 by similarity) . In the other judges contrast and similarity were nearly equal in strength. Judge D was a European who felt that a few of the subjects were rather strange to him, unlike any of his acquaintances. Thus his marking might be accounted for by supposing that the personalities of some of the subjects were actually different, and were felt by him to be very different from his own.

TABLE 3

Frequency

Manifest

Latent

Judges ranking high gave high marks
Judges ranking low gave low marks

Marking by similarity

20

23

43

26

28

<U

10

12

22

II

10

21

Judges ranking low gave high marks

Judges ranking high gave low marks

Marking by contrast

Our calculations, then, furnished very little evidence of the occurrence of projection in any of the five judges when marking the fifteen subjects at the conference, a finding which testifies to their objectivity. Let us now consider another question.

Does a judge mark best those who are like himself or those who are unlike himself? The diagnostic success of each E in judging each other E was measured in terms of the standard deviation of his marks from the scores on each variable. Each score, it will be remembered, was obtained by averaging the judge's rating of him-

self with the average of the ratings assigned by the other four judges. A rank order of the accuracy with which each E marked each other E was made as follows :

1. 8 marking D
2. C " B
- 3- A C
4. B E

59
.60
.62
.67 etc.

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There were twenty such combinations. For comparison with this rank order every E was paired with every other E and a rank order of the ten pairs based on the degree of similarity of its members was constructed. Degree of similarity was estimated by calculating the standard deviation of the two sets of scores. These data may be examined in order to determine whether the most accurate marks are assigned by judges who most resemble the person judged. The results with the manifest variables may be summarized as follows :

A is most like C and judges C best.

A is least like E and judges E worst.

B is most like D and judges D best.

B is least like E but judges C worst.

C is most like D but judges B best (D second best).

C is least like A and judges A worst.

D is most like C but judges B best (C second best).

D is least like A but judges E worst (A second worst).

E is most like C and judges C best.

E is least like A and judges A worst.

Thus, 6 out of 10 cases support the proposition that a judge is most accurate when judging a person who most resembles himself, and least accurate when judging a person who is most different.

In 3 of the remaining 4 cases the deviation from this rule is slight.

The results with the latent variables are as follows :

A is most like E but marks D best.

A is least like B and marks B worst.

B is most like E but marks C best (E second best) .

B is least like D but marks A worst (D second worst) .

.

C is most like E and marks E best.

C is least like D but marks A worst (D second worst).

D is most like A and marks A best.

D is least like' B but marks E worst.

E is most like C and marks C best.

E is least like D and marks D worst.

Out of 10 cases, 5 give complete support and 3 partial support

to the principle that judges mark best the subjects who most re-

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semble them and mark worst those who least resemble them.

In the 20 cases considered there was not a single instance of the opposite : that an E judged best the E whom he resembled least or judged worst the E whom he resembled most.

One explanation for this finding might be this : that a man tends to project his dominant variables into others and therefore he errs least when he judges someone who actually does resemble him.

This notion, however, is not supported by our previous finding : that there was no predominant tendency on the part of these judges to mark by similarity. The best explanation seems to be the common one : that a man can only understand what he has already experienced. One might hazard the statement that without empathy a man cannot make an accurate diagnosis and he can best empathize with those whose responses resemble his own.

Differences in Diagnostic Ability among the Judges

As criteria of the diagnostic ability of individual judges we have Index a and Index b. Index b (agreement between conference marks and final marks) is a rather good criterion, if we use ' diagnostic ability ' to stand for the ability to give ratings on such variables as were used, but Index a (agreement with other judges at the conference), as we have seen, is a poor index. Nevertheless it

may be of interest to examine our findings in order to see whether there were any consistent differences in deviation among the judges.

An examination of Table 4 reveals some consistent differences in rank. Judge B ranks 1st in 70% of the markings ; Judge D ranks 5th in 70% ; and Judge E is either 3rd or 4th in 80%. Judges C and A are less consistent. However, C ranks 1st four times and never 5th ; and A ranks 5th three times and never 1st. It has been pointed out that the standard deviation is an unreliable index, because, for one thing, it does not take account of the spread of a judge's ratings. But if we estimate the percentage of 2's and 3*5 assigned by each judge on the manifest variables we can get a rough idea of the spread of his marks. Assuming that the 28 subjects were a fair sample of the college population, the percentage of 2's and 3*5

2 7 8

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(from $i < r$ to $+i < r$ on the normal frequency curve) should amount to about 68%. The findings are as follows : C, 62% ; A, 59% ; B, 54% ; E, 50% ; D, 46%. This result indicates that there was no noticeable central tendency and that the average for the group would have been somewhat better if the judges had kept the

TABLE 4
DIAGNOSTIC ABILITY OF THE JUDGES IN TERMS OF a

Year

B

C

E

A

D

R.O. <r

R.O. <r

R.O. <r

R.O. <r

R.O. ff

Av.

~*7
.80

Ss.

a
b

Mnf.

'34
'35

'5
i

57
.72

'5
3

57
.78

3

4

.62
.81

4

2

.72
75

5
5

.86
.96

Lt.

'35

4

.88

i

79

2

.81

3

.82

5

97

.85

Mnf.

'34

'35

i
i

93

74

2

4

i. 08
94

4
3

1.19
.91

3

2

1.16
83

5
5

i-3i
1.05

1-13
.89

Lt.

'35

i

.62

3

99

4

i. 08

2

.76

5

1.15

.92

Js.

a

a

Mnf.

'35

2

.76

i

.69

3

.90

5

97

4

.96

.86

Lt.

'35

4

.92

i

.70

2

7'

3

.84

5

95

.82

48

Self

Mnf.

'35

I

33

3

.46

4

5^

5

.72

2

38

Lt.

'35

I

34

2

44

3

45

5

59

4

.46

45

Average

'7

.6*

2.1

74

3- 2

.80

3-4

.82

4-5

.90

Ss = marks on subjects ; Js = marks on judges ; Self = marks on self.

a = Index a (average standard deviation from the mean).

b = Index b (average standard deviation between conference and final

marks).

Mnf. = manifest variables ; Lt. = latent variables.

frequency curve in mind. This applies particularly to Judges E and D who might have stood higher in the validity rank orders if they had marked more conservatively.

If we take the average results obtained with Index b, our most reliable criterion, the rank order of the judges is as follows : B, .76 ; A, .92 ; C, 1.00 ; E, 1.06 ; D, 1.17. This order agrees with the final average rank order except that A is two places lower in the latter. This drop in A's rank is due mostly to the extent of his deviations

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in self-ratings, a finding which may perhaps be ascribed to the fact that he was the only one of the judges who had not been psycho-analysed.

Each member of the council was required in 1934-35 to predict the rank order of subjects on three tests to be administered subsequently (cf. Hypnotic Test, Level of Aspiration Test, Ethical Standards Test). The average of the three coefficients of correlation for each judge between the predicted and the actual rank orders are as follows : B, $r = +.34$; D, $r = +.32$, E, $r = +.31$; A, $r = +.22$; C, $r = +.13$. Except that D and C have changed positions, this rank order, based on objective results, is similar to

the ability rank order as given above.

One experiment in matching was attempted, when Judge D read the responses given by 5 subjects in a certain test, all remarks of a specifically personal character being omitted. The other judges were asked to guess what subject had given each production. Judge B guessed 3 correctly (to be expected by chance 9 times in 100) ; Judge C guessed 2 (to be expected 25 times in 100) ; Judges A and E each guessed 1 (to be expected 63 times in 100). This is approximately the same rank order that was obtained above.

Our findings, then, point to the conclusion that there are somewhat consistent differences among judges in respect to their ability to diagnose traits and predict behaviour. Comparing the experimenters it seems that the following factors are sufficient to account for the differences :

Judge B (R.O. 1) was older and had had two years' experience working with the scheme of variables.

Judge A (R.O. 4) was the only judge who had not been psycho-analysed.

Judge D (R.O. 5) was a foreigner. He neglected the frequency curve and hazarded numerous extreme ratings.

The differences between judges might have been greater if they had not been specially selected because of their proved aptitude for this kind of work.

In 1934-35, to determine whether some of the other somewhat

less experienced experimenters had greater or less ability than the members of the Diagnostic Council, four experimenters, who had not had the benefit of observing the subjects at the conference but who had seen them for a longer time under other conditions, were asked to mark the subjects. The rank order of their average standard deviations from the final marks was as follows : H, 1.04 ; F, 1.13 ; G, 1.18 ; J, 1.20. The average standard deviation was i.n, definitely higher than .89, the figure obtained that year for the Diagnostic Council. The top man of the inexperienced group was about equal to the bottom man of the Diagnostic Council. This finding indicates that diagnostic ability is a function of experience.

Measurement of Latent Needs

Since the conference conducted by the Diagnostic Council offered little opportunity for the expression of latent need⁴, the ratings that were made at that session were hardly more than * hunches ' based on quite equivocal cues. Subsequently, however, there were several sessions specially designed to evoke images, fantasies and dramatic themes. These were examined directly for evidences of repressed infantile complexes, until a method was developed for dealing with them in a more systematic fashion. The present experiments were concluded, however, before we completed a scheme which would yield reasonably representative

indices of the strength of the different needs and press. Nevertheless in the present experiments, the fantasy productions of our subjects provided sufficient data for deliberate judgements of the prevalence and force of certain underlying tendencies ; and we ended by feeling that our estimates of inhibited and unconscious needs were hardly further from the mark than were our estimates of the manifest needs.

Conclusions

Nothing has been definitely proved by the findings reported in this section. The data are insufficient and the sources of error too many. But a few very tentative conclusions may be drawn :

(i) . There were rather consistent differences among the mem-

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bers of the council in respect to the validity of their ratings as measured by different indices : agreement with other judges, agreement with final marks, predictions of behaviour, correct matching. It seems that these differences can be accounted for by assuming the advantage of (a) a thorough acquaintance with the exemplifications of each variable, (b) experience in rating such variables, (c) keeping the frequency curve in mind when rating, (d) having been psycho-analysed. Some facts suggest that the disadvantage of being different from the subjects in respect to nationality (and perhaps also in respect to sex, age,

social status,
system of values, etc.) is considerable.

(2). The value of experience, of having judges who have worked together for some time, of establishing a methodological convention, is indicated by our findings. Inexperienced judges, for example, did not do so well as the members of the council. Also the ratings of the council were better the second year than they were the first.

(3). Agreement with other judges at the conferences (expressed in terms of a) is a reasonably good index of the diagnostic ability of a single judge. But degree of agreement among judges in regard to the proper rating of a trait is not a good index of the validity of that rating.

(4) . Kelley's e (epsilon) is a better index of the validity of judges' ratings than the average standard deviation.

(5). There was no evidence of a prevailing projective tendency (to mark by similarity) among the judges.

(6) . In marking other judges a judge usually marked best the judge who resembled him and marked worst the judge who least resembled him.

(7) . There were rather consistent differences among the variables in respect to their measurability. The most readily diagnosed variables were those which (a) involved emotion, (b) were most readily evoked by the conference situation or (c) were best defined and understood.

Chapter V

THE GENETICAL

INVESTIGATION OF PERSONALITY : CHILDHOOD EVENTS

H. A. MURRAY

THE estimation of separable variables, somewhat along the lines described in the last chapter, has seemed to us a necessary preliminary to the formulation of a personality. The outcome of the final synthesis is a portrayal of the subject as a loose organization of complexes (integrates), each of which is a compound of needs and modes oriented towards a fusion of press that emanate from certain cathected objects (people, institutions, ideologies), the complexes being conditioned to one or more cathected fields of interest (for example : athletics, finance, politics, art, etc.). These complexes may be objectified as overt action, may take the form of attitudes and verbally expressed opinions (rationalized sentiments) or may remain entirely latent. They are to varying degrees egocentric and sociocentric.

Formulations of this sort are, at their best, abstract representations of the status quo. They describe how the individual has been conducting himself recently, what causes he has been advocating or rejecting, what conflicts have been engaging his attention ; and, if one is willing to lean on the principle of repetition and consistency, they offer a basis for predicting the individual's behaviour, if certain situations present themselves, in the near

future. However, in our opinion, personality cannot be completely set forth as an integration of complexes at a particular point in time. An apparent cross section of this sort is a conception based upon the observation of a short temporal segment of the life history, a segment that may be less important and less representative than other segments. We should like to know, for example, to what extent the observed segment is a progression or a regression from previous periods. The more points we can obtain on the life curve the better can we extrapolate beyond the present. To conceive of personality as an

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historic flow or emergence of events is to be directed to the study of past occurrences. Abstract biography is the personality, as far as it can be formulated.

The exploration of the past, however, is dictated not only by our interest in the entire sweep (rather than in a single movement) of the life curve, but by a felt necessity to * explain ' what we observe. Why a man is habitually afraid of women, why he consistently refuses to join any club or association, why he is an atheist, why he is passionately fond of duck-shooting and poker, why he is affectionate with animals, why he is always very careful about his belongings and is scrupulously precise about money matters, why he suffers from indigestion, these problems remain unresolved until the psychologist pushes his inspection

further,
and further means inward or backward in time. The
question,
* Why ? ' leads to another, ' What ? ' or ' How ? ' the
beginning of
a regress that is halted only by a dearth of facts.

The * Why ? ' that follows the naming of a reaction
system
evoked by a certain press necessarily leads the
psychologist inward
(into the subject's brain), because he is called upon
to explain
why this individual reacted in one way and that
individual re-
acted in another. As the situation has not changed
objectively (for
the E), this subject must be different from that;
different in
respect to how he apperceives the situation or
different in respect
to how he reacts to a similar apperception. Now, a vast
amount of
observation and experiment goes to show that a great
many dif-
ferences of personality can be attributed to
differences in past
experience. The press to which an individual has been
exposed,
the nature of the specific objects which have embodied
each press,
the benign objects that have been associated (in space
or time)
with the pressive object, the usual or occasionally
intense success or
failure of this or that need or mode, the amount of
indirect knowl-
edge (correct and incorrect) that has been
accumulated about
various situations all these factors are capable under
proper cir-
cumstances of modifying the structure of the brain. A
subject who
has repeatedly reacted in a certain fashion is
different from one
who has not. He has a different habit system. A subject
who knows

about certain matters is different from one who does not, and so forth. The general theory is that the perception and apperception of objects and of configurations of objects leave * traces ' (a hypothetical concept), and the activation of needs and actones leaves * readi- nesses ' (a hypothetical concept), and perception-conation sequences leave * connections ' (a hypothetical concept). These traces/ * connections ' and * readi- nesses ' are rarely fixed. They undergo countless modifications as the result of internal and external forces. This is theory, but theory that seems necessary if one is to explain the facts of what generally has been called * con- ditioning.' It is necessary because in the formulation of an event, as Lewin has affirmed repeatedly, only factors that are operating at the moment can rightfully be included. The past, as experiments have shown, will explain some aspects of the present, but since the past as such has perished, it must be operating not as such, but in the form of a conserved impression (trace, memory) that is now a part of the organism. If it were possible to examine directly all these traces, connections and readi- nesses in the brain, as well as all the contemporaneous physiological happenings, one could name every process that was functioning within the organism. Since this is not possible, one must hypothesize the internal factors and sub- stantiate the hypothesis with facts from the subject's past life. Usu- ally one makes several hypotheses, and allows the facts turned up

by further explorations to determine which one is the most probable. When the E finds himself unable to make any hypothesis, he must rely upon the biographical data for suggestions.

It was for these reasons that we resolved to undertake a genetical investigation of personality, and once the decision was made, we turned inevitably to psycho-analysis for guidance. Of course, we availed ourselves of what information could be obtained from other sources, but since analysis offers, as far as we know, the only conceptual scheme that orders in an intelligible fashion most of the phenomena of infancy and childhood, we adopted this point of view as a working hypothesis. The underlying conception of psycho-analysis calls attention to the impressionability

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of young tissue, the durability of the impressions received, and the determining effect of these upon the whole course of development. If this is true and there is sound evidence from biology to support it the earliest experiences, though unremembered by the subject, may be lastingly important. The psychologist must go back to the foetus, certainly not with the expectation of explaining everything, but with the hope of exposing some of the determinants of many things.

Psycho-analysis was led to its notion of the importance of infantile events by comprehensive studies of the recollections of

adult neurotics. Evidence was accumulated to show that present symptomatology could be partially explained by referring to the earliest remembered events. But even these memories proved insufficient, since they did not include, except in rare instances, anything that had occurred during the first two or three years of life, and many of the subject's fantasies and dreams could be made psychologically intelligible only by assuming the endurance of traces established at that time. Further studies made it plain that some of these traces could not, by any chance, represent actual occurrences. However, they could conceivably have been engendered by fantasies, pre-logical imaginings of events. Finally, it was noted, first by Jung, 1 that there was much similarity among the fantasies of different children, children that were exposed to diverse family conditions. Since the environment could not be held accountable for the fantasies, it seemed necessary to resort to a theory of innate patterns of imagery (archetypal fantasies). This philogenetic conception of the mind was made credible by the discovery that the fantasies of children (as well as the delusions of the insane) resembled nothing so much as the folk tales, sagas and religious myths of primitive people. A possible hypothesis, then, would be this : that a child's imagination is successively influenced by unconscious configurating tendencies that were established (roughly in the same temporal sequence) during the course of man's development throughout the ages. This is the

i. Jung, C.G. The Psychology of the Unconscious, New York, 1931.

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theory which was proposed by Samuel Butler. The fact that so many myths (collective fantasies of former times) are carried along by images that so clearly call to mind the objects of infantile preoccupation suggests that it is the imaginings of the savage child rather than of the savage adult that were primarily responsible.

It may be supposed, I believe, that every modern child dreams his maturing way through these archetypal patterns. The march of the endocrines must be influential, as well as external conditions and the fortunes of needs : traumata, parental behaviour, gratifications, frustrations, and so forth. Due to certain circumstances, as yet only vaguely recognized, some of these fantasies 'stick' instead of perishing with their fellows in the limbo of the unconscious. They stick in the infant's mind and become connected in irrational ways to the objects of his world. Without some linking of these weird fantasies, a psychologist will necessarily be at a loss to explain many of the less usual reactions of childhood. To what extent psycho-analysis has properly distinguished the common complexes and fantasies of infancy is uncertain. It is conventional, and probably correct, to say that analysts have limited themselves to phenomena which have sexual significance. If this is the case, one might suppose that they had

overlooked
many important phenomena. This conclusion, however,
would
hardly do justice to the flexibility of the pan-sexual
theory. The
analysts, it now appears, have overlooked very little ;
which is
due to the fact that they find significance in
everything, since
according to their theory, any action or any part of
the body, or
the body as a whole, or any object may become erotized
(asso-
ciated with pleasurable, erotic-like sensations or
feelings). Thus,
they speak of muscular erotism, erotization of thought,
the body
as phallus, etc.

Though many psychologists find it impossible to
understand or
to agree with Freudian theory, there is no dispute
about what
should be set down as the important activities of
infancy : sleep-
ing ; breathing ; sucking, biting and ingesting
nourishment
through the mouth ; excretion of urine through the
urethra and
faeces through the anus ; spitting up and vomiting ;
retracting

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from painful stimuli ; thumb-sucking and scratching ;
crying for
the mother ; cooing and clinging to the mother ;
struggling
against physical restraint ; raging in a tantrum when
frustrated ;
attempting to co-ordinate and master objects :
creeping, walking
and manipulating ; exploring : touching, peering,
smelling ;
showing-off before admirers, and so forth. Later, one
finds other
activities : acquisition, collection and retention of

objects, dreams
of power expressed in play, destructiveness, assaults
upon weaker
objects (pets and young siblings), fantasied assaults
upon
stronger objects (parents and older siblings),
primitive mastur-
bation, curiosity about birth (after the arrival of a
younger sib-
ling), sexual fantasies, and a host of avoidances and
anxieties :
fear of falling, of injury, of rejection, of
deprivation, of mutila-
tion, of punishment, and so forth. This list is by no
means ex-
haustive. It is, I suppose, what most people have
observed and
would agree to call outstanding. Nor would there be
much argu-
ment about the fact that the following were important
objects in
the infant's world : parts of his own body, physical
supports, what
he eats and excretes, his mother with certain parts of
her body
(nipple, breast) specially cathected, his father,
other siblings ;
and later, dangerous situations, injurious objects,
possessions, pets
and playmates. Under mother we may include nurses and
other
older women who play the maternal role, and under
father we
may include older paternal men. Finally, there are the
almost uni-
versal experiences : birth, teething, weaning, learning
to walk
without support, training in toilet habits, rivalry of
siblings, the
special devotion of the parent of opposite sex,
interference by the
parent of the same sex, numerous alarms and accidents
and fevers,
leaving home and entering school ; and, throughout the
entire
course of development : barriers, prohibitions,
coercions and
threats of punishment.

Out of these objects and events the child, driven by its needs, weaves its allegories, its science of life. There are great gaps in its knowledge, but the child fills them according to its inveterate tendency with whatever images it has at its disposal. Since, according to the evidence at hand, these pre-logical myths considerably

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influence development, it is the function of the 'depth' psychologist to reveal them. To do this he must be acquainted with pre-logical and pre-realistical processes: syncretism, juxtaposition, animism, symbolization, as well as a large number of typical infantile conceptions.

This * streamlined ' discussion of analytic findings and speculations leads to the conclusion that the first necessity is an account of the common events and fantasies of childhood ordered according to a conceptual scheme that makes them psychologically intelligible. Such a plan should lead to an abstract representation of the course of events that has exhibited each personality. It should make possible a comparison of cases. Naturally, all such schematizations will distort the facts to some extent. But if the psychologist attempts to get along without a plan that has an adequate theoretical foundation his case histories will consist of * literary ' accounts of experiences which the reader himself must, if he can, fashion for scientific use. If no uniformities or diversi-

ties are strikingly displayed, no generalizations will be possible. Science must overlook a great deal of the rich texture of concrete experience in order to put into relief the underlying interactions of forces. The relief resembles an X-ray photograph of a living man. We perceive none of the familiar features which in every-day life attract or repel us, but we see the structure that supports these features. The violence that is done to nature by scientific abstractions is grossest during the first stages of a discipline, marked as they are by the employment of large, all-embracing generalizations. Later, the initial, necessarily oversimplified conceptions become refined by detailed analysis and many previously neglected items are thereby distinguished and given place.

The scheme that we used was based on the theory that was outlined in the previous section, the analysis of events into themas : needs, press (cathected objects) and outcomes. As far as we have been able to observe, the behaviour of children exhibits much the

i. Piaget J. The Language and Thought of the Child, London, 1926 ; Judgment and Reasoning of the Child, London, 1928.

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same themas as does the behaviour of adults, though the modes of action and the objects cathected are often strikingly different. In our records of the reactions of subjects to the Clinic situation, it was possible to neglect the provoking press, since

these were relatively constant for all subjects. But in dealing with the biographical material this omission would be disastrous. Here the press are of major import. Indeed, it is quite possible to portray a life, as some biographers do, as the almost inevitable outcome of the impact of external press.

Since the culture and the more or less acculturated parents are, as it were, in operation before the child is born, it seems more reasonable to start with this side of the equation, and to consider later the different reactions (drives) that such conditions commonly evoke in children. It will be convenient, in order to avoid endless repetitions, to classify the press and the needs separately. This procedure temporarily dislocates the thema (which symbolizes the dynamic integrity of an event) but this can be reconstructed later by combining the given press and the given need.

In view of the multiplicity and complexity of children's fancies and the difficulty of understanding such pre-logical compositions (primitive regnant processes), it seems advisable to limit ourselves to the facts of behaviour, and for the present, to events that occurred within the span of normal memory (after three years of age) . Each category of the scheme will be illustrated by one or two samples culled from the autobiographies of our subjects. They will be presented as they were offered, without analysis or interpretation.

Classification of Childhood Events

A. PRESS

It is as difficult to diagnose a press as it is to diagnose a need, but if the diagnosis cannot be made an event cannot be dynamically interpreted. Furthermore, the strength of the press should be approximately estimated. For it is impossible to judge the reactivity of the child without knowing the degree of danger,

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of deprivation, of punishment or of indulgence (as the case may be) to which he is exposed. A zero (0) to five (5) scale is convenient for these ratings.

It is possible to distinguish in most cases the trend of the environmental force (physical or social) quite apart from the reaction which it initiates in the child. However, even when this objective standpoint is adhered to, each class of press will be felt particularly by one who empathizes with the child as something that is desirable or undesirable. This is inevitable, because every situation that is not inert will have an effect (actually or potentially) on the subject's well-being ; it will be a * promise ' to satisfy or a * threat ' to frustrate a need. A press, by definition, is just such a beneficial or harmful process.

The illustrations of press, having been culled from the autobiographies, are examples of beta press (apperceptions of the S) rather than alpha press (judgements of disinterested trained ob-

servers). We can only guess in each case to what extent the subject is a reliable witness. The beta press, of course, is the determinant of behaviour, since if a child believes that a situation signifies a certain thing it will be this conception that will operate rather than what psychologists believe the situation signifies. This has encouraged analysts (few of whom get reports from parents or other more impartial witnesses of their patients' early years) to say that the actual (alpha) conditions do not matter. It is the child's version that is all important. From a therapeutic standpoint this view seems to be sufficiently correct, but it would be of scientific interest, nevertheless, to know to what extent fantasy and a fallacious memory have distorted the facts. In our studies we made no attempt, except in a few instances, to get reports from parents. Consequently, some of the recorded press may mirror unconscious (archetypal) imagery more closely than they do the objective environment.

The press of childhood have been classified as follows
:

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PRESS

i. p Family Insupport

5. p Rejection, Unconcern &
Scorn

a. Cultural Discord

b. Family Discord

6. p Rival, Competing Con-
temporary

c. Capricious Discipline

d. Parental Separation

7. p Birth of Sibling

e. Absence of Parent:

Father

Mother

8. p Aggression

a. Maltreatment by Elder

Male

Elder Female

f. Parental Illness: Father

Mother

g. Death of Parent:
Father
Mother

b. Maltreatment by Contemporaries

c. Quarrelsome Contemporaries

h. Inferior Parent: Father
Mother

9. Ep Aggression-Dominance,
Punishment

i. Dissimilar Parent:
Father
Mother

a. Striking, Physical Pain
b. Restraint, Confinement

j. Poverty
k. Unsettled Home

10. p Dominance, Coercion &

Prohibition

2. p Danger or Misfortune

a. Physical Insupport,
Height
b. Water

a. Discipline
b. Religious Training

ii. Fp Dominance-Nurturance

c. Aloneness, Darkness

d. Inclement Weather,
Lightning
e. Fire

a. Parental Ego Idealism,
Mother
Father
Physical
Econ, Vocation
Caste
Intellectual

- f. Accident
- g. Animal

3. p Lack or Loss

- a. of Nourishment
- b. of Possessions
- c. of Companionship
- d. of Variety

b. Possessive Parent,
Mother
Father

c. Over-solicitous Parent
Fears: Accident
Illness
Bad Influences

4. p Retention, Withholding
Objects

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CHILDHOOD EVENTS (Continued)
PRESS

12. p Nurturance, Indulgence

13. p Succorance, Demands for
Tenderness

14. p Deference, Praise, Recog-
nition

1 5. p Affiliation, Friendships

1 6. p Sex

a. Exposure

b. Seduction, Homosexual

Heterosexual

c. Parental Intercourse

1 7. Deception or Betrayal

Intraorganic Press

18. p Illness

a. Prolonged, Frequent
Illness

b. Nervous

c. Respiratory

d. Cardiac

- e. Gastro-intestinal
- f. Infantile Paralysis
- g. Convulsions

19. p Operation

10. p Inferiority

- a. Physical
- b. Social
- c. Intellectual

i. p Family Insupport. A basic necessity for physical existence is the continued presence of solid support (terra firmita), something that is wide and stable on which to lie, stand or walk. Loss of support is a stress that always arouses fear in an infant and an earthquake may cause insanities of fright in adults. For a human child a supporting family structure is equally important since the satisfaction of all the child's needs depends upon it. First it is the mother who gives the child physical support (embraces it, puts it in its cradle, tightly tucks in the enfolding sheets), who feeds and cleans the child at regular intervals. Later, father and siblings contribute to the pattern of the child's universe. Family Support (Family Insupport o, 1,2) is exemplified by a consistent, stable,

regular, dependable routine of devoted parental behaviour. Under these conditions the child can count on a constant tempo schedule which provides periodic assistance for the gratification of its basic needs. No learning is possible in a chaotic world. As Pavlov has shown in dogs, ambiguities of meaning lead to neurosis. To supply orderly tender devotion the parents must themselves be stable :

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happily united and secure. And to this a relatively solid surrounding culture is conducive.

Since a lack or loss of support (p Insupport) is more arresting than its opposite, we have chosen to view the family situation from the former standpoint. And under Insupport we have included the chief occurrences which disrupt for the child the sameness, regularity, consistency, or dependability of family life. The family's disorganization can often be attributed to disturbing social influences : financial panics, political upheavals, confusion and war (social insupport), but usually the child experiences these only indirectly. The more immediate factors are : periods of separation from one or both parents (involving changes of discipline), illness of a parent (which incapacitates the nurturant object and engenders worry), death of one or both parents, discord and quarrels between the members of the family, separation or divorce of the parents, irregular and capricious discipline by

one or both parents, lack of congeniality with father or mother and family poverty sufficient to arouse feelings of insecurity in the household. The descent of family status should also be listed here. Since all children are more or less helpless such deprivations of assistance, particularly if they come abruptly and unexpectedly, are liable to arouse the anxiety of Succorance (feelings of in-support) . There may be an underlying apperception of p Danger with a ready n Harmavoidance, or a fear that the elementary positive needs will not be satisfied. In an adventurous child, however, one in whom p Support is sometimes apperceived as a barrier, the loss of an unnecessary and perhaps restricting object does not come as a frustration of the Succorance drive, but as a gratification of the need for Autonomy (free motility). Thus when traces of p Insupport appear in the memories of a subject we may suppose the following : 1, a need for Succorance with fixation (dependence) upon former nurturant objects (cathexis of the past), 2, a need for Harmavoidance with fears directed towards open spaces, distances, darkness and strangers ; and possibly, 3, a high tendency for Sameness (contraction of the field of locomotion) together with a low need for Autonomy against restraint.

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We have found it convenient to distinguish p Rejection (a cold, unloving, neglectful parental attitude) from p Insupport,

despite the fact that the two are often combined and that p Re-jection by itself is apt to provoke feelings of insecurity. For a number of reasons, however, the two press should be considered separately. For example, one may find orderly stable households in which expressions of love are lacking as well as the opposite : loving, indulgent parents who provide their children with no constant pattern of behaviour and sentiment. The first press of Insupport is the expulsion from the womb, the second is weaning and the third comes when the child is expected to walk unaided. Later, he is pressed to wash, dress and feed himself without assistance, and subsequently it becomes necessary for him to go greater distances alone : to walk to school or do an errand in the village, to pass a house where a dog will terrifyingly bark at him, to risk an encounter with a gang of toughs, to meet strangers, to go at bedtime into a dark room peopled with ghosts, and so forth. Thus, 'growing-up' involves a graded series of removals of support, and if a firm resilient structuration of personality is to result these removals should not be too alarming or too abruptly imposed.

1a. f Family Insupport : Cultural Discord. This is the condition that exists when the parents practice and teach a culture that is different from that of the locality in which they live, or when there are differences between the parents in respect to the culture which they represent to the child.

Zill : (My father) spoke English with less than the usual accent but

was not entirely Americanized. . . This has often made me inwardly ashamed of him in many not uncommon situations (Inferior Father).

Roas : The meeting of two racial traditions was undoubtedly surcharged with many influences. . . I was christened in the Greek Orthodox Church, but brought up in the Methodist Church. There was a strong Quaker influence in my mother's family, and in the Quaker school which I attended. My Greek parentage resulted in one inconvenience. . . When I came to be of an age when matrimony might be at least thought of, my social availability was discounted.

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ib. p Family Insupport : Family Discord. Disagreements and quarrels between the parents confuse and shake the balance of a child. They make a gap between his feet. He may become emotionally involved, take one side or the other and have a constant feeling of insecurity.

Abel: During these periods my father was quite quarrelsome, accusing my mother of infidelities which were without foundation. He always carried a cloak of pseudo-jealousy, but yet was outspoken in his admiration of other women.

p Family Support : Family Concord. This is the state that prevails when the father and mother, as well as the children and near relatives, are consistently in harmony ; thus offering the child a solid structure of goodwill.

Bulge : My parents were happily married and I can recall not one instance of an argument or discord of any kind in our home. . . I felt secure and utterly at peace in my relations.

ic. p Family Insupport : Capricious Discipline. When a child is exposed to an incalculable and irrational discipline severity alternating with indulgence it is hard for him to develop a stable character. Conditions provided by very emotional parents are classed here.

Outer : Sometimes she (mother) was kind to me, the next moment raging.

id. p Family Insupport : Parental Separation. Separation or divorce of the parents is not uncommon. It usually comes after a period of quarrelling. It is apt to divide the child within himself and engender a feeling of insecurity.

Cling : Mother left my father. He was moody and selfish ; she irritable and hot-tempered . . . the ties of family had been broken before years had strengthened them. It was only long afterward that I regretted the absence of full and happy home life. . . I met few people through family contacts because of the unsettled nature of my home.

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ic. p Family Insupport : Absence of Parent. One or both parents may be away from home a great deal, or the child may be left with relatives or be sent away to school. If the parents are divorced

the child may be deprived of the support of one parent,
usually
the father.

Akeside : Both my parents were always away from home a
great deal
of the time, and there was very little home life.

if. p Family Insupport : Parental Illness. One or both
of the
parents may be chronically ill ; a neurosis or
psychosis being
especially disrupting.

Outer : My mother's mental state gave way and she was
sent to an
asylum with * brain fever.'

Abel: My mother's naturally fine disposition has been
made ragged
by nervous disorders, real and not affected. She has a
heart condition and
low blood pressure as a result of overwork and worry.

Vulner : My mother had a nervous breakdown when I was a
baby and
has devoted much time to studying and mastering her
nerves.

ig. p Family Insupport : Death of Parent. The death of
a parent
during a child's impressionable years may disjoint his
life. The
death of the mother is usually more disturbing than the
death of
the father.

Bulge : My father's death was a terrific blow to my
mother from
which she never recovered. At my mother's death our
family was sepa-
rated.

Quick : After the death of my father, of whom I was
very fond, I
had a great depression. It took me a long time to
recover.

Also under this heading may be included dangers which

threaten the life of a parent.

Virt : My mother stood the danger of being killed, or if caught, of being hanged or maltreated by the soldiers.

ih. p Family Insupport: Inferior Parent. The father or mother may be inferior in one or more respects (physical, economic, social, intellectual) and on this account, be unable to win the attachment and respect of the child. The father, for example, may

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be a drunkard or a bankrupt. Perhaps the most important item in this category is Caste Inferiority, involving both parents.

Zeeno : (My father) has been content to live happily and although his income has been practically nothing for the last three years, he lacks the initiative or vigour to attempt anything else. . . His utter indifference to any pleasures outside of his home, and his mental simplicity has been a great consternation to me.

Gay : My father proved to be a social misfit. He took more and more to alcohol and we were neglected. We were taught to regard him as an erring human who must be brought to give up his evil habits.

f Family Support: Superior Parent. The child's father or mother may be a superior person (in the world's eyes or in the child's) . The father, for example, may have a powerful physique, a magnetic presence, the ability to make money, or a high degree

of intelligence. He may, in addition, be an important public figure. Or the mother may be a superior person in one or more respects ; she may play a dominant role in the family.

Zeeno : My mother is so different. She is a strong, businesslike, proud, and independent type of individual. . . She comes from a noble stock in her country. . . She is physically fine and possesses much initiative. Her desires are only to get along with her family and help us make up for my father's financial failings. . . My mother is father also, for she directs the discipline, the education, the morals, the work and the general activity of the whole family.

Irkman : My father had the acumen, the training, and the perseverance to succeed. I always felt he was superior to all other men.

li. f Family Insupport : Dissimilar Parent. A child may feel that he has nothing in common with his parents (mother and/or father) . He may realize that their interests, sentiments and aims are quite different from his own, that they do not understand him and cannot share his point of view. In other words he does not find his parents congenial.

Kindle : My mother found that she could not understand my interests. Languages and literature meant little to her. Nor could she appreciate my fascination for the theatre.

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p Family Support : Similar Parent. Some subjects feel that one

or both parents can share their interests, can understand them and sympathize with their enjoyments.

Krumb : Mother and I were much more understanding of each other.
I resemble mother.

ij. p Family Insupport : Poverty. If the family is in straitened circumstances, the child will necessarily be deprived of many advantages that other children enjoy. Moreover, his parents may worry a great deal about money and he may become infected with their feeling of insecurity.

Akeson : My parents have been so concerned with financial difficulties that the atmosphere has been unpleasant.

ik. p Family Insupport : Unsettled Home. Frequent changes of environment do not allow the child to familiarize himself with any fixed conditions. Friendships are unstable and it may even be hard to form regular habits.

Outer : At two years of age I was taken East. . . At four we moved again. . . Previous to moving I spent six months in a Catholic convent.
. . We moved again, to another part of the city.

2. p Danger or Misfortune. In this category are included physical dangers from natural causes ; not those arising out of the neglect or hostility of other people. Thus Physical Insupport is classed here, despite its similarity to Human Insupport. Also the threats of animals are included, though in many respects they resemble and may be confused in the child's mind with the intended aggression of human beings. If the event is

merely a threat of harm we speak of p Danger, but if the individual or his property is injured it is designated as p Misfortune. The remembrance and mention of such press suggest a high n Harmavoidance.

2a. p Danger or Misfortune : Physical Insupport : Height. A child is exposed to a press of Insupport whenever (during the time that it is learning to walk) it ventures to toddle alone across

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an open space. Under this heading we may also include : unstable ground, an earthquake, an icy slope, a chasm or crevass to jump across, a narrow bridge or log across a stream, the edge of a precipice, all conditions that unbalance the body. A timid person is apt to avoid such situations and merely mention that he fears heights. Hence, this complex is usually recorded under n Harmavoidance. Falls (from ladders, buildings, overturned vehicles), however, are not uncommonly mentioned.

Asper : When I was one and a half years old I slipped off a table on which I was lying into a clothes boiler filled with hot water.

2b. p Danger or Misfortune : Physical Insupport : Water. Situations in which there is danger of falling into water, shipwreck or drowning, are grouped under this heading.

Cling : The tides were very high. . . Bill and I swam a few hun-

dred yards to a sandbar which the low tide exposed. . .
Suddenly . . .
we turned and saw that the flats were covered for half
a mile with water.
Bill began swimming first, then I began. I lost sight
of him. Very soon I
grew tired and cold. A strong eddy current was carrying
us beyond the
nearest point. A fear seized me (n Harm). I shouted
for help (n Sue).
For a vivid moment the fear of death caught at my
throat.

2C. p Danger or Misfortune : Aloneness, Darkness. Here
we
group all situations that are strange, weird or
desolate, in which a
child finds himself disoriented or alone, away from the
protecting
presence of an allied object. A child may find himself
among
strangers or lost in a wood. Such events usually
involve Human
Insupport.

Asper : I can remember another isolated incident
wherein I was lost.

2d. p Danger or Misfortune : Inclement Weather.
Children may
be exposed to storms on land, to lightning, to high
winds or to
cold. These are sometimes frightening.

Cling : I remember one windy day walking to school,
that I was afraid
of the wind as I started to cross (the street) and
that I clung to a lamp
post until someone came and took me by the hand (n Sue
: Adherence S
n Harm) ,

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Vulntr : When I was a year old a lightning bolt struck
a church near
us. The lights went out and the ladies screamed ... all

of which
frightened me terribly.

2e. f Danger or Misfortune : Fire. Some children are exposed to the injuring or demolishing power of fire. More commonly, perhaps, they see or hear about a house on fire and weave this phenomenon into a fantasy of Insupport.

Cling : My earliest recollection is of an apartment. . I remember the details very clearly, flames bursting from the third storey window.

Outer : At three years of age I remember rather distinctly a fire which drove us from the house in the middle of the night.

2f. p Danger or Misfortune : Accident. Here we mostly have in mind collisions of vehicles (automobile accidents and train wrecks) as well as injuries resulting from accidental impact (other than falls) ; also the rapid approach of destructive objects.

Asfer : I can remember the incident of an accident when I was about four, when I split open part of my temple perilously near the eye.

Beech : At the age of six I lost my right hand. I was playing with dynamite caps which I set off.

2g. f Danger or Misfortune : Animal. An animal that threaten- ingly approaches, pursues, attacks or bites a child falls into this category.

Gay : A strange dog came into our yard and bit me.

3. p Lac^ or Loss. The events in this category border on those

under p Family Insupport, as it is usually due to the parents' poverty or absence that the child does not receive enough nourishment or toys, or does not meet other children of its own age. For the same reason this press is related to the press of Rejection : the unloving parent. If the child really wants something that it does not get it commonly attributes it to a wilful deprivation on the part of one or both parents. Here we are apt to imagine that the original frustration was oral : being kept waiting for food, interference with thumb-sucking, weaning and so forth.

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33. p Lac\ or Loss : Nourishment. Because of poverty (p Family Insupport) or illness a child may receive insufficient food or drink. He may long remember his hunger or thirst. Also it has been supposed that if the mother's milk disagrees with the child or if it is insufficient or if the child is allowed to cry for a long time before it is fed or if weaning occurs abruptly the child may conserve a dim impression of the lack of food.

Outer : I was brought up on canned milk in infancy as it was too cold up there for cows.

Gay : Our family doctor was very cautious about my diet and probably underfed me.

3b. p Lac\ or Loss : Possessions. A child may be given very few toys to play with or its toys may be taken away. The parents may use dispossession as a form of punishment ; or the

child may
lose a valued object. Perhaps for the S to apperceive
his lack, it
is necessary that another child in the neighbourhood
have more
or better toys than he. When such episodes are
remembered and
recounted we may suppose that the S has, or once had, a
high n
Acquisition or n Retention.

Kindle : One of the boys who lived nearby . . . had a
train, bigger
and finer than mine.

Kast : I remember losing my new straw hat.

3C. p Lac% or Loss : Companionship. An only child or a
child
brought up in an isolated region (barren environment)
may
suffer from the lack of playmates, or if he has
playmates, they
may leave him. The death or departure of a friend may
be felt
as an irretrievable loss.

Vulner : I was much alone.

Kindle : We were very much attached to each other. . .
He spent a
summer in France. . . I was very lonesome.

The apperception of this lack is supposedly due to the
n Affilia-
tion, which may, however, be inhibited by the n
Seclusion or the
n Infavoidance.

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3d. p Lacl{ or Loss : Variety. Here we group conditions
that
provide little change, gaiety or stimulation. The child
is sub-
jected to a barren home environment. Its activities are
restricted

and life becomes monotonous. This situation borders on the lack of possessions and companionship. It is based, supposedly, upon a frustration of the need for Play and of the tendency for Change.

Roon : Outside entertainments occurred only rarely . . . the one thing about my early life that I can never forget is the lack of holiday joys, particularly Christmas. No great joys, very little gaiety, nor much of the holiday spirit.

4. f Retention. Here have been grouped instances of withholding, and dispossession by the parents, parents who give few gifts, small allowances, and deprive children of the objects of their desire. This category is very similar to p Lack or Loss. It is frequently merged with p Rejection and occasionally with Fp Aggression-Dominance (when punishment takes the form of Dispossession) . Later it seemed to us that this class was covered by p Lack or Loss, combined, as the case might be, with p Rejection or Fp Aggression-Dominance. * p Deprivation ' (including both p Retention and p Acquisition) would be a better term for this sub-class.

Roon : We were given but little money to spend as we chose.

When this press is emphasized we may suppose a n Acquisition and perhaps a n Construction or n Retention in the child. There may also be an underlying n Succorance. The original trauma may be oral frustration.

5. p Rejection. Here we subsume all instances of lack

or loss
of parental love : the mother or father who does not cherish the child but instead disregards, neglects, scorns, repulses or abandons it. The occurrence of p Rejection among the subject's memories naturally suggests n Succorance. The original trauma may have been birth (expulsion from the womb) or weaning (frustration of sucking). This is perhaps the most important of all press in the life of a child. In some degree it is universally experienced, for if the child is to become self-reliant the parents must

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gradually curb the expressions of their solicitous concern. Other events, such as the birth of another child, also conspire to bring about, even in the most loving parents, a diminution of displayed devotion. This press is closely associated with p Family Insupport and p Aggression. It would be possible, though I believe inadvisable, to put p Rejection on a single continuum with p Nurture. A special sub-heading p Social Rejection (unpopularity with one's contemporaries) may conveniently be added here.

Outer : My family took no interest in my schooling whatever.

I received no co-operation whatever from home.
Kindle : I did not get along very well with children.

I was never very popular. . . By some I was utterly ignored. They didn't know of my existence.

Akeson : My parents have not made any serious attempts to understand my problems.

Veal : My father's attitude toward us was one of indifference.

6. p Rival. Under this heading may be classed the provoking presence of another person, a parent or sibling, who frustrates the child's desire for affection, for acquisition or for recognition. Hence, if p Rival is stressed in the subject's memories one suspects either n Succorance or Fn Achievement-Recognition.

Gay : My younger brother was liked more than I by all the family.

Nipp : My brother is my mother's favourite.

7. f Birth of Sibling. The birth of a sibling when a child is between 1 and 6 years old usually modifies the latter's personality.

It may arouse the child's curiosity, a desire to investigate and probe into things, aggression against the newcomer, or a feeling that the mother has been faithless. Strictly speaking this event is not in itself a press. It may, however, manifest one or more press :
p Rival, p Enigma, p Rejection.

Bulge : I was rather despondent for a while after the birth of Mary when I saw I was being neglected for this new stranger in our home.

8. p Aggression. The various forms of aggression merge into one another. There is physical aggression, which involves the use

of fists and weapons, and verbal aggression, which confines itself to criticism, ridicule and blame. There is originative (unprovoked) and retaliative aggression ; the retaliations that are socially allowable or advised are termed punishments (punitive aggression) . Punishments are classed under Fp Agg Dom (aggressive dominance), the usual aim of such measures being to educate the child and prevent further misbehaviour. There may, indeed, be Nurturance mixed with punitive aggression. If, however, the parent becomes unduly angry and the punishment is unnecessarily severe (unjust and cruel) an additional entry is made under p Aggression.

8a. p Aggression : Maltreatment by Elder. Some children are harshly and unjustly treated by adults (father, mother, older sibling, relative or nurse) . This includes severe whipping, prolonged confinement, and all forms of cruelty. Injustices also belong here.

Maltreatment by Elder Female (Mother)

Zill : . . . what I still consider an unjust punishment. . . This is the first start of my feelings on the injustices rendered by school teachers or any ' bosses.'

Outer : . . . I was beaten several times by irate nuns.

She was ready to tear us lo pieces if we made any remark. . . She acquired the habit of striking us on the slightest provocation. . . She would come home and for no reason at all, beat me. . . I used to re-

ceive whippings . . . which sometimes made my skin break open and bleed.

Maltreatment by Elder Male (Father)

Earnst : My father was at times a brutal man and inclined, when drinking, to be vindictive toward me. . . My father would make fun of me, call me unpleasant names, say that I would probably not live the year out, that it would be better if I didn't.

8b. p Aggression : Maltreatment by Contemporaries. Physical and verbal aggression may be lumped together in this category. The commonest forms are bullying, picking a fight, hazing,

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ridiculing, belittling and teasing. The offenders are playmates or neighbourhood toughs.

Kindle : I was frightened by the threats of the boys of the private school to which I was sent. They were going to put me through the paces of initiation.

Frost : I was bullied or ignored until I reached high school.

Oriol : I suffered from the barbaric joys of young boys. I was ridiculed and made the butt of low humour. In a series of posters and cut-out pictures I was exposed as a helpless baby, etc.

8c. f Aggression : Quarrelsome Contemporaries. In the life of a child there is quite commonly one or more other children (siblings or friends) with whom he occasionally or

habitually
quarrels. As contemporaries we may include children who
are
from five years younger to five years older than the S.
As it
takes two to make a quarrel most of the entries in this
division
will also appear under the need for Aggression. Here
are to be
especially listed the events in which the other person
provokes
the quarrel. The purpose of this category is to record
the occur-
rence of many squabbles and arguments with other
children
(especially siblings) during the years of growth.

Oak : We had squabbled and argued and even fought at
times.

Abel : My brother and I are getting along better than
formerly, though
we still have the usual squabbles.

9. Fp Aggression-Dominance. This is a special category
re-
served for punishments and threats of punishment.
Punishments
may vary in frequency and intensity : from mild verbal
rebukes
(o) to frequent spankings (5). If no punishments
are adminis-
tered we may suppose that the child is peculiarly co-
operative or
the parents are unusually affiliative and understanding
(domina-
tion through love). Some parents are slovenly in their
discipline
whereas others are afraid to punish (afraid of losing
the love
of the child). The commonest forms of punishment are
censure
(verbal reprimand), striking (cuffs and spanking),
restraint
(limitation of action), coercion (enforced action)
and disposes-

sion (refusing to give what the child expects to get
or taking
away what it has [forfeit or fine]) .

93. Fp Aggression-Dominance : Striding. Occasional
spankings
or beatings seem to be the rule in early life. Threats
of mutilation
may also be included here.

Roon : My early, most vivid impressions of (father)
deal almost
wholly with reprimands of a very tangible sort.

Outer : (My mother) would come home . . . and beat
me.

Umber : My father threatened to cut off my thumb.

9b. Fp Aggression-Dominance : Restraint. Confinements
or
limitations of action enforced by the parents are
classified here.

Zill : I begin to remember . . . the first big
punishment from the
teacher, being locked in the storeroom till school
closed.

Outer : . . . taught us to lie on our backs perfectly
still for an hour,
as a punishment.

Kast : Mother once tied me in a chair in the darkness.

10. p Dominance. This covers all barriers to free
motion and all
persuasions and coercions to action as well as other
modes of
strong influence. Aggression or Nurturance may
accompany these.
Here are classed the parents who impose a definite
system of
social conduct : responsibilities and prohibitions. The
system is
mostly made up of laws that limit Autonomy, but they
may be
enforced without punishment, by kindly instruction and

example.

loa. p Dominance : Discipline. This press is measured in terms of : height of imposed ethical standard, definiteness and rigidity, consistency of application.

Roon : By rigid family training (my sister and I) learned at a very early age just what we could do and what we could not ... we lacked the freedom that other children our age enjoyed.

Kindle : Dancing, smoking, card-playing, and above all, drinking, was absolutely prohibited.

Mauve : Together by force, example and teachings my parents have inculcated into me a moral code almost inhibitory in its strictness.

lob. p Dominance : Religious Training. Here we have to do with the parents' inculcation, by act or precept, of religious ideals.

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Kindle : Both my father and mother were brought up under the strictest of Puritanical households. For many generations the family has been Baptist, of the so-called ' hard-shelled ' variety. . . I received the moral and religious instruction which my elders themselves had. Church and Sunday School in the Baptist Church which my mother's ancestors had helped to found.

Outer : God was in every room in the house, the housekeeper said. If you fell and hurt your thumb, it was punishment by the hand of God for something you had done recently. I had fear of God

instilled deeply
into me.

Bulge : I was trained to lead a clean, wholesome,
honest life, to fear
and love God, and to realize that this life is only a
place of preparation
for the eternity to come.

ii. Fp Dominance-Nurturance. This is the fusion that
occurs
in most parents : the attempt to guide the child
benevolently along
the path of adaptation. Sometimes a parent, perhaps as
a counter-
action to his (or her) own frustrations in life,
attempts to impose
his (or her) unrealized ideal. Sometimes a parent,
starving per-
haps for affection, attempts to cling to the child.
Sometimes a
parent is of a worrying sort and for his or her own
peace limits
the activity of the child.

1 1 a. Fp Dominance-Nurturance : Parental Ego Idealism.
Under
this heading may be classed the attempts of a parent to
influence a
child by suggestion and persuasion towards a certain
goal of high
achievement. The influence may come through the mother
or the
father. Often it is the case of a parent who hopes that
the child
will attain heights that he or she (the parent)
failed to attain.
Thus a child may be impelled to accept a very high Ego
Ideal.
Common forms of achievement urged upon children are
physical,
economic, vocational, caste, intellectual, aesthetic.

Zora : My mother was brought up in a deep faith in
aristocratic tra-
dition, but joined to that, a certain romantic idealism
which has largely
worked with the other influence to mould her own life
and the lives of

her children (Caste, Religious) .

A Iff I : My father always instilled into me a desire to go to Harvard (Intellectual).

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Akeside : My father would have liked to see me take up law and follow in his footsteps (Vocational).

nb. Ff Dominance-Nurturance : Possessive Parent. Here are classed the parents who are tenacious of their child's affection and jealous of his playmates and, later, of those upon whom he bestows his love.

Outer : She would always look at me strangely, as if she resented my having grown up out from under her eyes.

Mauve : Mother preferred that I read to going out and getting dirty playing with other boys.

nc. Ff Dominance-Nurturance : Over-solicitous Parent. The anxiety of some parents about the well-being of their child leads them to limit his activity and thus perhaps impede the growth of his independence. The chief parental fears are those having to do with : physical injury, sickness and bad influences.

Zill : My mother was timid and nervous about me. And I think this had much to do with the subordinate position I had when I was with the 'gang.'

Kindle : My parents, mother in particular, were overanxious about

me. They nagged me about doing this and not doing that, and about taking care of myself. All this made me very impatient. I wanted to be left alone to take care of myself.

12. p Nurturance. Here are classed examples of cherishing parental affection, leniency, sympathy, generous bestowals (gifts) and encouragement (acclairrjance) . The extreme of this is ' spoil- ing' a child. Lack of discipline is classed under p Dominance and assigned a low mark (o or i).

Asfer : Through some miraculous method Mother has kept me onto an essentially better existence by giving me almost complete freedom in my every act. I can always speak my mind and be understood. When she does not comprehend my peculiar reactions to things, she maintains a sympathetic silence.

Bulge : It was my mother who caressed my bruises and made them all well. She comforted my fears and made me feel ashamed of them, and who saved me from many a spanking which I justly deserved.

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Vale : I received more attention as a baby than was good for me. . . I was somewhat pampered. . . My parents were affectionate and indulgent.

Quick : My mother is never cross or irritable and always loving and affectionate. If she has any fault it is that she is too lenient, for I have always considered myself spoilt in this respect. She has always given me

whatever I desired.

This press may be taken as the antipole of p Rejection and p Aggression. It may, however, be exhibited to an extreme extent as a contrafaction to these press.

13. p Succorance. Some mothers attempt to control their children by playing upon their tenderness and chivalry with tears, illnesses and recitals of their sacrifices. They make bids for recognition, gratitude, devotion.

Cling : Mother sometimes cried when she was tired or if we acted thoughtlessly. . . (The fights with my brother) made my mother very unhappy.

Outer : (My mother) used to insist on having me repeat over and over again that she was my sweetheart and that when I grew up I would buy her a Pierce Arrow and protect her in other ways.

14. p Deference. A child may be given a great deal of recognition and praise by his parents or he may enjoy the obedient respect of a younger sibling or of his contemporaries. He may be an acknowledged leader, be elected captain of a team, receive prizes and honours. A girl may likewise be commended by her elders, achieve distinction and be greatly admired (p Deference, Social).

Zeeno : In grammar school I was captain. . . I recollect that I was always the idol of other less strong boys in my class.

Kindle : My education and experiences, far broader than (my sister's), have made me feel superior to her. She mildly

worships me.

Mauve : I was admired and envied when in school because of my lack of study troubles and also because of my enigmatic self.

15. p Affiliation. Companionships with congenial children children who like and respect the subject are grouped in this

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category. Since it takes two to make a friendship, items of this class are also entered under n Affiliation. Here should be especially included examples of unsolicited friendly advances. These signify that the subject has a cathexis for Affiliation.

Zora : I find most people of a friendly disposition towards me.

Kast : I made rapid strides socially. I discovered people liked me. I became increasingly popular.

Roll : I travelled with a gang. . . I have never had any trouble making friends with both sexes.

Roon : I always had many playmates. . . I was quite popular.

1 6. f Sex. Here may be classed early introductions to sexual facts and erotic practices, such as exposure of the genitals by members of the opposite sex or some variety of physical contact. The perception of the sexual activity of others may also be included here.

i6a. p Sex : Exposure. Here may be subsumed situations

in
which a parent or child of the opposite sex exposes his
or her
naked body. This may shock the child and arouse anxiety
or it
may take the form of p Enigma.

7MI : About the age of ten I first discovered about the
female organs
in some of the * house ' or hospital games we played
with the girls. I
think these discoveries came before I had any curiosity
on the matter.

Cling : A little girl said she would undress if I
would. We did. I
looked, she looked. But, my curiosity satisfied, I was
bored and thought
her a pretty nasty little girl.

i6b. p Sex : Seduction : Homosexual. This describes an
active
sexual advance made by a member of the same sex.

Cling : There was an older boy in the room next to
ours. At night
when the younger boys were going to bed he used to sit
on their beds and
slipping his hand underneath the covers play with them.
He did this
once to me.

Roll : A boy performed masturbation on me.

i6c. p Sex : Seduction : Heterosexual. Here are grouped
early
introductions to sexual practice by members of the
opposite sex.

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Roll : When I was nine, a girl of about sixteen
initiated us into the
mysteries of sexual intercourse.

i6d. p Sex : Parental Intercourse. Some children
overhear or

witness the sexual activities of their parents, but it seems that most of them forget the event. Its occurrence, however, may be suspected when it is known that the child slept in his parents' room.

No memories of this kind were recorded in the autobiographies of our subjects.

17. f Deception or Betrayal. Some elders deceive a child by concealing facts or telling lies ; or disappoint him by betraying his affection or not fulfilling promises that they make. As a result the child may become unduly skeptical or cynical, -a disbeliever in the honesty and good intentions of others.

Intraorganic Press

It is convenient to include among the press the bodily and intellectual disabilities and ineptitudes against which the will of the individual must contend. Chief among these are illnesses, operations and the various kinds of inferiority.

18. p Illness. Frequent or prolonged illnesses may readily increase the Succorance in a child, since to be cared for in bed (spoiled by adults) re-establishes to a varying degree the infantile state of dependence. Suffering makes some children fretful and whiney (Fn Sue Agg) and weakens them, so that they are less fit to compete physically with their fellows. This engenders timidity and inferiority feelings. Narcisensitivity is apt to be high in children that have been sick. Lying in bed, however, may promote mental activity : Endocathection, Intraception

and Pro-
jectivity.

It is supposed that an illness with a specific pattern of visceral effects leaves traces in the brain, which will be integrated with whatever fantasies are occurring at the time, whether or not these fantasies have been engendered by the illness. It is further supposed that if later these fantasies recur, one or more of the once-concomitant symptoms may be exhibited. There is reason to

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suppose that fantasies are intermediate links between physiological processes and conscious attitudes.

i8a. p Illness : General, Prolonged or Frequent.

Earnst : As a baby I was constantly ailing, having one childhood disease after another, starting with measles at the age of six weeks. During the first years of my life there were times when all hope of my living was given up.

i8b. f Illness : Nervous. Morbid anxiety, a neurotic symptom, hysteria, a nervous breakdown, as well as an out-and-out psychotic episode, may be grouped in this category.

Chew : . . . nervous breakdown. . . At a dinner party one evening I fainted, and was excused. I returned later and fainted again.

Krumb : In my fifteenth year I suffered a so-called nervous breakdown.

i8c. f Illness : Respiratory. Whooping cough,

bronchitis, pneumonia, and asthma are common afflictions in this group.

Kindle : I nearly died from whooping cough. This left me with weak lungs, bronchial tubes and heart. . . I suffered from asthma.

Bulge : As a child I was very sickly, having a severe attack of bronchitis and convulsions from which I nearly died.

i8d. p Illness : Cardiac. Congenital disease, valvular insufficiency from infection, intermittent tachycardia, and irregular nervous heart are among the most frequent occurrences in this class.

Kindle : I have a nervous heart.

Krumb : I lay about the house . . . with tachycardia for three years intermittently.

i8e. p Illness : Gastro-intestinal The gastro-intestinal tract is subject to a great variety of disturbances, many of which are dependent upon irregularities of autonomic action which, in turn, may be engendered by emotional fantasies. Spasms and dilations may occur at any one of several points from the mouth to the anus. We are familiar, for instance, with pylorospasm and Hirschsprung's disease in children. For all ages the commonest

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symptoms are : loss of appetite, nausea, vomiting, colic, diarrhoea and constipation.

A Iff I : It was hard to wean me on account of my stomach which has always caused me trouble unless I control' my diet somewhat.

Krumb : I lay about the house with indigestion. . . I have much stomach trouble.

i8f. p Illness : Infantile Paralysis. This illness commonly provokes (as a reaction to the trauma) rather marked counteractive efforts : strivings to compensate for and rise above the disability.

Bulge : I also had infantile paralysis.

i8g. p Illness : Convulsions. There are a variety of causes of convulsions in children high temperature, for example, some of which may be related to a parasympathetic insulinization of the blood. Convulsions naturally suggest temper tantrums, hysteria and epilepsy.

Bulge : As a child I was very sickly, having a severe attack of bronchitis and convulsions from which I nearly died.

19. p Operation. Here we have a press from the outside world, coming from the surgeon or dentist, together with the incision or removal of a part of body (usually diseased). Hence, this event stands between p Aggression (subsidiary to p Nurturance) and p Illness (an intraorganic press). Common operations in children are : circumcision, tonsillectomy and appendectomy. It seems that any one of these may be interpreted as a castration (mutilation and dispossession), a retaliation or punishment for some fantasied sexual act. The pulling of a tooth may also be included

in this
group.

Kindle : I remember one especially bad time I had over an ulcerated tooth. It had to be pulled and I was frightened to death.

20. p Inferiority. Anything in the individual that is below the average, that provokes unfavourable comment or gives him a feeling of impotency or ineptitude is included here. The principal forms are : physical, social, intellectual. Caste inferiority is classified under p Insupport : Inferior Parents.

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20a. p Inferiority : Physical. Smallness of stature, lack of physical strength and agility, awkwardness, athletic ineptitude and the inability to defend oneself in a fight may be grouped together in this category. This may be the consequence of p Illness. When an S mentions his inferiorities he usually speaks of inferiority feelings and infavoidances.

Earnst : I was too young to get anywhere fighting for myself.

Vale : I was inclined to be delicate, and was always more or less aware that a very little would lay me open to the dread charge of ' sissy.'

20b. p Inferiority : Social. General unattractiveness, lack of social talent, and the inability to get on with others and establish enduring friendship constitute this category. The S has a cathexis for Rejection or for Aggression.

Cling : I found that with the boys in my class I made no fast friends.

I did not understand them. I was childish and irritable.

Kindle : I did not get along very well with children.

2oc. p Inferiority : Intellectual. Low general intelligence, dullness, poor scholarship, flunking examinations and failure to be promoted in school, may be classified under this heading.

Zeeno : In the seventh grade I failed to get promoted . . . am still a very mediocre pupil.

Zill : I applied to a smaller college. . . But I was refused. . . I repeated the senior year.

B. NEEDS

Under this heading have been classified the chief types of reaction to the press that have been listed above. The events recorded in the autobiographies exhibit press and needs simultaneously and to separate them, as we have done, produces artifacts. The procedure was adopted for the sake of clarity and convenience.

With the affiliative needs we have listed some of the concrete positively cathected objects, and with the rejective and aggressive needs we have listed the negatively cathected objects. The combination of fused needs and objects (images) constitutes the major part of a need integrate. Strictly speaking, an object should

be classed under one or more press, but this cannot be done if the attributes and behaviour of the object are not described. The Oedipus complex in a boy is suggested by a strong positive cathexis of the mother and a negative cathexis of the father.

The needs have been classified as follows :

BEHAVIOUR

i. Positive Cathexis

6. n Harmavoidance

Supra: a. Mother
b. Female

a. Timidity
b. n Sue: Appealance

c. Father

c. Nightmares

d. Male

d. Fears:

e. Brother

f. Sister

i. Insup., Heights &
Falling

Infra: g. Brother

h. Sister

ii. Water

iii. Darkness

i. Contemporary

iv. Fire

i A ' 1

v. Isolation

k. Possessions

vi. Assault, Lightning

vii Assault Animals

2. n Affiliation

viii. Assault, Human

a. Friendliness

b. n Sue: Dependence

c. n Def: Respect

General Hostility

Father

Mother

Contemporaries

ix Illness & Death

3. n Deference

x. Miscellaneous

a. n Blam: Compliance

7. n Infavoidance

b. n Aff: Respect

c. n Nur: Devotion

d. Ego Ideal, Emulation

e. Suggestibility

a. Narcisensjtivity

b. Shyness, Embarrassment

c Avoidance of Competi-

4. h Nurturance

tion

a. Sympathy & Aid

b. n Aff: Kindness

c. n Def: Devotion

- d. Inferiority Feelings
 - i. General
 - ii. Physical
 - iii Social

5. n Succor ance

iv. Intellectual

- a. Crying
- b. n Aff: Dependence
- c. n Harm: Appealance

8. n Blamavoidance and Su
perego

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BEHAVIOUR (Continued)

- a. Sensitivity to Blame
 - b. n Def: Compliance
 - c. n Aba: Shame & Self-
depreciation

b. Combativeness

c. Sadism

d. n Dom: Coercion
e. n Auto: Rebellion
f. n Sue: Plaintance

d. Directive Superego
e. Religious Inclination

g. Destruction

9. n Abasement

15. n Autonomy

a. n Blam: Blame-acceptance
b. n Def: Subservience
c. n Harm or n Inf: Surrender

a. Freedom
b. Defiance

- c. Inv: Resistance
- d. n Ach: Independence

10. n Passivity

16. n Dominance

- a. Inactivity
- b. n Aba: Acceptance

- a. Leadership
- b. Inducement
- c. n Agg: Coercion

n. n Seclusion

17. n Rejection

- a. Isolation
- b. Reticence
- c. n Inf: Shyness

- a. Hypercriticalness
- b. n Inf: Narcisensitivity
- c. n Sec: Inaccessibility

11. n Inviolacy

1 8. n Noxavoidance

- a. n Dfd: Vindication
- b. n Ach: Restriving

- a. Hypersensitivity, Gen.
- b. Food

- c. n Agg: Retaliation
- d. n Auto: Resistance

19. n Achievement

13. Negative Cathexis

- a. General
- b. Physical
- c. Intellectual

Supra: a. Mother
b. Female

d. Caste
e. Rivalry

c. Father
d. Male

e. Brother
f. Sister

f. Ego Ideal

g. n Inv: Restriving
h. n Auto: Independence

g. Contemporaries

Infra: h. Brother
i. Sister

20. n Recognition

- a. Recitals of Superiority
- b. Cathexis of Praise
- c. n Exh: Public Performance

14. n Aggression

- a. Temper

CHILDHOOD EVENTS
BEHAVIOUR (Continued)

21. n Exhibition

26. n Order

- a. n Rec: Public Performance
- b. n Sex: Exhibitionism

- a. Cleanliness
- b. Orderliness
- c. Finickiness about Details

22. n Sex

27. n Retention

- a. Masturbation
- b. Precocious heterosexuality
- c. Homosexuality
- d. Bisexuality

- a. Collectance
- b. Conservance

28. n Activity

- a. Physical
- b. Verbal

23. n Acquisition

- a. Greediness
- b. Stealing
- c. Gambling

29. Intensity

30. Emotionality

24. n Cognizance

31. Persistence

- a. Curiosity, General
- b. Experimentation
- c. Intellectual

32. Sameness

- a. Constancy of Cathexis
- b. Behavioural Rigidity
- c. Mental Rigidity

- d. Sexual, Birth
- e. Genitals

33. Inhibition

25. n Construction

34. Elation

- a. Mechanical
- b. Aesthetic

35. Imaginality

36. Deceit

i. Positive Cathexes. Children may become enduringly attached to certain objects : father, mother, sibling, animal, thing. They join such objects, play with them and relish their company, cling and adhere, conserve and protect them. They dislike the loss or dispossession of the object and are annoyed by the intrusion of a competitor.

i a. Positive Cathexis : Supra : Mother. Most subjects in our group praised their mother.

Cling: My mother . . . was very beautiful . . . kind, considerate

and unselfish. She was the only important influence on me.

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Mother's occasional visits were my only happy hours.

Asfer : The most interesting, intimate, truly remarkable personality whom I have ever met is my mother.

Bulge : To me my mother is the world's most lovely and noble creature. It was she to whom I always instinctively turned in all my joys and sorrows and was always sure of finding sympathy, understanding and advice.

Veal : My mother, of course, is my favourite parent.

ib. Positive Cathexis : Supra : Female. Some children, receiving more nurturance from some other older woman than they do from their mother, become attached to the former. It may be a nurse, grandmother, aunt, teacher or family friend. The mother Substitute is very apt to be one who encourages the child and guides it towards a new path of achievement.

Kindle : Mother's mother I remember as very kind, with a spacious and comfortable lap, a refuge from irate parents. She could get me forgiven for anything.

One more member of the family circle should be mentioned. This was the maid, or colored mammy, once a slave in Virginia. She was a great comfort to me, one of the most kind-hearted souls alive. I remember the feel and fragrance of her even now.

Roon : I gained the friendship of one of my teachers. .
. She had a
great influence on my thinking, a very valuable one.

Roll : God knows, I love my grandmother enough. She is
a swell per-
son, the best I've ever known.

ic. Positive Cathexis : Supra : Father. The father is
commonly
cathected as an exemplar by the boy and as a love
object by the
girl.

Given : My favourite parent in my early years was my
father, prob-
ably because he never punished me.

Irkman : For my father I have a sort of veneration. I
always felt he
was superior to all other men I ever met.

Outer : I grew to regard my father ... as a great hero.

id. Positive Cathexis : Supra : Male. An important
stage in the
development of a boy comes when he finds an older boy
or man

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whom he can accept as an exemplar. The latter functions
as a sub-
stitute father, providing another focus for the
development of an
Ego Ideal or Superego. In young girls, an older man is
not in-
frequently the first object of erotic fantasies.

Roll : At thi's time a friend of the family, whom I
have always prac-
tically worshipped, came to visit us and took me for a
walk which I will
always remember. He warned me against women who were
easy to get,
and against seducing an innocent girl, and I have
always remembered his

words.

Asper . The most eventful meeting in my entire life. He was 21, the picture of the ideal scholar. . . For me he was the most intelligent being on earth, and it wonders me now how he could have tolerated me for we were together most of the time.

ie. Positive Cathexis : Supra : Brother. An older brother may function as an exemplar or love object.

if. Positive Cathexis : Supra : Sister. A cathected older sister may determine the pattern of a boy's later love life. For example, he may be habitually attracted by women with a somewhat dominant attitude.

Roon : (My sister and I) have always been very close to one another. . . As we grew older our attachment became considerably stronger. . . we are the greatest and fastest of friends.

Vulner : My sister's temperament seems to complement mine completely, so there is complete understanding between us at all times.

ig. Positive Cathexis : Infra : Brother. Love for a younger brother is usually a sign of Nurturance, but the Nurturance may, in turn, be a contraf action of Aggression.

Cling : Until I was twelve I used to kiss my brother quite frequently.

Quick : I have a great affection for my younger brother.

ih. Positive Cathexis : Infra : Sister. Love for a younger sister is indicative of Nurturance fused perhaps with Dominance.

Quick : I have a great affection for my youngest

sister.

ii. Positive Cathexis : Contemporary. Here we have to do with a focal friendship that endures long enough to modify the person-

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ality. Such a friendship may, as Freud affirmed, be based upon repressed homosexuality, but in our experience most of these synergies manifest affiliation with no suggestion of erotic (sensuous) excitement.

Kindle : I struck up a deep friendship with an orphan lad of artistic temperament. . . We were very much attached to each other, our interests were the same. . . He spent a summer in France. I was very lonely. In our senior year we were inseparable in our work.

Zora : I have had many friends, but one in particular, my own age, with whom I have grown up, and we are like a pair of old shoes.

ij. Positive Cathexis : Animal. Children commonly enjoy playing with animal pets. Sometimes they become affiliated and identify themselves in fantasy with a particular kind of animal, empathizing with it and imitating it. They like to read stories about it, draw or model it, collect pictures or reproductions of it.

Roon : I had two dogs for whom I had the greatest attachment. Whenever I could manage it, I would put them in bed with me at night. . . I still have a very strong love for animals, dogs

particularly.

Roll : My favourite stories were about animals. I could tell anyone more about animals than he ever knew.

ik. Positive Cathexis : Possessions. Some children become very much attached to their toys or other possessions. Interest may become concentrated upon a single object or a single type of object (fetishism). Often the inanimate object takes the place of an animal or human being. A little boy, for example, may treat a Teddy Bear as if it were another child, play with it throughout the day, order it about, and take it to bed with him, clutching it as he goes to sleep.

Frost : I became very attached to a set of blocks and for several years played with them every day.

Kast : A toy electric motor was the pride of my life. A wagon was a favoured possession and I took great care of it.

2. n Affiliation. Under this heading are classed all manifestations of friendliness and goodwill, of the desire to do things in

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company with others. It is hard to estimate the strength of this need on the basis of an autobiography, so much depends on whether the subject has been popular (the subject's cathexis for Affiliation) . The child who attracts others is in company more often than the child who repels, but the latter's overt strivings

for Affiliation may be greater. Furthermore, it is natural for a person to like those who like him. Hence, a subject who is attractive to others, will usually reciprocate by demonstrations of affection and friendships will result. This evokable or merely responsive form of Affiliation deserves a lower score than the initiating or active form, even when the latter is unsuccessful.

2a. n Affiliation : Friendliness. Affiliation, like other needs, is scored according to its diffuseness (generality of trait) . But since diffuseness can be demonstrated only by a multiplicity of specific instances it forms a continuum with focality, the differentiating factor being the number of cathected objects (friends). The intensity and endurance of the friendships, however, must also be considered in scoring. A focal friendship (classed under li. Positive Cathexes, Contemporary) may be a sign of a limited need for Affiliation.

Outer : I have had no end of friends, in several dozen circles.

Kast : I have a large number of friends and my social activities are extensive.

Quick : I have belonged to many clubs and have a large amount of friends.

2b. n Affiliation fused with n Succorance : Dependence (uide n Sue) . Here we would include instances of enduring love and friendship for stronger sympathizing or protecting objects, usually one or both parents.

Given : My attachment to my family was a very close one being an only child.

Quick : I have formed the habit of confiding to my mother everything I do, including my sexual relations.

2c. n Affiliation fused with n Deference: Respect (vide n Def). Here may be classed attitudes of respect and deference

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towards one's friends as well as the tendency to choose dominant objects as companions.

Asper : My early friends were to me distinctly superior beings.

Oriol : I have generally sought the friendships of mature people.

2d. n Affiliation fused with n Nurturance : Kindness (vide n Nur). This is manifested by sympathetic, generous or helpful attitudes. It is commonly associated with the choice of younger, inferior or less privileged objects as friends.

Kindle : With my friends ... I am sometimes very kind and generous.

3. n Deference. Respect for authority, the desire to please parents and elders, the readiness to co-operate and comply, as well as the enthusiastic cathection, acclaiance and emulation of a distinguished person are grouped in this class.

33. n Deference fused with n Blamavoidance : Compliance (vide n Blam). Respect and obedience to an allied

authority may
be classified here, the emphasis being upon an eager
and trusting
discipleship.

Zora : I think my attitude was generally obedient and
co-operative. I
should not like to say timid, but it was not assertive.

Asper : I tried to act, and still do, as I considered
my society thought
proper. Especially did I attempt to imitate those
mannerisms to which
society gave definite approval.

Sims : I had no inclination to get into trouble, and I
tried to please
my teachers.

Mauve : My attitude in class has always been adaptive,
never guileful
or recalcitrant.

Vulner : My general attitude was co-operative, which
became a fault
as it was carried too far.

My deportment was disgustingly good throughout.

I was too interested in making a good impression on the
teachers.

3b. n Deference fused with n Affiliation : Respect (vide n Aff) .
Friendships commonly develop out of subject's
admiration for a
superior allied object. Here the S attempts to please
the O, hoping
that an enduring friendship will ultimately be
established.

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Kindle : I have always been on the best of terms with
my advisers,
tutors, and course professors.

Asfer : I roomed with a certain Bohemian chap, who had interned in a hospital, and who had, for me, most marvellous stories to relate, of his own early life, of his many trials, of disease and death, of adventure. We would remain up for all hours of the night, and I would absorb eagerly all he had to say and ask for more.

Akeson : I wanted to become friendly with tutors and instructors but was not very successful.

3C. n Deference fused with n Nurturance : Devotion (vide n Def). This describes a particular willingness to comply to the requests of a parent or elder when the latter is unwell or unhappy and appeals to the subject's pity. Obedience is the presenting phenomenon, but it is based upon compassion.

Mauve : I treated my mother with compliance when I felt that it would hurt her to disobey.

3d. n Deference fused with Ego Ideal : Emulation (vide Ego Ideal, n Ach) . Under this heading may be classed : admiration for a hero and the emulation of his sentiments and aims, and on this basis the development of a determining Ego Ideal.

Roon : The actors were my heroes and I thought their life the most exciting and glamorous imaginable. I imitated their speech and diction ; it was so different from my Western twang. I did achieve some success in this.

Kindle : My heroes have been contemporary. . . At an early period my father. The professor whose work I admire. Then a whole list of minor heroes would consist of the actors and actresses

of plays, rarely of
movies, and most of all certain musicians and virtuosos
I have admired to
such a high degree that I worshipped them for a short
time. I particularly
admire the sensitivity and kindness of some, of others
their daring and
dashing innovations, spirit of adventure in dangerous
places, the master
mind, the pioneer. Certainly, I should include all the
successful detec-
tives of literature.

Zora : One of these mythological figures has either
become myself or
I have become it, I don't know which. It is the story
of the Spartan boy
who has caught a young wolf, and puts it beneath his
robe, and the wolf

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gnaws at him, and the boy makes no outcry, but
continues until he can
no more. That image of stoicism seems to be
ineradicable in me.

Bulge : I was goaded on in my ambition to become a
doctor by the de-
sire to become one like Dr. S , a friend to all, and a
perfect gentle-
man.

Sims : I read Shelley and Byron and resolved like them
to throw off
the restriction and limitations of society.

Oriol : In many ways I resemble Emerson.

My favourite hero was Robinson Crusoe, lonely and self-
sufficient.
I want to picture myself as a martyr or Byronic hero.

3e. n Deference : Suggestibility. This applies to
manifestations
of suggestibility (gullibility and imitation)
provoked by mildly

cathected objects (a stranger or casual acquaintance). Since this phenomenon occurs unconsciously, one does not expect to find reports of it in autobiographies. Its presence may sometimes be surmised from such statements as the following :

Veal : My older brother convinced me I should go to college. He convinced me to adopt a policy of letting the future take care of itself.

4. n Nurturance, a parental or helpful attitude towards inferiors.

4a. n Nurturance : Sympathy and Aid. Evidences of kindness and compassion and of the willingness to exert oneself in behalf of others are classed here. The cathected object may be an animal.

Bulge : My ambition was to be a doctor and my motives for this were very altruistic . . . to be of some definite use to humanity, to be instrumental in relieving the sufferings of others.

Irkman : On rinding a stray cat I would manage to get some milk for it. I once built a dog house for one.

4b. n Nurturance fused with n Affiliation : Kindness (vide n Aff). Here the emphasis is upon a benevolent compassionate attitude which precedes and perhaps determines the choice of an object as friend. No definite examples of this were found.

4c. n Nurturance fused with n Deference : Devotion (vide n Def) . Here may be grouped instances of devotion and sympathetic helpfulness towards an admired superior object (a tired, ailing or aged parent) .

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5. n Succor ancc. This describes the need for or dependence upon a nurturing object that must be always at hand or within call in case the S wants anything : food, protection, assistance, care, sympathy, undivided devotion.

53. n Succorance : Crying. Crying is the most effective mode of calling the mother or arousing her sympathy. It may persist as an emotional reaction which serves a variety of needs.

Sims : I cried a great deal as a baby and no amount of attention would keep me quiet.

Virt : I made my mother anxious through my continued crying.

5b. n Succorance fused with n Affiliation : Dependence (vide n Aff). The manifestations of anaclitic love (childish dependence on an adult) are classed here. Affectionate adherence, seeking protection, cuddling and homesickness are among the common signs.

Kindle : (The coloured mammy) was a great comfort to me. . . 1 would climb onto her broad lap, for she was a large woman, and beg her to cuddle me, and tell stories.

Bulge : I missed my mother and always did, and do so yet. AH my life I have longed to have her, to run to her when I was sad, to share my secrets with her.

Frost : During my early years I was closer to my mother

and was with
her nearly all the time.

Mauve : During my four years of college I have felt a strong attachment to home which causes me to consult my parents still on important matters.

5c. n Succorance fused with n Harm avoidance :
Appealance
(vide n Harm). One of the commonest reactions of a child in the face of danger is to call (Appealance), run or cling to (Adherence) an allied object : a parent or some safe haven.

Cling : I used to have nightmares . . . until I woke, cold with sweat, and called to mother (Appealance).

Sudden fears often gripped me, and I ran home as if pursued by real and tangible dangers, and not just imagined bogeys (Flight to Security).

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Krumb : When a snowball hurt too much I ran home crying.

Whenever I went anywhere I always had to be with one of my family.

Vulner : When the storm was over I would go to father, getting into his bed if it was night.

6. n Harmavoidance. The ' shock ' reaction to sudden stimuli, withdrawal from painful or fearsome impressions and all avoidances and flights from physical danger are put into this class.

Evidences of general timidity and apprehension are put into one class (6a) and the more common specific fears (phobias) under separate headings into another (6d).

6a. n Harmavoidance : timidity. When a child is described as being timid but no mention is made of a particularly feared object, or when there are a great variety of objects that are habitually avoided, the subject is given a positive mark on this variable.

Krumb : I hate to go about. I am afraid of dangers everywhere.
Cling : I was in a sense timid. . . What other children did without thinking often gave me pause.

6b. n Harmavoidance fused with n Succorance :
Appealance
(vide n Sue) . To this category may be assigned occasions of pain and fright that cause the S to cry out for help.

Cling : I shouted for help. For a vivid moment the fear of death caught at my throat.

6c. n Harmavoidance : Nightmares. Frightening dreams are put in a separate category. When the imagined object of fear is named the nightmare is also classified as a specific fear (6d).

Kast : For years I had nightmares, shouting and screaming in my sleep.

6d. n Harmavoidance : Fear.s. Children are apt to develop specific fears for one or another object or situation. Fears of insupport are supposedly related to the anxiety of helplessness and thus, in some cases, to the birth trauma. Fears of assault may

be related to guilt and the fear of parental punishment.

6d. i. n Harmavoidance : Fears : Insupport, Heights and Fall-
ing*

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Cling: Small jumps, in which a fall might have been painful . . . made me hesitate and I was usually the last to try such minor feats of agility. I almost never balked, but I was often very much afraid.

6d. ii. n Harmavoidance : Fears : Insupport, Water.

Berry : I was afraid of drowning and did not learn to swim until I was sixteen.

6d. iii. n Harmavoidance : Fears : Insupport, Darkness.

Cling : I used to be afraid of dark or lonely places.
Roll : I have always had a terror of the night.

6d. iv. n Harmavoidance : Fears : Insupport, Fire.

Oak : The only early fear I can remember is that the house would burn down. At night in bed I was constantly smelling smoke.

6d. v. n Harmavoidance : Fears : Insupport, Isolation.

Here we refer to situations in which the S finds himself alone in a solitary place or in a crowd of strangers. This usually signifies a high n Succorance with dependence upon the supporting presence of a parent.

Cling : I used to be afraid of dark or lonely places. . . I used to be more afraid, I think, of crowded city streets and

unfamiliar faces.

Krumb : I remember once getting separated from Dad in the Subway and being dreadfully frightened.

6d. vi. n Harmavoidance : Fears : Assault, Lightning. Lightning may sometimes be taken as ' the wrath of God ' (See and n Blam) or as parental retaliation.

Vulner : I developed a terrible fear of thunderstorms.

6d. vii. n Harmavoidance : Fears : Assault, Animals. The fear of small animals may be determined by the fear of having something enter the body, whereas the fear of large animals may develop out of a fear of parental vengeance. It is generally supposed that the fear of a biting animal may be a result of the projection of oral Aggression. Later it may be related to the fear of castration.

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Cling : There were some pigs there I liked ; but I was a little afraid of them after they chased my brother out of the sty.

Roll : I was very much afraid of a large cow which was one of my toys. When it * mooed ' I wanted to hide.

I have always had a terror of animals, particularly wolves. I used to be frightened to death when my grandfather would tell me wolves were after me. I am still haunted by dreams I have wolves chasing me. . .

6d. viii. n Harmavoidance : Fears : Assault, Human. The fear of strangers, gangsters or bullies, as well as the fear

of aggression
of parents and contemporaries, may be classed under
this head-
ing. The fear of doctors and dentists and the pain
which they in-
flict may also be included here.

General Hostility

Earnst : I remember the talk of big guns and I had
frightened visions
of Germans shooting at me.

I acquired the fear of other people menacing me with
physical pun-
ishment which is something I have never overcome.

Irkman : I remember having a form of nightmare seeing
in my
bedroom a dark shroud the form of which was
indistinguishable. I re-
member having called out, * Black thing ! J when it
appeared to me.

Umber : My nights were a series of nightmares and fears
night-
mares in the form of dreams whose central positions
were occupied by
giant fiends and ruthless men.

Cling : Sudden terrors often gripped me, and I ran home
as if pur-
sued by real and tangible dangers, and not just
imagined bogeys.

Fathers Hostility

Zora : I used to run from it (beating), and cry when
I got it.

Earnst : I had such an acute terror of the whip that I
usually went into
hysterics at the mere sight of one.

Mother's Hostility

Outer : I soon learned to keep out of her (my mother's
) way when
she took these strange fits of conduct.

When I stepped into the house it was fearfully and with
my eyes
and ears tuned to my mother's whereabouts.

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Hostility of Contemporaries

Zill : I had become more quiet and timid. . . I clench
my fists often
now when I think how cowardly or foolish I must have
appeared to other
boys as I showed my inability in fighting even smaller
boys than myself.

Kindle : (The boys) were going to put me through the
paces of ini-
tiation. I balked at the idea and for two or three
weeks kept everybody
busy trying to get me to go to school. There were many
scenes, of which
I am still very much ashamed.

Physically, I was no match for them. I knew that if I
got into a
fight I would be beaten . . . my impression of my
relation with my
schoolmates is one of very great anxiety. . . I was
afraid of them.

6d. ix. n Harmavoidance : Fears : Illness and Death.
Death is
often related to the Day of Judgement and this to
parental punish-
ment for evil thoughts and deeds.

Zora : I had nightmares about the ending of the world.
Krumb : I was greatly scared at the idea of dying.
I have a dread of wet feet.

I have much stomach trouble and tachycardia which
frightens me
terribly.

Quick : I -got the conception that I was going to die
that night. When
I went to bed a cold sweat broke over my whole body and

I feared that
I was never going to reawaken.

A friend of mine contracted infantile paralysis. I often went to see him. One morning I arose and in attempting to walk I thought my left leg was numb, and I walked with a perceptible limp. Half crazed with fear I reached my mother's room, uttered a groan, and fell in a dead faint on the floor. When I awoke I was shivering with fear. Sweat actually drained off my weakened body.

6d. x. n Harmavoidance : Fears : Miscellaneous. The fear of loud noises may be related to the fear of assault.

Irkman : I refused to go to the movies because the fear of hearing revolver shots fired drove me to tears.

The fear of claustral restriction and suffocation may be related to the birth trauma.

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Kast : I once dreamed of being locked in a room where I could not breathe and attempting to get out.

Many fears seem to be based on rational considerations.

Krumb : I try to play with my set of chemicals but Dad has so cautioned me of dangers that I'm too scared.

7. n Injavoidance. This term describes the fears and avoidances associated with self-consciousness, shyness, social embarrassment. The subject cannot * take ' belittlement and ridicule.

73. n Infavoidance : Narcisensitivity. This describes the readi-

ness to be hurt (shamed) by the scorn or jibes of others. It pre-supposes Narcism, as well as inferiority feelings which may be focal or diffuse.

Zill : My name caused me much embarrassment. . . It made me the butt of many ignorant remarks . . . which I did not seem able to disregard and it became such an obsession that I winced every time the name was mentioned in school.

Asper : This sensitiveness with regard to myself and my relation to any person or group of people is, at present, the essential fault of my conduct.

Earnst : I was extremely sensitive and cried easily at such things.

Sometimes I see a person laughing on the street, and I have the impression that the person is laughing at me. This impression comes back again and again.

Vulner : I was called a 'sissy,' which made me utterly dejected for days at a time.

7b. n Infavoidance : Shyness, Embarrassment. Shyness and embarrassment form a separate class.

Cling : I was rather shy among strangers and older people. I felt completely at ease only with my mother, my father, my brother, and a very few of my teachers and schoolmates.

7c. n Infavoidance : Avoidance of Competition. The unwillingness to perform in public, the fear of failure and the withdrawal from open competition are grouped under this heading.

Gay : I never engaged in sports.

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yd. Inferiority Feelings. Under this heading may be grouped instances in which the S feels that he is inferior in many or in one particular respect.

7d. i. General.

Akeson : I have always had a feeling of being a misfit, fro// : In my early schools I acquired an inferiority complex.

Veal : I have felt inferior to my older brother.

yd. ii. Physical.

Gay : Whether it was that I never engaged in sports that made me puny, or vice-versa, I have always had a distrust and scorn for my body.

Virt : I was small in stature and felt that girls were not attracted to me.

Earnst : I was too puny to get anywhere fighting for myself.

yd. iii. Social.

Akeson : I envy my sisters the ease they display in their social relations.

Earnst : I acquired a feeling of inadequacy. I got the feeling there is something wrong with me and could hardly look another person in the eyes.

Kast : I was ashamed of the lack of worldliness of my father and mother.

I felt great chagrin when I realized how ill at ease I was among such surroundings. Her father remarked on my lack of

polish and social ease.

Asfcr : So sensitively inferior did I feel to them that I must have behaved idiotically.

yd. iv. Intellectual.

Asper : I was struck with the mass of things to be learned and my own microscopic inferiority.

Krumb : My spirit was broken because I knew the adverse opinion my teachers held of me.

8. n Blamavoidance and Superego. Under this general heading are classed : sensitivity to parental and social disapproval, fear of censure, ready obedience, guilt feelings, remorse, confession of misdemeanours, fear of divine vengeance, as well as moral will

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and the determination to live one's life according to ethical or religious principles. When anxiety and guilt feelings prevail we speak of Superego Conflict and assume the occurrence of asocial fantasies or acts. When the S is able to control himself, however, and acts willingly according to the demands of his culture we refer to Superego Integration, the inference being that a * social character ' (a structured Ego) has been developed.

8a. n Blamavoidance : Sensitivity to Blame. This is barely distinguishable from Narcisensitivity. Here the S is not so upset by a fall in his achievement level as he is by the

disapproval of his
parents or contemporaries. The fear of God's wrath or
the fear of
social censure is at the core of this trait.

Roon : I always had a fear of incurring (my parents')
displeasure.

Outer : I had fear of God instilled deeply into me.

Valet : I was always loath to make enemies.

8b. n Blamavoidance fused with n Deference : Compliance
(vide n Def) . To please and not to displease are two
aspects
of one behavioural tendency. Hence, Deference and
Blamavoid-
ance are complementary. However, when there is
temptation to
do something that is not allowed, or when authority is
uncom-
monly exacting, or when the subject lacks confidence,
Blamavoid-
ance rather than Deference dominates the personality.

Roon : I knew what Was right and what was wrong ; and I
was ex-
pected to abide by that code invariably. I rarely
transgressed.

Vulner : I have never conceived of deliberate
disobedience since I
was 6 years old.

Zora : Some people think I am a goody-goody.

8c. n Blamavoidance fused with n Abasement : Shame and
Self-depreciation. This describes the self -punishing
reaction of a
person with a high Superego to his own evil thoughts,
impulses
or misdoings.

Veal : I 'have scolded myself for not having tried to
help out the
straitened family after high school.

Bulge : I was ashamed when I found that kissing aroused
sexual de-
sires in me likewise when I had erotic dreams.

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Kindle : I was thoroughly ashamed of myself, and wondered if I could be freed from the habit.

Roll : My own masturbation gave me a feeling of shame often occasioned a firm resolve never to do it again. My smoking was a secret sin to me.

8d. n Blamavoidance : Directive Superego. Under this heading have been classified : the inhibition of primitive impulses (Sex and Aggression), the rejection of sexuality, overcoming temptation, ethical control, moral will power, reform, and all behaviour that is initiated by conscience.

Cling : When I realized the habit I had been forming, I began to struggle against it. I had terrific conflicts of will and desire, but finally ... I cured myself completely. I never spoke to anyone about this.

Roon : This sense of strictness continued for many years and then seemed to be suddenly severed. I could do as I chose, act as I saw fit. But with the definite moral strictness that had been a very large part of my early life imbedded quite deep in me, I acted just as though I would incur the most drastic censure for a wrong action.

Abel : I never allowed myself to think about anything concerning sex for I was brought up with the idea that anything concerning sex was unclean, both morally and spiritually.

Bulge : I have always successfully conquered my passions.

Earnst : I always thought the practice of masturbation was indecent and I never indulged in it.

Kast : She begged me to have intercourse with her. I refused, realizing the situation had probably been my fault. For some reason, I couldn't let myself go that far. I felt we would regret it. I was afraid of the consequences. After such times I had quite a feeling of revulsion.

8e. n Blamavoidance : Religious Inclination. Fervent religious faith or practices, a pre-occupation with the problem of good and evil, church work and the desire to enter the ministry, may be grouped together as evidences of an underlying inclination to lead an irreproachable life.

Zora : As a child I was extremely religious, and, of my own volition, I did not read newspapers on Sunday and read the Bible every day.

Quick : I experienced a stupendous dream in which I imagined my-

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self confronted by God at the time of my death. Awakening, terrified and amazed, I determined that I should give myself over to being strictly orthodox. After 16 I became really fanatically orthodox. Only recently has this sudden frenzy been completely removed.

9. n Abasement. This is usually subsidiary to some other need : n Harm, n Inf or n Blam. It describes reactions of self-depreciation or surrender as well as those of self-punishment and atonement for evil actions.

pa. n Abasement fused with n Blamavoidance : Blame-acceptance and Atonement (vide n Blam). Here we include unusual examples of self-blame, feelings of remorse and acts that are designed to appease a condemning authority. Subjects who accept unjust punishment without resistance also may be classed here.

Vulner : I attributed the thunderstorms entirely to God, and made myself miserable trying to appease Him. Among the reforms instituted for this purpose was the dropping of the finger sucking habit.

Oak : I can readily understand the punishment I got. It is a wonder that there wasn't more.

Veal : I never put up any defence when my brother criticized me. I would brood inwardly.

9b. n Abasement fused with n Deference : Subservience. Humility, docility, meekness, and the acceptance of a subordinate position in a semi-allied group are grouped under this heading. The unresentful acceptance of p Dominance and p Rejection, denoting a lack of social pride, may also be included.

Zill : . . . the subordinate position I had when I was with the gang.

9c. n Abasement fused with n Harmavoidance or n Infavoidance : Surrender. Surrender in the face of frustration is classified here. We may include : sudden despairing relaxations after muscular exertion, dejected cessations of effort, easy acceptance of defeat. A marked lowering of the level of aspiration is

also con-
sidered a symptom (fusion with n Infavoidance).
Passivity may
accompany the Abasement drive and the n Succorance may
be

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fused with it. Both Abasement and Succorance may be
subsidiary
to the n Harmavoidance.

Zill : More than once I broke out with that awful
temper I was acquir-
ing (n Agg) only to suddenly lower my 'fists (n Aba
) and burst into
tears (n Sue) whimpering that I couldn't fight or
some other ' sissy '
word.

Cling : I tried once or twice to fight back, but
homesickness and lone-
liness (n Sue) overcame my resistance.

Krumb : When a bully threw snowballs at me I just stood
there taking
them. Never once did I try to defend myself.

10. n Passivity. The cathexis of sleep, the desire to
relax, loaf
and ruminate, the disinclination to exert oneself
physically or
mentally, the acceptance of fate, the inclination to
let others take
the initiative, may be grouped together.

loa. n Passivity : Inactivity. Here we class quietude,
laziness,
apathy, dreaminess, lack of persistence and excessive
need for
relaxation and repose.

Frost : Between the ages of 6 and 11 I lived almost
wholly in a kind of
sheltered passivity with my family.

Gay : I wanted to be allowed to read or do nothing.

Vulner : I spent much time lying still.

lob. n Passivity fused with n Abasement : Acceptance.
Children
who readily accept the inevitable, who remain passive
and un-
disturbed in the face of frustration, belong to this
category. They
prefer to let others take the initiative. They do not
go out to
' meet * or ' make ' Fate ; they are * hit ' by it.

Cling : My wont was to accept everything with
equanimity.
Zora : Much of my religiousness is past, to be replaced
largely by world
weariness.

Gay : In groups I was shy and acquiescent.

n. n Seclusion. Some believe that Seclusion is always
subsidiary
to another need : n Harm, n Inf, n Blam, n Pass or n
Rej. But
even if this view is correct, no great harm can be done
by in-
cluding it among the variables as it is at least an
important mode
of need activity.

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na. n Seclusion : Isolation. This describes the
tendency to live,
play and work at some distance from the mass of people
or pro-
tected from them by walls. Such a subject dislikes
groups. He
likes to be by himself or with a few chosen companions.

Kindle : I played little with the boys in the
neighbourhood, but rather
with my sister. Mostly, however, I was left to myself.
Akeson : I had a very retiring nature.

My retiring nature turned me towards study and books as
my chief

occupation and recreation.

Frost : Living in such a dream world was probably the cause for my playing a great deal by myself.

The tendency to analyse people carefully and coldly has made me feel withdrawn from normal life.

Gay : I had deep moods of depression and desired to be alone.

Oriol : I love solitude.

I do not conceal too much and yet my identity seems to remain secret and isolated.

nb. Reticence. Silence, lack of talkativeness under most conditions, secrecy and the refusal to expose one's thoughts and feelings are grouped into one class.

Kindle : My natural New England reticence.

Vale : Friendship has always implied for me a large basis of personal

nc. n Seclusion fused with n Inf avoidance. Very frequently seclusiveness is determined by a need to avoid belittlement and ridicule. Sometimes the n Harmavoidance or the n Inf avoidance is also involved.

Kindle : I was always ashamed to show myself.

Earnst : Life became intolerable to me and I began to avoid as much as possible the company of other children. I lived a painful and secluded existence.

12. n Inviolacy. Pride and the desire to maintain a high level of self-respect as manifested by a subject's efforts to

make up for failure, or to defend, vindicate or revenge himself are grouped

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together in one category. These reactions rest upon Narcism and grade off into Infavoidance. Differing from the scheme of needs presented in Chapter III, the Infavoidance drive has been put in a separate category. Here the need for Counteraction is covered by three fusions : with n Ach, n Agg and n Auto.

I2a. n Inviolacy : n Defendance. This describes the readiness to deny accusations, to justify one's conduct and to offer extenuations for failure. It is based upon a refusal to accept belittlement and blame. Under this heading may also be included the concealment of inferior emotional reactions (fusion with n Seclusion) . Defendance may be an exaggerated counteraction (defence mechanism) for guilt feelings.

Outer : I always had an alibi if a spanking seemed imminent.
Quick : I have always been stubborn and refuse to admit that I am wrong even when I am convinced of it.

i2b. n Inviolacy fused with n Achievement : Restriving. Efforts to achieve something after failure or humiliation, to prove what one can do are grouped here.

Earnst : I fought in my own cause one day and was so braced up by my success that I never allowed myself to be picked on thenceforth unless my tormenters were large.

Vulner : There was one boy whom I could lick, and this I did regularly to bolster my pride.

My main ideal was to show these boys that I was brave and strong.

I2C. n Inviolacy fused with n Aggression : Retaliation. Though this is perhaps the commonest type of Aggression, conforming to the law of talion, no clear illustration of it was found in the autobiographies.

iid. n Inviolacy fused with n Autonomy : Resistance. Stubborn refusals to be dominated (and hence, belittled) by others are placed in this category.

Krumb : I was recalcitrant.

I made a name for myself in school as the child who would not co-operate.

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13. Negative Cathexions. Under this heading are listed the important objects that repeatedly anger or are consistently disliked by the child. Since hate is a matter of crucial importance if it is directed towards somebody with whom one must have daily relations, it is particularly important to know whether one or another member of the family is negatively cathected. When ambivalent sentiments are entertained a score is given for positive cathection as well as for negative cathection.

133. Negative Cathexis : Supra : Mother.

Outer : I remember praying each night that my mother would die,
that she would be run over by an automobile.

I grew to hate my mother more and more.
Cling : I sometimes cursed my mother.

I3b. Negative Cathexis: Supra: Female. The hatred of an older woman may signify a displaced hatred for the mother.

Outer : . . . the morbid life at home with my cousin, whom I often planned to poison.

I3C. Negative Cathexis : Supra : Father.

Nifp : We none of us miss our father.

Veal : I have occasionally felt resentment against my father. I feel an inward wrath of his violation of parental duties.

Oriol : There is an undercurrent of antagonism between my father and myself which is in some measure kept under complete control.

1 3d. Negative Cathexis : Supra : Male. Hatred of a superior, an older person, a dogmatist, a recognized authority, a state official or the deity, may signify the per sever ation and displacement of early parricidal tendencies.

Cling : I used to curse God when I was unhappy.

136. Negative Cathexis : Supra : Brother.

Vulner : My brother is spoiled and peevish. He irritates me constantly.

i3f. Negative Cathexis : Supra : Sister.
Kindle : I treated my older sister badly.

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I3g. Negative Cathexis : Contemporaries.

Krumb : I got to hate most of the boys at school.

i3h. Negative Cathexis : Infra : Brother.

Cling : My brother and I used to have terrible fights
... we were
both hot-tempered and very childish.

13!. Negative Cathexis : Infra : Sister.

Outer : I soon learned to despise my younger sister.

Quick : I remember having almost daily quarrels with a
sister who is
two years younger than I.

Zora : I have a younger sister with whom I used to
fight rather vio-
lently.

14. n Aggression. This describes the emotion of rage
combined
with overt acts of aggression against a thwarting, a
competing
or a belittling object. It also includes teasing or
torturing objects
that cannot defend themselves, as well as the
destruction of prop-
erty. Finally, there are the verbal forms of aggression
: accusation,
belittlement and malicious ridicule.

i4a. n Aggression : Temper. In this class are the
emotions that
are commonly accompanied, though not always, by
aggressive
behaviour : irritability, anger, rage.

Zill : More than once I broke out with that awful
temper I was
acquiring.

Kindle : Whenever I was not given my own way I went
into a tan-
trum. This was frequent.

i4b. n Aggression : Combativeness. Here we include most of the physical and verbal forms of aggression : assaults, pushing, curses, angry accusations, criticism, blaming, irritable retorts, malicious jokes, destruction of possessions and heated arguments.

Roon : My sister and I are the only children of the family. . . We are of different temperaments and quarrels were always breaking out.

Outer : We four children fought . . . like animals.

Oak : We all squabbled and argued and even fought at times.

Kindle : I had quarreled much with my grammar school friends,

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somewhat with my friend from high school. I often disagreed bitterly with the chemist. But our friendship has continued unimpaired in spite of my fits of bad temper.

140 n Aggression : Sadism. This describes pleasure that is felt when an object is hurt or belittled. It leads to the maltreatment of others : unjustly dominating, bullying, hurting or torturing a younger child or animal. Teasing is a mild form. No subject admitted to a marked degree of Sadism.

Cling : I used to pick on and bully him.

Quick : I have always enjoyed ridiculing others and am especially adept at satire.

I4d. n Aggression fused with n Dominance : Coercion (vide n Dom) . Rude assertions, the rough treatment of others, the

frank expression of disturbing opinions, pugnacity and domination by threats belong in this category. A liking for rough physical encounters (athletics) may also be included.

Outer : My general attitude was aggressive and assertive when no one was around to stop me.

Zeeno : I turned to wrestling. I am very strong, but small.

Quick : I have many enemies whom I have alienated by my habit of speaking frankly.

Roll : I threatened to beat him to ashes.

146. n Aggression fused with n Autonomy : Rebellion (vide n Auto). Aggressive resistance and flagrant disobedience are classified under this heading. It describes the ungovernable, defiant child. Anger evoked by authority belongs here. The tendency to oppose the opinions of others, e.g., the love of argument, may also be included.

Zill : I have often rebelled like a cranky child.
Quick : I have always loved to argue.

146. n Aggression fused with n Succorance : Plaintance (vide n Sue). Here may be classed the manifestations of despairing rage (tantrums) found so frequently in infancy, as well as the

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complaints of later years. Blaming others for injustice and malice or reporting their misdemeanours may also be included.

Cling : The thwarting of my own desires was responsible for sullen brooding, or violent tantrums.

Together we decided to go to the headmaster.

Vulner : Telling talcs made me very unpopular and incidentally very miserable.

i4g. n Aggression : Destruction. Here we group destructive play, breaking toys, smashing windows, cutting or pulling things apart, dismembering dolls, throwing stones, upsetting things, lighting fires, and other forms of disruptive behaviour.

Kindle : I liked mechanical toys, particularly did I like pulling them apart.

Abel : My toys never stayed whole when I was young, and I understand it used to test my parents' ingenuity to give me something I couldn't get apart.

Roll : I had a mad idea about burning the house down to collect the insurance.

15. n Autonomy. This describes acts of resistance and defiance. Prompted by the general need for Activity and the tendency for Change there is first of all (a) breaking through barriers to free motility. Then, in the service of other needs (particularly n Sex) there is (b) defiance of prohibitions. The n Passivity, as well as other needs, may provoke (c) resistances to coercion and persuasion. Finally, behind many of these negativistic refusals is the n Inviolacy and the desire to become independent and self-

reliant (n Ach).

153. n Autonomy : Freedom. Under this heading we group all evidences of liberty-loving motility : breaking out of confinement, escape from routine, truancy, wandering away alone, irresponsibility and the disinclination to follow an established pattern. This egressive form of behaviour is usually combined with Rejection which may, in turn, be based on Infavoidance (running away from failure). Also it may be fused with n Aggression : struggling to get free.

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Outer : 4 years . . . even at that age I wanted to run away from the convent.

I took long trips by bicycle away from home.
I dreamed often of running away.
I managed to break away on a very slight provocation.
Asper : Fred and I decided to take our ship's papers and break away from it all.

Abel: All unjust punishments were followed on my part by sullen periods wherein I made wild plans of joining the army when I grew up.
Quick : My special pleasures have always been to be out in the open air, a profound love of liberty knowing no restraint. I have always had a desire to join a Nudist Colony for the sincere enjoyment I would get in being liberated from the shackles of clothes, economic conditions, and social conventions. My greatest resentment arises when some one suggests my wearing more clothes (such as a tic or rubbers) since it is a

direct insult to this unbridled love of freedom.

i5b. n Autonomy : Defiance. This covers active disobedience, disregard for authority, entering forbidden regions and law-breaking. Childish pranks as well as more serious misdemeanours belong in this group.

Outer : I used to be supposed to play with the nice boys of the neighbourhood, but instead sneaked off to a back alley where ... I fraternized with ragamuffins and illiterate men's sons.

Oak : I was always in trouble for forgetting to do something I was supposed to do and for raising too much childish Cain in the hall (at school) . I almost set a record for hours of detention in one year.

I5C. n Autonomy fused with the n Inviolacy : Resistance (vide n Inv). Here we group refusal to obey (negativism), passive non-co-operation, resistance to persuasion and coercion, as well as persistent stubborn disagreements. Most of these acts take the form of verbal arguments against p Dominance. This may be fused with Aggression.

Zill : I often clashed with my father on religious ceremonies I had to perform.

Roon : I have always had definite opinions about matters that concerned me and if they did not coincide with those of my father, I would

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argue the matter out and still hold the opinion. It is

a form of stubbornness that will give in only to undisputed authority.

Frost : My tendency is to react against the conventions of my surroundings.

156. n Autonomy fused with the n Achievement : Independence (vide n Ach) . Children who want to do things alone without help, who refuse aid offered by adults, who have initiative, and like to be ' on their own,' free and independent, belong in this class.

Outer : I was quite independent, due to my years spent with alley boys. . . I had ideas of my own, and paid little attention to schemes put out by others.

I soon became more independent, always went with boys three or two years older than myself . . . and grew generally very self-reliant.

Frost : I am completely self-sufficient mentally.

16. n Dominance. Here we have various manifestations of the will to power over other people : ordering, insisting, persuading, suggesting, or seducing. The effect desired by the subject is to have others work for him, help him or stop annoying him.

i6a. n Dominance : Leadership. Attempts to control others, to manage an undertaking, to be the leader of a group are included in this category.

Roon : I soon had an attic theatre of my own. I was very intent on the managing of the project and soon had the whole neighbourhood as

participants in the affair. My attitude here was entirely aggressive and I insisted on managing everything.

Kindle : I wanted to boss.

I was very active . . . leading and organizing young people's groups. . . I also was a leader of the younger boys. . . I thought such morality should be taught to others. I enjoyed teaching.

My ambitions have always been to be a professor . . . direct others in research.

Bulge : I being the boy and my mother's favourite, thought that I could boss all the girls.

Vulner : I entered enthusiastically into student government. I became

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a member of the student council, officer in Home Room, Editor of School magazine, and President of the Club.

Kast : I was president of my class for three years.

i6b. n Dominance : Inducement. Under this heading may be classed various subtle or indirect forms of dominance : dominance by suggestion, flattery, friendly overtures, bribes, fascination or seduction.

Outer : I learned to become a very good and persuasive talker at this time.

Mauve : I have pretty much my own way with my mother.

i6c. n Dominance fused with n Aggression : Coercion (

vide n

Agg) . Fighting for power or the tyrannous domination of others may be put into this category.

Abel : My brother and I have the usual squabbles over ties and shirts and personal liberties and priority rights around the house.

Oriol : My domineering tendencies sometimes break through.

17. n Rejection. This describes feelings of indifference, revulsion, annoyance, scorn or disgust towards other people, accompanied by acts of exclusion, avoidance, withdrawal, expulsion and neglect.

173. n Rejection : Hypercriticalness. Under this heading may be grouped the dislike and belittlement of others, feelings of scorn and disgust as well as the associated avoidant behaviour. There may be superiority feelings. We should also include skepticism, suspicion and distrust.

Outer : It made me suspicious of every proposition anyone made me after that.

I always regarded heroes with suspicion ever since an older boy promised to give me his wooden gun when I was four and he twelve, and disappointed me. I later became envious of all public heroes, and skeptical of their true natures.

Actually, my experiences with women have taught me to mistrust them. . . I have found every girl I have known (and I have known and gone with and * necked ' over a hundred) inferior to myself. They

would not satisfy me in the long run, intellectually.

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Asfer : I now recognize my former friends as distinctly gross, uncouth, in fact, downright filthy specimens. . . How I ever escaped from their vile acts I cannot say definitely.

Frost : The tendency to analyse people carefully and coldly has made me feel withdrawn from normal life.

Vale : I taught in a boys' school and heartily detested it. I like boys well enough so long as I don't have to live with them or teach them.

Quick : There are only three people with whom I have great friendships. The rest are inferior.

ijb. n Rejection fused with n Injavoidance : Narcisensitivity (vide n Inf). The subjects who especially dislike and avoid people who wound their vanity belong in this category.

7,eeno : My friendships are limited to those I care for. . . Usually, if I dislike a person I feel that I do so with justice. I feel that the few that dislike me are not really good themselves, for I feel that I am good and that people of discernment see and appreciate this feature in me.

Asfer : Rebellion came shortly after I made a fool of myself at an initiation by almost breaking down, and I decided that henceforth I would be 'sufficient unto myself.' On that principle my life, up to very recently, has been conducted. I have had no real friend since the chap who introduced me to the society. I have met merely interesting

individuals.

ijc. n Reflection fused with n Seclusion :
Inaccessibility (vide
n Sec). Subjects who, because they dislike or distrust
humanity,
separate themselves from others by encystment,
diffidence, going
to a distance or erecting ' walls ' belong in this
class. Dislike of
close contact, indifference, and an aloof, perhaps
supercilious,
attitude may also be included.

Asfer : I decided from then on that I was somehow
different from
the rest of humanity, vastly superior to boys my own
age much too
singular a creature to be understood. . . All my former
acquaintances,
almost to the last, I had dropped.

Sims : When I was a baby I had a great opposition to
any kind of
caressing or fondling. I am still sensitive to physical
contact and am in-
stantly repelled by it.

Mauve : I feel that old adage ' intimacy breeds
contempt ' has more
truth in it than many suppose. I keep just a bit above
everyone else.

Oriol : I meet people on an impersonal plane.

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18. n Noxavoidance. This describes the readiness to be
repelled
by unpleasant sense impressions, disagreeable sights,
sounds,
smells, and tastes. It includes the avoidance of
discomfort.

i8a. n Noxavoidance : Hypersensitivity : General.

Zora : A fellow suggested the method by which I was

myself begot.

This filled me with a disgust and shame that almost made me sick. I am no longer disgusted, but even now I am impressed by a certain nastiness in the scheme of procreation.

Asper : The sex act itself was, at first, extremely repulsive.

i8b. n Noxavoidance : Hypersensitivity : Food. The tendencies to spit and vomit, to suffer from indigestion and to reject certain kinds of food are classed here.

Roll : I used to be finnickier about food. This lasted into my teens.

19. n Achievement. Some children are conspicuous for the intensity, frequency or duration of their efforts to accomplish something. First it is a matter of controlling their muscles, gaining the erect posture, walking and climbing. Then they reach out to manipulate objects. Later, they must learn to direct their thoughts.

193. n Achievement: General.

Oriol : I had ambition to excel.

Sims : I got three jobs and earned all my own expenses.

i9b. n Achievement : Physical.

Zeeno : In the lower grades I was quite strong and athletic. In grammar school I was captain and pitcher on the baseball team. I used to hit home runs.

Outer : I found at school that in one particular branch of athletics, running, I was much better than the average.

Asfer : I recall winning the 40 yard dash. I was most

nearly interested
in the body. The mind had not found itself as yet.

Bulge : Due to my athletic prowess I was popular.

i9c. n Achievement : Intellectual.

Cling : I was very precocious in school, leading my
class. . . I worked
very hard, very long hours.

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Outer : I managed to get admitted to the school, which
had difficult
standards for one of my education. I had to do a year
of Latin myself
in a month in the summer time.

For two years I had spent all my extra time studying
for a national
Greek scholarship.

Frost : When I was ten I had the sensation of a ' wall
falling down '
and proceeded very rapidly. I went through Purdue in
three years
with an A or B-f- average. I acquired a great taste for
literature and
got A's in all my courses.

igd. n Achievement : Caste.

Kast : I associated with people of higher social status
and more luxuri-
ous surroundings. I realized my lack of social ease and
concentrated on
improving myself at every opportunity.

ipe. n Achievement : Rivalry. When an S is especially
stimu-
lated by the presence of a rival, enjoys open
competitions and does
better under such conditions he is given a positive
score on this
variable.

Zora : I found pleasure in competition.

Asper : There has been in my life as far back as I can remember the somewhat morbid practice of self comparison. The spirit of competition has been continuously a method of approach to another personality.

Earnst : When I found I could do better than other children in some studies I immediately concentrated my attention on school.

196. n Achievement : Ego Ideal. The setting of a high level achievement, the determination to excel, the generation of a glowing fantasy of success may be put here.

Abel : My one big desire is to get an M.A. . . Unless I achieve this goal I shall be extremely disappointed.

Akeson : I felt the urgent necessity of doing something with myself, of accomplishing something worthwhile, of making my personality mean something.

ipg. n Achievement fused with n Inviolacy : Restriving (vide n Inv). Attempts to replace failure by success, to select as lines of endeavour the very activities that have been associated with humiliation or defeat are grouped together in this class.

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Kast : He remarked on my lack of social ease and from then on I concentrated on these things and now I have as much polish as anyone.

Sims : I decided to make a come-back. I wrote for the

college paper
and made the board, which helped me to restore
confidence in myself.

iph. n Achievement fused with n Autonomy : Independence
(vide n Auto) . The desire for singlehanded
accomplishments
and the refusal to accept assistance belong here.

Earnst : I was able to finish college without receiving
aid from anyone.

20. n Recognition. This describes the desire for social
approval,
honour, position and fame. The usual manner of
satisfying this
need is through the n Achievement, but if a subject's
accomplish-
ments are not made public the approbation which he may
desire
from others will not be forthcoming. The need for
Recognition
is usually repressed because its objectification is
annoying to
others, but in some people it manifests itself as
boasting, per-
forming before others, publicizing, talking about one's
adven-
tures, displaying evidences of accomplishment and
assuming a
superior attitude. It is like the n Succorance in that
it seeks some-
thing from others.

20a. n Recognition : Recitals of Superiority. Boasting
and other
ways of bringing one's accomplishments to the attention
of others
are classed here. No subject admitted that he was a
boaster but
some subjects evidently enjoyed the opportunity of
recounting
their accomplishments in an autobiography.

20b. n Recognition : Cathexis of praise. Under this
heading
may be placed behaviour that is promoted by the hope or
expecta-
tion of praise, commendation, special favours or

prestige. Pleasure
when one is flattered, displeasure when one is not, and
annoyance
when others are rewarded are signs of this variable.

Cling : I was fearful often that my brother's reward
might exceed
mine.

Kindle : I wanted . . . to be the object of their
interest and atten-
tion.

Outer : . . . merely for the fun I got out of it ...
the feeling
that I was playing a part, an important part, in the
great play of life.

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. . . dressed in expensive clothes, and speaking very
correct Eng-
lish, I fraternized with ragamuffins and illiterate
men's sons.

I took peculiar joy in showing them how I could steal
cleverly.

I felt an irrepressible instinct to exhibit my
salesmanship. . . I en-
joyed standing in the crowd, having them remark on how
beautiful my
long curls were.

Vulner : The applause for my address and when my
honours and ac-
tivities were read gave me a tremendous thrill.

2oc. n Recognition fused with n Exhibition : Public
Perform-
ance (vide n Exh) . The public demonstration of one's
talents
and the enjoyment of manifesting one's powers before
others are
classed here.

Oriol : I loved to talk and craved distinction and did

not repress my
desires.

Outer : I learned to love the applause of people when I
acted and grew
quite vain.

7,een0 : I used to hit home runs and I was always the
idol of other less
strong boys in my class.

21. n Exhibition. This describes direct exposure of the
body or
of the person. The subject wants to be seen even though
he may
not be applauded.

21 a. n Exhibition fused with n Recognition : Public
Perform-
ance (vide n Rec) . Children like to show off and
attract the at-
tention of others. This is their method of winning
acclaimance.

Zill : I made the usual bright sayings . . . most (of
the older chil-
dren) seem to have enjoyed my presence and childish
wits.

Cling : I sang solos in chapel.
I acted in two plays.

Outer : (I took) several juvenile parts.

Quick : Boisterous, and at times puerile, I liked to be
the centre of
attraction.

21b. n Exhibition fused with n Sex : Exhibitionism (vide n
Sex). Here we group instances of extraverted body
Narcism,
Exhibition in the service of sexual excitement or
seduction.

Outer : At six I noticed that I had definite control of my own sex organs, and was reprimanded for displaying my powers to my mother.

Abel : I used to like to imagine a day at a nudist colony.

22. n Sex. This category is confined to genital manifestations of sexuality.

223. n Sex : Masturbation. Infantile masturbation is believed to be universal. It usually stops at about five years of age and is not remembered afterwards. It may be revived during the latency period, but more commonly it does not reappear until the onset of puberty.

Zill : At the age of 12 I learned, very prematurely, I think, about sex from a boy even younger than myself. . . I masturbated often, but never openly. This I kept up till the age of 14 when a mysterious fluid began to come forth. I felt something was wrong and I was told so by an older boy. I have never masturbated since.

Cling : I noticed occasionally in climbing (a rope in the gym) a very pleasing and curious sensation. I had no idea what this was. I experimented. Without knowing what I was doing, I began to practise masturbation. I did this publicly whenever it occurred to me in such a way that it was not directly evident what I was doing.

Oak : When I was 12 someone told me about masturbation and I did it several times a week for almost six years.

Roll: I discovered masturbation when I was 7 and practised it frequently. I reached the age of puberty and got into a rut of masturbation

as there was plenty of chance to continue this practice unobserved.

Akeson : Retiring in nature as I was, I did not learn to masturbate until I was 19, a habit I have since not been able to throw off.

22b. n Sex : Precocious Heterosexuality. Some children show signs of ' falling in love ' at an early age.

Zeeno : I was madly in love with two sweet young twins who occupied

an apartment in our home. My feelings have always been that it was a

youthful, sweet and innocent, and very deep love for two fine creatures.

My remembrance of early youth is several 'mimic' intercourses

with a young girl a little older than myself.

22c. n Sex : Homosexuality. An erotic interest in a member of the same sex is classified here.

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Kraus : One experiment, the result of curiosity, in sexual intercourse with one of my own sex was a decided failure for both of us, and it was never repeated.

Asfer : I joined the Boy Scouts and my acquaintance narrowed down to four or five boys. . . There is a definite feverish element in my memory.

Krumb : I had a couple of mutual masturbation affairs.

I had a consuming interest in homosexual affairs. . . I

reverted to
these after being shocked by the pregnancy and abortion
of the girl.

2id. n Sex : Bisexuality. Physical or mental attributes
that are
characteristic of the opposite sex are put in this
category.

Cling : My voice did not begin to change until the end
of my second
year and did not completely change until the beginning
of my senior
year.

23. n Acquisition. This describes the desire for
material pos-
sessions and acts designed to satisfy this desire :
snatching or ask-
ing parents to give the S what he wants. A predatory,
calculating,
economic attitude may attend this need.

233. n Acquisition : Greediness. Some children are very ac-
quisitive. Toys and other objects attract them ; they
grab, snatch,
quarrel over their possessions and are continually
asking their
parents for things. Some are envious of their friends'
possessions.
They enjoy getting the best of a bargain or trade. A
vivid memory
of gifts received in the past usually indicates a
strong n Acquisi-
tion.

Outer : I recall exhibiting tendencies for sharp
bargaining and trade.
I exchanged a penny for an apple and then persuaded the
nun to give me
back my money.

I was quick to exploit them, and used to ask them if
they would give
me money.

I told my mother that if she bought me an expensive set
of tools 1

would make some articles of furniture and sell them,
and pay her back
her money. I almost believed myself.

I enjoyed . . . seeing them take out money and give it
to me.

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Bulge : I recall that company always thrilled me
because I was usually
given money by my relatives.

Quick : I am selfish for I want everything.

23b. n Acquisition : Stealing. This is the same as the
preced-
ing variable, but here the greediness is strong enough
to over-
come prohibitions or inhibitions.

Outer : We used to go into drug stores and steal
lollypops.

Vale : I was once caught hooking candy in a store.

2*een0 : I remember stealing my father's cigars.

23c. n Acquisition : Gambling. Betting and playing
games for
money manifest the willingness to take risks for
wealth.

Nipp : The love of gambling grew in our blood as we
watched our
father run poker games in the house. Even now we
children would rather
gamble than do almost any other thing in life.

My second year in college I joined the gang gambling
every day
and evening.

Shooting craps five nights out of seven between 10 P.M.
and 1 A.M.

24. n Cognizance. This describes the exploratory
activity of
the child, gaining knowledge by manipulation, quiescent

observa-
tion, the inspection of genitals, queries of all kinds,
social curi-
osity and, finally, the reading of books for knowledge.

243. n Cognizance : Curiosity : General. Here we group
the vari-
ous acts that are associated with diffuse curiosity :
exploration,
inspection, peering, overhearing conversations, asking
questions.

Asfer : We would remain up for all hours of the night
and I would
absorb eagerly all he had to say and ask for more.

24b. Cognizance : Experimentation. Curiosity as to the
outcome
of manipulative activity, as well as the eagerness to
attempt novel
forms of artistic expression in order to note their
effect, may be
classed here.

Kindle : I was busied with Chemistry sets. This
fascination for experi-
ment in science lasted many years, and may explain why
most of my
friends at college were chemists, biologists, and so
on.

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My ambition has always been to carry on research.
Krumb : I devoted my spare time to experiment in my
radio lab.

240. n Cognizance : Intellectual.

Zora : I had an enthusiastic, whole-souled desire to
read about Greek
mythology. I remember staying in the schoolroom
afternoons after class
to read certain mythologic books.

Mauve : I was always looking for something to learn.

Sims : I began to get the reputation for being an inveterate reader of everything that came into the house.

240!. n Cognizance : Sexual : Birth. Curiosity about procreation is common in children. It is not infrequently frustrated by the evasions or falsehoods of parents.

Sims : I asked my father how dogs mated and what started the process of life going.

Vale : I asked the usual questions about where babies come from and was told that God put them in mother 's bed.

Oriol : I wondered how a baby could be born through such a small aperture. My curiosity was not appeased until last year.

246. n Cognizance : Sexual : Genitals. Curiosity about the organs of reproduction, the penis or lack of penis of the opposite sex, is a normal attitude for children.

Zora : I remember when I was six or seven visiting a small boy's house and as we took a shower we both observed that we had genital organs. Also, at a later time, a girl about the same age and I engaged in an experiment of sorts.

Earnst : A friend made his sister take her clothes off. We played with her genitals.

Gay : I had an interest in girls' bodies and tried to persuade a cousin to undress for me.

Veal : I wanted to see others naked, especially those of the opposite sex. I had a girl of my own age pull down her bloomers so I could see exactly

what the difference was.

25. n Construction. This describes everything from the simple associative tendency, combining two things, to an interest in mak-

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ing elaborate designs or buildings. It is an organizing or con-figurational tendency which may have either a utilitarian or aesthetical aim. It has been found convenient to include creative writing.

253. n Construction : Mechanical.

Kast : I never tired of inventing new types of vehicles. I was continually experimenting with my electric motor to obtain different speeds.

Krumb : My real interest was electricity.

I wanted time to work at my radio construction.

25b. n Construction : Aesthetic. Artistic creations have been classified here, though to speak of them as constructions may be misleading.

Sims : I wrote some short stories.

Krumb : I took an interest in poetry and wrote some.

Vulner : I drew in pen, pencil and charcoal.

26. n Order. Under this caption we include three somewhat different tendencies : the activity of washing and cleaning up, the activity of arranging and putting things in their proper place, and a finnickiness interest in detail.

26a. n Order : Cleanliness. To war against dirt and bad

odours

is a habit which some children acquire and others do not.

Irkman : I have always done my utmost to appear cleanly dressed.

26b. n Order : Orderliness. Neatness and order in the arrangement of one's possessions belong in this class. No illustrations of this or the next category were given in the autobiographies.

26c. n Order: Finic1(iness about details. An interest in precise and exact measurement or statement, scrupulosity, a concern about small matters, a fervour for the ' letter of the law,' a memory for detailed concrete facts ; these tendencies are frequently found in the same person. They seem to spring from a common root.

27. n Retention. The desires to collect, to conserve and to hold on to objects are grouped together under this heading.

273. n Retention : Cottectance. The gathering together of objects to form a collection is an extension of the acquisitive drive

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and is closely related to the n Construction and the n Order. It stands between these and true retentiveness. Hoarding and saving money may be included here.

Kast : I collected all kinds of things. Lately I have been making a collection of little wooden images.

Kindle : I had a work bench with all sorts of useless

junk.

Earnst : I had been saving money carefully. I planned on saving enough to start college.

Kast : I was able to buy all my clothes and had saved \$550 when I was ready for college.

27b. n Retention : Conservancc. Care of one's possessions, efforts to preserve them from decay or weathering, concealing them or putting them under lock and key so that they will not be damaged by others may be grouped together under this heading.

Kast : Father is noted for the excellent condition in which he keeps his possessions. I am proud of these things.

28. n Activity. This is a large general category which describes the rate of overt activity, physical and verbal. It usually includes alertness, initiative, responsiveness, and a fast tempo of existence. Its opposite is Passivity, which was given a separate place, but this is probably inadvisable.

28a. n Activity : Physical. Some children are much more active than others in locomotion and manipulation. This is usually accompanied by exploratory excursions and the n Autonomy : Freedom. Restlessness and the inability to remain quiet in one place are characteristic. Such individuals usually like variety (Ch) . This may lead to an interest in athletics (cf. myomania exercise as a cure-all) or to movement for pure kinaesthetic enjoyment (muscular erotism) .

Kindle : I entered into a life of great activity, was constantly busy played tennis, did much walking and other exercises.

Asfer : I enjoy dancing to fox-trot music. It is essentially an athletic enjoyment with a definite element of sex excitement. That the pleasure is athletic I can definitely feel when I dance quite alone and the body loosens in the swinging rhythm. I enjoy thoroughly a jazz orchestra that

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is essentially rhythmic and I have gone frequently to Harlem to hear them. It has the power for me to make me beat with my whole body.

Kast : I played at top speed, did nothing but run around.

28b. n Activity : Verbal. Talkativeness and garrulousness are put into this class. It is mostly a matter of the rate and amount of speech. Some children jabber endlessly.

Or/o/ : I loved to talk.

Quick : I am extremely loquacious, having the ability of talking hours at a time without saying anything of value.

29. Intensity. This term has been used to describe an attribute which seems to be distinguishable from Activity, Persistence and Emotionality. It refers to what in everyday language is called power, force, zest, enthusiasm, conviction, emphasis. Mere Activity (many movements or words per unit of time) may be lacking in strength, so also may persistent efforts. Emotionality may be entirely ineffective (cf. anxiety and grief).

Zora : I like to work intensely and I seldom do anything except with enthusiasm.

30. Emotionality. Here are grouped instances of frequent, or long-enduring intense emotional excitement.

Kindle : With my friends I am very temperamental, sometimes very kind and generous, sometimes given to bitter and sarcastic words.

Zora : I have often thought of myself as emotional, yet my self-discipline seems to be adequate.

Quick : I became fanatically orthodox. Only lately have the effects of this frenzy disappeared.

My moods are ones of excess. Great joy followed by great sadness.

Vulner : When my mother or sister played the piano I could work myself to tears thinking of my grandmother who died, though I had no real affection for her.

31. Persistence. This describes the tendency to ' keep at* some-thing until it is finished. It involves the setting of a somewhat distant goal, the determination to reach that goal, lack of dis-tractibility, endurance, will power in the face of fatigue, the

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ability to endure monotony and so forth. It may belong under n Achievement.

Zora : When I am physically tired, I yet continue doing

whatever I
am doing, deprived of even the indications of
enthusiasm.

32. Sameness : This term describes fixity, rigidity,
inflexibility,
stability or consistency of personality. Since this may
perhaps be
an attribute of processes at one level of integration
and not at
another it is questionable whether it should be
accepted as a gen-
eral factor.

32a. Sameness: Constancy of Cathexis. This designates
the
tendency of some people to maintain their cathections
over a
long period of time. The cathections may be strong (
Intensity)
or weak, but they endure. As illustrations one may
mention ad-
herence to the homestead, mother-fixation, family
loyalty, the
bearing of a grudge, the boy who never forgets an
injury, fetish-
ism, tenaciousness about possessions, the faithful
servant, a * die-
hard,' the man of inflexible sentiments, a golden
wedding. What
we observe is the inability to accept substitutes for
cathected ob-
jects, a preference for the familiar and a resistance
to novelty.

Kast : I had toy soldiers and machines which I never
tired of playing
with.

Frost : I became very much attached to a set of blocks
and for several
years played with them every day.

32b. Sameness : Behavioural Rigidity. This describes
the tend-
ency to do the same things in the same order day in and
day out.
Such a person likes to plan what he is going to do and
is dis-

turbed by conditions or demands that require a change of plan. He is upset by the unexpected. If possible, he adheres to a regular routine, for he can tolerate monotony. He is apt to develop rigid habits.

32c. Sameness : Mental Rigidity. This describes the tendency to adhere to old conceptions and resist new ideas. The subject uses the same words to express the same banal opinions. He wants to hear similar opinions from others. This factor is separated

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from Behavioural Rigidity because the two are not highly correlated.

For example, there are some highly flexible and imaginative minds inhabiting bodies that pursue an inflexible routine. Mental Rigidity, however, may be the result of immobility and circumscription (confining one's life to a narrow environment and to a small circle of friends) .

Zora : My view of society has come to be a view of the rural districts of Pennsylvania, for it seems to me that the life to be found there is the only life that my mind really comprehends.

Change is the opposite of Sameness. It describes the ' weather vane ' person. As illustrations of this the following will suffice :

Quick : I have a very fickle nature, not only in my infatuations but in all my tastes and fancies.

Stubb : I can do more things than most people. Since twelve years of age I have held positions as an operator of a die-cutting machine in an envelope factory, as a chauffeur, as a swimming instructor, camp counsellor, director of camp, typist, clerk in grocery store, salesman, bar tender, tutor, bellhop, office boy, bookkeeper, publicity agent for crooner, publicity agent for masseur and various other jobs.

Asfer : My mind is essentially unacademic.

33. Inhibition. Delayed reactions are usually the result of i, Passivity (low Activity) : sleepiness, apathy, dullness, lag ; 2, lack of ability : ignorance or inexperience ; or 3, Inhibition. The latter factor is manifested by tenseness, spasticity, or rigidity which may be steady (the subject is * frozen to the spot, ' ' mute ') or alternating (the subject's movements or words are jerky and disorganized). Under unemotional circumstances Inhibition takes the form of simple hesitation or caution. The factor of Inhibition favours all the negative needs. It may be a basic constituent of introversion. Combined with intellection, it manifests itself as delayed action : reflection and deliberation. ' Deliberation ' is the term that was used for this factor in Chapter III. No clear illustrations of Inhibition were found in the autobiographies but there were many examples of its opposite, Impulsion.

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34. Elation. It was considered important to have one variable

which stood for a continuum of mood differences running from Dejection (including sorrow, depression, pessimism) to Elation (including joy, enthusiasm, optimism). Cycloid personalities, of course, vacillate from one extreme to the other.

Bulge : I was extremely happy. I had no troubles and no problem seemed worth worrying about. My life was one sweet song for four glorious years.

In the autobiographies depressions were recorded with more frequency than elations.

Outer : Now, for a while, it seemed as though I would become morbid. Occasionally I find, if I am not busy, that I fall into the deepest fits of morbid despair, in which fits I am inclined to ponder over the efficacy of suicide.

Akeson : For the most part my life has been a series of disappointments, failures, unhappiness, dissatisfactions and deep depressions.

Earnst : My earliest impressions of life were miserable.

Or/o/ ; I am moody and melancholy.

Quick : Periods of great happiness are followed by similar periods of great dejection. The moods are ones of excess, great joy great sadness.

35. Imaginality. Under this heading we subsume fantasy and imaginative play. The variable describes the dreamy or imaginative child that is preoccupied and largely determined by its inner world, the sensitive and suggestible child that is

frightened by
its own shadow, the child that loves fairy tales and
myths and the
child that likes to make-believe.

Cling: My heroes were not men of history. I preferred
strange,
mythical characters, legends, and fairy tales. Jason,
Ulysses, Perseus, or
the younger brother of innumerable fairy stories were
the people I longed
to have been.

Sudden fears often gripped me, and I ran home as if
pursued by
real and tangible dangers, and not just imagined
bogeys.

Roon : During the winter, when I read a great deal ...
my imagi-
nation would be very strong. I read simple adventure
tales that would
immediately set me dreaming of far-off, fantastic
places.

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Zora : Those mythologic figures are still the one thing
in my mind
that seem alive., and untouched.

Asper : I can always look for an evening of really deep
pleasure when
I hear music. It is a process of complete loss of self
into an imaginary
reality.

Frost : I lived in a most amazing dream world. This
became very real
to me and from merely playing with sticks impersonating
men, I began
to live with them, and a few dreams that I had
convinced me of their
reality. I used to play digging for gold mines. When
asked about this I
would say that I was actually digging for gold. By this
deceit I eventually

even convinced myself. These years formed my mind more than any others. It stimulated my imagination which later has helped me a great deal.

Vale : I was strongly addicted to the sort of fantasy in which I was the all-conquering hero, of having wild and romantic adventures ; in superlative terms I was a soldier, an eloquent lawyer, an adventurer always a man of action.

36. Deceit. This is a stray category which includes actions that seem to be important enough to be considered. The variable describes the tendency of a child to tell falsehoods, deceive or be excessively secretive about its conduct.

Outer : I always had an alibi if a spanking seemed imminent.

I grew very crafty in avoiding such show-downs.

I also found that an innocent pose always worked for the best, and cultivated an outward appearance of the utmost innocence and purity.

With the most hypocritical feelings we fawned on her and told her how glad we were to see her.

Infantile Complexes

The behaviour patterns and cathected objects listed above were illustrated by events that occurred after the age of three. Anyone can cull similar examples from his own past. It seems that such memories depend mostly, if not entirely, upon the possession of language, that only what has been verbalized can be recollected in thought. Hence, events which occur

before the acquisition of language (during the pre-verbal period) are not recallable, though they may be partially re-enacted ('remem-

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bered,' as it were, by the motor system) and verbalized during the re-enaction in terms that seem to reproduce in a vague way the original situation.

An abundance of data collected by psycho-analysts, which cannot, of course, be reviewed here, strongly suggests that events of the pre-verbal period are in many cases as determining as, if not more determining than, later events. This conclusion has been arrived at by comparing some of the productions of adults (dreams of normal men, fantasies of neurotics, delusions of psychotics, as well as many artistic productions, myths and religious practices) to the events that can be observed in the life of infants. Without any doubt there is a connection. And there is nothing very extraordinary about this. It would be more extraordinary, from what we know about conditioning, if the reverse were true ; if something so plastic as an infant could not be radically modified by its experiences. Unfortunately, the child cannot tell us in so many words how it apperceives the world, how it feels and what it dreams about. Hence we must arrive at the contents of its regnancies by carefully observing external behaviour and by extrapolating backwards from the verbalizations that occur

at a later age. Let the reader keep in mind the highly speculative character of what is now to be discussed, but let him also remember that some of it is supported by a growing mass of circumstantial evidence : hundreds of case histories in the files of practising analysts, only small fragments of which are in print. What I shall have to say about the themes which analysts have brought to our attention will be brief, somewhat superficial and necessarily unconvincing to anyone who has not had a long experience with free associations. The short space that is open for this topic does not permit me to do justice to what the more advanced analysts have written on the subject. Nor shall I confine myself to what is considered good doctrine. The basic conceptions, of course, come from Freud, to whom all psychologists are indebted ; but in the ensuing pages they are given the shape that our own observations and judgements have dictated.

The analysts have especially stressed five highly enjoyable con-

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ditions or activities, each of which is terminated, frustrated or limited (at some point in development) by external forces : (1) the secure, passive and dependent existence within the womb (rudely interrupted by the painful experience of birth) ; (2) the sensuous enjoyment of sucking good nourishment from the mother's breast (or from a bottle) while lying safely

and de-
pendently in her arms (brought to a halt by weaning)
; (3) the
free enjoyment of the pleasurable sensations
accompanying defeca-
tion (restricted by toilet training) ; (4) the
pleasant sense im-
pressions accompanying urination (these are not as
restricted as
other zonal pleasures and are of less significance) ;
and (5) the
thrilling excitations that arise from genital friction
(prohibited
by threats of punishment) . Since the analysts are
inclined to em-
phasize the tactuo-sensory phases of sexual activity,
the four last
mentioned zonal activities are considered to be
rudimentary ex-
pressions of the Sex drive ; their connections with the
more funda-
mental digestive functions being generally disregarded.
Thus, it
is the convention to speak of oral, anal, urethral and
genital ero-
tism. Leaving aside the Freudians' somewhat narrow and
bizarre
use of the term ' erotism,' the facts show conclusively
: i, that many
children do derive absorbing and exciting pleasure from
activities
associated with one or another of these zones ; 2, that
they may
become fixated in respect to such activities ; and 3,
that these fixa-
tions have a marked influence on the evolution of the
sexual drive ;
giving rise to the so-called perversions which are
either overtly
expressed or (more commonly) inhibited or repressed.
Even
when repressed, these tendencies have the power to
influence
thought and behaviour. Although, as Freud has
suggested, these
phenomena may depend primarily on endocrine activity,
external
factors are also important. It seems, for instance,
that zonal fixa-

tions do not occur one might almost say that the zonal activities do not become enduringly erotized if there is no imposed frustration. The evidence suggests, indeed, that frustration followed by inhibition and repression may lead to the erotization of any drive : Aggression (sadism), Acquisition (kleptomania), Dominance (megalomania), Exhibition (exhibitionism), Cog-

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nizance (voyeurism). No plausible theory has been offered to account for this.

An enduring integrate (derived from one of the above-mentioned enjoyed conditions) that determines (unconsciously) the course of later development may be called a complex. A complex is considered abnormal only when it is extreme. The complexes which are now to be considered are constellated about : 1, an enclosed space (or 'claustrum*' as we shall call it), 2, the mouth (sucking, biting and food), 3, the anus (defecation and faeces), 4, the urethra (urination and urine) or 5, the genitals (masturbation and the fear of castration).

A. CLAUSTRAL COMPLEXES

Under this heading we shall group all complexes that might conceivably be derived from the pre-natal period or from the trauma of birth. The following may be distinguished : 1, a complex constellated about the wish to reinstate the conditions simi-

lar to those prevailing before birth ; 2, a complex that centres about the anxiety of insupport and helplessness ; and 3, a complex that is anxiously directed against suffocation and confinement (anti-claustral tendency) .

Ai. Simple Claustal Complex. This integrate seems to be organized by an unconscious desire to re-experience the state of being that existed before birth. We have to do here with a compound of needs and actones associated with a certain type of object. The symptoms are as follows :

a. Cathexion of claustra. It is not necessary to affirm that the child wants in any literal sense to enter the mother, for if, as is supposed, the womb was for him an agreeable place it must have satisfied certain prevailing needs, and after birth there are other places which may just as well or better satisfy these needs when they recur. An emphasis upon the external conditions of foetal life, however, establishes the cathexis of womb-like enclosures as the core of the complex. In order not to mix interpretation with fact it seems advisable to use the term claustrum (plural : claustra) to designate such places, particularly if they are small, warm,

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dark, secluded, safe, private or concealing. As illustrations of such objects or dream images the following may be mentioned : a crib, under the sheets, under the bed, a barrel, a box, a safe, a closet,

a room of one's own, a sound-proof den, a home off the beaten track, a monastery, a castle, a citadel, a cathedral, a hut, a cave, a hogan, a secret hiding place, a tunnel into a mountain, a mesa, a mine, a tomb, a boat with a cabin, a barge, a stage coach, a limousine. One might also include islands, enclosed valleys, and certain versions of paradise. It is supposed that a subject with this complex is attracted to, seeks, or if not found, builds such objects, and is inclined to enter them (v digression) and remain in them (v Adherence) for some time, secluded from others. Claustal symbols may appear quite frequently in his dreams and fantasies. The subject gets a fixation on his habitation or sanctuary and hates to leave it or to move to another house.

b. Cathexis of nurturant objects (mother). Since the mother furnished the original claustrum and since her embracing arms, her skirts and her protecting peaceful presence may function as a claustrum we may expect anaclitic love with fixation on the mother or on a mother surrogate. Homesickness is common. This would be characteristic of an extraverted claustral child. An introverted child is more likely to find or build a secluded material haven and act inwardly as its own parent (n intraNur) . In a social situation the introvert's * wall ' of reticence functions as a claustrum. Institutions may act as protecting claustra (particularly for the extravert) : school, college (alma mater), lodge, church (mother church), hospital, almshouse, asylum, etc. God may be fantasied as a claustrum (ex : * Rock of ages, cleft

for me, Let me
hide myself in Thee ') .

c. n Passivity, n Harm avoidance, n Seclusion and n Succorance.
An emphasis on the drive aspect leads to the formulation of a compound constituted by needs that were satisfied in the womb :
n Passivity (sleep, unconsciousness and inactivity), n Harm-avoidance (freedom from pain, from loss of support, from shock, from loud noises and other dangers), n Seclusion (privacy and freedom from intrusive human stimulation), n Succorance (the

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close presence of another human body to gratify these as well as other needs : Food and Water). The great dependence upon home or upon a refuge (a safe haven of rest) justifies the expression 'claustal Succorance,' or even Umbilical Succorance' (cf. The Silver Cord) when a subject does not dare to venture more than a certain distance from his homestead. Here the Harm-avoidance drive commonly uses Succorance (adherence to a supporting O, or calls for help) as a subsidiary. The n Passivity is satisfied in sleep, the actones being those of curling up (ex : foetal position).

c i. Cathexion of death. Related to the subject's underlying desire to return to his former state of passivity is the inclination to surrender, to fall ill, to drown in the waters, to depart this life or to * enter the tomb and be swallowed up by

mother earth.'

It may be thought that * death's bright angel ' will bring a happy release from the coils of this mortal life. A milder version of this is

c ii. Cathexis of Nirvana. Here the subject desires to attain utter passivity (without death), serenity resulting from the relaxation of tension and conflict, to lose his individual identity (Ego consciousness) by merging with (dissolving in) the infinite (becoming one with the universe, the atmosphere, the sea, the c great mother, ' the Godhead) . This may lead to a separation from others, drug addiction, mystical exercises, or Yoga practices.

d. Cathexis of the past. The S is attached to his birthplace. If he moves away, in later years he is apt to think back on his childhood with feelings of nostalgia. He may yearn to return to the old homestead, or he may idealize his childhood or he may glorify some epoch that is past, some historic period before his birth. (* Once things were better on the earth ' cf. myth of the Golden Age, myth of the Garden of Eden.) As a sub-heading may be added :

d i. Ephemeral sentiments. The desire for security and immobility and the cathexis of the past usually lead an S with a claustrophobic complex to adopt and adhere to conventional and well-accredited patterns of behaviour and thought : morals, political

principles, religious beliefs, aesthetical standards.
He resists change,
new ideologies, revolutionary doctrines. Sameness,
Conjunctivity
and Deliberation are apt to be high.

Illustrations (from the autobiographies) of the
simple claustral
complex must be sought under the proper headings :
cathection
of mother, n Passivity, n Seclusion, n Harmavoidance, n
Suc-
corance. Here it is only necessary to cite memories
which relate
to the cathection of claustra :

Krumb : I am able to take my exams at home, sheltered
from the un-
thinkable agony of sitting in a room full of people.

I am afraid to leave my room. All I want is the quiet
of my room.

VuLner : I loved to build tunnels in snow or under
chairs with rugs
thrown over.

The simple claustral complex may or may not be
associated with
the insupport complex.

A2. Insupport Complex. This is constituted by a basic
insecurity
or anxiety of helplessness (n Succorance S n
Harmavoidance) .
The fears are rather typical.

Fears of insupport. The loss of physical support is one
of the
elementary conditions of fear. There are various kinds
of fears
which may be subsumed under this heading, the commonest
being :

i. Fear of open spaces (agoraphobia). The subject
cannot
leave his house, or depart from the support of a wall,

or expose himself to inclement weather, or cross a space, or feel at home in open country without the accompanying presence of a reliable and sympathetic friend or parent. One thinks here of a child learning to walk moving cautiously from one fixed structure to another, not daring to hazard steps across the floor. This includes 'distance' phobias.

ii. Fear of falling (narrow pathways, insecure ground, heights) . The subject is cautious in walking on rough ground or in crossing streams on a log or in jumping from rock to rock, or in climbing trees, or in shinnying up a pole, or in climbing mountains. He avoids heights if possible. Fainting or dizziness are common symptoms.

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iii. Fear of drowning (water). The child is afraid when he first takes his bath. Later, he is very cautious when he begins to play along the water's edge. Because of fear he is slow in learning to swim, and when at sea he is afraid of rough water, afraid of capsizing. The idea of a shipwreck troubles him.

iv. Fear of earthquake. The thought of ground crumbling under him is alarming.

v. Fear of fire. Imaginations or dreams of his house being consumed in flames or falling on his head terrify him at night.

vi. Fear of family insupport. The S may be worried by discord between his parents. He may fear separation, divorce or the death of a parent.

vii. Fear of life. The subject fears novel situations, strangers, change, adventure. He does not feel capable of the effort and courage necessary to make his independent way in the world.

A}. Egression (Anti-Claustral) Complex. Psychoanalysts are apt to assume that the womb is the pleasantest of all environments and that every creature has an underlying desire to return to it. Certainly, in a child, the needs for Passivity and Succorance are strong, but it may be supposed that with foetal growth the womb sometimes becomes a press of confinement, which provokes the needs for Activity and Autonomy. We know, for instance, that the foetus is quite active during the last months. Recent findings indicate that a progressive anoxemia (asphyxia) in the child is the stimulus which initiates labor pains, and this is the very stimulus which is most certain to evoke Autonomy, movements to escape from restraint (particularly if it limits respiration) or from the confines of an airless space. The process of birth subjects the infant to extreme cranial pressure and is followed by a short period of more extreme asphyxia. Thus the press of asphyxia and physical restraint are intimately associated. It will be remembered that Watson and others have found that holding the head of a baby in a fixed position invariably provokes

angry struggles for release. These facts suggest that we must consider the possibility of a complex directly opposed to the claustral complex.

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Speculation suggests that the manifestations to be described constitute an integrate that is related to the trauma of birth. It may represent a re-enaction of the birth trauma in order to master the anxiety associated with it, or a long term perseveration of the n Autonomy (fused with the need for Air) set up and for a time frustrated by conditions just before and during birth. The symptoms of this complex are as follows :

a. Egression vector. This designates the fact that the subject is perpetually leaving a place, particularly an enclosed, stuffy, constraining, prohibiting or monotonous place. According to the emphasis at the moment we find :

i. Cathexion of open spaces and fresh air. Some people have strong sentiments about the necessity for fresh air, wide open windows, deep and unimpaired breathing. They do not like to be confined indoors, to be ' cooped up.' They like to range freely, to roam or ride across country, to travel. They are apt to prefer large expanses : the sea, the desert, distant views from high mountains.

ii. Locomotion vector. This describes a recurrent reaction to environments, namely, separation. The subject cannot

stay for
any length of time in one place. He must be continually
on the
move. As examples we may cite : truants, hoboes,
voyagers, ad-
venturers, gentlemen of fortune, explorers, sailors,
beachcombers.

iii. Cathexis of change. There are subjects who
hanker after
new impressions, cannot tolerate monotony, are
painfully bored
by conventional people and trite speech. ' Anything for
a change '
is their motto.

iv. Negative cathexis of claustrophobia (claustrophobia).
Here the
subject is afraid that if he gets into an enclosed
place, a room,
an elevator, a subway, a train, a theatre, he will be
unable to get
out. When he does find himself in such a situation a
fearful anx-
iety may arise (n Harm) and with it the thought that
he is
unable to breathe (fusion with n Air). This terrifies
him and
he will make frantic efforts to escape. The panic that
sometimes
possesses an audience when a fire breaks out in a
theatre may be
cited as an instance of a widespread temporary
claustrophobia

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among normal people. A fear of closed spaces is not
infrequently
found in conjunction with a fear of open spaces. This
is evidence
in favour of the supposition that the basis for both of
them is the
same : the birth trauma. The fear of being buried alive
should be
included here.

b. n Autonomy. Typical of this complex is the Autonomy drive exhibited as an intolerance of barriers and restraining prohibitions, coupled with the tendency to break out and take flight from such confinements. Subjects of this stamp must feel free, and so whenever compliance is demanded (p Dominance) they rebel. (' Give me liberty or give me death.') They are apt to think that the 'authorities' are interfering with their rights. Open defiance, however, is less characteristic than escape to some more tolerant environment. With this integrate may go the cathection of 'primitive people (ex : the * noble savage ') and the expression of Promethean sentiments (ex : ' orthodoxy must be shattered ; there must be freedom ; a new " inspiration " must be brought to man').

Various interesting combinations of the three claustral complexes may be found. Ambitendency (vacillation from one extreme to the other) is not uncommon. We have, for example :

Rebirth thema, which combines Ingression (entering the womb [introversion] in order to gather new energies) and Egression (emergence from darkness [extraversion] in order to create something, take up a new life, or bring a ' message ') .

Orphan thema. The S may think of himself as having been unwanted by his parents, unloved, disinherited (cf. expulsion from paradise), misunderstood, pushed before his prime into an unkindly world (cf. claustral complex) . He may

dramatize himself
as a pariah, an unbefriended wanderer over the face of
the earth,
wistfully craving or seeking the love that was once
withheld, look-
ing for the * happy isles,' the ' forgotten way.'

Unfortunately, there is no data pertaining to the
problem of
whether such conditions as threatened miscarriage,
protracted
labour, marked asphyxia at birth and Caesarian section
have an
influence on the development of claustral complexes.
There is

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evidence, however, which goes to show that later the
press of
Family Insupport (Discord, Separation, Death), the
press of
Rejection, and the press Birth of Sibling may promote
or en-
gender one of these integrates.

B. ORAL COMPLEXES

That the mouth is a zone which may function as an
integral
part of an erotic complex is demonstrated by the
conjunction of
kissing and sexuality, but more certainly by the
occurrence of
overt oral erotism (fellatio) and covert, inhibited
oral erotism
(unequivocally manifested in fantasies and dreams).
These and
other facts led Freud to the notion of a primarily
erotized mouth.
According to this theory it is from sucking that the
infant derives
its greatest sensuous delight. This theory, if given an
operational
definition, becomes a fact which no one who patiently
observes
the oral activity of babies can readily deny.

Though the activity of sucking may have originally acquired significance through its association with the satisfaction of hunger (n Food) , it must be given the status of a more or less independent drive (n oral Sentience) . For example, a child, after satiation of its appetite, will not infrequently push away the bottle and start sucking its thumb, just as, in later life, after a hearty meal a man will take a sweet (n gustatory Sentience) or light cigar (n oral Sentience) . The conclusion is that sucking, during a certain period of life, at least, is an actone which brings its own peculiar satisfaction. A child will exhibit the signs of extreme annoyance if this activity is interfered with. It seems likely, furthermore, that these mouth sensations are not only in themselves more sexual-like than anything else the child experiences, but they engender (by the spread of excitations through the parasympathetic nervous system) sensations in the genital region (fusion with n Sex). This would help to explain the frequency with which genital excitement follows upon oral stimulation (satisfied or frustrated).

Sucking is accompanied by a relatively passive, succorant attitude. The baby lies back (usually in its mother's arms) and

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receives its nourishment from her breast or from a bottle. Furthermore, the child is more or less helpless during the

entire sucking period. Because of this association, one commonly finds oral automatisms and a succorant dependent attitude occurring overtly or covertly in the same individual. When this persists as an enduring complex it may be supposed that either the zonal fixation (as most analysts assume) or the receptive tendency is the basic constellating factor.

Having discovered evidence for what might be called the erotization of sucking, the analysts are prone to group all complexes that are associated with the mouth biting, chewing, spitting, vomiting, breathing, tasting, food preferences, and speech phenomena under the heading of oral erotism. To what extent this terminology is justified is uncertain. At present, there are not enough accurate observations of infant behaviour to warrant positive statements. Here we have limited ourselves to three oral complexes : 1, the mouth associated with n Passivity and n Succorance (Reception vector) ; 2, the mouth associated with n Aggression (Conscience vector) ; and 3, the mouth associated with n Rejection (Ejection or Encasement vector).

Bi. Oral Succorance Complex. This is chiefly characterized by the conjunction of oral activity (automatisms and the cathectidB of oral objects) and passive, succorant tendencies (dependence and the cathection of nurturant objects). It bears some resemblance to the claustral complex in so far as it is engendered by a dependent physical connection with the mother (mouth-nipple) which is broken later, more or less abruptly. Expulsion

from the womb and weaning are both imposed separations (frustrations) which may leave their mark on the personality of the child. Events of the feeding period, as well as the conditions of weaning, should have a determining effect upon the complex. Some children, for example, are weaned suddenly and show marked frustration reactions. The degree of trauma at weaning would appear to be determined by 1, the child's capacity to enjoy oral stimulation and the amount of previous gratification ; 2, the rigidity and focality of the fixation ; 3, the suddenness of the change ; 4, the

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child's general irritability and intolerance of frustration ; and 5, the inability of the mother to provide adequate substitutes. The symptoms of an oral succorance complex are as follows :

a. Oral automatisms : sucking. Here we should include constant lip movements, sucking (of finger, pencil, etc.), frequent hand-to-mouth actones, excessive kissing and so forth.

Quick : I sucked my thumb until I was five.

Vulner : A bad habit I had was sucking my index finger and at the same time twisting my hair so that I developed a little bald spot.

Roll : One of my habits was pulling at my hair, getting a hair out by the roots, whereupon I put it in my mouth and sucked it. I have been trying to break this habit for years. I've even tried wearing a hat when

I study.

b. Cathexis of oral objects : nipple, breast. Originally, it was the nipple and breast or the nipple and milk bottle that satisfied oral Sentience. Later other objects (thumb, * pacifier, ' penis, cigars) may be accepted as substitutes and be cathected.

c. Compulsive n Food or n Water, with cathexis of food objects and drink. Eating between meals, frequent inclinations to nibble or have a sip of something, a pre-occupation with diet (ritualistic habits), a prodigious appetite (stuffing), dipsomania, as well as the cathexis of food objects (especially milk, ice cream, soft food, candy, * all-day-suckers ') and drugs that are taken by mouth ; these all suggest an oral complex. Memories of food and eating were profuse in some of the autobiographies, not at all in others.

Vale : I used to dream about having all I wanted to eat of the things I liked.

Kast : I remember father bringing me home some ice cream when I was sick. From then on I looked on ice cream as a benefit to life. I eat tremendous amounts of it in the summer.

Earnst : I remember drinking water for days, a sip at a time, to ease the feverish burning of my throat.

d. n Passivity and n Succorance. The desire passively to receive (v Reception) : nourishment, sympathy, protection, sup-

port, praise, recognition, money, love, is characteristic of this complex. The S appears to be starving for affection. The Acquisition drive is often fused with these needs (ex : a ' gold digger ' on the lookout for a 'sugar daddy'). It is exemplified by those who * make use of ' people, who * sponge ' by accepting hospitality and money (ex : begging). An inhibited oral Acquisition tendency (exhibited by the infant who grabs and puts into its mouth whatever objects it can reach') may express itself as a fantasy of searching, inbreaking or digging in the ground for something valuable (oil, gold, etc.). Kleptomania may spring from this complex, as well as exaggerated envy.

It has been shown by Alexander 1 that gastric symptoms (indigestion, peptic ulcer) may be caused by covert oral receptive tendencies.

e. Projections of n oral Succor ance. The subject fantasies that other people are trying to ' use ' him (to make a ' sucker ' out of him), and that his energies are being drained (Vampire thema). People, he says, ask for too much. This projection occurs when the S inhibits his own desire to take from others.

f . Cathexion of nurturant objects (mother). A dependent fixation on the mother or on some other sympathetically devoted object is common.

g. Fantasies of oral impregnation. Theories of fertilization by

the inspiration or ingestion of a seed (cf. immaculate conception) are probably engendered by this complex.

h. n oral Sex (fellatio). The fusion of Passivity and Succorance furthers the development of a feminine sexual attitude in men (Reception vector), and when this is combined with orality a passive homosexual complex (overt or covert) may result.

i. Cathexis of words. There is evidence to suppose that a special interest in speaking and in the emotional value of words loquaciousness, a neologistic tendency, a love of oratory or poetry is a sign of orality. It is as if the poet's verses were just so many poignant cries for love (the * lost Elysium ').

i. Alexander,?. ' The influence of psychologic factors upon gastro-intestinal disturbances.' Psychoanal. ><w/.,i934J 5i-539-

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j. Totalistic apprehension. The reception vector operating with perception and apperception may lead to sensuous perceptiveness, empathic apprehension of a total situation (getting the 'feel' of something as a whole) , * drinking in ' knowledge and apperceiving its * essence ' (rather than grasping and memorizing a bit at a time) .

Weaning or the frustration of oral Succorance leads to further symptoms :

k. Projections of p Rejection and p Retention. This

includes the Orphan thema (* I have been miserably deprived of parental support'). It displays itself as the belief that people are heartless, selfish, mean and miserly, as well as by a generally pessimistic outlook (' Nothing ever comes ' * You never get what you want f c You can't trust anyone ') .

1. n intrdN urturance . The S who believes himself rejected is apt to turn his love (n Nur, n Def, n Sex) inward. Self-pity is the root of one variety of Narcism. As with thumb-sucking, it may lead to a type of introverted self-sufficiency associated with a rejective attitude towards the world (* You can't expect anything from other people ') .

m. Inhibited n Aggression. The subject blames the world for giving him a * raw deal.' His envy of what other people receive (by inheritance or luck) makes him particularly resentful of prosperous (well-fed), successful people.

B2. Oral Aggression Complex. This is constituted by the conjunction of Aggression and oral activity (biting). It functions not infrequently as a contrafaction to an underlying, though perhaps latent, oral Succorance.

a. Oral automatisms : biting. This includes chewing objects, nail-biting and grinding the teeth at night. In a baby this begins as the teeth appear (from about the fifth month onwards) . Sometimes a child will bite its mother's nipple, an event which may necessitate weaning. In this case p Rejection (deprivation

of the breast) may be interpreted as a punishment for biting (Aggression), and this may bring about regression to a less adaptive, passive attitude. The child may bite its own thumb (n

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intrAgg) until it becomes clubbed. A lover will sometimes bite the woman's body during sexual intercourse.

Oriol : I have always bitten the hair on the back of my fingers when I concentrate.

Zill : I was getting thinner and underweight and extremely nervous, bit my nails profusely.

b. Cathexis of solid oral objects. Solid foods (meat and bones) or other objects (pencils, pipes, etc.) may be cathected. One of our subjects would chew through the stem of his pipe in a few months.

c. n Aggression. During phylogeny oral Aggression was associated with the n Food (the killing of prey) and a positively cathected object (something good to eat). Carnivora more frequently bite what they like (food) than what they dislike (an animal that is not good to eat). And if this is so, one would expect oral Aggression to be combined with a positive cathexis (appetite, lust, love, admiration) of the object. This, indeed, is what one does find in the totem feast (eating the worshipped animal), in the Holy Communion, in cannibalism (incorporat-

ing the virtues of the bravest foes) and in infantile oral Aggression (biting the nurturing breast). In children oral Aggression is usually found as one phase of an ambi-tendency (contrafactive to oral Succorance), the Aggression having been evoked by an interference with sucking. Since, during the nursing period, hating usually objectifies itself as biting, the latter may be taken as a sign of oral frustration (weaning) . Verbal Aggression (censure, criticism, belittlement, ' biting ' sarcasm, insult) seems to be the most common sublimation of biting. It often takes the form of ideo Aggression : a destructive analysis and criticism of the sentiments and theories of others. It may exhibit itself also as nagging and commanding (n Dom) younger objects. Covert Aggression is more indicative of an early oral Aggression than is overt Aggression.

d. Ambi-cathexion of superior objects. Oral aggression being originally directed at the depriving mother and later (quite com-

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monly) at the interfering father, an upward orientation (supr-Agg) is thereby established which pre-determines the S, in later life, to select superior objects (dominating women, men of authority, God) to attack and criticize. Whether or not the objects have been previously revered, they are usually respected secretly, even while they are being depreciated.

e. Projection of oral Aggression. Some children are

arrested and disturbed by stories, fantasies and dreams in which the hero is chased, attacked and eaten by a carnivorous animal. This may be due in part to the re-animation of archetypal images and fears, but is explained more immediately as a projection of the child's own oral Aggression. The infant sees the environment in its own image, as a world of biting objects. This accounts for the prevalence of fairy stories and sagas about creatures that bite children and men : tales about dragons and giants (cf. * The bogey man will eat you'), Little Red Riding Hood (cf. ' Who's afraid of the big, bad wolf ? '), Cronos devouring his children, the Were-wolf legends and so forth. As a special instance of the general doctrine of Lycanthropy, we may cite the ancient Armenian superstition that certain sinful women are punished for a term of years by being changed at night into wolves that crave the flesh of their own children. Such wolf-women can pass through any door or window, and it is impossible to resist them. Here the oral Aggression is projected onto the mother, but more frequently the aggressor is a male figure (which has more basis in fact) .

f. n Harmavoidance and the negative cathection of biting animals. A child may project Aggression onto some suitable object, e.g., a dog or horse, and develop a phobia. Nightmarish fears of being chased and gobbled up may recur, these being the usual accompaniments of projected Aggression.

g. Identification with carnivorous creatures. This

applies to children who like to imagine or play that they are devouring animals, or who especially enjoy stories of wild beasts and cannibals.

h. Stuttering. Stuttering is an inco-ordination or conflict of oral actones which may have its roots in an infantile conflict between

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sucking and biting. The motor disjunctivity also involves respiration.

Akeson : I have been affected with stammering, a condition which varies in intensity . . . but which has always been with me and something I have been afraid of.

63. Oral Rejection Complex. There is considerable uncertainty as to the nature and significance of this complex. There are first of all acts which illustrate the Ejection vector : spitting up and vomiting. These are basically derived from disgust (nausea) and the Noxavoidance drive. Then there are acts, such as turning away and firmly closing the mouth, which apparently have the same aim (to avoid noxious substances), but are characterized by spasticities at the oral orifice (rather than by oral reception followed by regurgitation) . The problem is, what belongs together ? Are we dealing with one complex, or are there two (a, ready reception and ready ejection and b, exclusion and retention) ? These may be the result of autonomic (

sympathetic)
stimulation along the upper digestive tract (oesophageal, cardiac or pyloric spasm). The Freudians are apt to regard all of these rejections as repudiations of some underlying wish : to drain others (oral Succorance), to devour cannibalistically (oral Aggression), or to take into the mouth an erotic object (n oral Sex).

a. Negative cathection of certain foods. This is generally described as ' finickiness about food/ The child refuses to eat or spits up certain foods. The mother's milk or the doctor's feeding formula may not agree with the infant, or later, certain foods may become repulsive due to secondary displacement. In the child's fantasy they may stand for something else (flesh, faeces, penis). In some cases vegetarianism may represent a contraf action to infantile cannibalism.

Zill : My appetite was very poor and many foods were repulsive to me because of some association they made in my throat with things slimy. Once after I had seen a crushed frog I could not eat for days.

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b. Inhibition of n Food. The S may limit his diet or refuse to eat entirely (ex : hunger strike). Here, we may include dietary asceticism (eating meagre, simple fare) as well as suicide by starvation. A death wish may exhibit itself as an inability to swallow (oesophageal spasm). This may represent the

guilty
repudiation of an infantile wish to incorporate
something loath-
some (faeces, penis), or it may be a manifestation of
utter spite
(' I am dying because you rejected me. You are to
blame and I
hope self-reproaches will torture you to the end of
your days ') .

c. n Harmavoidance : Fear of oral infection. Some
subjects have
a fear of being infected by mouth. They are apt to
believe that
food is dirty or decayed, or that it contains bacteria
or parasites.
The fear of kissing may have a similar origin as well
as the delu-
sion that another person is maliciously putting poison
in one's
food.

d. n Rejection. When the mother's milk does not satisfy
the
child it turns away. This happens sometimes immediately
after
birth. It makes bottle feeding imperative. There are no
facts
which tell us what effect this initial rejection of the
mother may
have. The child must henceforth cathect the milk bottle
or its
own thumb, rather than the mother's breast.
Theoretically, this
should lead to a state of relative independence, or one
in which
material objects are accepted as substitutes for
affectionate con-
tact. The Rejection drive may also be evoked by
subsequent
weaning (interpreted as p Rejection). It may function
as a contra-
faction to oral Succorance (* My mother is no longer
of use to
me'). This should lead to independence or exclusiveness
(intro-
version) or to diffidence and aloofness.

e. n Seclusion : Reticence. The Encasement vector

operating at the mouth should lead to reticence, secrecy, refusal to tell things, retaining information. This may be a subsidiation of the Rejection drive (* I shall never speak to you again'), or it may be in the service of privacy and Endocathexis (* Leave me and let me enjoy my own thoughts'), or it may be for Retention ('I have a valuable secret which I am going to keep to myself).
Mutism

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is a not uncommon symptom in hysteria as well as in schizophrenia (catatonia) .

f. n Autonomy : Resistance. Children who do not wish to eat, to talk, or to demonstrate affection are, as a rule, incessantly urged to do so by their parents. In order to defend themselves these children must develop habits of resistance and negativism.

g. Negative cathexis of nurturant object (mother). The rejection is usually focussed upon the depriving parent. During the feeding period this is usually the mother. This original fixation may later give rise to constant depreciations of women or to the habit of refusing aid or sympathy from anyone (' I can take care of myself *) .

C. ANAL COMPLEXES

The psycho-analysts have clearly demonstrated that the association in infancy of certain general attitudes with defecatory

activities may be of considerable importance in the later development of the personality. To account for this the original (and still widely held) theory was that defecation is one of several components of the Sex drive and that some children, due to a hypersensitivity of anal mucous membrane, derive special sensual pleasure from this activity. Because of the resulting zonal fixation, certain behavioural tendencies associated with the period of bowel training : retentiveness, orderliness, cleanliness, obstinacy, become established as outstanding traits of personality. The observation that some children spend a long time on the toilet and resist efforts to hurry them has been put down to the fact that, because large, faeces give more friction and hence more pleasure, the anally fixated child gets into the habit of retaining, accumulating and slowly discharging his excrement. One of the unhappy sequelae of this practice is chronic constipation. With these facts and theories as a nucleus the Freudians have expanded the concept of anal erotism to include almost everything that is commonly associated with defecation and faeces : diarrhoea, soil-ing, constipation, playing with faeces, smearing, sensitivity to bad

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odours, exhibitionistic expulsions, inspection of the defecatory activities of others, pruritus ani, back-house humour, and so forth. We can say that in the main our own findings are in accord

with analytical observations, but that they have led us to a somewhat different formulation. It seems that it is possible to distinguish two anal complexes : one connected with the tendency to expel (Ejection vector), the other with the tendency to retain (Retention vector). The primitive, natural tendency is to excrete whenever stimulation from the anal zone arises. This must be the original form of anal erotism. When training begins the first thing that the child must learn is to retain his faeces until the proper time and place are reached. He must also learn to eject at the time that a parent dictates. Thus, the original tendency is met by barriers and prohibitions (' You must not let go '), and then by coercions ('Now, you must give or produce something'). The more active, motile, expansive, impulsive, extraverted child finds difficulty in meeting the first demand ; whereas the more passive, immotile, contracted, inhibited, introverted child finds difficulty in meeting the second. Thus there is the possibility of two complexes, the main characteristics of which conform to those of the two stages of anal erotism postulated by Abraham. 1 Abraham distinguished a primary stage marked by the sadistic getting rid and annihilation of objects, and a secondary stage in which objects became cathected, acquired and held. Whereas analysts believe that these two impulses have their source in the erotogenic anal zone, we should say that they were general vectors which, though most clearly exhibited in connection with defecation and when pathologically exaggerated always associated with anal

fixation,
are commonly manifested before the period of anal
training and
can develop independently of excretory functions. For
example,
the youngest infants commonly pass through a period of
belching
and spitting up nourishment before they come to the
stage of
surely retaining it. Similarly with toys : they start
by throwing
them out of the crib and only later does the
disposition to hold
and collect them become dominant. There can be no
certainty

i. Abraham.K. Selected Papers, London, 1927.

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about such matters, however, until the facts of infant
development
have been systematically observed and assembled. In the
mean-
while the data at our disposal can be subsumed under
two head-
ings : anal ejection and anal retention.

Ci. Anal Ejection Complex. The unequivocal phenomena at
the core of this complex are : defecatory
preoccupation, the cathec-
tion of faeces, incontinence, soiling, frequent
evacuations and
diarrhoea. Associated with these are the tendencies
characteristic
of the Ejection vector, as well as certain commonly
related needs.

a. Cathcction of defecation and faeces. A special
preoccupation
with excretory activity (enjoyment, over-emphasis,
worry,
rituals, medication and so forth), lewd thoughts and
language,
anal humour, an interest in excrement or in somewhat
similar
material (dirt, mud, plaster, clay, paint, decayed

flesh) and coprophagia may be grouped under this heading.

Vulner : Occasionally my mind would dwell on lewd or filthy subjects.

b. Anal inspection and exhibition. Here may be included curiosity in the excretory activities of others, as well as the display of one's own powers.

Outer : First notice of sex was at age of four when I used to play with a girl a year older. We used to make our toilets in alleys.

c. Anal theory of birth. Many children believe that babies are born from the rectum, but the theory seems to be more common among anally fixated children.

d. Ejection vector and n Aggression : disorder, smearing. Under this heading may be included not only i, the excretion and expulsion of waste products and gases from the body, but also 2, dropping things down, throwing things about, making loud noises, setting off explosions, firing guns, disrupting, dismembering, mutilating. Subjects of this type are generally untidy, dirty, disarranged and unorganized. The vector may be fused with n Aggression, which in this connection takes on a distinctly destructive or sadistic aspect. Due to its association with katabolism and excrement, anal Aggression is accompanied by no love or respect for the object (as is oral Aggression). It wishes only to

break apart, smash, shatter, burn. It may lead to an interest in horror, dead bodies, etc. It may exhibit itself as vandalism or as the disfigurement of objects by smearing. Using * dirty/ * foul ' language or slandering the reputations of others (ex : yellow journalism) may be included here.

Oak : I found an old can of paint and proceeded to smear our car all up and there were many other things like it.

e. Locomotion vector and n Autonomy : Freedom, Expansion, Impulsion and Change. Subjects with a strong Ejection vector cannot stay in the same place for very long. Just as they find it difficult to control their bowel movements, so also do they find it impossible to restrain their incessant craving for locomotion, change, new sensations. As a rule they are ' wasters,' spending money freely when they have it and conserving nothing. There is the possibility of fusion with the egression (anti-claustrophobic) complex.

f. Anal Sexuality. Pederasty associated with active or passive homosexuality is the complete expression of anal erotism ; but there are also milder and less direct forms that occur in conjunction with heterosexuality.

C2. Anal Retention Complex. Though one finds at the basis of this complex the same cathexis of defecation and faeces that characterizes anal ejection, the outstanding manifestations are opposed to the latter tendencies. For the most part they are inhibiting defence mechanisms furthered by parental

discipline and
Superego formation. Hence the character that is
established on
this basis may be appropriately termed ' anal
antherotic ' (rather
than ' anal erotic '). The first three and the last of
the following
list of symptoms are common to both anal complexes :

a. Cathexis of defecation and faeces. Positive
cathexis is
usually repressed and overbalanced by an exaggerated
negative
cathexis : reticence, prudishness and disgust
associated with
defecation.

b. Anal inspection and exhibition. There may be a
history of
coprophilic curiosity in childhood.

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c. Anal theory of birth.

d. Encasement vector. The subject is 'closed up,' *
shut-in,'
' close-mouthed/ reticent, secretive, taciturn. He has
a '-wall' that
holds others at a ' distance.* He does not like to be
watched.
Retardation of speech in a child may be associated with
this
general ' contractiveness.'

e. n Retention. The subject accumulates, piles up,
collects and
hoards his possessions. He also takes special measures
to conserve
them (n Conservance, vide p. 80). He repairs, paints,
cleans,
covers, puts away and locks up his ' treasures.' He is
not inclined
to lend things or give presents.

f. Projection of p Acquisition. The subject has
fantasies or

dreams of being dispossessed or robbed. He fears that others will borrow from him promiscuously or that he will be cheated of his inheritance or swindled in a business deal. These tendencies may date from the trauma of being given an enema in infancy. (Fantasies of this type may be fused with fantasies of rape or of homosexual assault.)

g. n Autonomy : Resistance. The subject is resistant to suggestions. He likes to concentrate on the things that interest him and take his own time. He becomes obstinate and negativistic when accosted by sudden demands. The Rejection drive (exclusiveness) is often strong.

h. n Order: Cleanliness and Precision. The S is obsessively orderly and tidy with his belongings, and keeps his body and vestments clean and neat. He is quick to notice and be upset by spots, mussiness or disorder. He is apt to be precise and scrupulous in his work as well as in his dealings with others.

i. n Harmavoidance : Fear of microbes and insects. The S may associate dirt with bacteria, and this may lead to obsessive cleanliness, or hygienic obsessions : squeamishness about touching such things as door-knobs, railings, towels or toilet seats in public places, a habit of gargling or rinsing his throat every morning, a compulsion to wash or bathe frequently, and so forth. Fears and revulsions involving insects and rodents may also be included here.

j. Cognitive perseveration. The S is as tenacious of an idea or a

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trend of thought as he is of money. He cannot * drop ' a topic, a trait that often leads to arguments. Sometimes he is bothered by worrying ideas that ' keep running in his head/
k. Anal Sexuality.

D. URETHRAL COMPLEX

Under this heading may be grouped : bed-wetting and incontinence, urethral ejection (soiling), exhibitionism and clear-cut examples of urinary erotization.

a. Bed-wetting and incontinence.

Kast : Bed-wetting lasted until I was at least 12.

b. Urethral ejection : soiling.

Cling : One night I went outside to urinate and did so through a hole in the wall onto someone's bed (urethral erotism).

c. Urethral erotism.

Frost : I have had fairly regular wet dreams usually about urinating.

The Freudian analysts have observed the common association with urethral erotism of ambition and the cathection of fire.

We have found no data indicating that the former relationship is common, but the latter was clearly demonstrated by two of our cases.

E. GENITAL (CASTRATION) COMPLEX

There are several important complexes associated with the

genital organs, some of which are considered in connection with the Sex drive, but here we may confine ourselves to the castration complex, which, according to many Freudian analysts, is at the core of all pathological anxiety. We cannot believe that this is generally true. And we suggest that in those cases in which it is possible to trace all exhibitions of anxiety to this source it will be found that there was a circumcision in babyhood. To make the analyst's contention worth considering, it is necessary to greatly extend the meaning of * castration,' to have it include the loss of any pleasure-giving organ or object (mother's body or

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nipple, subject's hand, tongue, etc.). But even if given this larger meaning * castration* does not cover all the eventualities which infants commonly fear : falling, being hurt, or being devoured by a wild animal or whipped by a parent or locked in a closet or buried alive. To us it seems better to confine the term castration complex to its literal meaning : anxiety evoked by the fantasy that the penis might be cut off. This complex occurs often enough, but it does not seem possible that it is the root of all neurotic anxiety. It usually comes as a resultant of the fantasies associated with infantile masturbation.

Hypothetical Events of Childhood

The greater part of this chapter has been devoted to a classifi-

cation of common environmental press and common individual trends. A great many different combinations of press and trend, each of which constitutes a thema, can be observed in everyday life ; and, for us, the logically next step would be to define and name the most important themas. But even if this could be done within the limits of a chapter, it seems better to postpone the endeavour until a larger experience has taught us what press and what needs are of greatest import.

Though in selecting illustrations of press and needs I limited myself to the subjects' autobiographies, the latter were not our only source of information about childhood. For there were three sessions specially devoted to reminiscences (evoked by free associations and questions), and in several other sessions subjects had occasion to refer to past history. Thus we reaped a fair harvest of biographical facts. In formulating development, however, we did not confine ourselves to the episodes which the subject was able to recall and willing to recount. Depth psychology had taught us that it is necessary to take account of certain early occurrences no longer available to consciousness. The early occurrences that must be included are those which left traces that influenced the course of development and are still operating unconsciously to modify behaviour. It was Freud whose sheer genius discovered that these long enduring (though much modified) traces could

be reached through the study of dreams, fantasies and free associations. But the current psycho-analytic procedure which grew out of this discovery requires many hours, extending over months ; and since, for us, this was a prohibitive amount of time, it was necessary to develop methods which would reveal more quickly the dominant unconscious traces and trends.

Instead of waiting for the repressed thematic tendencies to break through a gradually-made-permeable barrier of inhibition, we essayed a technique that would draw out the covert tendencies without arousing resistance or repression. The technique consists of asking a subject to demonstrate the limits of his imaginative capacity by making up stories (fantasies) suggested to him by a presented stimulus : a picture, a literary theme, a fragment of music, an odour and so forth (vide p. 529). It was found that these so-called * projection methods' yield a large output of imaginative activity which, we have reason to believe, is closely related to and representative of prevailing thematic tendencies, of which some are conscious and some unconscious. The findings of psycho-analysis indicate that from this kind of material one may, by interpretation, infer the operation of traces established in childhood. The traces are enduring impressions of actual events or of fantasies, or more commonly of actual events distorted by fantasies. One rarely knows to what degree a given trace corresponds to an original experience. Perhaps it does not

matter ; for
a fantasy may be as determining as a fact. The point
here is that
a large collection of projected fantasies, a fair
number of ex-
pressed sentiments, some free associations and a few
recounted
dreams provided us with ample imaginal material for
interpre-
tation. Interpretation took account of the contemporary
situation,
though it was directed more particularly to the
genetical roots of
the subject's present attitude. Thus, we arrived at a
number of
hypothetical occurrences or fantasies, many of which
were sup-
posed to have occurred during the pre- verbal period of
childhood.
We also inferred other events that had taken place
later, but, hav-
ing been subjected to repression, were no longer
available to con-
sciousness.

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The kind of imaginal material that I have been
discussing is
of some significance per se, since an individual spends
a large pro-
portion of his life dreaming and imagining, and he may
value
this activity as much as he values his overt social
acts. But these
half-conscious twilight processes are also important
because of
their relation to infantile events, repressed
complexes, neurotic
symptoms and creative thought. At the moment we are
particu-
larly concerned with them as clues to the past. Our
practice in
the beginning was to do as most analysts do : interpret
the fan-
tasies immediately by intuition. The results were
certainly in-

teresting, but the amount of disagreement among interpreters made us skeptical of the results. Furthermore, it seemed that here as elsewhere in contrast to psycho-analytic custom one should analyse, classify and name fantasies as they are literally re-counted (Freud's ' manifest content ') before one goes on to refer them by interpretation to other categories (Freud's ' latent content'), just as in medicine a conveniently sharp distinction is made between symptoms and diagnosis. This conviction compelled us to consider the problem of how to analyse and classify the imaginal products obtained from our subjects. Reflection and experience led us to adopt the same mode of treatment as was used when dealing with overt events. We tried to make out the thema : the press, the responding need and the outcome ; remembering that a pre-active need or a preceding outcome could function as an internal press (vide p. 122). It was found that the categories of needs and press briefly defined in this chapter, though reasonably convenient for the classification of objective occurrences, had to be somewhat expanded to include the actions and objects which the imagination could invent. Since the systematic study and measurement of imaginal tendencies must depend upon the scheme to which they are referred, it is unfortunate that limitations of space require that the presentation of this part of our theory be kept for another volume.

A scheme for manifest content, however, is only a first step, since it is not the naming but the interpretation of

the content
that leads to the hypothetical conditioning events, the
supposition

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of which will make intelligible many otherwise
mysterious
phenomena. Thus the second step throws one head over
heels into
the perplexing problem of interpretation.

Validation of Interpretations 1

If scientific truth is what * goes' among the
intellectual elite,
an experimenter should be more satisfied with his
interpretations
if he succeeded in convincing a sufficient number of
others, or,
better still, if a sufficient number of others
separately arrived at
the same conclusions. As a step in this direction we
adopted the
principle of the multiplicity of judgements. This
certainly handi-
caps the more intuitive and accomplished psychologies,
for in-
terpretation is a matter of * insight * (' insight '
into others) , and
insight depending as it does upon the frequent exercise
and
training of a special aptitude is certainly not equally
distributed
among those who profess psychology. Much greater than
the dif-
ferences in acuity of vision, hearing and taste are the
differences
in acuity of psychological intuition. Thus, at the
frontier there
will always be those who see further than others. This,
however,
does not make science. Science is democratic. It
insists that the
lame, the halt and the blind shall arrive and perceive.
Thus, the
intuitive pioneer, or those who follow him, must

fashion instru-
ments, mechanical and conceptual, that will allow
everyone to
observe and understand what has already been observed
and under-
stood. But this is not the only necessity. For since
most intuitions
of most pioneers are partially incorrect, the scientist
must, for his
own illumination if for no other reason, attempt to
distinguish,
define and name every impression which led him to his
con-
clusion.

Applying these general considerations to the problem at
hand,
the genetical interpretation of fantasies, it seems
that the next
methodical step in scientification should be a
systematic study of
symbolism. Is it true, and in what sense is it true,
that a violin,
let us say, can symbolize the mother ? And if it can,
what else can

i. Here, by permission of the editor, I shall quote
from 'Techniques for a sys-
tematic investigation of fantasy.' J. Psychol., 1936, 5,
115-143.

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it symbolize ? What else does it commonly symbolize ?
Can it
symbolize anything ? Is the sky the limit ? It will be
long before
science constructs a net to catch these irrational
fish, but let her
now essay it. It is of no profit to leave these most
elementary and
significant psychic processes for undisciplined people
to talk about
as they will.

The procedure that we are now pursuing is the laborious
one

of distinguishing the items that have led to each interpretation ; that is, of cataloguing imagined objects and actions together with the * meanings ' that have been assigned to each. And this brings us back to our main problem, the validation of assigned meanings. I have just mentioned the principle of the multiplicity of judge-ments, which by implication affirms that agreement among ex-perimenters is one reason for accepting an interpretation. It is not, however, a very good reason. One knows too much about mutual suggestion and flattery in limited esoteric circles. Let us see what other modes of verification exist.

The problem may be simplified by taking the case of a single experimenter who, after reviewing his own results, comes to the conclusion that a certain infantile thema, X, has been an im-portant factor in the development of one of his subjects. What methods are available for testing this inference ?

If variable X is an enduring determinant it should operate re-peatedly and influence responses to diverse presentations. Also, it should be found to interact or articulate with other distinguish-able factors according to a generally accepted * logic ' of the emo-tions. To ascertain if this is the case an experimenter may employ one or more of the following procedures :

a. Correlation with a multiplicity of other fantasy tests. The consistency of X is determined by noting the number of times it recurs in other tests. If it does not recur it should, at least, be dynamically related to the themas that do occur.

b. Correlation with biographical data. Experience goes to show that variables which strongly manifest themselves in fantasy (1) have usually been engendered or promoted by one or more concrete occurrences, and (2) are apt to lead to or influence subse-

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quent occurrences. For this reason, the experimenter should avail himself of as much information as possible concerning each subject's life. The validity of X may then be partially determined by discovering how and to what degree it may be articulated with the facts disclosed in the biography. For example, the fantasy thema may be a repetition of, an escape from or a counteraction to some childhood event.

The finding that X recurs in other tests and that it seems to connect with other discernible factors would provide good ground for confidence if one were less familiar with the ability of men to combine things in thought and believe that they were so combined in nature. To determine whether fantasies produced by the same S for different experimenters show veritable (rather than rationalized) uniformities and articulations, one may employ the matching techniques. 1

c. Matching results from different tests. An experimenter may attempt to guess, on the basis of his own findings, which of a group of subjects gave each set of results obtained in

some other
test.

d. Matching test results with biographical data. Ten biographies and ten sets of fantasies (with no names attached) were given for matching. One experimenter matched five, and two experimenters matched all ten correctly. This indicates that fantasies are related to the events of life in a distinguishable manner ; that some of the dependencies that are apperceived have actually existed : they axe not mere clever rationalizations.

e. Guessing the occurrence of certain childhood experiences. Solely on the basis of the fantasy material an E may attempt to name some of the critical experiences that occurred during the subject's infancy ; to guess, for example, what gratifying, frustrating or traumatic events took place, what sort of relationship was established with the mother, the father and the siblings, how the child reacted to what difficulties in social adaptation. This

i. Chapman.D.W. 'The statistics of the method of correct matchings.' J. Abn. & Soc. Psychol., 1 929,24, 14-27.
Vernon.P.E. Psychol. Bull., 1936,^5, 149-177.

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exercise puts the greatest stress upon the psychological knowledge and intuition of an experimenter. Though it has not yet been methodically attempted at the Harvard Clinic, many of the workers have independently and informally recorded their ' hunches '

and attempted to verify them. The story in which ' the violin as mother ' occurred may be taken as an example.

Subject Abel. When Abel was presented with a picture of a little boy gazing at a violin lying before him on the table, he gave the following story :

* This youngster has heard the violin played. When the player put the violin on the table he went over to look at the hole to see where the music came from. He is puzzled by the absence of any music maker inside, puzzled that the instrument could make such sounds. He doesn't connect the bow with the instrument. Pretty soon he will start fooling around with it trying to make sounds himself. The result depends on who hears him playing. The owner will be provoked, and take the instrument away. If no one hears him the strings will be taken apart, but he won't demolish the instrument.'

Here, the hypothesis was made that at the birth of a younger child Abel became perplexed about childbirth, suspected that the baby came out of the mother and entertained fantasies of aggressive exploration. When this diagnosis was made the experimenter did not know that Abel had a younger brother.

At a subsequent interview, on being asked whether as a boy he was inclined to dismember his toys, Abel responded exactly as follows without any prompting : ' Yes, I was always breaking things, always breaking everything to find out why or how it worked. I had a locomotive, I remember, and I had a wonderful time taking it apart. I learned to take the pedals of the piano apart. I used to peer inside the piano and

wonder about it.
I was terribly destructive, not just to destroy but to understand. I broke some plates to find out what they were made of and my mother scolded me for this. I would say that this destructive, curious period began when I was five and ended when I was eight. I remember when it began because my younger brother was born when I was five. My brother was born in the house and my mother was very sick afterwards. I couldn't see the connection between her sickness and the baby. I was told that he had been found in the flour barrel, but of course I didn't believe it. But after that I was awfully curious. I used to plague my parents to death

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asking the how and why of everything. This still persists as one of my strongest characteristics. My teachers in school told me that I was frightfully curious about everything and very inquisitive. I always want to know how things work.'

It was considered that these memories occurring in this sequence without direct questioning, together with other facts discovered, were good evidence for the experimenter's hypothesis.

f . Predictions of future behaviour. The E may attempt to predict on the basis of his material how each of his subjects will react when faced by a certain experimentally controlled situation. At the Harvard Clinic this has been systematically attempted only once. From the stories that fifteen subjects produced when presented with a particular picture (Thematic

Apperception Test)
an experimenter (Dr. White *) attempted to predict
the relative
hypnotizability of each member of the group. He made a
rank
order which correlated highly ($r = +.72$) with the
rank order
for hypnotizability which was established later.

g. Consultation with the subject. After an experimenter
has
completed his hypothetical reconstruction of a
personality he may
attempt, directly or indirectly, in a final interview
with the sub-
ject to obtain evidence that bears upon the critical
diagnostic
issues.

By the use of these and other methods experimenters may
check
their interpretations and gradually assemble verified
facts which
bear upon the processes that are of special concern to
modern
psychology.

Creative productions and fantasies provide excellent
material
for the study of psychological inferences and the
effect upon such
inferences of the personalities and mental sets of
judges. One
should not suppose that any universal system of
symbolism, simi-
lar to that which Freud set forth in his writings on
the interpreta-
tion of dreams, will ever be the outcome of such
studies. The
power of the human mind to associate the most diverse
objects is

i. White, R.W. ' Prediction of hypnotic susceptibility
from a knowledge of subjects'
attitudes.' J. Psychol., 265-277.

almost limitless and the subject's personal experiences rather than his innate tendencies determine the meaning. It can be predicted, however, that if the experimenter looks for the thematic relations of the objects (images), he will discover significant resemblances between the most diverse fantasies and dreams, and some general principles will emerge.

Developmental Processes

Reviewing successive events in a person's life one is bound to observe several different types of sequence. There will be a varying amount of Repetition : similar events in which the (time-place-mode-object pattern) is not significantly changed the consistency of behaviour patterns indicating that the S is holding his own but not progressing. Very similar is Continuation, which means the persistence of one system of aims and interests, with slight variations in the mode of approach. This signifies that work is being done (and hence, in an external sense, there is progression), but the man's nature is not undergoing conspicuous modification. In our scheme both repetition and continuation have been subsumed under Sameness. Variation is exhibited by a series of clearly dissimilar responses to similar conditions. There is novelty (Change) and inconsistency without noticeable progression or regression.

Progression is marked by changes which represent a decided advancement, according to some emotionally reasonable scale of

values. It usually involves adaptive learning (increase in proficiency), integration (harmonious co-ordination of trends), socialization (adjusting to the tpmo formula of the culture) and individuation (self-reliance and uniqueness) . Opposite to Progression is Regression (Freud). This stands for a decline of effectiveness as measured against an accepted scale of values. It is exhibited most commonly by the appearance of a formerly used but now less adaptive reaction system. Substitution (Freud) is a very general term which describes the displacement of cathexis from one object to another object. It often occurs after the S has

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been frustrated in an attempt to gain the first object. Substitution is also applied to other kinds of change : change of mode, of interest and of aim. The change may be progressive or regressive.

Socialization is a type of progression, namely, one that advances along the scale of social adjustment and conformity. This may represent a regression to a man who is striving to rid himself of limiting philistine claims.

Sublimation (Freud) has been variously defined, but at least everyone has agreed that it should be applied to a form of substitution in which a primitive act or cathection is replaced by an act or cathection that is less crude and less objectionable. Analysts take it as a synonym of socialization, but since

socialization can be applied to the case of a sadist who finds employment in a slaughter-house, and sublimation can be applied to the schizophrenic transformation of a perverted sexual tendency into an overwhelming religious revelation, it seems that many socializations are not sublimations and many sublimations are not socializations. We suggest that the term sublimation be used to stand for any transformation (of an integrate) that departs from crudely biological (physical) acts and objects. The change from physical to verbal Aggression (reprimand without violence), or from physical to verbal Sex (love and flirtation without intercourse) would be included, as well as the replacement of a primitive object such as faeces by an acceptable object such as clay, provided the latter was not worked into a replica of faeces. Sublimation is most clearly exhibited, however, when a coarsely physical tendency, such as urination, sex or exhibitionism, takes a subjectified course, and, being modified by associations, dictates the themes of glorified fantasies, artistic designs or mystical illuminations. Sublimation may be an escape and, in that sense, a regression ; but in most cases as an adolescent phenomenon for example it represents a healthy erotization of the mind which is a step beyond the unimaginatively sensual. Later a change of tendency from ethereal romanticism to physical objectification would be regarded by most people as a progression.

Inhibition and Repression can be found in the record of

an

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individual's life by noting the disappearance of one or more objectified integrates with the march of time. The complexes that become repressed are those that are unacceptable to the individual (n Harm, n Sue, n Aba) or blameworthy in the eyes of society (n Agg, n Exh, n Sex, n Rec) . Inhibition is the invariable accompaniment of progression, sublimation and socialization. Contrafaction is the succession of one integrate (pre-action) by its opposite (sequent-action) . The pre-action may be something that in some way sacrifices or diminishes the S, in which case the sequent-action is an Equilibration : a demand for payment after lending money, a request for aid after doing someone a favour, boasting after self-depreciation, talking after listening, an outburst of anger after patiently enduring abuse. Or the pre-action may be something that diminishes or sacrifices the object, in which case the contrafactive sequent-action is a Restitution : payment after stealing, praise after criticism, kindness after cruelty, friendliness after rejection. Or the pre-action may be a misdemeanour or major crime that displeases conscience or an external object, and then the restitutive tendency is an Atonement. The latter may take the form of self-abasement : humble confession, suffering, suicide. Reformation is a contrafactive, restitutive process involving inhibition of a previous form of behaviour. It is

usually involved in socialization. Counteraction is an equilibrating continuation of striving that re-instates the S after failure, or an equilibrating contrafaction that re-instates the S by substituting a courageous, superior mode of action for a timorous, inferior one : traumatic re-striving. This is a progression in the service of the Inviolacy drive.

Differentiation is the development of specialized functional systems (abilities, reaction patterns) each of which is adapted to certain materials or a certain set of conditions. The indices are : refined and subtle discriminations, precise interpretations of complex situations, accurate generalizations and effective, economical or poignant responses. Differentiation makes it possible for one function to operate without interference from other functions : thinking to occur without the influence of sentiment, feeling with-

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out the interposition of an ideology, sensuous enjoyment unopposed by practical considerations and so forth. Differentiation would break up the personality into an assemblage of talents if it were not for Integration, which organizes the separate systems into a harmonious whole, and Unification which raises certain interests to the apex of a hierarchy of aims. In extreme cases all the differentiated functions become subsidiary to the goal of highest aspiration. This is all that can be said here on the

important topic
of modes of development. 1

i. Limitation of space required the omission of a chapter devoted to this problem.

Chapter VI PROCEDURES

This chapter will be devoted to the procedures that were used in studying the last two groups of subjects (Groups III and IV) . They will be described in the order in which their results were discussed at the final 'biographical' meetings. This order is approximately the same as that which was maintained during the period of examination.

PRELIMINARY INTERVIEW H. A. MURRAY

BEFORE beginning the series of sessions this experimenter had a ten-minute interview with each prospective subject. The latter was told that the staff of the Clinic wished to try out various tests with the hope of discovering relations between certain types of ability and certain types of temperament. After outlining the three- or four-months program of attendance the candidate was asked whether he could conveniently afford the time required for these tests (about 36 hours in all), and whether he was willing to cooperate to the fullest extent. He was assured that if the results were published his identity would be concealed. He was then told that the first thing required of him was to write a short autobiography about fifteen pages in length.

It was decided in advance that the men who seemed reluctant to co-operate or who wrote dull, superficial, or seemingly dishonest autobiographies would not be accepted as subjects. This rule, however, was never invoked since no man who applied failed to meet our standards. Thus there was no selection of subjects.

SCHEDULE OF PROCEDURES

1. Conference. H. A Murray.
2. Autobiography. H. A Murray.
3. Family Relations and Childhood Memories. HSMel(ecL

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4. Sexual Development. W.GJBarrett.
5. Present Dilemmas. M.Moore.
6. Conversations. E.C.Jones.
7. Predictions and Sentiments Test. K.R.Kunze.
8. Questionnaires. H. A. Murray.
9. Abilities Test. R.T. Peterson and EJnglis.
10. Aesthetic Appreciation Test. K.Diven.
11. Hypnotic Test. R.W. White.
12. Level of Aspiration Test. J.D.Fran{ and EA.Cobb.
13. Experimental Study of Repression. S.Rosenzweig.
 - a. Memory for Failures Test. E.H.Trowbridge.
14. Violation of Prohibitions. D.W MacKinnon.
 - a. Ethical Standards Test. J.A.Christenson, Jr.

15. Observations and Post-experimental Interviews. R.N San ford.
16. Sensorimotor Learning Test. W.C.Langer.
17. Emotional Conditioning Test.
Galvanic Skin Response. C.E.Smith and K.Diven.
Tremor Response. W.C.Langer.
18. Thematic Apperception Test. C.D. Morgan and H. A Murray.
19. Imaginal Productivity Test. D. R.W heeler.
20. Musical Reverie Test. K.R.Kunze.
21. Dramatic Productions Test. E.Homburger.
22. Rorschach Test. S.J.Bec%.
23. Miscellaneous Procedures. Sears, Whitman et al.
24. Reactions to Frustration. S.Rosenzweig.
25. Social Interaction. M. .Richer -s-Ovsiantyna.

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i. CONFERENCE H. A. MURRAY

The Conference was the first of the series of sessions. Its purpose was to allow the five members of the Diagnostic Council to obtain simultaneously their initial impression of the subject : to see him in the flesh, to observe his expressive gestures, to watch his reactions when confronted by a group of inquisitors ; and also to obtain certain facts of his life, to discover some of his dominant sentiments and interests. It resembled the prelude to an opera in that it included parts of themes (tests) which were

to be fully
presented in subsequent sessions. Though it lasted but
40 minutes
it contained a little of much ; thus providing a rather
broad basis
for intuitive judgments.

At the end of the Conference each member of the Council
independently marked the subject on all of the variables.
This made
it possible to measure differences in interpretation
and relate them
to differences in the personalities of the judges (
vide p. 273).

Procedure. The subject was ushered into the library of
the
Clinic and given a chair at a large table around which
the five
members of the Diagnostic Council were seated. A
stenographer
was at another table, out of the direct range of vision
of the sub-
ject ; her pad being concealed behind a stack of
reference books
which she pretended to consult. It was her function to
write down
every word that the subject said.

The subject was questioned in a friendly manner by each
examiner in turn according to the schedule which
follows. (After
some of the questions representative answers have been
appended. 1)

A. Interests and Abilities. (This part of the
Conference was
conducted by Dr. Barrett.)

1. Mr. X, what is your field of concentration ?
2. Do you like it ?
3. How did you happen to choose it ?

i. This has been the form used in examining male
college students.

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Given : The fact is, my father is more or less what you call * in business.' Children follow after their fathers (n Def : Similance of father).

4. Were your parents in sympathy with your choice ?

Nipp /"Anything I do is all right (low p Dominance and probably lowSe).

5. What vocation are you intending to follow ?

6. What other serious interests have you ?

Nipp : Success in life. I would like to be well off. If in one vocation, all right, if another, all right. The practical outcome is what I want (Exo, Extra, n Acq and probably low Sc and low El).

7. Can you thin\ of any individuals you were acquainted with or read about who influenced you in the choice of your interests or intended vocation ?

A boy may identify with his father, or with a father surrogate, and imitate him in his choice of vocation (n Def : Similance). This may occur unconsciously, the subject believing that he has independently arrived at his decision. He may be too proud to admit that he has been influenced (n Dfd : Disavowal S n Inv, and n Auto). On the other hand, a young man may be thrilled by the genius of some remote figure and gladly accept him as an exemplar (n Sup, n Def : Similance, El). Some boys seem to have a ' natural bent ' and are determined by it

regardless of the
influence of adults (n Auto) ; others without much
ambition
follow the easiest way or yield to social pressure (
the trend of
the majority) .

Frost : Teaching is what my father is doing (n Def :
Similance of
father) , but it isn't for that reason (n Dfd S n Inv,
n Auto) .

Nipp : No, I don't think so. . . I had a good man I
worked under,
but he didn't have much influence (low n Def) .

Bulge : Why, yes. Dante was one, Chaucer another. You
mean in-
spiration ? A professor of mine at college who was
quite a man in the
poetical field (n Def : Similance) .

Asper : Robinson, the American poet. . . He came along
at the right
time for me. I felt that life in college had been
wasted against my
nature. It hadn't been made for me. My spirit hadn't
entered into the
academic atmosphere (N, Intra, Endo, n Auto, n Rej) .
Then I read

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Robinson (n Def : Similance) and it seemed to dawn on
me hard to
understand society and school had twisted me instead of
letting me
develop according to my ability (n Auto) . Of that,
Robinson says:

* Don't give a damn about what these various agencies
tell you (n Auto) .

Merely know yourself first, and then develop yourself
according to your
interests ' (N, Endo) . I tried to see myself as I am
and I was disgusted
(n Aba : Self-depreciation) , but I accepted my
various weaknesses and

have tried to build on what I have.

8. What kinds of things do you do best ?

9. Have you ability with mechanical or electrical apparatus ?

10. Have you artistic or literary talent ?

11. Are you logical, good at arguments ? Do you like to speculate and discuss theories ?

Frost : Yes. That is my main critical intention in order to get more logic into things. (Frost was one of our most irrational subjects.)

Zora : No, theories don't mean much to me (low n Und) . (Zora was intuitivej aesthetic, religious) . . . If I see a reflection of a certain light I am satisfied at having seen it (n Sen) . But anyone can talk theories to me and I just get tired. (Light had the significance of a revelation to Zora.)

12. What have you done in your life that you are most proud of ?

Roll : Probably making myself very proficient in sports after I had

been sheltered so long (n Ach [Physical], n Counteraction) .

Zora : If I write a decent sentence I think that an important accomplishment. I have written several and they hang together. They are all part of the same thing. . . I don't think there is anything more serious for anybody's life. I look upon fine prose as fine poetry. The harmony of life and the sounding of its depth seems to me the fulfilment of some recognition of the quality of life (Endo, Intra, n Sen) .

13. What are your chief amusements ?

14. Have you ever made a collection of anything such as stamps ?

B. Social Experiences and Attitudes. (This part of the Conference was conducted by Dr. Rosenzweig and later by Dr. Mekeel.

It was designed to bring into relief the characteristic social attitudes of the subject.)

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1. Mr. X, what school did you go to ?

2. Did you like the school?

If the answer is a decided * yes, ' it usually means : * I was a success and liked by the other boys.'

3. How did you get on with the other boys at school ?

On this point subjects are distinguished according to 1, whether they suffered p Rejection or p Affiliation ; 2, whether they were sensitive or insensitive to ridicule and neglect ; and 3, whether or not they freely admit past successes and humiliations.

Asfer : I knew practically no one. I adopted the attitude that I had been crushed by people, that I should build up a protection around myself (N, n Rej, n Sec, n Dfd).

4. Were there girls in your class ? How did you get on with them?

Oak : I paid very little attention to them (low n Sex) .

Given : Bored. I didn't even look at them while I was there (low

nSex).

To this question laconic or evasive answers were the rule, but occasionally a subject would attempt a complete exposition.

Oriol : Well, to answer that question necessitates a good deal of expansion. I am quite willing to go into it (N, n Exh). In high school I went with two definite sets. In this high school one third of them came from the West side. They were either rich or pretended to be. I came from the East side, where there were two definite sections. One of them was Jewish, and I was not particularly anxious to become brothers with them (n Rej [Caste]). I would have liked to be in distinguished society (n Sup [Caste]) . I was more or less definitely isolated because the school was divided in social events of consequence clubs, school papers, dramatic club. The debating club was all Jews. That would have automatically eliminated me from all girls in the wealthy set. I didn't care to know Jewish girls any better. And at that time I was trying to be a poet (n Ach [Art-creative]) . The teacher discovered it. I became poet laureate of the school. I was labelled * baby, ' ' sissy, ' * infant ' (P Agg : Ridicule) . I became generally run down. That didn't help my neurosis any. Consequently, I didn't attract the female element very strongly (p Rej [Sex]) . My whole social career in high school was nil.

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I stayed pretty much by myself for these two reasons (n Inf). Of course, I looked at them differently than other people

do (Egocentric-ity). I was an only child so I didn't have that normal association with them. But I never had any strange ideas (n Df d) . I read enough to overcome them. One fellow I did associate with. He had the same temperament. We both talked things over and avoided any misfortunes of that kind.

5. Did you have any crushes at school ?

6. Among the other boys did you have one or two friends or many friends ?

Here it is a matter of whether the subject ' belonged ' (p Affiliation), and whether he had many fleeting friendships (Ch), or a few enduring ones (Sa), or rejected the group in toto (n Rej).

Given : Quite a number, I don't believe in getting too deep with anyone (Ch, n Aff, nRej).

7. What was the general opinion about you at school ?

Bulge : I imagine the general opinion was that I was a good scout (N, superiority feelings, n Aff).

8. Were you ever a leader, or, if not, did you want to be a leader ?

Kast : Yes, I was captain of the basketball team for two years, and president of my class for three years (n Ach [Physical], n Dom).

9. How have you got on at college ? Have you found it easy or hard to mafy friends ?

10. What is the worst blunder that you ever made ?

Nipp : Gambling. My sophomore year I averaged seven

hours a day
gambling. I was with a group of fellows every afternoon
and evening
unless we had an exam. . . I made \$150 and paid my room
rent in
advance, and then I would be broke for a month. I
couldn't afford to
pay (n Acq, n Play) .

Asper : Blunder, I can't say. I have never done
anything that I
shouldn't have done at the time (N, n Df d, low n Aba,
low Se) .

Bulge : I think it was to insult a professor (n Agg)
.

Akeson : I have made a lot of mistakes. People used to
pick on me
quite a bit when I was a child. When I used to play
war, I used to al-
ways be the captive and they locked me up (n Aba) .

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11. What are your chief faults from a social
standpoint?

Niff : Always talking about myself (N).

Roll : Bash fulness. It's pretty hard for me to hold up
my end of the
conversation (n Sec, n Inf).

Given : Well, lack of financial backing. It cramps my
style quite an
extent (p Insupport [Economic], n Agg : Censure).

Bulge : I think my worst quality is that I am a very
bad loser. I can't
take it (N, n Inv).

Zora : I think fundamentally I don't particularly have
any faith ;
that makes you doubt things in the Church, for
instance. I feel and
recognize the necessity of doctrine, and I think it's

awfully necessary,
but if I want to be downright honest, I don't believe
it (Endo, Se).

Quick : I am pretty frank with people ; tell them
exactly what I think
of them (n Agg) . I walk up to people I don't even
know. . . I often
embarrass people I am with by running off on a tangent
(Imp). I start
laughing out loud, go after people I don't know and
tell them some-
thing (n Exh). . . I can see people think I am crazy (Disj). I
wouldn't consider it a fault (n Df d) .

12. What are your chief assets from a social standpoint
?

Nipp : I am very broad-minded. I will look at anyone's
side of an
argument (Sociocentric).

Bulge : Possibly a very straight-forward manner. (Bulge was one of
the most self-deceived of our subjects.)

13. Do you UJ(e animals?

C. Radical-Conservative Sentiments. (This part of the
Confer-

ence was conducted by Dr. R. W. White.)

E : ' Mr. X, I am going to read you a series of ten
statements.

After each statement make up your mind immediately as
to

whether you agree or disagree. If you agree with the
statement,

say " Yes." If you disagree with it, say " No." Then
signify the

extent to which you agree or disagree. Do this by
adding to your

answer a number on a scale from j to 5 : " Yes i " to
express mild

or qualified agreement, up to " Yes 5 " for complete
agreement :

" No i " for mild or qualified disagreement, up to " No
5 " for

complete disagreement. Do you understand ? Then, in

addition,
give immediately one reason to support your judgement.
Here

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is an example : (Statement) The American navy should be in-
creased. (Answer) No 4. (Reason) " It is too hard on the tax-
payer." You see, your response to each statement will consist of
a " Yes " or " No," a number expressing the degree of your " Yes "
or " No," and, lastly, a reason. Give your response quickly : this
is a speed test, and I am going to keep the time it takes you to
give your ten opinions. Ready ? '

Statements

1. The Constitution of the United States should be preserved intact.
2. Sexual freedom has gone too far in this country.
3. In a family the authority should rest entirely with the father.
4. Communistic propaganda should be prohibited in America.
5. Harvard is easily the best college in this country.
6. Children should be taught to go to church regularly.
7. Parents should discipline their children more than they do.
8. Companionate marriage should be forbidden.
9. Criminals should receive harsher punishments.
10. Social distinctions in the colleges should be maintained.

These ten statements were selected to represent sentiments in favour of the status quo, nationalism, authority and conventional morals. The answer * No ' should be given more frequently by negativists (n Auto : Resistance) and by radicals who favour social change. High numbers (pro or con) were taken as an index of ' sentimentive intensity ' (strength of opinions) .

D. Thematic Apperceptions. (This part of the test was conducted

by Mrs. Morgan and later by Mr. Homburger.)

E : * Mr. X, I am going to show you a picture, and I should like

to have you make up a story for which this picture might be used

as an illustration. Tell me what events have led up to the present

occurrence, what the characters in the picture are thinking and

feeling, and what the outcome will be/

The E hands the S picture A (vide p. 542) and, if the latter does

not give a sufficient plot, he is encouraged by such questions as :

' How did he come to do this ? ' * What is he thinking about ? '

' How will it end ? ' If the S pauses, the E asks : * May I help you ? '

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After the S is through with picture A, he is handed picture B

(vide p. 543) and told to proceed as before. The S is allowed about

1 1 / 2 minutes on each picture. 1

The E then hands picture C to the S and says : ' This is a young married couple. Suppose that both of them are friends of yours.

Picture C

The husband has come under the influence of another man who has taught him to take morphine, and he has become an addict. If you came upon this scene in real life what would you do ? '

In the stories which the subject composes for pictures A and B he should reveal some of his imaginal or repressed needs. If he hesitates, finds the task difficult, confines himself to a description

i. For a description of what this test may reveal see Thematic Apperception Test, P-530-

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of what he perceives or makes up a short, banal story, Extracception is indicated. Picture A usually furnishes some information pertaining to the status of the Aggression-Superego problem.

Kast : This brings a picture to me of someone who is at the point of just realizing the consequence of some violent action he has taken against some person. There has been a physical attack (n Agg : Assault). . . 1 think he seems to be a bit penitent about the action he has committed

(Se). . . I think there is a bit of fear coming into his eyes, and the natural thing will be to flee from this scene (n Harm : Quittance).

The response to picture C gives one an idea of how the subject might act in such an emergency : he might console the woman or aid the man ; reprimand or prosecute the other man ; take complete charge ; be helplessly inactive or selfishly indifferent. There is also the question of whether he will be attracted by the problem of the man or of the woman.

Kast : In the first place you would do what you could to sympathize with the woman (n Nur for women) . I would try to take care of her, I think, and see that she is taken away from this scene (n Dom).

Roll : I would take the woman out of the room . . . and let her cry and try to comfort her (n Nur for women).

Oriol : As for the woman . . . I would probably tell her to stop crying . . . not too much sympathy. I wouldn't stay there if she didn't stop (N, n Dom, low Nur, n Rej) .

E. Miscellaneous Questions. (This part of the Conference was conducted by Dr. Murray.)

The E hands the S a blank card (the same size as the cards used in the Thematic Apperception Test) and then says :
i. Fix your eyes on this blank card. I should like to have you try to see or imagine a picture there. (Then after a pause :) Describe what you 'see.

After the S has described the picture he is asked, as

in the
Thematic Apperception Test, to make up a story for
which the
picture might be used as an illustration.

Roll : There is a man lying on the ground. There is a
lot of snow.
There are a pack of wolves around tearing him. He won't
last long. (As

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a child this subject was afraid of being devoured ;
later he became an
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