

NORDISK PSYKOLOGI

13. årgang - nr. 2 - 1961

Bjørn Christiansen

Some Comments on the Causes and Effects
of Parental Attitudes towards
Child Rearing

EJNAR MUNKSGAARDS FORLAG

KØBENHAVN

NORDISK PSYKOLOGI

Officielt organ for Dansk Psykologforening, Suomen Psykologinen Seura r. y
(Psykologiska Sällskapet r. f. i Finland), Norsk psykologforening og
Sveriges psykologförbund

INDHOLD

Nordisk Psykologi's monografiserie, nr. 12:

Bjørn Christiansen:

Some Comments on the Causes and Effects of Parental Attitudes
towards Child Rearing

Side 37-116

REDAKTION: Danmark: Cand. psych. *Johs. Pedersen*, Skovbrynet 59, Bagsværd.
Tlf. 983993. Finland: Fil. mag. *Ulla Sirén*, Storsvängen 13 b A, Helsingfors-Drumsö.
Norge: Dr. philos. *Emil Østlyngen*, Oscars gate 49, Oslo. Tlf. 444696. Sverige: Docent
Ingvar Johannesson, Rörläggargvägen 43, Bromma. Tlf. 257230. – Hovedredaktion:
Den danske redaktør.

Some Comments on the Causes
and Effects of Parental Attitudes
towards Child Rearing

BJØRN CHRISTIANSEN

Institute for Social Research
Oslo

EJNAR MUNKSGAARDS FORLAG

COPENHAGEN

1961

Nordisk Psykologi's monografiserie, nr. 12

Trykt med bidrag fra
Norges almenvitenskapelige forskningsråd

Printed with a grant from
The Norwegian Research Council for Science and the Humanities

PREFACE

A number of studies have been published in recent years concerning the relationship between ideological attitudes and deep personality traits. The standard work in this field, "The Authoritarian Personality", focusses on the causes of ethnocentrism. The present author, in one of his earlier studies, investigated the psychological bases of various attitudes towards foreign affairs. A feature common to both these studies is that they delimit and demonstrate different personality dispositions without considering them in a wider etiological framework. What influences, for instance, are decisive for the development of psychodynamic conflicts and psychosexual fixations? What importance do parents' conscious and unconscious attitudes have for the development of their children's personalities? Of what importance are the parents' child rearing ideology and their latent personality traits? This last problem implies that we can pose the question of the relationship between ideology and personality structure in the field of child rearing, as well as in the fields of ethnocentrism and international opinions.

The relationship between manifest and latent traits in parents' personalities and in their attitudes towards their children, does not invite interest from the point of view of social psychology alone. It is at least equally important for psychopathology and clinical psychology. It will be sufficient in this connection to mention one view which has become fairly widespread in recent years: that the etiology of childhood psychosis and neurosis is generally more highly related to latent than to manifest parental attitudes.

The present study has come about as the result of our interest in the above problems. It belongs to the border area between social psychology and personality psychology, with perhaps somewhat greater emphasis on the latter. Our presentation is somewhat discursive and is meant to provide a framework for subsequent studies rather than to give a systematic survey of the relationship between child rearing and social behaviour.

Our study is presented in two sections, the one theoretical and the other empirical. In the former the main emphasis is laid as much on the effect of various parental attitudes towards children as on the causes of these attitudes. The theoretical section aims far beyond what the empirical section

sets out to solve. In the empirical section we have limited ourselves to presenting the results of a modest investigation into the importance of personal and social factors as regards attitudes towards questions of child rearing.

We wish to emphasize that this publication should be regarded in the light of tentative exploration into an area where as yet little systematic research has been undertaken; that it has been issued with the purpose of inviting exchanges of opinion, and possibly of helping to stimulate interest in what we believe to be psychological problems of central importance.

Several institutions have given me valuable aid and support. The Norwegian School of Social Service and Local Administration has shown me exceptional kindness and helpfulness in connection with the collection of empirical data. The Institute for Social Research has provided me with excellent office facilities and technical assistance. I have had the pleasure of holding a fellowship from the Norwegian Research Council for Science and the Humanities. In addition the investigation has been supported by a grant from the Foundations Fund for Research in Psychiatry. I wish to thank these institutions, all of which have made this project possible.

I also wish to extend a special acknowledgement to Mr. Guttorm Torbjørnsrud, who has acted as my assistant and associate, and to Dr. Harold Raush, who have given me many constructive ideas, as well as critical comments.

Oslo, 1960.

B. C.

CONTENTS

I. THEORETICAL CONSIDERATIONS	43
A. The Causes of Child Rearing Ideologies	44
B. The Effects of Ideological Attitudes	49
C. The Effect of Emotional Attitudes	56
D. The Interactional Effect of Conscious and Unconscious Attitudes	63
II. EMPIRICAL PRETESTS.	67
A. The Problem	68
B. Methods and Procedures	68
The Child Rearing Ideology Scale.	69
The Blacky Test	70
The Validity of the Methods	74
The Samples	80
C. Results	84
Statistical Properties of the CRI Scale	84
Statistical Properties of the Blacky Test	89
Correlation Between the Blacky Test and the CRI Scale	91
D. Discussion	96
E. Summary and Conclusion	98
REFERENCES	101
APPENDIX I. Inventory for Registering Attitudes towards Questions of Child Rearing (the CRI Scale)	107
APPENDIX II. Criteria for the Scoring of Spontaneous Stories about the Blacky Pictures	111

I. THEORETICAL CONSIDERATIONS

Child rearing is a much disputed issue of our time. It is difficult to say which principles of procedure are most frequently emphasized, but there are many indications that fairly authoritarian attitudes towards children are still widespread in Norway. The results of an opinion survey of a representative sample of Norwegian primary school teachers undertaken by the Institute for Social Research in 1953 support such an assertion. Of those interviewed, 300 teachers in all, 75 % stated that they more or less agreed that, "The most important thing a child should learn is obedience to his parents". Another indication in the same direction is given by a previous investigation by the Institute in 1951 of a representative sample of the adult population of Oslo and the surrounding area. Of the 500 persons interviewed 67 % stated that they wholly or partly agreed that, "It is just as important to teach children order and cleanliness, as it is to give them love". Caning as a principle of child rearing seems to be favoured by about 50 % of Norwegian parents; this conclusion is deduced from a nation-wide Gallup poll taken in 1947. In a similar Swedish investigation in 1946, about 60 % of those asked said they were in favour of caning, and about 50 % that they considered children should be brought up to obey their parents absolutely, without further explanation.

The latter figures are taken from investigations carried out more than ten years ago. No doubt things have changed during this time. Intensive efforts have been made to spread liberal attitudes towards child rearing, and gradually these efforts seem to be gaining ground. It can therefore be said today that a pronounced tug-of-war is taking place between different basic attitudes. Doubt is being cast on traditional child rearing principles, while very varying interpretations of non-authoritarian child rearing are being put into practice. A lively reaction against more liberal child rearing ideologies can also be observed. Both liberal and authoritarian child rearing ideologies have their enthusiastic advocates as well as their disillusioned opponents.

Some striking examples of this divergence of opinion are to be found in an investigation of the child rearing ideology of 362 mothers of school children in Stockholm carried out five years ago (Husén *et al.*, 1959). The

mothers were asked, among other things, to indicate their strength of agreement (or disagreement) with the following statements:

“A child must learn to obey without questioning” . . .	27	18	3	20	31
“Disobedience in children is very often the result of their parents’ demanding too much of them”	20	16	6	27	30

The numbers to the right show the percentages of the mothers’ responses varying from strong agreement to strong disagreement. What attracts our attention is their pronounced V-shaped distributions.

From a general point of view the present antagonism can possibly be explained as a reflection of rapid, sweeping changes in the social and economic structure which are so characteristic of our time. From a sociological point of view these changes have been described as changes from an “individuated-entrepreneurial” to a “welfare-bureaucratic” societal structure (Miller & Swanson, 1958). In the following chapter we shall discuss various views concerning the causes of ideological attitudes towards child-rearing.

A problem in which we are particularly interested is an aspect of the broader effect of the present ideological struggle: that in the wake of the struggle, anxiety, guilt and uncertainty may often be aroused, and that many parents may have no provision in their own personalities for the ideological views they have adopted. It is highly probable that this may influence the moulding of the rising generation. Before embarking on a discussion of this problem we shall consider in more detail the effects of ideological parental attitudes in general and the relationship between parental emotional dispositions and the personality formation of children.

A. The Causes of Child Rearing Ideologies.

By a child rearing ideology we mean a system of beliefs and values characterizing an individual’s conception of how children ought to be reared. The less acceptance, flexibility of control, and encouragement of maturation and self-regulation, the more authoritarian or rejective we shall consider a child rearing ideology to be.

In the well-known work by Adorno, Frenkel-Brunswik, Levinson and Sanford (1950), *The Authoritarian Personality*, ideological attitudes towards child rearing are implicitly regarded as personality conditioned. In their F-scale, which is an attitude scale constructed to measure authoritarian personality traits, a number of items are included which refer directly to attitudes towards child rearing. Item No. 1 in the final scale revision states: “Obedience and respect for authority are the most important virtues children

should learn". Item No. 13: "What youth needs most is strict discipline, rugged determination, and the will to work and fight for family and country". Item No. 27: "There is hardly anything lower than a person who does not feel great love, gratitude, and respect for his parents". Item No. 44: "Nobody ever learned anything really important except through suffering".

Since the authors regard this scale very much as an instrument for measuring latent dispositions, which according to their opinion are generated by early childhood experiences and influences, it follows that they consider attitudes towards principles of child rearing as an area where personality dispositions are likely to reveal themselves most clearly.

In a later investigation, one of the authors, Levinson (1955), demonstrates a high positive correlation between the F-scale and a family ideology scale where attitudes towards child rearing techniques are included as a separate category of items. The positive correlation found between the two scales is interpreted as indicating that family ideology is related to personality factors. In an investigation by Hart (1957) it is once more demonstrated that a high positive correlation exists between the F-scale and maternal attitudes towards child rearing practices, and in a study by Kates and Diab (1955) that the F-scale is positively correlated with attitudes towards parent-child relationships.

The authors of *The Authoritarian Personality* have been considered to be exponents of an extreme personality-centered explanation of ideological attitudes. Their point of view has been criticised strongly by several other social psychologists. Thus it has been maintained that for the present it seems best to assume that a variety of personality structures can be congruent with one and the same ideological attitude, and that the specific attitude an individual will assume depends less upon his personality than upon the possible objects of imitation existing in his psychological milieu, and upon the positive and negative sanctions present in the groups to which the individual belongs.

This latter point of view has been designated a social-norm-centered explanation of ideological attitudes.

There exist today a number of studies indicating significant differences in the child rearing ideologies of parents in various social classes, in different age groups, in groups having different educational backgrounds and different occupations and societal integrations (Aberle & Naegele, 1952; Davis & Havighurst, 1946; Ericson, 1957; Husén *et al.*, 1959; Miller & Swanson, 1958). The specific social expectations with which the incumbents of the parent's role are faced thus seem to vary from one milieu to another. In some milieux the fact of being with the child and the quality of this interaction

are considered to be of the greatest importance; in other milieux these are considered quite unimportant; or, as is the case in some communities, disunity between parents and children is part of the cultural pattern (Spiro, 1958).

In a recent investigation by Siegel and Siegel (1957), the influence of an individual's membership group as well as his reference group in attitude change is demonstrated very nicely. This investigation is of special interest because the instrument applied by the authors to measure attitude change was a special version of the F-scale. Their results do not exclude the possible influences of personality factors as regards an individual's responses on the F-scale, but clearly suggest that social factors do play a significant role.

Both social-norm-centered and personality-centered explanations can be applied to attitudes towards the question of child-rearing. These two points of view do not exclude each other. In our opinion both types of explanation have some virtue. What seems to us most important for the present is the clarification of the interaction processes taking place between personal (life-historical) and social (group-membership) factors in the development of child-rearing ideologies.

A viewpoint which has attracted considerable attention during recent years and which places great emphasis on this very aspect of interaction, can be formulated as follows: the weaker the social pressure present in a person's milieu, the greater the potency which may be ascribed to various personality factors in shaping social attitudes, and conversely – the stronger the social pressure with regard to a certain attitude, the more the effect of personality factors will be overruled.

This hypothesis focusses on two types of causal factors. It specifies the roles of different degrees of social pressure, but is limited by the lack of specification of the different degrees of potency of various personality dispositions. Some persons have stronger conformity needs than others, and of course, the stronger the conformity needs present in a given person, the greater the influence of social pressures, other things being equal.

It has been maintained that strong conformity needs are a function of an authoritarian personality structure, and in recent years a number of empirical studies have been published which support such an hypothesis (Beloff, 1958; Crutchfield, 1955; Hoffman, 1953; Wells *et al.*, 1956).

By an authoritarian personality structure we refer to the existence of an inner split between different psychic sub-structures, e. g. an inflexible unconscious defensive orientation towards various infantile sexual and aggressive impulses. Adorno *et al.* assume such a structure to lie behind and represent the dynamic nucleus of a syndrome of character traits: conventionalism,

authoritarian submission, authoritarian aggression, anti-intracception, superstition and stereotypy, power and "toughness", destructiveness and cynicism, and projectivity. In constructing their F-scale special attention was paid to the choice of statements illuminating these various traits.¹

Granted an authoritarian personality structure does predispose a person to adhere to authoritarian ideologies and at the same time to conform to the social norms existing in his milieu, we may ask what will happen when an authoritarian personality is exposed to social pressure in the direction of anti-authoritarian and liberal social attitudes. It is reasonable to assume that the result will depend upon the strength of the two "forces". This being the case we should sometimes expect to find a non-significant correlation between an authoritarian personality structure and an authoritarian ideological orientation.²

We may assume that a particular personality structure will always sensitize a person to certain impressions and influences. A person will never be an exclusively passive receiver of social pressure, but will orient himself actively in the direction of groups and milieux which exert pressures harmonizing with his own disposition. Naturally, there are considerable differences between people as regards their ability to create their own environment and to seek out groups which exert a social pressure that does not seem like pressure, but like acceptance and encouragement, so it is reasonable to assume that in all human beings we at least find tendencies in this direction.

1. In an investigation by Beloff (1958) it is pointed out that the positive correlation found between the F-scale and conformity scores may be a spurious relationship reflecting only the way the F-scale was constructed: agreement with the items of the scale being determined by conformity needs. In a recent article by Christie *et al.* (1958) this problem is thoroughly discussed and arguments given for an »agreement set« not being a predominant determinant for F-scale responses.
2. The fact that positive correlations have been found between authoritarianism and susceptibility to change does not imply that high scores (on authoritarianism) show great susceptibility to all types of external influences. For instance, in an investigation by Katz, Sarnoff and McClintock (1956), it is demonstrated that self-insight procedures provide a more effective technique for changing prejudiced attitudes among low and medium scorers than among high scorers. In a later investigation by the same authors (1957) it is suggested that persons with medium scores are actually more influenced by this technique than both high and low scorers. These empirical findings have been indirectly supported by Haimowitz and Haimowitz (1950), who found that psychotherapeutically-induced shifts towards greater racial and religious tolerance occurred more pronouncedly among those initially classified as mildly rather than strongly hostile or friendly. To round out the picture, Wagman (1955) found that authoritarian suggestions were more effective than logical restructuring in changing the prejudices of people who were high on authoritarianism as compared with low scorers, on this dimension.

Looking at the issue in this way we should always expect to find a certain positive correlation between an authoritarian structure and an authoritarian child rearing ideology. However, our assumption is that this is not always the case. This assumption is based on the hypothesis that tendencies towards social conformity often represent a stronger motive and that this motive may encompass not only choice of books to read, schools and courses to attend and groups to belong to, but concrete attitudes to adopt. In accordance with our previous discussions we may assume the latter motives to be stronger among authoritarian than among non-authoritarian personalities. This being the case, we should expect that persons characterized by an authoritarian personality structure are more disposed as parents than others *to develop inconsistent attitudes towards questions of child rearing*.

In hypothesizing that the relationship between personality factors and adherence to certain child rearing principles will vary in different social settings, we are very much in line with similar thinking as regards the relationship between ethnocentrism and personality traits: e. g. Siegman (1958) found the correlation between the E-scale (ethnocentrism) and the F-scale to be significantly lower in the South of the US than in California and in the North. Similarly he found the correlation between the F-scale and Taylor's MAS (neuroticism) significantly lower among students at the University of North Carolina as compared to Harvard students. This latter result has been confirmed by a study by Davis & Eriksen (1957) who found that the correlation between the F-scale and measures on neuroticism do correlate significantly different in different samples of subjects; among university students they found a positive correlation while among naval trainees in a submarine base they found no significant correlation at all. The Navy men were much more authoritarian than the university students and it is reasonable to assume that these men were under much stronger social pressure as regards authoritarian ideologies than is the case in most academic environments.

The interaction taking place between cultural and personality factors seems to be especially apparent as regards maternal attitudes towards breast feeding. In a recent American investigation of women in the last trimester of their first pregnancy it was found that bottle vs. breast feeding preferences were significantly related to deep-lying personality factors (Adams, 1959). That such preferences are not always carried through is demonstrated by another recent investigation by Cole *et al.* (1957), who found that although 73.7 % of their sample of American mothers expressed preference for breast feeding, only 54 % mainly breast-fed their infants. The latter results may of course indicate an innate biological incapacity in a very large per-

centage of the mothers. That this is not the case is suggested by Sears *et al.* (1957), and by the report that mothers in the German concentration camps had no breast feeding problems (Spitz, 1957). All the mothers in these camps, it is said, knew that if their milk supply stopped the authorities would let the infants die of hunger.

B. *The Effect of Ideological Attitudes.*

A number of empirical studies have been undertaken during recent decades with the aim of illuminating the relationship between maternal attitudes towards child rearing and the personality formation of children. On the basis of his investigation, Shoben (1949, p. 138) concludes:

Parent behavior, as represented by parental attitudes, is measurably consistent; . . . (and) are meaningfully associated with child adjustment.

Using the final version of Shoben's Parent Attitude Survey, Freeman and Grayson (1955) found a number of items to differentiate statistically between mothers of male schizophrenic patients and control mothers. The number of differentiating items was more than three times greater than should be expected on the basis of chance, and, in addition, on nearly all of the individual items which significantly differentiated the two groups, the mothers of the schizophrenics were characterized by "poorer" attitudes than the control mothers. Freeman and Grayson state (p. 51):

What seemed to emerge as characterizing the mothers of schizophrenics were attitudes of self-sacrificing martyrdom, of subtle (rather than frank) domination, and overprotectiveness. In return for their noble qualities, they expected unquestioning conformity with parental wishes through inner conviction rather than external coercion. Marked overconcern with children's sexual behavior and an abysmal ignorance and fear of consequences in this area stood out with particular clearness.

In spite of the "attractiveness" of this conclusion, it has to be looked upon as very tentative. A weakness of the study is a lack of rigorous control of the educational level of the two groups of mothers. In fact, some educational and socio-economic differences probably existed between them.

Other research scholars too have presented data suggesting a relationship between mothers' ideological attitudes and the personality formation of children (Mark, 1953; Nordland, 1955). But at the same time it has to be mentioned that still other scholars have questioned the hypothesis of a clear-cut correlation between the child rearing ideology of parents and their children's social and emotional adjustment. In what follows we shall illuminate this question a little further. In so doing we shall keep close to data from some empirical studies and indicate the many ambiguities which still exist in this research area.

In a recent Swedish investigation by Husén *et al.* (1959) on the relationships between mothers' attitudes towards child rearing and their children's behaviour, a statistically significant correlation was found among boys between a liberal, child-centered parental ideology and general adjustment to the school situation. Among girls, however, no correlation was found between these two factors.

It has to be taken into account that school adjustment is a somewhat inadequate criterion of personality functioning. Perhaps the results would have been more clear-cut had a more adequate criterion been applied.

The results of another recent Swedish investigation by Curman, Engstedt, Jonsson and Kälvesten, represent a challenge to such an explanation (Kälvesten, 1957; Lindblom, 1959). In a study of a random sample of 238 Stockholm boys, born between 1939 and 1946, these scholars do not find any significant correlation between the boys' overt social adjustment and their mothers' conscious attitudes towards child rearing. Neither do they find any significant correlation between mothers' child rearing ideologies and their sons' emotional health. This finding is of special interest because of the many precautions taken to secure a representative sample of subjects and the broad area of data on which ratings concerning adjustment and health were made. In addition to information from the parents of each boy, his teacher was interviewed, and the boy himself somatically examined and interviewed by a psychiatrist, and finally given a psychological test battery consisting of Terman-Merrill, Rorschach, SCT, and the Machover DAP.

The negative results of Curman *et al.* do not imply that parents ideological attitudes have no significance. In this study, somewhat surprisingly, the child rearing ideology of the boys' fathers did correlate significantly with both their sons' social adjustment and their emotional health. The more liberal and child-centered the fathers' attitudes, the better adjusted and more healthy the boys were found to be.

The positive association found as regards the fathers' attitudes towards child rearing suggests that the attitudes of fathers have a greater influence on the personality formation of children than is usually recognised. In this respect, the Swedish results support the findings of an American investigation by Becker *et al.* (1959). These authors differentiate between conduct problems and personality-problems in children. Their empirical data indicate that in families with conduct-problem children, both parents are "mal-adjusted", while in families with personality problems in the child, only the father's behaviour seem to be important. They point out that boys are somewhat overrepresented in their sample of children, but that at face value their findings "suggest the hypothesis that the adjustment of father is more crit-

ical in determining personality problems in children than is the adjustment of mother'' (p. 113).

The attitudes of the father may influence the child's development directly, or, what is more likely in our culture, where the area of contact between mother and child is much more pronounced than that between father and child, the father's main influence may be transferred by the mother, concretely by the effect on the mother of the father's ideological orientation.¹

An authoritarian father will probably often represent a stern and distant love object for the child and for the mother as well. An authoritarian family atmosphere may in a psychological sense have certain similarities with sailors' families where the father is physically absent. The research work of Tiller (1958) on the psychological effect as regards children's personality formation in sailor families may thus have some relevance in the present context. Briefly Tiller found that authoritarian personality traits seem to be more pronounced among children from father absent families as compared with control children.

Even were there no relationship between the mothers' ideologies and their children's behaviour, a relationship might still exist between the behaviour of mothers and children. The findings of an investigation by Monalto (1952) gave support to such an assumption. Monalto found that patterns of maternal behaviour as evaluated by the Fels Parent Behaviour Rating Scale were associated with children's responses to the Rorschach cards, and that children of ideologically democratic mothers differed from children of spontaneously democratic mothers. The children of ideologically democratic mothers by and large were more similar to children of restrictive cold mothers than to children of mothers who were spontaneously democratic.

Suggestions following very much the same line of thought have been presented by Altman (1958), who summarizes her findings as follows (p. 167):

When rating scales based upon the mothers' statements of their behavior and attitudes in regard to their children were used to evaluate the mothers, no consistent nor significant associations could be established between maternal attitudes in areas of mother-child interaction and child personality structure. However, when the judgements of an experienced social worker were substituted in assessing the mothers . . . , a number of significant differences in their children's personality were found.

1. It is interesting to note that Kates and Diab (1955) found high F-scores for male subjects mainly to be associated with ignoring attitudes, i.e. lack of responsibility towards the child, and high F-scores for female subjects to be associated most significantly with dominant and possessive parental attitudes.

Altman's results indicate in other words that the personality formation of children is not at all dependent upon the conscious ideological attitudes towards child rearing held by their mothers, but by the presence of more or less unconscious qualities in the mothers' personalities. Among other things, Altman rated her mother-subjects in relation to their contentment with their past and their marital adjustment. "When children of 'contented' and 'discontented' mothers are compared," Altman states, "consistent and significant differences in personality structure are found" (p. 167).

Altman's results have some features in common with the findings of a study by Frenkel-Brunswik (1954). Frenkel-Brunswik describes her findings in this way (p. 236):

Somewhat surprisingly . . . certain frequently emphasized details of procedure seem to be relatively unrelated . . . to the development of an authoritarian vs. a liberal personality structure. Among these comparatively irrelevant factors seem to be the circumstances of nursing, such as breast feeding vs. bottle feeding, and time of weaning, and those of toilet training, such as the age at which it began . . . What seems to count most is the establishment of an intelligible non-ego-destructive type of discipline.

Where the establishment of such a type of discipline is concerned, Frenkel-Brunswik lays particular emphasis on parents' capacity for affective contact and warmth, and considers this capacity to be related not to conscious attitudes, but to deep-lying personality traits.

Granted the significance of affectional warmth, this does not fully explain why Curman *et al.* found the ideological attitudes of fathers, but not that of mothers, to be positively correlated with the social adjustment of boys.

We do not have any conclusive answer on this point. Nevertheless we want to suggest as a possible explanation that the ideological attitudes of fathers are somewhat more congruent with their concrete behaviour and their basic personality structure than are the ideological attitudes of mothers. In support of such an assumption some arguments can be given. First and foremost, the highly significant association found by Block (1955) between personality characteristics and fathers' attitudes towards child rearing. In the second place, the fact that the occupational situations of most fathers very seldom encourage liberal and anti-authoritarian viewpoints. This is in sharp contrast to the ideological orientation often prevalent in public discussion on questions of family life and child rearing. Not only is it reasonable to assume that mothers pay greater attention to child rearing ideologies, but that they are also somewhat more susceptible to social pressure in this area. This last assumption we may derive from the results of empirical investigations showing women in our culture to be characterized by and large by stronger conformity needs than men (Beloff, 1958; Crutchfield, 1955).

The above considerations are based upon the assumption that the relationship between parents' child rearing attitudes and their concrete behaviour varies in different social groups, and that ideological attitudes represent not a causal, but a spurious, factor in the personality formation of children. In support of this assumption we may call attention to our discussion in the previous chapter where we pointed out that ideological attitudes seem to be related partly to deep-lying personality factors and partly to the strength and nature of the external social pressure which is present. Thus, the assumption behind the above considerations is that what really counts as regards the personality formation of children is the parents' affectional warmth. Under certain circumstances this factor will shape the conscious attitudes of parents, while under other circumstances, its potency will be overruled by external social pressures.

As a comment to the above hypothesis, it may be argued that it does not explain the differences found among boys and girls in the investigation by Husén *et al.*, since the samples of boys and girls in this study most probably had very much the same social background. We put forward this argument as a comment only, because we feel it is reasonable to assume that social adjustment may have a somewhat different functional significance among girls than among boys. This viewpoint is also emphasized by Husén *et al.*, and it has, furthermore, been clearly demonstrated empirically in a study by Sears *et al.* (1953).

Somewhat more difficult to explain is why Husén *et al.* found the correlation between mothers' ideological attitudes and the sons' general school adjustment to be statistically significant, while Curman *et al.* found practically no correlation between mothers' attitudes and boys' social adjustment. Of course this inconsistency can be accounted for by the difference between "general school adjustment" and "social adjustment", but we think this explanation is not the one that seems most likely.

Data inconsistent with the hypothesis that conscious parental attitudes only represent a spurious factor, are presented by Sears *et al.* (1957). These findings indicate that a significant positive correlation exists between maternal permissiveness and the amount of aggression shown by their children at home, and that this relationship holds even when the affectional warmth of the mothers is kept constant.

The study by Sears *et al.* is based upon intensive interviews of 379 American mothers with children of kindergarten age. A weakness of the study is a lack of independent measures of the mothers' attitudes and their children's behaviour. The researchers are fully aware of this shortcoming and consequently try to minimize its effects.

By aggression Sears *et al.* refer to behaviour intended to destroy property or to hurt or injure someone. They point out that permissiveness in child rearing seems to represent a fairly general trait, manifesting itself in the mothers' attitudes to toilet training, table manners, indoor play, dependency, noise making, aggression, sex play, masturbation, nudity, disobedience, messiness and untidiness. In addition to rating the mother's attitudes to these and many other areas of child rearing, an attempt was made to measure, by means of a rating scale, the warmth of each mother's feelings for her child.

Of special interest in the present context is the finding that warmth was negatively related to the amount of aggression shown by children, and practically unrelated to the mothers' permissiveness. It is worth noting again that these investigators found aggressiveness positively correlated with permissive attitudes. Permissiveness and warmth, therefore, in this instance, seem to have opposite effects. In order to discover the relative influence of each of the various factors, partial correlations were computed. These showed that permissiveness, severity of punishment for aggression, physical punishment, and affectional coldness were all influential factors, and that permissiveness contributed not less (in fact, somewhat more) than affectional coldness.

If mothers' conscious attitudes do contribute to children's personality formation, some explanation has to be given to the varying effects of permissive attitudes reported in the literature.

A possible hypothesis is that permissive maternal attitudes have different effects in various social groups, e.g., among mothers having different educational or socioeconomic backgrounds, and that, by treating a heterogeneous sample as a single unit, as was done by Husén *et al.* and by Curman *et al.*, these different effects may have been obscured. In fact some empirical material does support such a hypothesis.

We are here referring to the results of a study recently presented by Zuckerman *et al.* (1958). In this study initially no significant differences were found between mothers of schizophrenics and normals as regards degree of controlling and rejecting parental (ideological) attitudes. This result is in contrast to the findings of Freeman & Grayson (1955) to which we have previously referred. Zuckerman *et al.* do not stop their analysis at this point, however. Taking the mothers' educational level into account they find a highly significant relationship between this factor and parental attitudes, and most interestingly, a highly significant interaction effect: at the grammar school level, the mothers of schizophrenics tend to score higher (more authoritarian-controlling) than the controls ($.05 < p < .10$), at the high school level they score significantly lower than the controls ($p < .05$), while at the

college level no significant difference could be found between the two groups of mothers.

Of course we do not know from this study to what extent the significant correlations indicate any causal relationships. Neither do we know to what extent the results can be generalized to behavioural and emotional disturbances which are less pathological and severe than schizophrenia. Nevertheless, for the time being, neither of these two assumptions can be discarded.

Still another hypothesis bearing on the possible influence of ideological attitudes is the assumption that the correlation between maternal attitudes and children's social behaviour is a curvilinear one, and consequently, that an exclusive concentration on linear correlations will fail to reveal the real relationships present. In fact, this hypothesis gets some support from the investigation by Husén *et al.* referred to above. The correlations found in this study between the mothers' ideological attitudes and their sons' tendencies to disturbing and/or passive behaviour in the school situation showed a clear curvilinear trend. Thus the boys whose mothers expressed moderate child-centered attitudes, were on the whole found to be better adjusted to the school situation than the boys whose mothers expressed extreme child-centered, and moderately and strongly non-child-centered attitudes. In general, those worst adjusted to the school situation were the boys whose mothers expressed non-child-centered attitudes. In fact, this explains why on the whole they find a positive correlation between maternal attitudes and school adjustment in the case of boys.

Analysing their data in the same way for girls, here too they find a curvilinear tendency, the mothers avoiding extreme attitudes tended to have daughters who were better adjusted to the school situation (p. 64). It has to be recalled that in this case they did not find any linear correlation at all.

A possible explanation of these findings is that in judging their children's general school adjustment, the teachers have been influenced by the standards characterizing the more moderately child-centered mothers. Still another explanation is to assume that the ideological attitudes of mothers do not have any causal significance, but only reflect their way of reacting to their children's social adjustment; some of the mothers of maladjusted children adopted an extreme child-centered or non-child-centered ideology as a response to their children's behavioural problems.

Husén *et al.* discuss both of these points. As regards the first point they present data showing no correlation to exist between the discrepancy between teachers' and mothers' attitudes on the one side, and the children's school adjustment on the other. Concerning the second point they emphasize that it is most probable that a continuous interaction takes place between

mothers' attitudes and the social behaviour of children, but they do not express any definite conclusion as to what extent their findings may have any causal significance as far as the children's school adjustment is concerned. In this respect, first and foremost, *they seem to lack any reasonable explanatory principle.*

Neither do we have any conclusive evidence bearing on this point; nevertheless, we think some reasonable explanation *can* be given. Before concentrating on this matter, we want to discuss at some length a question which has great significance for the above discussion, but which has so far been almost completely avoided. We are referring to the effects of and to the dynamics behind unconscious parental attitudes.

It is worthwhile to speculate on to what extent the conception of various personality levels can bring new insights and explanations to bear on the matter.

C. The Effect of Emotional Attitudes.

In turning to the effect of deep-lying parental attitudes of an emotional and dynamic nature, we can rely to a much lesser extent on the results of systematic investigations. This is due of course to the apparently much greater methodological problems involved in studying unconscious as compared with conscious attitudes. We do have some systematic investigations dealing with the personality dynamics of parents, but by and large we have to rely on hypothetical formulations derived from clinical studies.

We mentioned in the previous chapter an investigation by Sears *et al.* (1957) where the affectional warmth of the mother was considered a significant factor in child rearing. Sears *et al.* summarize their findings regarding this factor as follows (p. 483):

Maternal *coldness* was associated with the development of feeding problem and persistent bed-wetting. It contributed to high aggression. It was an important background condition for emotional upset during severe toilet training, and for the slowing of conscience development. Indeed, the only one of our measures of child behavior with which warmth was not associated was dependency, and even in that instance the closely related scale for affectionate demonstrativeness was slightly correlated.

There is no clear evidence in our findings to explain why warmth should leave such widespread influence.

In the discussion which follows we will venture an explanation of this influence.

Let us start out by giving a concrete example of how a child's behaviour can release unconscious reactions in mothers.

We choose as our example a description given by Spitz (1957), one of the best known contemporary child psychiatrists. Spitz states that he was once

standing talking to two mothers who were with their children. One of the two, Mary, had finished weaning her child a few days previously. The other, Jane, had not yet started weaning. Suddenly Jane's child became restless. After a while he started to scream, his screaming increased in intensity, and clearly showed that he was getting increasingly hungry. Jane prepared to suckle him, while the child continued to scream more and more loudly. At this point, says Spitz, he noticed the appearance of two damp patches on Mary's blouse. The child's screaming had set off an unconscious autonomous process. In spite of the fact that Mary had ceased suckling her own child several days before, she reacted to the situation by secreting milk.

It is reasonable to assume that an infant's screaming will release unconscious parental reactions other than the secreting of milk. Similarly, we may assume that not only will screaming release unconscious reactions, but that such reactions also will be released when a child bites, spits, dirties itself, plays with excrement, touches its genitals, or throws things about. What sort of unconscious reaction is released by the child's behaviour, will depend upon the parent's personality structure.

Broadly speaking, by the term personality structure one refers within the psychoanalytic school of thought, to the relationships existing between various psychic processes or substructures in a given personality. Central importance is ascribed to the relationship between id and ego, between primary and secondary mental processes. While the primary process is said to follow the pleasure principle and to be characteristic of unconscious mental life, the secondary process is much more governed by the world of reality and illustrated by conscious reasoning and problem-solving activities. In some persons the dividing line between these two types of processes may be quite marked and permanent, in others more flexible and shifting. In the former case we have to do with a sort of rigid ego armouring, which – so the theory says – stems from unresolved infantile conflicts. In the latter case, it may be said that the person's ego has a certain ability to regress. The quality of such a regression may differ. If the regression is a controlled one, one may talk about a regression in the service of the ego (Kris, 1952). By this is meant that the ego may under certain circumstances obtain access to unconscious and preconscious impulses, that the dividing line between primary and secondary processes may be temporarily removed, that defence mechanisms may be relaxed without the person's ego being passively overwhelmed by anxiety and archaic impulses. In fact, such a regression represents an active expansion of the ego, an exploitation of the primary processes' store of energy in the direction of creative activity, within the framework of social intercourse or in the form of artistic expression.

The ability for controlled, i.e. ego-accommodated, regression has been looked upon as a central factor in parents' personalities as far as the personality formations of children are concerned.

Let us illuminate this a little further.

It is a recognized fact that a child's social learning takes place to a great extent through imitation of and identification with its parents. Parents' imitation of and identification with their children is according to Spitz (1946, 1957) a less recognized, but perhaps an equally important fact – particularly as regards the emotional development of the child. In the opinion of Spitz the child's possibility of identifying itself with its parents, of forming object relationships, is decided to a great extent by its being met half way by its parents. By means of their identification a bridge is formed which helps the child in its own identification. In fact Spitz regards the identification process in parents as essential for the formation of the child's object relations and for its development into a social human being. By imitating their children in their first year of life, by imitating their gestures and sounds, parents carry out an identification on a very primitive level; a level which is generally quite unattainable consciously by adults because of their *infantile amnesia*.

Gaining access to the infant's situation presupposes a fairly deep ego regression in the parents. Such a regression to archaic layers of the adult personality will frequently be impeded both by social and unconscious inhibitions. The fact that regression is stimulated by the child's behaviour, and that in a way it takes place in the interest of the child, may cause many parents to establish connection with areas in their minds which under normal circumstances are totally isolated from their conscious life. It is possible that this regression may under certain circumstances break down existing stabilization mechanisms and lead to an enduring overwhelming of repressed affects; but it is none the less possible that, under other circumstances, it may lead to enrichment and ego expansion, and stimulate the parents' own object relationships and their ability to utilize their inherent resources in a creative manner. The outcome will be decided by the parents' regressive capacities. This will also be the case should the parents react in other ways, either by withdrawing and failing to identify themselves with their children altogether, or by over-identification with them. In both cases they will probably represent inadequate identifying objects from the point of view of the child.¹

1. In support of the hypothetical pathological effect of parental incapacities for ego-accommodated regressions, we may refer to Kanner's findings as regards the personality characteristics of parents to children characterized by *early infantile autism* (Despert, 1951; Eisenberg & Kanner, 1956).

The behaviour of children may provoke parents' defence mechanisms. This provocation may take place during the child's first year of life as well as during later stages of the child's development. We may assume, as stated above, that this will coincide with parents' lack of ability for controlled regression in relation to those very impulses characteristic of the given stage of the child's development. Parents' ability for affective contact, identification and warmth will be blocked to the extent that their child's behaviour reactivates infantile impulses and affects which lie unresolved in their own subconsciousness. This point of view has been formulated by Jensen (1956, pp. 155-156), in the following way:

Children stimulate their parents in various ways during different phases of development. We observe that the relationship between parents and children may be harmonious during one period, while during another it may be conflicting . . . It looks as if the impulses to which the child gives expression during its development may appear to its parents as danger signals. If, during their own development, they had to struggle hard to control these impulses in themselves – aggressive impulses or different aspects of sexual impulses, for instance – the defence mechanisms which they have consciously or unconsciously used to control them will be activated; there will then follow measures against the children such that conflicts will be brought about in just those areas in the children where the parents themselves have or have had serious conflicts, the solution of which has forced them into a neurotic course of development.

Many child psychologists have called attention to the fact that children may often have exceptional ability to apprehend their parents' emotional sentiments and unconscious motives (Escalona, 1945; Spitz, 1951). Thus, regardless of the intellectual and cognitive attitudes characterizing the parents, it is reasonable to suppose that the child will sense a lack of emotional resonance and response, if its behaviour provokes unresolved conflicts in the parents' personalities. The mutuality of identification will be threatened. The result may easily be that the child, experiencing lack of affective support from and contact with its parents, will react with anger, confusion and anxiety. Due to its complete social dependence, it has to adapt itself to the situation, i.e. to change its behaviour for the purpose of re-establishing emotional support. Granted that "biological" or "basic psychosexual impulses" are at issue, an inner split may be created in the child – it will suppress those impulses which it has traumatically or gradually come to consider dangerous – and in so doing, it will prevent itself from "growing out of" and "growing away from" the grasp of these impulses. In brief, we will be faced with a form of social adjustment which impedes full personality growth and maturation – and, at the same time, provides a perpetuation of a certain pattern of impulse adaption from parents to the new generation. By this we are in fact saying that basic personality traits in parents can be passed on to

their children in a manner quite independent of heredity and explicit social norms.

The above hypotheses, stemming from psychoanalytic theory, have been dealt with at length by Erikson (1950), among others.

So far we have concentrated mainly on the hypothetical effect of structural properties of parents' personalities. Traditionally, psychoanalytic scholars have been especially occupied with the content of unconscious attitudes. In this respect, Freud of course must be mentioned as an undisputed pioneer.

In his study of "The Problem of Womanhood" in his *New Introductory Lectures*, Freud (1934) suggests that the desire of women for children is rooted in early childhood experiences, and that this desire derives from their more primary desire to have children by their fathers, a motive which is in turn derived from the penis envy of little girls. Freud states that a woman will experience great happiness in giving birth to a child because the child represents the satisfaction of deep-lying desires; and that she will experience particular happiness if the child is a boy because a boy brings the desired penis with him. Only a relationship with a son, writes Freud, can give a mother unlimited satisfaction; only to her son can she transfer all the ambition she has suppressed in herself because she is a woman. A mother's unconscious attitudes towards her son will differ from her attitudes towards her daughter, and frequently her unconscious emotional attitudes towards her first child will differ from her attitudes towards subsequent children.

The attitude patterns to which Freud refers may be expressed to a greater or a lesser degree in mothers. Beata Rank (1950) believes that we meet with individual differences in this area which can give us the key to an understanding of the development and habits of many children. She particularly emphasizes the unconscious fantasies a mother has about her children, and gives several examples of such fantasies, based on psychoanalytic experience. A child may unconsciously be considered to be the product of an incestuous relationship between the mother and her father, it may be considered to be a piece of excrement, or – as Freud suggests – it may be considered to be a phallic representation. In the latter case its birth may give the mother a sensation of castration – of losing an essential attribute. Mothers with ego-weakness, in whom clearly defined ego frontiers are lacking or defective, may regard their children as projected images of themselves, while introjective tendencies may simultaneously lead them to re-experience themselves as children.

The fantasies mentioned by Rank are of especial relevance in connection with *mothers'* unconscious attitudes. Johnson and Szurek (1952) assert that fathers' unconscious attitudes may also play a decisive role. In particular

they mention that a child may be considered unconsciously by one or both parents to be a rival for the love of the other parent, and that a child may release unconscious reactions of jealousy on the part of one or both parents, jealousy derived from unresolved sibling relationships in the parents' own childhood.¹

Since in the previous chapter we concentrated our discussion to a large extent on the factors in children's social adjustment, it may now be in order to refer briefly to some depth-psychological hypotheses bearing on this point.

An hypothesis of which Johnson and Szurek (1952) have made themselves spokesmen, is that anti-social acting out by children and adolescents is to be understood as the realization of their parents' unconscious desires. Parents can achieve a kind of vicarious gratification of their own unconscious and unaccepted impulses through their children's manifestation of the same impulses, Johnson and Szurek maintain. At the conscious level the parents may disassociate themselves strongly from such impulses in themselves and in their children; they may even have a particularly strong need to punish severely the very actions which they unconsciously encourage in their children. On the basis of psychoanalytical experience in the treatment of children and parents, Johnson and Szurek give a number of examples of how they believe such unconscious encouragement may take place. As examples of anti-social behaviour in children and adolescents which may derive from poorly integrated, forbidden impulses in their parents, they list running away, stealing, and various forms of sexual deviation such as promiscuity, exhibitionism and voyeurism (scoptophilia).

The above view has also been put forward by many others. We shall here only refer to Siegel's (1957) very thorough case documentation of the adaptability of this point of view as regards the understanding of a thirteen-year-old firesetter; and Sperling's (1950) case demonstration of the tenability of this view as regards an extreme form of car phobia and car sickness in a four-year-old girl. Sperling (1951) maintains that both neurotic and psychotic symptoms in childhood may often be understood as the unconscious acceptance by the child of its mother's unconscious urges.

Proctor (1958) points out in a recent work that dramatic and hysterical reactions in children seem to have been considerable more widespread at the turn of the century than today. He believes this to be due in all probability

1. Berta Bornstein describes in her well-known work, *The Analysis of a Phobic Child* (1949), how a mother may quite unconsciously come to revenge herself on her son for injustices she suffered from her brother in her childhood; and how, in spite of her conscious intention not to treat her own child in the way she and her siblings were treated, she may unconsciously come to identify herself with her mother's ways of reacting to her brother.

to changes in child rearing: formerly children were more frequently denied all pleasure, but with a form of denial that indirectly implied and emphasized the attraction of what was forbidden.

Reich (1950) too has formulated certain hypotheses concerning the psychological basis for antisocial behaviour in children and adolescents. According to Reich, a certain type of character structure is characteristic of antisocial manifestations: a type in which ordinary reaction formations are lacking and in which aggressive and sexual impulses are used as a counterphobic defence against these impulses themselves. The cause of such defensive impulsiveness is presumed to lie in the parents' behaviour, or, more precisely, in a cleavage between tolerance and encouragement of nascent infantile impulses, and sudden frustration and rejection when these impulses are fully developed. In such a situation a child will be incapable of effectively repressing and "bind" its impulses: it will take over the parents' admonitions and prohibitions, but far from having a restricting effect on the child's impulsiveness they will create an intolerable tension between ego-ideals and ego-alien impulses which will give the impulsiveness a compulsive character.

Reich's view on the impulsive character (or the impulsive psychopath) have much in common with Spitz' (1951) explanation of excessive rocking in the first year of life and of aggressive hyperthymic behaviour in early childhood. As causal factors behind excessive rocking Spitz emphasis rapid shifts between coddling and hostility, the mothers being inconsistent, infantile, labile and uncontrolled, and as casual factors behind aggressive hyperthymic behaviour, maternal rejection and hostility being compensated by friendliness and syrup-like sweetness. In fact, Spitz considers excessive rocking a sign of an incipient psychopathic personality organization, an inability to establish object-relations of all kinds, i.e. to invest libidinal energies on external objects.

To a certain extent Reich's views on the impulsive character parallels Johnson and Szurek's explanation of anti-social behaviour in children and adolescents. In both cases the importance of inconsistent parental attitudes is emphasized. While Johnson and Szurek lay particular emphasis on inconsistency between different layers in parents' personalities, Reich's main point is the presence of inconsistency in parent's behaviour over a period of time. The two points of view do not cancel each other out, but represent differences in frame of reference: inconsistency in parents' behaviour over a period of time as emphasized by Reich and Spitz will probably often correspond with inconsistency between different layers in parents' personalities as pointed out by Johnson and Szurek.

Spitz suggests as causal factors behind hyperaggressive behaviour, mater-

nal rejection and hostility being compensated by extreme friendliness and sweetness. In the previous chapter we referred to the results of a Swedish study indicating a curvilinear correlation between liberal, child-centered parental attitudes and the general school adjustment of boys and girls. Seemingly we are here dealing with data which are to some extent mutually supporting. At the least, it is worthwhile to speculate to what extent Spitz' hostile and rejective mothers would have been classified ideologically in the Swedish study as extreme friendly, liberal and child-centered? And to what extent Spitz' hostile and rejective mothers would have had hyperaggressive and asocial children if their hostility and rejection had not been compensated by friendliness and sweetness? This last question will be discussed a little further in the chapter to follow.

D. The Interactional Effect of Conscious and Unconscious Attitudes.

In the previous chapter we stated that parents, by and large, seem to react to their children's behaviour in such a way that the children will often be characterized by much the same form of psychic structure as their parents. This does not mean that we can ignore the many complicating factors which will be brought to bear in this connection, partly by children being influenced by persons other than their parents, by children's parents having dissimilar personality structures, and by one or both parents being influenced by certain ideological views which clash with their underlying affective reactions.

As mentioned above, Frenkel-Brunswik points out that many child rearing principles of a more formal character seem to be of minor importance in relation to the parent's capacity for warmth and affective contact. We can interpret this to mean that parents with a relatively healthy, integrated emotional life may well be adherents of child rearing principles of an ideologically authoritarian kind, without this affecting their actual behaviour towards their children to any significant extent. In contrast to this type of parent we have those who are somewhat restrained in their capacity for ego-accommodated regression and affective contact because of their unconscious rejection and unresolved conflicts regarding their own infantile impulses. It is an exceedingly interesting hypothesis that in this case we may find that the ideological superstructure has a much more decisive effect, that such parents have a deep-lying personal insecurity which will be provoked or checked by the ideological orientation they adapt.

Granted that an authoritarian (rejective-conflicting) personality structure will in individual cases be related to an authoritarian ideology of child rearing, in other cases to a more liberal, non-authoritarian outlook; we may hypothesize that parents of the latter type by and large will be less emotion-

ally involved and attached to their children than the former type of parents. In fact, this assumption has long been emphasized by child psychologists who maintain that parents who are themselves characterized by an authoritarian personality structure, and who identify themselves positively or negatively with a liberal child rearing ideology, will easily interpret such an ideology as encouraging laissez-faire, indifferent attitudes towards children. In the case of a positive identification such an acquired liberality, it is said, will be devoid of emotional warmth because it has no resonance in deep personality layers. Consequently, an extinction of emotional warmth may covary with a liberal ideological outlook.

The effects of pseudo-liberal parental attitudes have been discussed by Fromm (1947) among others.

In the case of pseudo-liberal parental attitudes, the child will apprehend a hidden authoritarian pressure, and because the pressure is not overtly expressed the child may easily experience diffuse insecurity and anxiety. The parents will not represent any real authority with whom the child can identify itself, and in so doing gain control of its impulses. Instead the child will be kept in an outwardly directed position, and become increasingly more sensitive to external social demands than to its inner conscience. Social anxiety will become a more dominant motivating factor than moral anxiety. Briefly, Fromm is of the opinion that the most important reason for the strong social anxiety (he assumes to exist) of our time is to be found in parents forcing or persuading their children, not personally or directly, but anonymously and impersonally in the name of science, reason and cooperation. Because the parents' deep personality layers often do not enter into the matter, the child will, according to Fromm, be prevented from forming an internalized sanctioning authority. Social adjustment will assume a position superior to moral and ethical values, whether humanitarian or authoritarian in character.

Lindner (1956) discusses some of the same ideas in his book, "Must You Conform?". He describes as gentle tyranny what he considers to be a highly doubtful ideology of adjustment which has gradually assumed a central position in Western culture. Every child, Lindner maintains, has an innate urge to expand, an urge to break out of the limits set by human biological capacities, by nature, and by death. When this urge to expand is blocked or suppressed, the result will of necessity be over-conformity and submission. If this blocking takes the form of demands for adjustment, conformity and deference, not in relation to one particular person at one particular time, but as an ultimate value, the urge to expand will easily be converted into mutiny. The rebellion will take place within the framework of conformity, the child

will be fixated by the social system and direct its protest against it, without having the ability to rise above the boundaries of the existing social order. Instead of ideas concerning the change and reformation of society, juvenile delinquency and anti-social behaviour is the result. Thus Lindner regards the hold of adjustment ideology on contemporary parents as the key to increasing criminality amongst children and adolescents. He states categorically that much of the liberal thinking of our time – perhaps especially in regard to sexuality – is merely a new type of defence against deep-lying conflicts which are almost as pronounced today as they were a century ago. Open rejection and condemnation of the deviant has to a great extent given way to pseudo-tolerance, to an indirect form of rejection by means of references to illness and maladjustment. The demand for adjustment and “tolerance” can be just as intolerant and disassociating as open condemnation and rejection, Lindner maintains.

Lindner’s view of juvenile delinquency as youthful mutiny within the framework of a social order which is itself acknowledged and accepted, attracts considerable interest. A feature which he shares with Fromm is his reference to unfortunate consequences of a disguised, impersonal form of child rearing. It is not unlikely, without assuming the existence of an inner instinct of rebellion as Lindner does, that such a form of child rearing may, under certain circumstances, encourage juvenile anti-social behaviour. Granted the validity of the hypothesis that children will usually perceive rejective attitudes in their parents, although such attitudes may be well masked behind a liberal facade, and that parental attitudes of this type will easily create an other-directiveness and social anxiety in children, it is not unlikely that together with this social anxiety an urge to become familiar with an unmasked punishing authority may develop, in order that the child may have a kind of reality check on vague unconscious expectations. Because of its parents’ evasiveness the child may turn to other authorities or to society at large. It will try to reach dry land, so to speak, by experiencing what it has long felt: that the tolerance which it has so far experienced is a cover for quite different reactions.

The above hypotheses point out that the same liberal ideological outlook on questions of child rearing may have quite different consequences depending upon underlying personality traits. The hypotheses underline in other words, the possible interactional effect of conscious and unconscious parental attitudes. In this respect they attract great theoretical interest.

On the other hand, they bear important implications for community education on preventive mental health: if such education is carried out on an ideological and intellectual level exclusively and results in the creation

of an inner split between the affective and cognitive attitudes of parents towards their children, we should, according to the above considerations, expect an increasing number of anti-social behaviour manifestations among children and adolescents.

Granted the validity of this prediction, this does not mean that educational programmes should be avoided, nor that the long term effect will be the same as the predicted short term effect. For instance, individual psychotherapy often shows a pronounced growth of symptoms before an improvement takes place. Similarly it is not unthinkable that in a wider cultural and historical context we may find parallels to such a development.

What we wish to emphasize most strongly at this point is our present lack of precise knowledge as regards the effects of parent education in child psychology, and positive mental health. This is an area which ought to be taken up for systematic empirical analysis and evaluated in its many aspects. Of course, in a broader sense, the changes taking place in parents' child rearing ideologies do in all probability depend upon much more penetrating and basic factors than formal educational programmes. In the introduction, we mentioned the possible effect of the rapid, sweeping changes in the whole societal structure which are so characteristic of our time. In what follows we shall elaborate this point a little further.

In a recent study by Miller and Swanson (1958) it is pointed out that the American society seems to be in a period of transition, a transition from an individuated-entrepreneurial to a welfare-bureaucratic cultural pattern. By the term entrepreneurial they refer to a society consisting of organizations having the following features: small size, a simple division of labour, a relatively small capitalization, and provision for mobility and income through risk taking and competition. By bureaucratic they refer to a society consisting of organizations which are larger, employ many different kinds of specialists, have a substantial capitalization, provide for mobility through specialized training for a particular position rather than through success in risk-taking, and finally offers the security of continuity of employment and income. Children reared in families integrated in a welfare-bureaucratic setting, will, according to Miller and Swanson, be encouraged to be accommodative, to allow their impulses some spontaneous expression, and to seek direction from the organizational programs in which they participate. This in sharp contrast to children reared in homes integrated in an entrepreneurial setting who first and foremost will be encouraged to exercise great self-control, to be self-reliant, and to assume an active, manipulative and individuated orientation towards their environment.

Miller and Swanson present empirical data showing middle-class mothers

to differ in their child-rearing practices according to their type of societal integration. For a family to move from one type of integration to the other requires a relatively long period of time; in most cases – at least one or two generations. One may wonder if the period of transition will cause inconsistencies that will have its specific effect in the rising generation. We here only want to point out that authoritarian political and social movements have been considered an “escape from freedom”, a reaction of entrepreneurial personalities whose entrepreneurial setting is in the process of rapid and progressive disintegration. Thus, in the wake of the present societal changes, ideological currents may be aroused whose long term effect is to lengthen and worsen the cultural period of transition.

II. EMPIRICAL PRETESTS

We started in Part I by stating that a tug-of-war seems to take place between the adherents of different principles of child rearing. In our presentation we have concentrated on the effects of ideological and emotional attitudes of parents, and in the last chapter, especially on the interactional effect of these two types of attitudes. Our reasoning in this respect has to a great extent been based upon the assumption that the relationships between ideological and emotional attitudes will vary in different social settings. In the very first chapter we discussed this question from the point of view of causal factors behind ideological attitudes.

By “ideological attitudes” we primarily refer to the way in which parents believe they should behave towards their children in different situations. Such ideological attitudes we suppose to be determined partly by the social norms existing in an individual’s environment, partly by the individual’s personality structure.

By “emotional attitudes” we refer to the way in which parents are disposed to relate themselves quite unconsciously towards different infantile impulses in their children. We assume such attitudes reflect most directly an individual’s personality structure, i. e. how the individual relates himself to infantile impulses in his own personality.

In connection with both types of parental attitudes we consider it possible to distinguish between a predominant rejective (authoritarian) and a predominant permissive (liberal) orientation. In both instances, we consider it likely that a certain internal consistency will exist. On the other hand, referring to the results of empirical studies previously mentioned, we think it is reasonable to assume that ideological attitudes towards child rearing most probably are somewhat more internally consistent than emotional attitudes in this area.

A. *The Problem.*

In our discussion of factors determining an individual's child rearing ideology, we suggested that the relationship between personality factors and adherence to certain child rearing principles will vary in different social settings, depending upon the strength of the external social pressure: if the pressure is fairly weak, personality factors, i.e. personality-conditioned emotional attitudes, will most probably break through into the ideological sphere, and the ideology characterizing the person will give a genuine expression of his personality disposition; if the pressure increases we may expect the influence of personality factors to decrease, but if the pressure becomes really strong, we would expect that, because of a greater conformity need in persons with a personality-conditioned rejective orientation, these persons will ideologically show the greatest congruence with existing norms, regardless of the concrete content of these norms, whether they are liberal or authoritarian in character.

According to this hypothesis we should expect to find that the correlation between personality factors and child rearing ideology will not necessarily go in the same direction when the social pressure in questions of child rearing is comparatively weak and comparatively strong. If a strong social pressure is exerted in the direction of a liberal, non-authoritarian child rearing ideology, we should expect a positive correlation between such an ideology and a personality-conditioned rejective orientation.

If this is correct, we can actually say that persons characterized by an authoritarian personality structure are more disposed as parents than others to develop inconsistent attitudes towards questions of child rearing. The effect of this inconsistency on parent-child relationships attracts considerable attention, but lies outside the scope of this investigation.

In what follows we are going to present an empirical pretest aiming only at throwing light on the internal consistency of emotional and ideological attitudes towards child rearing, the relationship between these two types of attitudes, and finally, to what extent this relationship varies in different social settings in agreement with the above hypothesis.

B. *Methods and Procedures.*

Before describing the sample of subjects on which we focussed we shall give some information concerning the methods we used for registering ideological and emotional (personality-conditioned) parental attitudes. In both cases we attempted to delimit some specific "areas of impulses" reflecting predominant aspects of what we regard as essential phases in psychosexual

development. Thus we have attempted to specify aspects of the early oral, late oral, early anal, late anal, and the early genital phases. In doing this we have been guided by the theoretical viewpoints presented in another monograph (Christiansen, 1960). For the measuring of ideological attitudes we chose to construct an attitude scale, which we shall call the child rearing ideology scale, or the CRI scale. For measuring the degree of personality-conditioned emotional rejection present we made use of a revision of Blum's Blacky Pictures.

The Child Rearing Ideology Scale.

This scale consists of a list of statements on questions of child rearing about which the subjects are instructed to state their opinion. The instructions to the scale read as follows:

The purpose of this questionnaire is to investigate public opinion concerning questions of child rearing. The following are statements with which some people agree and others disagree. After each statement you will find four different answers: FULLY AGREE, AGREE SOMEWHAT, DISAGREE SOMEWHAT, FULLY DISAGREE. Read each statement carefully and underline the answer which best fits your personal opinion. There are no correct or incorrect answers. If you come across statements about which you consider it very difficult to express an opinion, don't start wondering what to answer, but put down the first thing that comes into your mind.

The scale consists of 50 statements or items in all. Since it is included in an appendix we shall only give a few examples of items here for the sake of lucidity.

18. Babies ought not be prevented from sucking their fingers and toys.	FULLY AGREE	SOMEWHAT AGREE	SOMEWHAT DISAGREE	FULLY DISAGREE
27. It is wrong of parents to prevent their babies chewing their toys and bedclothes.	FULLY AGREE	SOMEWHAT AGREE	SOMEWHAT DISAGREE	FULLY DISAGREE
12. Children should never be allowed to touch their faeces.	FULLY AGREE	SOMEWHAT AGREE	SOMEWHAT DISAGREE	FULLY DISAGREE
39. When babies start to make things themselves their parents should always show them how it ought to be done.	FULLY AGREE	SOMEWHAT AGREE	SOMEWHAT DISAGREE	FULLY DISAGREE
50. Children ought not to be given sexual information before they can understand everything.	FULLY AGREE	SOMEWHAT AGREE	SOMEWHAT DISAGREE	FULLY DISAGREE

The above examples are taken from different sub-scales of the CRI scale. Altogether the scale consists of five subscales of 10 items each. The items on the different sub-scales are placed at random in the total scale. Item no. 18 above belongs to the sub-scale for throwing light on parental attitudes towards early oral behaviour patterns among children, and items nos. 27, 12, 39 and 50 to the sub-scales for late oral, early anal, late anal and early genital behavioural patterns respectively. Incidentally, it should be noted that items nos. 18 and 27 are statements where agreement stands for an attitude of permissiveness, and items nos. 12, 39 and 50 statements where agreement indicates an attitude of rejection. This is because we constructed the scale in such a way that exactly half of the items are permissive, and half rejective in content, in order to prevent a tendency towards general agreement (conformity) or disagreement (non-conformity) from affecting our results. This necessitated a rescoring of the answer sheets, but at the same time provided a necessary guarantee against an otherwise incalculable source of error. In re-scoring we decided to let permissive attitudes always correspond to the highest score value. We adopted score values from 1 to 5 and assigned the following values to the different answer categories:

Answer category	Fully agree	Agree somewhat	Disagree somewhat	Fully disagree
Score value	5	4	2	1

In other words, the above scoring presupposes that the item under consideration is formed in such a way that agreement indicates permissive orientation. If the contrary is the case, the score values will be reversed. Theoretically, the CRI scale has a maximum range of total scores of between 50 and 250.

The Blacky Test.

To measure authoritarian personality disposition we decided to make use of a projective device, assuming such a device to give data less contaminated by ideological considerations than e.g. the F-scale.

In choosing to work with the Blacky pictures we were influenced partly by the test's fairly explicit theoretical foundation and partly by its orientation towards fairly definite psychodynamic factors. Since detailed descriptions of the test are easily available (Blum, 1949, 1950) we shall mainly indicate here the revisions made in our investigation.

The Blacky test in its original form consists of eleven pictures plus an introductory picture. Blacky is the name of a puppy, depicted in all of them,

with whom it is implicitly assumed the subjects will identify themselves. The test pictures aim at illuminating the following dimensions: 1) oral eroticism, 2) oral sadism, 3) anal sadism, 4) oedipal intensity, 5) masturbation guilt, 6) castration anxiety, 7) positive identification, 8) sibling jealousy, 9) guilt feelings, 10) ego-ideal, and 11) love object.

In our investigation we concentrated exclusively on those pictures which deal with the earlier phases of psychosexual development. Concretely this means that we limited ourselves to working with only a few of the original pictures. We also had to construct some new pictures in order to illuminate our subject's attitudes towards all the infantile sexual impulses we were inclined to consider significant. We worked with seven pictures in all: an introductory picture (Blum's picture with some minor changes), one referring to the early oral phase (Blum's picture on oral eroticism), one referring to the late oral phase (new), one referring to oral aggression (Blum's on oral sadism), one referring to the early anal phase (new), one referring to the late anal phase (Blum's on anal sadism with some minor changes), one referring to the early genital phase in males (Blum's on castration anxiety with certain changes), and one referring to the early genital phase in females (new).

As in a previous investigation (Christiansen, 1959) we used the Blacky pictures as a group test and projected them one at a time on to a screen in front of our subjects. Prior to the presentation of the test a small stencilled notebook was handed out to the subjects. The lights were then turned down and the subjects given the following group instructions:

Now we are going to show you some pictures of a puppy called Blacky. The pictures are similar to those with which you are familiar in Walt Disney cartoons. You will be shown one at a time, and you are to make up a short story about each one – describe what is happening in the picture, why it is happening, and so on. Since the pictures are imaginative it is important for you to use your imaginations and write as much as possible about what the main figure – Blacky – is thinking and feeling. You will only be given 2½ minutes for each story, so you should write down the first thing that enters your head. You will be told when there is one minute left. Begin on a new page for each new picture, and write in the square in the middle of the page. Before you begin you are to see all the figures who appear in the cartoons.

The subjects were then shown the introductory picture for about 20 seconds, with the following commentary:

Here are Papa, Mama, Tonny, and the son (or “daughter” if the subjects were female) Blacky, who is the main figure in the cartoons.

On the first page of the notebook handed out to each subject room was left for personal data and the instructions were repeated below. The following

six pages were blank except for a square in the centre of each page, measuring about 9×14 centimetres, above which appeared the introductory comments to each individual picture. These comments were the following:

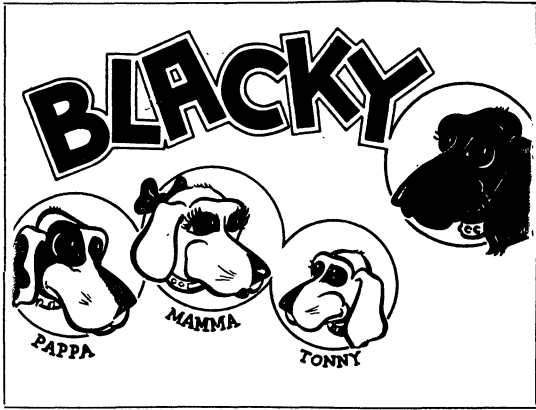
- Picture no. 1: "Here is Blacky with Mama . . ."
- Picture no. 2: "Here is Blacky with a bone . . ."
- Picture no. 3: "Here is Blacky with Mama's collar . . ."
- Picture no. 4: "Here is Blacky doing his business . . ."
- Picture no. 5: "Here is Blacky in the process of making . . ."
- Picture no. 6: "Here Blacky is watching Tonny . . ."
- Picture no. 7: "Here Blacky is watching Tonny . . ."

The pictures applied are reproduced on the next page. Pictures nos. 2, 4 and 7 are the ones constructed especially for this investigation, while pictures nos. 5 and 6 are Blum's original pictures with a couple of minor alterations. In picture no. 5 the name on one of the kennels was changed from "Tippy" to "Tonny", and the same alteration was made in the introductory picture. This was because we discovered in earlier pretests that "Tippy" was too specific as to sex under Norwegian conditions. The name is supposed to indicate a sibling figure of unspecified sex, and "Tonny" seems on the whole to satisfy this demand.

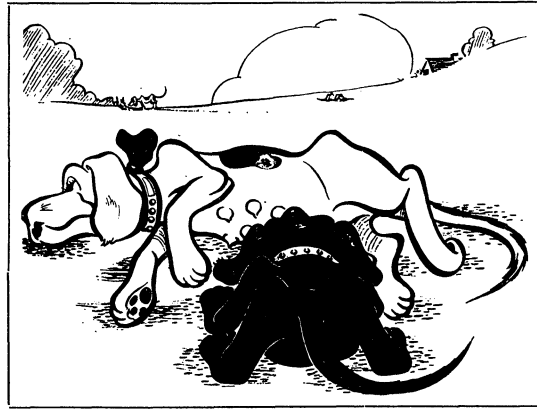
In picture no. 6 we replaced a falling knife (or sword) with an axe which can be interpreted as standing in or moving into a chopping block. This picture, as compared with Blum's, is more realistic and its symbolism less prominent. We consider this change advantageous in that it enabled us, we hope, to discriminate more precisely between persons with and without specific castration fantasies. In addition we limited the use of picture no. 6 to male subjects. For female subjects no. 7 was used. Blacky is depicted with quite a small stump of a tail in this picture, which aims at stimulating fantasies about penis envy (tail envy), feelings of injury, and castration desires.

The newly constructed picture no. 2 aims at remedying one or two unfortunate aspects of picture no. 3, in particular the emphasis on clinging at the expense of self-providing activity. The latter picture is adequate as an expression of oral sadism (which it was constructed by Blum to illustrate), but at the cost of what we consider to be the primary and most characteristic impulse patterns in the late oral phase. Nor are we completely satisfied with picture no. 2, since it does not sufficiently emphasize pleasure in using the jaw muscles to chew, bite and provide for oneself.

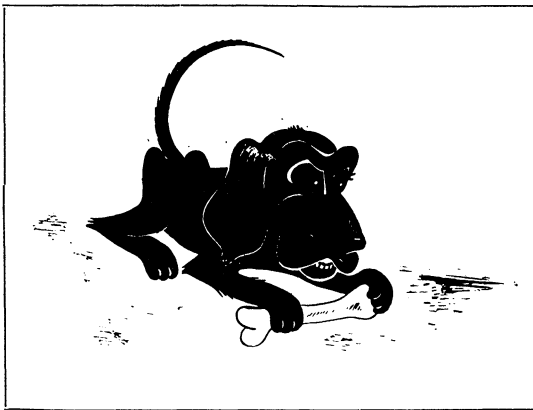
Our pictorial presentation of the anal phase is not particularly successful either. Picture no. 5 is supposed to illuminate the late anal phase – pleasure in selfdeciding and shaping – and our introductory comments on the picture



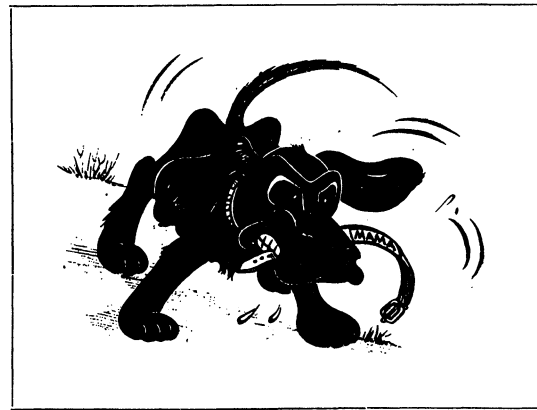
Introductory Picture



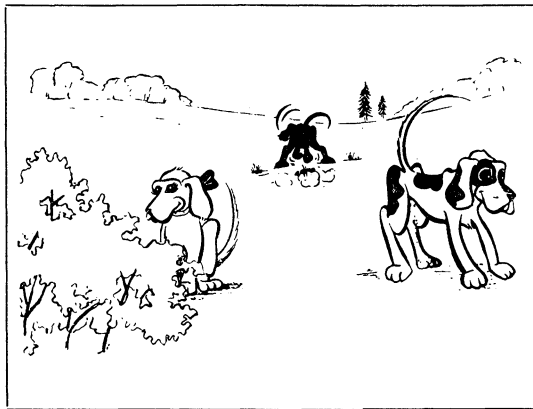
Picture no. 1



Picture no. 2



Picture no. 3



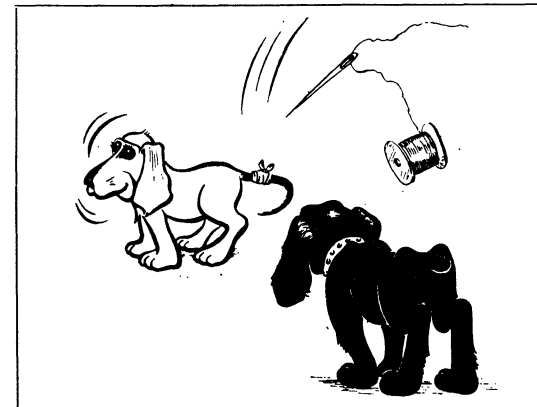
Picture no. 4



Picture no. 5



Picture no. 6



Picture no. 7

attempt to guide the subject's thoughts in this direction. We have no guarantee that this is the case, however.

As we have indicated, the subjects were given 2¹/₂ minutes for their spontaneous stories about each picture. Blum's original Blacky Pictures included, in addition to the spontaneous stories, picture preferences and replies to a number of questions (inquiry cards) presented immediately after each spontaneous story was completed. We did not make use of either of these methods. On the other hand we worked out a number of short descriptions (15 to 20) of each picture, which we presented to the subjects after all the pictures had been shown once and the spontaneous stories written down. The purpose of this part of the investigation was to obtain some kind of control of how far, in our scoring of the spontaneous stories, we had grasped personality characteristics which were also revealed in the attitudes adopted to these descriptions. In the scoring of our respondents' attitudes towards their own psychosexual impulses (i.e. the rationale of the test), we decided to concentrate on the subjects' spontaneous stories only. The analysis of the positions they adopted towards the different descriptions was not, therefore, undertaken to provide material for this scoring, but to serve as a point of departure for an independent control investigation.¹

In choosing to work with the spontaneous stories only, we assumed that the content of these alone would give us enough clues to classify our subjects as relatively conflict-free or conflict-charged in relation to the impulse-patterns at which the individual picture hinted, and *that the presence of conflicts in relation to a specific impulse pattern would imply a personality-conditioned emotional-rejective attitude towards these very impulses.*

The Validity of the Methods.

As far as the CRI scale is concerned we here only want to reemphasize that the aim of this scale is to measure conscious ideological attitudes. It is to be considered as valid to the extent its various items do cover in a fairly representative way the attitudinal area it is supposed to measure, granted that the subjects taking the scale are responding honestly to the statements with which they are presented. To ensure honest responses we instructed the subjects beforehand that their individual responses would be dealt with in a confidential manner and used for scientific purposes only. As regards the scale's representativeness, we tried to ensure this by sampling an equal number of items referring to various psychosexual developmental phases.

1. The result of this investigation will not be presented in this monograph. The result was fairly encouraging and gave also some important clues as regards specific ambivalences in a number of our subjects.

Compared to the CRI scale, the validity of the Blacky test is a much more complicated matter. We are here dealing with a projective test and its construct validity, i. e. its ability to measure theoretical constructs, or latent personality dispositions.¹ Since the validity of the Blacky test is dependent upon the scoring criteria applied, we shall start out by describing these criteria.

For the sake of making our presentation relatively concrete, in relation to Blacky picture no. 1, we have formulated the following conflict-criteria:

1. B. a. Emphasis on evasive details.
1. B. b. Moralizing about B or rejection of B's behaviour.
1. B. c. Overemphasis of the fact that suckling is natural and necessary – unwillingness to describe B's feelings.
2. A. a. Complete avoidance of reference to eating or suckling.
2. B. a. Emphasis on B's intense need for food.
2. B. b. Physical description of B's involvement in eating.
2. B. c. Emphasis on a detailed physical description of M.
2. C. a. Overemphasis on B's enjoyment.
2. A. a. Emphasis on M's rejection of B or M's complete lack of interest.
3. A. b. Emphasis on B's wish always to be a suckling.
3. A. c. Reference to B biting M or emphasis on B's wish not to be suckled.

To ensure a high judgmental (scoring) reliability, each criterion has furthermore been defined more concretely by illustrations of responses which are to be considered as falling within and without the specific criterion.²

The number and the first letter to the left of each statement above indicate the type of criteria referred to. Criterion 1. B. a. and 1. B. b. refer to criteria of type 1. B., criterion 2. A. a. and 2. A. b., to criteria of type 2. A., and so on. In a schematic way, we think it is possible to specify the following types of criteria – applicable for the scoring of responses to all the Blacky pictures on which we have concentrated:

1. A. Avoidance of verbal responses altogether.
1. B. Avoidance of ideational regression.
2. A. Complete avoidance of central theme in the picture.
2. B. Partial avoidance of central theme by explaining away.
2. C. Partial avoidance of central theme by affective reversal.
3. A. Acceptance of central theme, structuring it in a way revealing unresolved tensions.
3. B. Acceptance of central theme, structuring it in a way revealing lack of unresolved tensions.

1. A test's construct validity is dependent upon the criteria applied for the interpretation of responses to the test material. The test is valid to the extent these interpretations are valid. As regards the validity of interpretations, Cronbach (1957, p. 676) writes: "A proposed test interpretation . . . is a claim that a test measure a construct, i. e. a claim that a test score can be linked to a theoretical network. This network, together with the claim, generates predictions about observations. The test interpretation is justified only if the observations come out as predicted."
2. On this point, the reader is referred to the survey of our scoring criteria given in appendix II.

As noted, criteria of types 1. A. and 3. B. have not been used in the present investigation. The former was omitted because refusal to respond in a group situation might theoretically be related to factors other than the presentation of the picture. Then we decided beforehand to omit from further consideration all subjects having one or more "omissions". Our exclusion of criteria of type 3. B. reflects current psychodiagnostic tradition and practice.

As shown above, both criteria of types 1. and 2. refer to avoidance reactions. These criteria follow from our assumptions that conflicts in relation to a certain impulse pattern may reveal themselves as avoidance reactions to the picture alluding to the impulse pattern which is "conflict-charged", – and that these avoidance reactions may take the form of an avoidance of verbal responses altogether, an avoidance or inhibition of ideational regression to "an infant's situation", an avoidance of the theme by explaining it away, or by a sort of "affective reversal".

In addition to avoidance reactions we have also included as signs of conflicts, projection on Blacky of wishes, strivings, and modes of reacting indicating unresolved libidinal and/or aggressive tensions (cf. criteria of type 3. A.). In other words, we assume that conflicts may reveal themselves in ways other than through avoidance and inhibition of ideational regression. Given such a regression, we assume that a person will project his own infantile solutions, his predominant modes of reacting at a given stage of development, on to the relevant Blacky picture. Thus we consider as a sign of conflict a thematic structuring which indicates a lack of mutual regulation between Blacky and his environment, or more precisely, a structuring which indicates the dominance of a mode of approach (an organ mode) which has to remain subordinate if the nuclear conflict at the given stage of psychosexual development is to be solved in an optimal way. Criteria 3. A. a., 3. A. b., and 3. A. c., referred to above as illustrations of our conflict-criteria in relation to Blacky picture no. 1., give concrete examples of this type of sign. We are here following a line of reasoning launched by Erikson (1950). In principle, this reasoning implies that it is possible to lay down scoring criteria for "positive mental health" as well as for unresolved psychosexual tensions.

In choosing to consider certain "spontaneous projection" as a sign of conflict we are working in accordance with the commonly held assumptions of practitioners of thematic tests (Bellak, 1954).

In addition to "spontaneous projections" we have, as indicated, focused to a large extent on avoidance reactions. In this connection, it may of course be questioned to what extent such reactions give a valid expression of psychodynamic conflicts, and – furthermore – to what extent the different test pictures tap different dynamic sources of the personality. – We are here dealing with questions which are somewhat specific for the Blacky test as compared to other projective techniques. In what follows we shall discuss these questions a bit further by referring to the results of some empirical investigations.

We want to start out by mentioning a recent investigation by Sines (1957). In this study, it was found that among patients psychologically observed to have problems of handling hostility, respiration rate, heart rate, GSR re-

sponse were more activated by a picture depicting a hostility theme than by pictures referring to sex, passive dependency and a neutral theme. On the other hand, patients judged to have problems related to dependency and sexual matters, were found to produce physiologically more pronounced reactions to the picture depicting a dependency theme and a sexual theme respectively. On the basis on his empirical data, Sines concludes that visual stimuli evoke changes in physiological activity which agree, at a statistically significant level, with the clinical formulation concerning the conflict area. These relationships, he further maintains, are not of a sufficient magnitude to allow their interpretation with individual subjects, but are sufficiently high to suggest their usefulness in research with groups of subjects.

The lack of significant differentiation between the individual subjects is not very surprising and does not invalidate Sines's findings. Autonomic responses will always be determined by more than the "threat-content of a specific stimulus"; they will be influenced by the total situation, by the specific stimulus and by the interaction between subject and examiner as well. Autonomic responses are so sensitive to all types of cues inside and outside the subject that it is unlikely that more than group differences will be found in an experiment like Sines'.

According to Lacey (1959) autonomic responses cannot be used as a convenient and objective substitute for psychological observation. The "meaning" of somatic responses must be *interpreted* in terms of the psychological interactions of the individual with his environment. Furthermore, autonomic responses, i.e. sympathetic-like changes, have to be considered not as "end of the chain" products or as responses exclusively, but as stimuli to internal receptors, whose activation leads reflexively to changes in the relationships of the organism to its environment, Lacey maintains. Thus heart rate acceleration may be considered an instrumental act of the organism leading to inhibitory changes in cortical and motor activity, implying a set towards rejection or increased ease of "rejection of the environment". This being the case, we should consequently expect – referring to the results of Sines – that subjects with conflicts regarding a certain impulse pattern would express signs of rejection or avoidance in their spontaneous verbal reactions to a picture related to the *specific* impulse pattern in question. Thus we are pushed back to psychology proper.

Fortunately we do have some indirect experimental data bearing on just this point as far as the Blacky pictures are concerned.

According to psychoanalytic theory, repressed psychosexual impulses will always be pushing and seeking for an outlet in conscious behaviour. Thus, on the unconscious level, everyone should be particularly sensitive and

responsive to cues relevant to those impulses and urges which are kept in check as potentially threatening. On the other hand, this process will operate only at a level below conscious awareness. At the near-to conscious level, quite another process will come to the fore, namely ego defence. At this level, rather than being vigilant for relevant psychosexual cues, an individual will most probably seek devious ways of not perceiving them, i. e. perceptual defences will come into play.

The above hypothesis has been tested by Blum (1954). The method used consisted of flashing patterns of Blacky pictures tachistoscopically at different speeds of exposure, asking the subjects respectively to indicate the position of the picture standing out the most and to try to locate the correct position of a selected picture. Blum found his subjects to respond relatively more vigilantly to a "traumatic psychosexual stimulus" despite the absence of any conscious recognition of the picture, and that when his subjects' egos were brought more into play by slowing the speed of picture exposure and by asking them to locate pictures, most subjects expressed more difficulty in trying to locate a "traumatic stimulus" than a relatively neutral one. Blum's experiment has been criticized by Smock (1956) for methodological reasons, i. e. Blum not having controlled sufficiently the effect of certain stimulus similarities. However, in a new series of better controlled experiments Blum (1955) and Nelson (1955), demonstrate once more that perceptual vigilant behaviour is evoked when stimuli associated with high psycho-sexual conflict are presented below the threshold of conscious recognition. On the other hand, perceptual defensive behaviour to "traumatic stimuli" at the near-to conscious level does not seem to be as universal a reaction as was previously assumed, but to be mainly circumscribed to persons predisposed to use the mechanism of repression in conjunction with a given psycho-sexual conflict. Among subjects having such a predisposition both studies found a significantly higher tendency to avoid (undercall) a conflict-relevant Blacky picture when it was subliminally present as compared to when it was absent. Both studies point out that avoidance is not the only mechanism of defence and that not all persons will deal with threat in the same way. Blum and Nelson conclude that their experimental findings support psychoanalytic formulations regarding perceptual defence, and provide further evidence for the testability of such formulations. We, for our part, would like to turn the case around, and emphasize the support given to the Blacky pictures' ability to provoke dynamic processes in a differentiated fashion.

In the scoring of thematic tests the length of spontaneous stories has been shown to have diagnostic significance. As regards the avoidance of a specific theme, Bellak (1954, p. 9) states: "Recent experimental studies have

supported the fact, long known in clinical practice, that avoidance of aggressive responses to aggressive stimuli is indicative of a great deal of aggression". In an article by Eriksen (1951) it is pointed out that high recognition thresholds for pictures representing aggressive behaviour seem to be coupled with blocking, incoherent and unelaborated spontaneous stories about this very type of picture.

At present a total of about fifty scientific works exist in which the Blacky test has been used or discussed. The theoretical foundation on which the test is based has in later years been substantially supported by empirical data. We referred above to the results of investigations by means of the Blacky pictures which led support to hypotheses derived from psychoanalytic theory. In this connection we also want to mention Goldstein's results lending support to psychoanalytic formulations concerning the affinity of more primitive and more advanced defence mechanisms (Blum, 1953), Blum's (1949) original investigation of psychoanalytic hypotheses concerning psychosexual sex differences and relationships between various psychosexual phenomena, McNeil and Blum's (1952) study of the relationship between handwriting and anal expression, and our own previous study of the relationships between psychodynamic conflicts and aggressive attitudes towards foreign affairs. In the sense that a test's construct validity is dependent upon its ability to verify predictions derived from a theoretical structure established on the basis of independent observations, the Blacky method may be considered as very encouraging.

On the other hand, very few studies have been focussed on its validity proper, i. e. have taken as their point of departure claims made on the basis of the Blacky test concerning the nature (existence, quality) of certain constructs in given personalities, figured out relevant predictions which have subsequently been tested empirically by independent observations. A study by Christiansen and Killingmo (1961) parallels this procedure fairly closely, however. In this study the Blacky test and nine other projective tests were administered independently to a sample of subjects (school children), who were waiting for individual psychotherapy. Later on, after the psychotherapy was finished, the test interpretations were compared with diagnostic statements worked out independently by the therapist in relation to a preestablished set of psychodynamic constructs (Christiansen *et al.*, 1956). Although the sample of subjects was fairly small, only ten, the agreement found in the case of the Blacky test regarding psychosexual fixations, defence stratagems, and identification patterns, was highly impressive.

As regards the reliability of the Blacky test, several investigations have provided data suggesting satisfactory scoring agreement. A study by Gold-

stein suggests a fairly high retest-reliability as far as defence-preference-responses are concerned. On the other hand Charen (1956a), in a study of inquiry-responses to the test, does not find any evidence of these being temporarily stable (cf. Blum, 1956; Charen, 1956b). However, in a recent investigation of children by Granick and Schefflen (1958), who base their analysis on spontaneous stories, it is concluded that evidence is derived which to some extent supports the test's judgmental (scoring) and internal, as well as its temporal reliability.

Common assumptions held by practitioners of thematic tests are that the story-teller's dispositions, strivings, and conflicts are sometimes represented indirectly or symbolically, and that recurrent themes are particularly apt to mirror the impulses and conflicts of the story-teller.

Some concrete examples of the application of the first of these two assumptions as far as the Blacky pictures are concerned, are our definitions as conflict-criteria: "Any reference to M being killed or to violence against her" in relation to picture no. 3, and "Reference to B's tail" in relation to picture no. 6. Of course, in a clinical administration of the Blacky test a number of indirect and symbolic hints will be tested against each other and eventually be integrated in the total personality evaluation, hints which of necessity cannot be followed up in the same way in a group administration of the test, and especially not when the responses for each picture are to be scored independently of the responses on the other pictures. This last mentioned procedure also renders impossible the recognition of recurrent themes. In clinical use of the Blacky test, related comments, i.e. reference to eating in response to pictures other than picture no. 1, reference to biting in pictures other than picture nos. 2 and 3, and so on, call for specific diagnostic attention. We want to emphasize these factors most strongly; also that in using the Blacky test as we have done, it is not unlikely that some subjects whom we classify as conflict-free in relation to a certain impulse-pattern, would in a more thorough clinical investigation be found to be conflict-charged, and *vice versa*. Given that our conflict-criteria are not sufficiently thorough to draw definite conclusions concerning the individual subjects, it is our opinion that they are capable of ascertaining significant group tendencies. This reservation, it may be recalled, is exactly the same as that pointed out by Sines in the conclusion of his experiment.

The Blacky test is still unexplored in many respects. In common with all other projective psychological tests, further research data is very much needed. This fact, however, does not in our opinion invalidate the use of projective tests as instruments of testing theoretical formulations derived on an entirely independent basis. On the contrary, we think that in the long run this is a way of testing projective psychological methods.

The Samples.

The empirical data were collected at the beginning of October 1957. Our subjects were students at the Norwegian School for Social Service and Local Administration. They consisted of students in the first and second years of

the School's course in local administration, students attending a one-year course in child care, and students attending a half-year course for personnel in institutions for the mentally deficient. All these courses form part of the general activity of the School and are financed by the State.

Our total sample consisted of 56 students. These were divided into the following sub-samples:

Course in local administration, 1st year (to be called SS ₁) ..	22 men
Course in local administration, 2nd year (SS ₂)	7 men
Course in treatment of mentally deficient (SS ₃).....	13 women
Course in child care (SS ₄).....	14 women

It will be seen that two of the sub-samples consist of men only, and two of women only. Our reason for concentrating on subjects of the same sex in the different subsamples is explained by the fact the various courses at the School were almost only attended by students of the same sex. Consequently comparisons between women and men attending the same course could not be undertaken, and to include the one or two men or women who attended courses otherwise consisting of students of the opposite sex would have entailed the separate administration of our inventories. We will return to the possible effect of this sex-exclusiveness later on. Here we wish to state that the different sub-samples are fairly representative samples of the respective classes and courses. In spite of the fact that participation in the investigation was voluntary, the percentage of those who volunteered after being asked to participate was practically 100 %.

The various sub-samples were investigated in groups, i.e. four groups were investigated one at a time. The investigations took place in the classrooms when the school day was over.

The age range of our subjects was wide. The youngest was 20, the oldest 50 years. The average age for all subjects was 33.3 years. The age distribution in the different sub-samples was as follows:

Sub-sample	Mean	Range of variation
SS ₁	27.7	20-41
SS ₂	32.6	23-46
SS ₃	37.6	24-46
SS ₄	38.9	25-50

It will be seen that the variation in age in the different sub-samples is more or less the same. It is greatest in SS₄ with a range of 25 years, least in SS₁ with a range of 21 years. The samples of women, SS₃ and SS₄, have slightly higher mean age than the two samples of men. The difference is greatest

between SS_1 and SS_4 , where we find an average age difference of approximately 11 years. The difference between the two samples of women is small, as is also the case with the two samples of men.

We also find certain differences in regard to previous education. A rough survey is given below of the theoretical education of the subjects in different samples:

Theoretical education	SS_1	SS_2	SS_3	SS_4
Primary school only.....	0	0	5	0
Short period of further education	12	5	5	9
Junior secondary school (<i>realskole</i>).....	9	2	3	5
Senior secondary school (<i>gymnasium</i>) or above	1	0	0	0

The subjects in SS_3 had least theoretical education, generally speaking. The difference between SS_1 , SS_2 and SS_4 seems to be minimal. The picture becomes somewhat more differentiated if we consider more concretely the kinds of education prevalent in the various samples. Practically all subjects in SS_1 and SS_2 had attended commercial school; about one-third had attended elementary commercial school only, about one-third elementary commercial school plus continuation school, folk high school, agricultural school, or vocational school. In SS_4 about one quarter had attended junior secondary school, about one-third had been trained as children's nurses, and the rest had taken either continuation school, industrial school or elementary commercial school. Only in SS_3 did we find individuals who had had no further education after primary school. These amounted to about two-fifths of this sample. Amongst those with further education, first aid courses, child care, domestic science and continuation school were the most frequent form of training. No-one in this sample had attended junior secondary school or any higher form of educational institution.

Our reason for focussing on the above samples is primarily the pronounced difference present between them in the amount and intensity of the influences to which they were exposed as regards attitudes towards child rearing problems.

Neither SS_1 nor SS_2 had or had had any instruction in general child psychology, psychiatry, mental hygiene, pedagogics or other subjects directly or indirectly relevant to attitudes towards child rearing. Nor had the students in these two samples any professional experience deriving from work with children. Their occupational background was that of white collar work. About one-third stated that they had relatively independent positions in local administration such as district cashier, chief tax assessor or municipal

secretary, while the rest, about two-thirds, gave as their occupation office assistant, tax assessor's assistant or clerk. It may appear strange that psychology and human relations should not be included as an important part of the body of subjects required for a course of training in local administration. It is not considered so at the School in question, however. Students of local administration are considered, according to the principal of the School, to be quite "ordinary" people, uninterested in problems of child rearing and uninfluenced by psychological points of view. In other words, we have here a sample which we may assume is submitted to very little social pressure as regards attitudes towards child rearing problems, pressure hardly greater than that experienced by the average male citizen in our society today.

In this respect the students attending the course in child care offered an almost extreme contrast to those taking the local administration course. Nearly all of them had had comparatively long professional experience of work with children in various children's institutions. About one-third of this sample gave as their occupation children's nurse or orphanage manager, while about 50 % gave nursery school assistant or boarding-school assistant. At the time of the investigation they had all attended the course in child care for more than one term, and during this time they had been almost overwhelmed with impressions and guidance about young children: pedagogics, child psychiatry, general psychology, developmental psychology, and mental hygiene. They had all stayed at different children's institutions during the summer months, and had in various ways met with psychological viewpoints and modern child rearing ideals. In spite of our lack of objective measures it is scarcely an exaggeration to say that these students found themselves under considerable pressure as regards attitudes towards child rearing problems.¹

The students attending the course for personnel at institutions for the mentally deficient were presumably in a position midway between the two previous groups as regards the influence of child rearing ideals. These students had been at the School for barely a month when the investigation took place. It is true that during this time they had been given instruction in subjects allied to infant teaching and development psychology, such as general psychology and psychiatry, but there was no question of their being systematically influenced as regards problems of child rearing. All the students had had previous experience of work with the mentally deficient, and quite a few of work with mentally handicapped children. Nearly all of them gave their occupation as either nurse or assistant. Their positions were by and large

1. Of course this pressure was not necessarily conciously experienced by the students.

more subordinate than those of the students attending the course in child care. Compared with the students of local administration, the majority were probably more occupied with child rearing problems.

Although we had no objective measure of the degree of social pressure brought to bear on the different subsamples in connection with attitudes towards child rearing, there were many indications of considerable differences in this respect. We assumed greatest pressure to be present among the students of child care; least pressure among the students of local administration; and we considered the students attending the course for personnel at institutions for the mentally deficient to come somewhere in between these two groups, most likely considerably closer to the students of local administration than to the students of child care.

C. Results.

In what follows we shall first consider some of the statistical properties of the Child-Rearing-Ideology scale in more detail, especially its differentiating ability, its score distribution, and the intercorrelation of its sub-scales. We shall then consider the scoring reliability, the score distributions, and the intercorrelations between the different dimensions of the Blacky test. After dealing separately with the two methods we shall present our data on the correlation between them. Finally we shall undertake an analysis of the correlations within the different sub-samples.

Statistical Properties of the CRI Scale.

The first problem to arise in working with the CRI scale was the differentiating ability of the individual items. As we stated the scale consists of five subscales, each consisting of 10 items. In constructing the individual subscales we were forced to choose items which we personally felt would throw light on attitudes towards behavioural patterns characteristic of certain phases of psychosexual development. There was no possibility of controlling directly how far the individual item actually possessed the property intended. We occasionally felt a little uncertain as to whether a specific item was formulated in terms that were too general, in spite of the fact that our intention had consistently been to construct items suitable for a particular subscale. The difficulties with which we met arose to a great extent from our desire to avoid detailed and complicated formulations. In our opinion this might easily have given the scale the character of a general knowledge test, and this we wished at all costs to avoid.

We undertook a statistical item analysis with the aim of investigating the "internal consistency" of the different sub-scales. Here we made use of

Likert's "Discriminatory Power Technique"; that is to say, on the basis of the distribution of total scores on the individual sub-scales, we selected the subjects whose total scores fell within the higher and lower quartiles of the distribution, and calculated the difference between the means of the two samples on the individual items. Since empirical investigations have shown that the differences found in this case indicate the correlation of the individual item with the total scale fairly well, we consequently have a method for investigating the internal consistency of the sub-scales, and through a calculation of the statistical significance of the differences, a method of rejecting items which do not show any reliable correlation with a sub-scale as a whole. As a criterion for a reliable correlation we stated that the differences should be statistically significant at the 1 % level.

As a result of the many uncertainties involved in the selection of items for the different sub-scales, we decided in advance not only to undertake a descriptive item analysis, but, on the basis of successive item analyses, to omit a necessary number of items so that each sub-scale in its final form would come to consist of items which showed a reliable correlation with the subscale as a whole.

Our first task was to find out how great a difference had to be present between the mean on the individual items in the higher and lower quartiles for the difference to be statistically significant at the 1 % level. An approximate expression of this can be obtained by calculating the standard error of difference for the individual items. We made use of this approach, but with an important modification: we calculated the standard error of difference only for a sample of the items, and in this way arrived at a kind of general criterion for the minimum size of the difference.

The item analysis of the different sub-scales revealed striking variations as regards internal consistency. Greatest consistency was present in sub-scale no. 5, and least in sub-scale no. 2. In the former case the original sub-scale satisfied the criterion which had been formulated, while in the latter case we had to omit as many as five items – half the scale – before we achieved what we may call a statistically satisfactory internal homogeneity. The final sub-scales thus came to consist of different numbers of items: sub-scale no. 1 of 7 items, no. 2 of 5 items, no. 3 of 8 items, no. 4 of 7 items and no. 5 of 10 items. The total scale was thus reduced from 50 to 37 items.

Table 1 gives a survey of the score distribution, the mean, and the discriminatory power of the individual items in the final revision of sub-scale no. 1.

Tables 2, 3, 4 and 5 are set up in the same way as Table 1. Table 2 gives a survey of certain statistical properties of the final revision of subscale

Table 1. *The CRI Scale: Item Means and Discriminatory Powers in Sub-scale No. 1 – The Early Oral Phase.*

No.	Item	Mean		DP	Mean for Total Group
		Higher Quartile	Lower Quartile		
1	(Regular meals)	4.75	2.23	2.52	3.04
7	(Infants' dietary needs)	3.67	1.77	1.90	2.72
13	(Consequences of screaming)	3.42	2.00	1.42	2.72
18	(Infants' finger sucking)	4.58	2.00	2.58	3.47
37	(Petting without feeding)	4.75	2.85	1.90	3.94
40	(Effects of deprivation)	3.92	1.54	2.38	2.42
43	(Effects of attention)	4.08	1.85	2.23	2.96
Mean		4.17	2.03	2.13	3.04

Number: Total group = 53; H.Q. = 13; L.Q. = 12.

Range of sub-scale scores: Total group: 12-32; H.Q.: 26-32; L.Q.: 12-17.

no. 2, and Tables 3, 4 and 5 give similar surveys of sub-scales nos. 3, 4 and 5.

It will be seen from the tables that our data are based on an analysis of 53 subjects only. Out of our total sample of 56, four had not answered one of the items on the CRI scale and three had omitted to answer two items or more. In those cases where one item was left open we calculated a hypothetical score for it by means of Yate's modification of Allan and Wishart's formula for missing responses (Snedecor, 1946). Subjects with one unanswered item are thus included in our total sample, while subjects with two or more unanswered or insufficiently answered items are omitted.

Table 2. *The CRI Scale: Item Means and Discriminatory Powers in Sub-scale No. 2 The Late Oral Phase.*

No.	Item	Mean		DP	Mean for Total Group
		Higher Quartile	Lower Quartile		
4	(Biting at the breast)	4.50	3.23	1.27	4.02
11	(Loss of love through biting)	4.50	3.15	1.35	3.92
27	(Prevention of chewing)	4.17	1.85	2.32	2.81
30	(Natural to bite)	3.75	1.46	2.29	2.45
35	(Biting when angry)	4.00	1.92	2.08	2.57
Mean		4.18	2.32	1.86	3.15

Number: Total group = 53; H.Q.: = 12; L.Q. = 13.

Range of sub-scale scores: Total group: 9-23; H.Q.: 18-23; L.Q.: 9-12.

Table 3. *The CRI Scale: Item Means and Discriminatory Powers in Sub-scale No. 3 – The Early Anal Phase.*

No.	Item	Mean		DP	Mean for Total Group
		Higher Quartile	Lower Quartile		
3	(Effects of early training)	4.92	2.93	1.99	3.79
8	(Cleanliness without nagging) .	4.31	2.93	1.38	3.32
12	(Touching faeces)	3.69	1.08	2.61	2.23
22	(Smelling faeces)	4.23	2.00	2.23	3.49
26	(Tasting faeces)	3.77	2.00	1.77	2.89
31	(Pot training and strict routine)	3.77	1.31	2.46	2.34
36	(Waiting on the pot)	3.54	1.31	2.23	2.26
47	(Letting go of things)	3.23	1.38	1.85	2.23
Mean		3.93	1.87	2.07	2.82

Number: Total group = 53; H.Q. = 13; L.Q. = 13.

Range of sub-scale scores: Total group: 11-39; H.Q.: 27-39; L.Q.: 11-18.

If we add up the sub-scales we get a mean for the total scale, $M = 120.2$, and a standard deviation, $SD = 25.28$.

The intercorrelation between the sub-scales is given in Table 6.

It appears from the table that on the whole a significant positive correlation exists between all sub-scales. Except for the correlation between sub-scales nos. 1 and 5 all the correlations achieve a statistical significance below the 1 % level. In the former case we find a correlation at the 5 % level approximately.

Table 4. *The CRI Scale: Item Means and Discriminatory Powers in Sub-scale No. 4 – The Late Anal Phase.*

No.	Item	Mean		DP	Mean for Total Group
		Higher Quartile	Lower Quartile		
2	(Parents know best)	3.54	1.50	2.04	2.28
6	(The child has no will)	4.69	2.83	1.86	3.70
15	(Interfering with activity)	4.77	2.92	1.85	3.77
33	(Pride in producing)	4.46	2.50	1.96	3.81
34	(Seeing with adult eyes)	4.85	2.92	1.93	3.57
39	(Showing how things are made)	4.62	1.92	2.70	3.30
45	(Getting dirty)	4.85	2.33	2.52	3.55
Mean		4.54	2.42	2.12	3.43

Number: Total group = 53; H.Q. = 13; L.Q. = 12.

Range of sub-scale scores: Total group: 13-35; H.Q.: 30-35; L.Q.: 13-19.

Table 5. *The CRI Scale: Item Means and Discriminatory Powers in Sub-scale No. 5 – The Early Genital Phase.*

No.	Item	Mean		DP	Mean for Total Group
		Higher Quartile	Lower Quartile		
5	(Playing together naked)	5.00	2.69	2.31	4.11
10	(Parents being naked).	4.42	1.77	2.65	3.08
14	(Playing with sexual organs)	3.67	2.23	1.44	3.04
19	(Undressing others).	4.92	3.31	1.61	4.00
24	(Existence as fetus)	4.92	3.62	1.30	4.33
28	(The father's role)	4.33	2.46	1.87	3.60
32	(Animals giving birth)	4.75	2.69	2.06	3.75
38	(Desire for knowledge).	4.17	2.31	1.86	3.32
44	(Girls have "unique" equipment) .	5.00	3.15	1.85	4.15
50	(Sexual information in childhood)	4.42	1.69	2.73	2.96
Mean		4.56	2.59	1.97	3.63

Number: Total group = 53; H.Q. = 12; L.Q. = 13.

Range of sub-scale scores: Total group: 15-48; H.Q.: 43-48; L.Q.: 15-30.

A slight tendency exists in the direction of least correlation between the sub-scales which – from a theoretical, genetical point of view – refer to the most distantly situated behaviour patterns. It is, however, the many positive correlations which attract greatest attention. An authoritarian or rejective orientation towards a particular phase in the development of the child seems in general to be closely connected with similar ideological orientations towards other phases. It thus seems possible, at least on the ideological level, to talk about relatively general attitudes towards questions of child rearing. Persons who are more inclined than others to prefer permissive child rearing principles in one context, on the whole seem also to be more inclined than others to prefer such principles in other situations or in relation to other phases of development.

Table 6. *The CRI Scale: Correlation (r) Between the Scale's Sub-scales (N = 53).*

Sub-scale No.	2	3	4	5
1	.38	.51	.40	.29
2		.49	.54	.59
3			.54	.50
4				.58

$P_{.05}$ gives $r = .27$

$P_{.01}$ gives $r = .36$

Statistical Properties of the Blacky Test.

The first problem which arose in working with the data from the Blacky pictures was the test's scoring reliability. In order to control this the subjects' spontaneous stories were scored by two persons independently, each scoring the stories to the first picture for the whole sample, before scoring the stories to the next picture for the whole sample and so on. The scoring was undertaken according to certain criteria (cf. Appendix II). In those cases where disagreement occurred between the two scores the scoring was thoroughly discussed until agreement was reached. The degree of agreement between the two scorers in scoring the spontaneous stories is given below in percentages.

Table 7. *Scoring Reliability of the Different Dimensions of the Blacky Test.*

Picture No.	1	2	3	4	5	6 & 7
Dimension	Early oral	Late oral	Oral aggression	Early anal	Late anal	Early genital
Agreement	89 %	70 %	84 %	87 %	82 %	87 %

The scoring was undertaken with a view to establishing whether certain impulse patterns were conflict-charged or not.

On the whole the scoring criteria used gave relatively satisfactory reliability. We found highest agreement in the scoring of early oral conflicts, and lowest in the scoring of late oral ones. In the latter case we found an agreement of only 70 % between the two scorers. This is rather a low scoring reliability. No agreement under 80 % was reached for any of the other dimensions, however, and the mean for all the dimensions was 84 %. On the basis of this mean we may in fact conclude that the scoring reliability of the test as a whole seems to be quite adequate.

Only one of the Blacky protocols lacked stories for some of the pictures. This protocol was omitted from further analysis. We thus concentrated on a total of 55 subjects.

Table 8. *Frequency of Conflict Scores in Various Dimensions of the Blacky Test.*

Picture No.	1	2	3	4	5	6 & 7
Dimension	Early oral	Late oral	Oral aggression	Early anal	Late anal	Early genital
Conflict frequency	45 %	47 %	56 %	59 %	53 %	58 %

In table 8 a survey is given of the frequency with which the individual dimensions of the Blacky test were scored as conflict-charged.

The table shows that greatest frequency of conflict scores is found in connection with anal and early genital impulses, while least frequency of conflict scores is found in connection with oral impulses. The relatively high conflict frequency of oral aggression, seen in relation to the late oral dimension, may indicate that this former picture is more sensitive than the other in registering conflicts, that the scoring criteria applied are more "inclusive", but it may also indicate that the picture in question does not tap attitudes towards oral aggressive impulses exclusively, but towards aggression in general (cf. Christiansen, 1959, p. 184).¹

In a previous chapter we discussed the internal consistency of attitudes towards child rearing. It is likely, not only that relatively general ideological attitude patterns towards child rearing exist, but that persons characterized by conflicts as regards one type of infantile impulses also have conflicts in relation to other types of impulses. This being the case, we should expect to find a high positive correlation between conflict scores on the different personality dimensions on which we have focussed.

Table 9. *Correlations (r_s) Between Different Dimensions of the Blacky Test.*

Picture No.	Dimension	Picture No.				
		2	3	4	5	6 & 7
1	Early oral	.82 (.001)	.78 (.001)	.15 (-)	.08 (-)	.21 (-)
2	Late oral		.88 (.001)	.18 (-)	.30 (-)	.01 (-)
3	Oral aggr.			.46 (.02)	.46 (.02)	.14 (-)
4	Early anal				.76 (.001)	.53 (.01)
5	Late anal					.68 (.001)

Table 9 gives a survey of the correlations found between the different dimensions of the Blacky test. These correlations are tetrachoric, and in order to indicate their statistical significance the Chi square method has

1. The fact that we find early anal impulses somewhat more frequently conflict-charged than oral aggressive and early genital ones, and these in turn more frequently conflict-charged than early oral impulses, corresponds to Whiting and Child's (1953) rating of the severity of socialization of various behaviour systems in the United States. Briefly, these authors believe that anal drives are those socialized most severely in American middle class families, and that aggressive and sexual drives are generally more severely socialized than oral ones. The agreement with our own data is striking. Because of the smallness of our sample we cannot ignore the possibility that this may be a pure coincidence. On the other hand, our data provide a basis for stating a hypothesis concerning the relative intensity of the process of socialization in different areas of child rearing in our own society.

been applied. The statistical significance of the various correlations is shown in parentheses.

The table suggests that we find the highest positive correlation between conflicts connected with impulse patterns genetically most closely situated. We thus find a statistically significant correlation below the 1 % level as regards conflicts in connection with early oral, late oral, and oral aggressive impulses; a correlation below the 5 % level between oral aggressive and early and late anal conflicts; and a correlation below the 1 % level between early anal, late anal and early genital conflicts. Apart from these correlations we find no significant associations. In other words we do not find any positive intercorrelation between all dimensions. A certain independence seems to be present between conflicts connected with impulse patterns which, from a genetic point of view, are most distantly situated.

Our data do not give unqualified support to the supposition concerning complete independence, nor to the view that high internal consistency is present.

Correlation Between the Blacky Test and the CRI Scale.

We shall now turn to the problem which constituted the main point of departure for our investigation: the relationship between personality structure and attitudes towards child rearing. A certain expression of this relationship should be revealed by comparing the scores on the Blacky test and the CRI scale. As stated, we are inclined to assume that the Blacky test affords some insight into the individual's unconscious attitudes towards early psychosexual impulses. The greater the number of Blacky dimensions scored as conflict-charged, the more we may consider a given personality structure as being defensive and rejective in character. On the other hand, we may assume that a person's total scores on the CRI scale give an impression of the degree to which a general authoritarian or liberal *ideology* of child rearing predominates.

By taking the number of dimensions on the Blacky test scored as conflict-charged for each subject, we obtain a scale with a theoretical range from 0 to 6. The mean of this scale showed itself empirically to be 3.23, with a range from 0 to 6.

If we include all the subjects who gave "complete" responses both to the CRI scale and the Blacky test, we get a sample of 52 persons. The correlation between the number of conflict scores on the Blacky test and the sum total of the scores on the CRI scale in this sample gives $r = -.09$. The correlation suggests that there is a non-significant negative correlation between rejective-emotional and permissive-ideological attitudes towards questions

on child rearing. The fact that we find a negative correlation between these variables confirms our expectations. The correlation coefficient achieves no statistical significance, however.

To conclude from the above result that no connection exists between personality structure and child rearing ideologies would be unwarranted. Our total sample consists of four groups of subjects who, we have reason to expect, vary greatly as far as attitudes towards child rearing are concerned. In spite of our finding that no significant correlation is present in the total sample, our data do not cancel out the probability of discovering statistically significant correlations in various sub-samples. In setting up the investigation we took special care to select groups presumed to be under different degrees of social pressure as regards attitudes towards child rearing.

Since no direct measurement was made of the degree of social pressure exerted we had to rely on certain assumptions. We can exert a certain indirect control on these assumptions, however, by comparing the average scores of the different samples of the CRI scale. If we were to find no statistically significant differences here, there would be fairly good reasons for doubting whether our sub-samples differed from each other to any significant extent as regards social pressure concerning child rearing ideologies.

Table 10. *The Statistical Properties of the CRI Scale in Different Sub-samples.*

Sample	<i>N</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>
SS ₁	22	107.50	14.89
SS ₂	7	118.86	11.25
SS ₃	10	114.20	18.74
SS ₄	14	145.07	19.27

Table 10 attempts to answer this question. It shows the mean and the standard deviation of the score distribution on the CRI scale in each of the four sub-samples.

The highest mean score throughout the sub-samples is achieved in SS₄, the lowest mean score in SS₁. It was in fact to be expected that we should find highest scores amongst the students of the course in child care (SS₄), and lowest scores amongst the first year students in the local administration course (SS₁). The difference between the means in these two samples is statistically significant far below the 1 % level ($t = 6.38$; $p < .005$). More surprisingly we find no clear difference between the students attending the local administration course (SS₁ and SS₂) and those attending the course for personnel at institutions for the mentally deficient (SS₃). On the other hand, we do find a statistically significant difference between SS₃ and SS₄ ($t = 3.75$;

$p < .005$). In general we may say that SS_4 seems to distinguish itself from the other sub-samples by considerably more liberal, permissive attitudes towards questions of child rearing.

Considering each of the five sub-scales of the CRI scale separately, we find that the SS_4 sample achieves higher mean scores on all sub-scales. The greatest difference between SS_4 and SS_1 is shown to be present in the sub-scale for attitudes towards early and late anal manifestations in children. The students at the course in child care thus seem to be characterized in particular by relatively more tolerant, permissive attitudes towards anality.

The fact that we find significant differences between ideological attitudes towards questions of child rearing does not imply that any difference necessarily exists as regards the frequency of conflicts (or degree of personality-conditioned impulse rejection) in the different sub-samples. The difference in the ideological area may, as we have suggested, be ascribed entirely to differences in actual influence and external social pressure. This hypothesis finds support in our empirical material: a comparison of the different sub-samples shows no significant difference to be present as far as the average frequency of conflict-scores on the Blacky test is concerned. Greatest frequency of conflict-scores exists in SS_2 , and least frequency of conflict-scores in SS_3 and SS_4 , but the differences are fairly small.

If we consider the individual Blacky dimensions and compare SS_1 and SS_4 , the two sub-samples which are least similar in their attitudes towards child rearing, we find somewhat higher average frequency of conflict-scores in SS_1 as regards early oral, late anal and early genital impulses, while the relationship is the reverse as regards late oral and early anal impulses. The lack of consistent and statistically significant differences at this point supports the view that group differences as regards ideological attitudes towards child rearing may be explained by the influence of different social norms, which in turn are comparatively independent of deep-lying personality factors.

In assuming this to be the case we do not ignore the possible effect of psychodynamic factors. On the contrary, it seems reasonable to assume that such factors will turn out to be more decisive the more homogeneous the external social pressure. From such a point of view we might expect statistically significant correlations to arise between the CRI scale and the Blacky test the more we focus on individual sub-samples.

Another point of view which is relevant in this context is that the correlation between the CRI scale and the Blacky test will probably tend in different directions in different sub-samples, depending upon the nature of the existing social pressure. We have already suggested that it is reasonable to assume that conformity to given social norms will, to a certain extent, be a

function of the degree of defensiveness present. Applied to the present context this means that we should expect the correlation between the CRI scale and the Blacky test to tend in different directions in SS_1 and SS_4 . We find a significant difference between these two samples as regards means on the CRI scale. If we assume that the higher mean in SS_4 is the result of the presence of a fairly strong social pressure in this sample in the direction of permissive attitudes towards child rearing, we should expect a positive correlation between the number of conflict scores on the Blacky test and high scores (liberal attitudes) on the CRI scale. In contrast to this we should expect the reverse relationships in SS_1 – and for that matter in SS_2 and SS_3 as well.

We have focussed our attention on SS_1 and SS_4 because it is here we find the greatest difference in mean score on the CRI scale, and in particular because these are the two largest of our four sub-samples and the only ones which are suitable for statistical comparison. The correlations calculated in the two other samples are much less reliable because of their small numbers.

Table 11. *The Correlation (r) Between the CRI Scale and the Blacky Test in Different Sub-samples.*

Sample	N	r	p
SS_1	22	— .31	.15
SS_2	7	— .28	—
SS_3	10	— .13	—
SS_4	13	.28	.32

Table 11 gives a survey of the correlation between the CRI scale and the number of conflict scores on the Blacky test in the different sub-samples. It shows a clear tendency towards negative correlation in SS_1 and an almost equally clear tendency towards positive correlation in SS_4 . The directions of these correlations support our theoretical considerations; but neither individually achieves any statistical significance.

If we compare the correlations in SS_1 and SS_4 we find a difference between them, $Z_{\text{Diff.}} = .61$. It can be shown that this difference is statistically significant at about the 5 % level, granted a “one-tail” criterion is applied, which we think is justified in the present case.

The demonstration of an approximately significant difference in the correlation between the Blacky test and the CRI scale in two of the sub-samples, suggests for one thing that our earlier combination of the sub-samples cancelled out the relationships which in fact seem to exist between personality factors and attitudes towards child rearing.

It may be worth asking whether the correlation difference between the two samples only appears when we concentrate on the Blacky test and the CRI scale as a whole, or whether it also appears when we focus on the individual categories of the two instruments. In order to obtain information about this question we calculated biserial correlations between parallel categories in each of the two samples.

Table 12. *Difference in Correlation Between Parallel Dimensions of the CRI Scale and the Blacky Test in Samples with Different Mean Scores on the CRI Scale.*

Parallel Dimensions	SS ₁	SS ₄	<i>z</i> _{Diff.}	CR	<i>p</i> *
Early oral.....	.07	.22	.154	.40	—
Late oral.....	.45	.07	.415	1.07	.14
Early anal.....	.24	— .63	.975	2.52	.01
Late anal.....	.41	— .30	.745	1.93	.03
Early genital.....	.15	— .38	.551	1.42	.07

* The *p* values below are calculated on the basis of a one-tail criterion.

Table 12 gives a summary of our results. It shows that in SS₁ we found positive correlations in all categories, while the relationship tended to be the reverse in SS₄. A negative correlation here stands for an association between a high number of conflicts and a liberal ideological outlook. In three of the five categories on which we concentrated we found correlation differences with a statistical significance below the 10 % level, granted a “one-tail” criterion is applied, and in the two of these three categories we actually found correlation differences with a statistical significance below the 3 % level.

The fact that we find least differences between the two sub-samples on the oral dimensions may indicate that much less difference exists in social pressures in this area. As we have mentioned, the greatest difference between the two samples as regards ideological attitudes was found on the two anal dimensions. To explain the difference found between correlation differences in the oral and anal areas exclusively on the basis of differences in social pressures in the two areas seems to us somewhat unacceptable, however, partly because the differences found on the CRI scale regarding attitudes towards infantile oral manifestations went in the same direction as the differences regarding anal manifestations, and partly because of the high internal consistency found in the CRI scale.

Taking into account the correlation differences found in SS₁, this latter fact makes it reasonable to assume that conflicts in relation to late oral and anal impulses are the most crucial dynamic factors behind an authoritarian

child rearing ideology, given a comparatively weak social pressure in this area. It is of interest to note that this hypothesis is very much in agreement with the findings of Frenkel-Brunswik (Adorno *et al.*, 1950) as regards the dynamic basis of ethnocentrism and authoritarianism. Here too no significant correlation was found as regards early oral conflicts (“erotic-orality”), while anal conflicts (“a nonfunctional, moralizing anality”) were found to be highly significant factors.

Turning our attention from SS_1 to SS_4 – we note the numerically higher correlations in the anal and early genital dimensions as compared to the oral dimensions. Again taking into account the high internal consistency of the CRI scale, it is reasonable to assume that conflicts in relation to anal and early genital impulses are factors related to the strength of conformity need. This being the case, our data may be interpreted as supporting the hypothesis that the most crucial personality factors behind an authoritarian ideology are to a large extent the very same ones determining a person’s conformity needs. Assuming anal conflicts to represent such factors, we can in fact expect the greatest correlation difference precisely in relation to the anal dimensions.

Our data do not give any conclusive evidence regarding the hypothesis that conflicts in relation to anal – and especially early anal – impulses, dispose to greater conformity need than conflicts in relation to oral impulses; but nevertheless the data suggest such a relationship. On the other hand, it has to be taken into account that our two sub-samples SS_1 and SS_4 consist of males and females exclusively. As previously mentioned a number of studies have suggested a somewhat higher conformity need among females than among males. Thus, to what extent are the negative correlations found in SS_4 due to the fact that we are here studying a sample consisting of females only? To what extent may sex differences explain our results?

This question will be discussed in the next chapter.

D. *Discussion.*

In the presentation of our empirical results we assumed that the score differences on the CRI scale were associated with differences in the strength of the social pressure exerted on the subjects as regards attitudes towards child rearing. We therefore interpreted the fact that we invariably found higher score values on the CRI scale in SS_4 than in SS_1 as an indication of the existence of a stronger social pressure towards liberal attitudes in SS_4 than in SS_1 . This interpretation is supported by our knowledge of the programmes of instruction given at the two courses from which our subjects were sampled. On the other hand we cannot ignore the fact that SS_1 and SS_4 differ in other

aspects also. We have seen that the amount of earlier theoretical training in the two samples seems to be fairly similar, although the kinds of training differ. The two samples display a certain difference in age distribution: the subjects in SS_1 are on the average about 10 years younger than the subjects in SS_4 . The most marked differences, however, are those of sex and occupation. Whereas all subjects in SS_4 are women and have professional experience in dealing with children, the subjects in SS_1 are all men with experience mainly of office work and local administration.

The difference in the mean scores on the scale of these two samples can so far be ascribed as easily to the age difference, the sex difference, or the occupational difference as to the influence of the current instruction given at the Norwegian School for Social Service and Local Administration. When, in spite of this, we particularly emphasize the last factor, we do so because of the considerable agreement present between the mean scores on the CRI scales in SS_1 and SS_3 , although we have the same sex differences and practically the same age and occupational differences as between SS_1 and SS_4 . The majority of subjects in SS_3 , like those in SS_4 , have occupational experience of work with children, they are all women, and the age distribution is about the same as in SS_4 .

However, SS_3 in no way represents an adequate control group. The sample is very small from a numerical point of view, and it should also be emphasized that there is often a great deal of difference between work with normal children and with children who are mentally handicapped. In addition the subjects in SS_3 seem in general to have occupied more subordinate and dependent positions than the subjects in SS_4 ; their theoretical education is in every respect considerably less. The difference between the mean scores on the CRI scale cannot therefore be ascribed as a matter of course to the difference in current instruction; differences in the expectations and demands met by the subjects previously in their occupations may also be taken into account as a possible factor affecting their replies to the CRI scale.

Thus if we ignore the exclusive influence of the current instruction given to the subjects, we are probably still faced with differences relating to past or present social pressures exerted on the subjects.

In presenting our empirical results we pointed out that the negative correlations found between psychodynamic conflicts and an authoritarian ideology in SS_4 might be dependent upon the fact that this sub-sample consists of females only. In this connection we called attention to the findings of some earlier investigations – that females by and large seem to be characterized by a higher conformity need than males.

One may question to what extent this is a biological attribute or depend-

ent upon cultural factors and sex-specific childhood influences. Without taking any definite stand on this question we want to point out that, in an earlier investigation by means of the Blacky test, Blum (1949) found more extensive repression of anal sadistic tendencies among females than among males. In an indirect way this finding fits in with our hypothesis that anal conflicts are the most crucial factors behind conformity need. It is also of interest to note that in our own study the average frequency of early anal conflicts (the conflict dimension closest to anal sadism) was somewhat higher in SS_4 than in SS_1 . Consequently, it is uncertain to what extent a sample of males faced with social pressure exerted on the subjects in SS_4 would be characterized by the same negative association between psychodynamic conflicts and authoritarian ideology. On the other hand, taking into account the parental attitudes towards boys and girls prevalent in our culture, it seems unnecessary to assume any inborn sex-difference as far as conformity needs are concerned.

We wish to emphasize strongly that our data provide no basis for a conclusive evaluation of the effects of short-term courses of instruction on people's attitudes towards questions of child rearing. Before this can be done a far more systematic experimental investigation than ours will be necessary. Our empirical material first and foremost suggest that the relationship between personality factors and child rearing ideologies seems to differ in different social groups.

E. *Summary and Conclusion.*

It often seems to be taken for granted that the personality structure and child rearing ideologies of adults are closely linked; that persons with an authoritarian personality structure will nearly always adhere to an authoritarian ideology of child rearing, and *vice versa*. We have questioned this assumption. This does not mean that we support a purely social-psychological explanation of people's attitudes towards child rearing, i.e. that we consider the social norms present in a person's environment to be the only decisive factor. Our basic view is that people's ideologies of child rearing will be the result of an interaction between social norms and personality factors; that the effect of the social norms present in a person's environment will depend on the personality structure of the individual in question; and, conversely, that the effect of a given personality structure will depend on existing social norms.

On the basis of some assumptions concerning the effect of various degrees of social pressure and the effect of various degrees of personality-conditioned impulse rejection, we formulated the hypothesis that by and

large a negative correlation should be expected between an authoritarian (rejective) personality structure and an authoritarian (rejective) child rearing ideology in environments characterized by very strong social pressures in the direction of liberal and anti-authoritarian attitudes towards questions of child rearing. And furthermore, that we should expect to find that the relationship between personality structure and child rearing ideology differs significantly in different social groups.

In order to test these deductions we undertook a small empirical investigation, and compared four samples of students at the Norwegian School for Social Service and Local Administration. The samples were selected because of their marked differences regarding the amount and intensity of the education they had received as regards attitudes towards child rearing and general child psychology. The samples consisted of 56 subjects in all.

For registering personality structure, we used a revised version of Blum's Blacky Pictures, assuming psychodynamic conflicts as measured by this test to indicate personality-conditioned emotional rejective attitudes; for registering ideological attitudes towards questions of child rearing, we used an attitude scale (the CRI scale), consisting of a large number of statements on which the subjects were to express their opinions. Both instruments were so constructed that it was possible to register separately attitudes towards what we consider as early oral, late oral, early anal, late anal and early genital impulse manifestations. This was done, among other things, with the purpose of obtaining material illuminating the degree to which internal concencies exist in attitudes towards different infantile impulse patterns.

The empirical data were collected during the autumn of 1957. Our statistical analysis includes a systematic item analysis of the CRI scale, an investigation of the inter-correlations among the scale's sub-scales, and an investigation of the score distribution on the scale in the total sample and the different sub-samples. Furthermore it includes an investigation of the scoring reliability of the Blacky pictures used, the inter-correlation between different dimensions of this test, the score distributions on the test in the total sample and in two sub-samples, and finally, the correlation between the Blacky test and the CRI scale as a whole and between parallel categories on the two instruments, together with an investigation of the correlation between the two methods on the different sub-samples.

Our empirical results are burdened with potential sources of error. We consequently state our conclusions as suggestions only for further research. In short, our results support the following statements:

There is relatively high internal consistency in people's ideological attitudes towards questions of child rearing. Broadly speaking, persons who are in-

clined to react permissively towards behavioural manifestations characteristic of a particular phase in a child's psychosexual development, also tend to react ideologically permissively towards behavioural manifestations characteristic of other phases. Thus, rejective or permissive ideological attitudes towards questions of child rearing seem, on the whole, to represent relatively general attitudinal patterns.

There is specific, but limited, internal consistency in people's personality-conditioned emotional attitudes towards different infantile impulses. In general, persons who have conflicts in relation to a particular type of infantile impulses tend also to have conflicts in relation to other types of such impulses, granted that the impulses refer, genetically speaking, to relatively closely situated phases of psychosexual development.

Personality-conditioned emotional attitudes towards basic impulse patterns are less internally consistent than ideological attitudes towards the behavioural manifestations of these same impulses in children. While the former type of attitude seems to be neither completely generalized nor completely differentiated, the latter type seems to be highly generalized.

The relationship present between ideological attitudes towards child rearing and personality-conditioned emotional attitudes towards infantile impulses varies with the kind and degree of existing social pressure. When we focussed on the total sample of subjects in our investigation we found practically no correlation between child rearing ideology and psychodynamic conflicts. The picture changed, however, when extreme groups as regards the assumed strength of external social pressure were taken into consideration: in the case of comparatively strong social pressure in the direction of permissive attitudes, a trend emerged towards a negative correlation between psychodynamic conflicts and rejective ideological attitudes, while in the case of comparatively weak pressure, a trend towards a positive correlation could be ascertained. With regard to anality a statistically significant difference between the correlations was found in these two instances, suggesting anal conflicts to represent a most central dynamic source as regards ideological attitudes and personality-conditioned conformity-needs.

Assuming, as we have done, that conflicts concerning infantile impulses in an individual's own personality will to a very large extent determine his emotional attitudes towards children, our data suggest that the relationship between ideological and emotional attitudes is conditioned by an individual's social role and the social pressure under which he lives. Thus strong cultural changes in the direction of more liberal ideological parental attitudes will, in all probability, leave in their wake inconsistency in many parents' attitudes towards their children. The effect this will have on the children's personality

formation is a problem which attracts scientific interest to a high degree. In the first part of this work we suggested certain hypotheses concerning the effect of inconsistent parental attitudes. In a later study we hope to subject these hypotheses to empirical testing. From a broader point of view the present investigation is only to be regarded as a limited pretest for a far more inclusive research project.

REFERENCES

- Aberle, D. F., & Naegele, K. D.: Middle-class fathers' occupational role and attitudes towards children. *Am. J. Orthopsychiat.*, 1952, 22, 366-378.
- Adams, A. B.: Choice of infant feeding technique as a function of maternal personality. *J. consult. Psychol.*, 1959, 23, 143-146.
- Adorno, T. W., Frenkel-Brunswik, Else, Levinson, D. J., & Sanford, R. N.: *The authoritarian personality*. New York: Harpers, 1950.
- Altman, Charlotte H.: Relationships between maternal attitudes and child personality structure. *Am. J. Orthopsychiat.*, 1958, 28, 160-169.
- Becker, W. C., Peterson, D. R., Hellmer, L. A., Shoemaker, D. J., & Quay, H. C.: Factors in parental behavior and personality as related to problem behavior in children. *J. consult. Psychol.*, 1959, 23, 107-118.
- Bellak, L.: *The Thematic Apperception Test and the Children's Apperception Test in clinical use*. New York: Grune & Stratton, 1954.
- Beloff, H.: Acquiescence and conventionality. *J. abnorm. soc. Psychol.*, 1958, 56, 99-104.
- Block, J.: Personality characteristics associated with fathers' attitudes toward child rearing. *Child Develop.*, 1955, 26, 41-48.
- Blum, G. S.: A study of the psychoanalytic theory of psychosexual development. *Genet. Psychol. Monogr.*, 1949, 39, 3-99.
- *The Blacky Pictures: A technique for the exploration of personality dynamics*. New York: Psychol. Corp., 1950.
- *Revised scoring system for research use of the Blacky Pictures*. University of Michigan, 1951. Mimeo.
- *Psychoanalytic theories of personality*. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1953.
- An experimental reunion of psychoanalytic theory with perceptual vigilance and defence. *J. abnorm. soc. Psychol.*, 1954, 49, 94-98.
- Perceptual defense revisited. *J. abnorm. soc. Psychol.*, 1955, 51, 24-29.
- Reliability of the Blacky Test: A reply to Charen. *J. consult. Psychol.*, 1956, 20, 406.
- Blum, G. S., & Hunt, H. F.: The validity of the Blacky Pictures. *Psychol. Bull.*, 1952, 49, 238-250.
- Bornstein, Berta: The analysis of a phobic child. In *The psychoanalytic study of the child*. Vol. III-IV. New York: Int. Univer. Press, 1949.
- Charen, S.: Reliability of the Blacky Test. *J. consult. Psychol.*, 1956, 20, 16. (a)
- A reply to Blum. *J. consult. Psychol.*, 1956, 20, 407. (b)
- Christiansen, B.: *Attitudes towards foreign affairs as a function of personality*. Oslo: Oslo University Press, 1959.
- *Notes concerning infantile psychosexual phases*. Oslo: Institute for Social Research, 1960. Mimeo.

- Christiansen, B., & Killingmo, B.: *Psykodiagnostikk med henblikk på psykoterapi* [Psychodiagnosics with reference to psychotherapy]. Mimeo. Oslo: Barnepsykiatrisk Institutt, 1961. *In press*.
- Christiansen, B., Killingmo, B., & Waal, Nic: *Personlighetsdiagnostikk med henblikk på strukturbeskrivelse* [Personality diagnostics with reference to structural descriptions]. Oslo: Dr. Nic Waals Institutt, 1956. Mimeo.
- Christie, R., Havel, J., & Seidenberg, B.: Is the F-scale irreversible? *J. abnorm. soc. Psychol.*, 1958, 56, 143-159.
- Cole, N. L., Shaw, O. M., Steneck, J., & Tabnoff, L. H.: A survey assessment of current parental attitudes and practices in child rearing. *Am. J. Orthopsychiat.*, 1957, 27, 815-822.
- Cronbach, L. J.: The two disciplines of scientific psychology. *Am. Psychol.*, 1957, 12, 671-684.
- Crutchfield, R. S.: Conformity and character. *Am. Psychol.*, 1955, 10, 191-198.
- Davis, A., & Eriksen, C. W.: Some social and cultural factors determining relations between authoritarianism and measures of neuroticism. *J. consult. Psychol.*, 1957, 21, 155-159.
- Davis, A., & Havighurst, R. J.: Social class and color differences in child rearing. *Am. sociol. Rev.*, 1946, 11, 698-710.
- Despert, J. L.: Some considerations relating to the genesis of autistic behaviour in children. *Am. J. Orthopsychiat.*, 1951, 21, 335-347.
- Eisenberg, L., & Kanner, L.: Early infantile autism 1943-55. *Am. J. Orthopsychiat.*, 1956, 26, 556-566.
- Ericson, Martha C.: Social status and child-rearing practices. In T. M. Newcomb & E. I. Hartley (Eds.): *Readings in social psychology*. New York: Henry Holt, 1957.
- Eriksen, C. W.: Some implications for TAT interpretation arising from need and perception experiments. *J. Pers.*, 1951, 19, 282-288.
- Erikson, E. H.: *Childhood and society*. New York: Norton, 1950.
- Escalona, Sibylle K.: Feeding disturbances in very young children. *Am. J. Orthopsychiat.*, 1945, 15, 76-80.
- Freeman, R. V., & Grayson, H. H.: Maternal attitudes in schizophrenia. *J. abnorm. soc. Psychol.*, 1955, 50, 45-52.
- Frenkel-Brunswik, Else: Further explorations by a contributor to "The authoritarian personality". In R. Christie and M. Jahoda (Eds.): *Studies in the scope and method of "The authoritarian personality"*. Illinois: Free Press, 1954.
- Freud, S.: *Neue Folge der Vorlesungen zur Einführung in die Psychoanalyse*. Norwegian translation: *Nytt i psykoanalysen*. Oslo: Gyldendal, 1934.
- Fromm, E.: *Man for himself*. New York: Reinhart, 1947.
- Granick, S., & Schefflen, N. A.: Approaches to reliability of projective tests with special reference to the Blacky Pictures Test. *J. consult. Psychol.*, 1958, 22, 137-141.
- Haimowitz, M. L., & Haimowitz, N. R.: Reducing ethnic hostility through psychotherapy. *J. soc. Psychol.*, 1950, 32, 231-241.
- Hart, I.: Maternal child-rearing practices and authoritarian ideology. *J. abnorm. soc. Psychol.*, 1957, 55, 232-237.
- Hoffman, M. L.: Some psychodynamic factors in compulsive conformity. *J. abnorm. soc. Psychol.*, 1953, 48, 383-393.
- Husén, L., Husén, T., & Svensson, N. E.: *Elever - Lärare - Föräldrar* [Pupils-Teachers-Parents]. Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1959.

- Jahoda, Marie: *Current concepts of positive mental health*. New York: Basic Books, 1958.
- Jensen, R.: Om sammenhengen mellom tilpasningsvanskeligheter hos barn og konflikter hos foreldrene [On the relationship between adjustment difficulties in children and parental conflicts]. I *Fjerde Nordiske Psykologmøte i København 1956*. København: Munksgaard, 1957.
- Johnson, A. M., & Szurek, S. A.: The genesis of antisocial acting out in children and adults. *Psychoanal. Quart.*, 1952, 21, 323-343.
- Kälvesten, Anna-Lisa: Social adjustment and family relations of schoolboys in Stockholm. In N. Anderson (Ed.): *Studies of the family*. Vol. II. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1957.
- Kates, S. L., & Diab, L. N.: Authoritarian ideology and attitudes on parent-child relationships. *J. abnorm. soc. Psychol.*, 1955, 51, 13-16.
- Katz, D., McClintoch, C., & Sarnoff, I.: The measurement of ego defense as related to attitude change. *J. Pers.*, 1957, 25, 465-474.
- Katz, D., Sarnoff, I., & McClintoch, C.: Ego-defense and attitude change. *Human Relat.*, 1956, 9, 27-45.
- Kris, E.: *Psychoanalytic explorations in art*. New York: Int. Univer. Press, 1952.
- Lacey, J. I.: Psychophysiological approaches to the evaluation of psychotherapeutic process and outcome. In E. A. Rubenstein & M. B. Parloff (Eds.): *Research in psychotherapy*. Washington: Am. Psychol. Ass., 1959.
- Levinson, D. J., & Huffman, P. E.: Traditional family ideology and its relation to personality. *J. Pers.*, 1955, 23, 251-273.
- Lindblom, G.: *Ett försök att belysa förhållandet mellan barns sociala anpassning och föräldrarnas uppfostringsideologi, samt deras inbördes konformitet*. [An attempt to illuminate the relationship between the social adjustment of children and their parents' child-rearing ideology, and their reciprocal conformity]. Stockholm, 1959. Mimeo.
- Lindner, K.: *Must you conform?* Danish Translation: *Det blide tyranni*. Fredensborg: Arena, 1956.
- Mark, J. C.: The attitudes of the mothers of male schizophrenics toward child behavior. *J. abnorm. soc. Psychol.*, 1953, 48, 185-189.
- McNeill, E. B., & Blum, G. S.: Handwriting and psychosexual dimensions of personality. *J. proj. Psychol.*, 1952, 16, 476-484.
- Miller, D. R., & Swanson, G. E.: *The changing american parent*, New York: Wiley, 1958.
- Montalto, F.: Maternal behavior and child personality. *J. proj. Tech.*, 1952, 16, 151-178.
- Nelson, S. E.: Psychosexual conflicts and defenses in visual perception. *J. abnorm. soc. Psychol.*, 1955, 51, 427-433.
- Nordland, Eva: *Sammenheng mellom sosial atferd og oppdragelse* [The relationship between social behavior and child rearing]. Oslo: Akademisk Forlag, 1955.
- Proctor, J. T.: Hysteria in childhood. *Am. J. Orthopsychiat.*, 1958, 28, 394-406.
- Rank, Beata, & MacNaughton, D.: A clinical contribution to early ego development. In *The psychoanalytic study of the child*, Vol. V. London: Imago, 1950.
- Reich, W.: *Character analysis*. London: Vision Press, 1950.
- Ribble, Margaret, A.: Infantile experience in relation to personality development. In J. McV. Hunt (Ed.): *Personality and the behavior disorders*. Vol. II. New York: Ronald Press, 1944.
- Sears, R. R., et al.: Some child rearing antecedents of aggression and dependency in young children. *Genet. Psychol., Monogr.*, 1953, 47, 135-234.
- *Patterns of child rearing*. New York: Row, Peterson & Co., 1957.

- Shoben, E. J., Jr.: The assessment of parental attitudes in relation to child adjustment. *Genet. Psychol. Monogr.*, 1949, 39, 101-148.
- Siegel, A. E., & Siegel, S.: Reference groups, memberships groups, and attitude change. *J. abnorm. soc. Psychol.*, 1957, 55, 360-364.
- Siegel, L.: Case study of a thirteen-year-old fire-setter. A catalyst in the growing pains of a residential treatment unit. *Am. J. Orthopsychiat.*, 1957, 27, 396-410.
- Sieglman, A. W.: The effects of cultural factors on the relationship between personality, intelligence and ethnocentric attitudes. *J. consult. Psychol.*, 1958, 22, 375-377.
- Sines, J. O.: Conflict-related stimuli as elicitors of selected physiological responses. *J. proj. Tech.*, 1957, 21, 194-198.
- Smock, C. D.: Replication and comments: "An experimental reunion of psychoanalytic theory with perceptual vigilance and defense". *J. abnorm. soc. Psychol.*, 1956, 53, 68-73.
- Snedecor, G. W.: *Statistical methods*. Ames, Iowa: Iowa State College Press, 1946.
- Sperling, M.: Children's interpretation and reaction to the unconscious of their mothers. *Int. J. Psychoanal.*, 1950, 31, 36-41.
- The neurotic child and his mother. A psychoanalytic study. *Am. J. Orthopsychiat.*, 1951, 21, 351-362.
- Spiro, M. E.: *Children of the kibbutz*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard Univer. Press, 1958.
- Spitz, R. A.: The smiling response: a contribution to the ontogenesis of social relations. *Genet. Psychol. Monogr.*, 1946, 34, 57-125.
- The psychogenic diseases in infancy: an attempt at their etiological classification. In *The Psychoanalytic study of the child*. Vol. VI. New York: Int. Univer. Press, 1951.
- *No and yes. On the genesis of human communication*. New York: Int. Univer. Press, 1957.
- Tiller, P. O.: Father absence and personality development of children in sailor families. *Nordisk Psykologi's Monografiserie*, No. 9, 1958.
- Wagman, M.: Attitude change and authoritarian personality. *J. Psychol.*, 1955, 40, 3-24.
- Wells, W. D., Weinert, G., & Rubel, M.: Conformity pressure and authoritarian personality. *J. Psychol.*, 1956, 42, 133-136.
- Whiting, J. W. M., & Child, I. L.: *Child training and personality*. New Haven: Yale Univer. Press, 1953.
- Zuckerman, M., et al.: The parental attitudes of mothers of schizophrenics. *J. consult. Psychol.*, 1958, 22, 307-310.

APPENDIX

*I. Inventory for Registering Attitudes towards Questions of Child Rearing
(the CRI Scale).*

INSTRUCTIONS

The purpose of this questionnaire is to investigate public opinion concerning questions of child rearing. The following are statements with which some people agree, and others disagree. After each statement you will find four different answers: FULLY AGREE, AGREE SOMEWHAT, DISAGREE SOMEWHAT, FULLY DISAGREE. Read each statement carefully and underline the answer which best fits your personal opinion. There are no correct or incorrect answers. If you come across statements about which you consider it very difficult to express an opinion, don't start wondering what to answer, but put down the very first thing that comes into your mind.

- | | | | | |
|---|----------------|-------------------|----------------------|-------------------|
| 1. Parents ought not to force babies to conform to regular mealtimes. | FULLY
AGREE | AGREE
SOMEWHAT | DISAGREE
SOMEWHAT | FULLY
DISAGREE |
| 2. A child ought to learn early that its parents always know best. | FULLY
AGREE | AGREE
SOMEWHAT | DISAGREE
SOMEWHAT | FULLY
DISAGREE |
| 3. Children who do not learn cleanliness when they are quite small will never be clean in later life. | FULLY
AGREE | AGREE
SOMEWHAT | DISAGREE
SOMEWHAT | FULLY
DISAGREE |
| 4. A child who bites at the breast when being suckled should be weaned at once. | FULLY
AGREE | AGREE
SOMEWHAT | DISAGREE
SOMEWHAT | FULLY
DISAGREE |
| 5. It is all right to let small children of both sexes play together naked. | FULLY
AGREE | AGREE
SOMEWHAT | DISAGREE
SOMEWHAT | FULLY
DISAGREE |
| 6. A child's will should be controlled by its parents. | FULLY
AGREE | AGREE
SOMEWHAT | DISAGREE
SOMEWHAT | FULLY
DISAGREE |
| 7. A baby can't decide for itself how much food it needs. | FULLY
AGREE | AGREE
SOMEWHAT | DISAGREE
SOMEWHAT | FULLY
DISAGREE |
| 8. Children will toilet train themselves at the age of two or three as long as they are not nagged. | FULLY
AGREE | AGREE
SOMEWHAT | DISAGREE
SOMEWHAT | FULLY
DISAGREE |
| 9. Babies should be allowed to put food in their mouths even though they make a mess. | FULLY
AGREE | AGREE
SOMEWHAT | DISAGREE
SOMEWHAT | FULLY
DISAGREE |

- | | | | | |
|--|----------------|-------------------|----------------------|-------------------|
| 10. Parents should not appear naked in front of their children. | FULLY
AGREE | AGREE
SOMEWHAT | DISAGREE
SOMEWHAT | FULLY
DISAGREE |
| 11. Parents should make it clear to their children that they don't love them when they bite. | FULLY
AGREE | AGREE
SOMEWHAT | DISAGREE
SOMEWHAT | FULLY
DISAGREE |
| 12. Children should never be allowed to touch their faeces. | FULLY
AGREE | AGREE
SOMEWHAT | DISAGREE
SOMEWHAT | FULLY
DISAGREE |
| 13. It's good for a baby's lungs for it to scream. | FULLY
AGREE | AGREE
SOMEWHAT | DISAGREE
SOMEWHAT | FULLY
DISAGREE |
| 14. Children ought not to be prevented from playing with their sexual organs. | FULLY
AGREE | AGREE
SOMEWHAT | DISAGREE
SOMEWHAT | FULLY
DISAGREE |
| 15. Parents should never interfere when a small child wants to pull down what it has built up. | FULLY
AGREE | AGREE
SOMEWHAT | DISAGREE
SOMEWHAT | FULLY
DISAGREE |
| 16. Children who bite should be told how shocking it is. | FULLY
AGREE | AGREE
SOMEWHAT | DISAGREE
SOMEWHAT | FULLY
DISAGREE |
| 17. It is more important for children to feel pleasure in elimination than to give warning of what they are going to do. | FULLY
AGREE | AGREE
SOMEWHAT | DISAGREE
SOMEWHAT | FULLY
DISAGREE |
| 18. Babies ought not to be prevented from sucking their fingers and toys. | FULLY
AGREE | AGREE
SOMEWHAT | DISAGREE
SOMEWHAT | FULLY
DISAGREE |
| 19. Children ought to be punished severely if they undress themselves or others when playing. | FULLY
AGREE | AGREE
SOMEWHAT | DISAGREE
SOMEWHAT | FULLY
DISAGREE |
| 20. It is always wrong of parents to subdue a child's willpower. | FULLY
AGREE | AGREE
SOMEWHAT | DISAGREE
SOMEWHAT | FULLY
DISAGREE |
| 21. When babies cut their teeth their parents ought to give them something to bite on. | FULLY
AGREE | AGREE
SOMEWHAT | DISAGREE
SOMEWHAT | FULLY
DISAGREE |
| 22. It is wrong to teach children disgust at the smell of excretion. | FULLY
AGREE | AGREE
SOMEWHAT | DISAGREE
SOMEWHAT | FULLY
DISAGREE |
| 23. Children who spit out their food have difficult natures. | FULLY
AGREE | AGREE
SOMEWHAT | DISAGREE
SOMEWHAT | FULLY
DISAGREE |
| 24. It does no harm to tell children they grew in their mothers' stomachs before they were born. | FULLY
AGREE | AGREE
SOMEWHAT | DISAGREE
SOMEWHAT | FULLY
DISAGREE |

- | | | | | |
|---|----------------|-------------------|----------------------|-------------------|
| 25. It is preferable for children to be independent rather than amenable. | FULLY
AGREE | AGREE
SOMEWHAT | DISAGREE
SOMEWHAT | FULLY
DISAGREE |
| 26. It is wrong to punish children for tasting their excretion | FULLY
AGREE | AGREE
SOMEWHAT | DISAGREE
SOMEWHAT | FULLY
DISAGREE |
| 27. It is wrong of parents to prevent their babies chewing their toys and bed-clothes. | FULLY
AGREE | AGREE
SOMEWHAT | DISAGREE
SOMEWHAT | FULLY
DISAGREE |
| 28. If children ask where they have come from they ought to be told about their fathers' role. | FULLY
AGREE | AGREE
SOMEWHAT | DISAGREE
SOMEWHAT | FULLY
DISAGREE |
| 29. The worst thing parents can do is to give in to children when they turn obstinate. | FULLY
AGREE | AGREE
SOMEWHAT | DISAGREE
SOMEWHAT | FULLY
DISAGREE |
| 30. It is natural for children to snap back and bite at their parents. | FULLY
AGREE | AGREE
SOMEWHAT | DISAGREE
SOMEWHAT | FULLY
DISAGREE |
| 31. Toilet training can only be successful if parents pay great attention to it and are strict about a fixed routine. | FULLY
AGREE | AGREE
SOMEWHAT | DISAGREE
SOMEWHAT | FULLY
DISAGREE |
| 32. It is harmful for children of pre-school age to see animals giving birth. | FULLY
AGREE | AGREE
SOMEWHAT | DISAGREE
SOMEWHAT | FULLY
DISAGREE |
| 33. It is natural for children to be proud of their excretion. | FULLY
AGREE | AGREE
SOMEWHAT | DISAGREE
SOMEWHAT | FULLY
DISAGREE |
| 34. It is wrong to teach small children to look at their handiwork with the eyes of an adult as early as possible. | FULLY
AGREE | AGREE
SOMEWHAT | DISAGREE
SOMEWHAT | FULLY
DISAGREE |
| 35. Small children should be allowed to bite when they get angry. | FULLY
AGREE | AGREE
SOMEWHAT | DISAGREE
SOMEWHAT | FULLY
DISAGREE |
| 36. It is a good habit always to hold children out or let them sit on the pot until they have done their business. | FULLY
AGREE | AGREE
SOMEWHAT | DISAGREE
SOMEWHAT | FULLY
DISAGREE |
| 37. It is good for babies to be potted, even when it is not feeding time. | FULLY
AGREE | AGREE
SOMEWHAT | DISAGREE
SOMEWHAT | FULLY
DISAGREE |
| 38. It is unwise of parents to encourage children's inquisitiveness and their desire for knowledge of all kinds. | FULLY
AGREE | AGREE
SOMEWHAT | DISAGREE
SOMEWHAT | FULLY
DISAGREE |

- | | | | | |
|---|----------------|-------------------|----------------------|-------------------|
| 39. When children start to make things themselves their parents should always show them how it ought to be done. | FULLY
AGREE | AGREE
SOMEWHAT | DISAGREE
SOMEWHAT | FULLY
DISAGREE |
| 40. Babies who have to learn early to stand deprivation will find it more difficult to put up with opposition in later life. | FULLY
AGREE | AGREE
SOMEWHAT | DISAGREE
SOMEWHAT | FULLY
DISAGREE |
| 41. Babies should learn early that it is naughty to eat with one's hands. | FULLY
AGREE | AGREE
SOMEWHAT | DISAGREE
SOMEWHAT | FULLY
DISAGREE |
| 42. There is no need for parents to take any steps if their children go some days without excreting. | FULLY
AGREE | AGREE
SOMEWHAT | DISAGREE
SOMEWHAT | FULLY
DISAGREE |
| 43. Babies who get the attention they demand will not become spoilt and difficult. | FULLY
AGREE | AGREE
SOMEWHAT | DISAGREE
SOMEWHAT | FULLY
DISAGREE |
| 44. When little girls ask why they are made differently from boys, their parents should always tell them what they have and boys don't. | FULLY
AGREE | AGREE
SOMEWHAT | DISAGREE
SOMEWHAT | FULLY
DISAGREE |
| 45. Parents should insist at an early stage on their children not dirtying themselves with earth and mud. | FULLY
AGREE | AGREE
SOMEWHAT | DISAGREE
SOMEWHAT | FULLY
DISAGREE |
| 46. Dummies destroy children's appetites. | FULLY
AGREE | AGREE
SOMEWHAT | DISAGREE
SOMEWHAT | FULLY
DISAGREE |
| 47. Children should be trained as early as possible not to drop things wherever they go. | FULLY
AGREE | AGREE
SOMEWHAT | DISAGREE
SOMEWHAT | FULLY
DISAGREE |
| 48. Children are more of a joy to their parents before they cut their teeth. | FULLY
AGREE | AGREE
SOMEWHAT | DISAGREE
SOMEWHAT | FULLY
DISAGREE |
| 49. Babies who will not open their mouths and suck should be forced to do so by having their noses pinched. | FULLY
AGREE | AGREE
SOMEWHAT | DISAGREE
SOMEWHAT | FULLY
DISAGREE |
| 50. Children ought not to be given sexual information before they can understand everything. | FULLY
AGREE | AGREE
SOMEWHAT | DISAGREE
SOMEWHAT | FULLY
DISAGREE |

II. Criteria for the Scoring of Spontaneous Stories about the Blacky Pictures.

Criteria for the Scoring of Responses to Picture No. 1: The Early Oral Phase-Modality.

A person is said to be "conflict-charged" in relation to early oral impulses if his spontaneous story about the Blacky picture contains one or more of the following characteristics:

1. B. a. *Emphasis on evasive details* . . "farmhouse" . . "landscape" . . "sanddunes" . . (more than mere comment on background objects, "the sun is shining", "it's a glorious day").
1. B. b. *Moralizing about B or rejection of B's behavior* . . "B is too big to be fed" . . "B should find himself solid food" . . (more than mere comment that B ought to relax or ought to feel pleased).
1. B. c. *Overemphasis on the fact that suckling is natural and necessary – unwillingness to describe B's feelings* . . "don't know what B feels" . . "is only doing what is instinctual" . . "B is possibly satisfied" . . (more than mere comments in passing).
2. A. a. *Complete avoidance of reference to eating and suckling* . . "B is tugging at M to wake her up" . . "B is asleep" . . (more than "B and M are playing together").
2. B. a. *Emphasis on B's intense need for food* . . "greedy" . . "sucks his mother dry" . . "famished" . . "nearly starving" . . "steals milk" . . (more than "very hungry", "some time since last meal").
2. B. b. *Physical description of B's involvement in eating* . . "crouching" . . "has got a good grip" . . "looks fat" . . (more than reference to position in passing).
2. B. c. *Emphasis on a detailed physical description of M* . . "long ears" . . "spotted" . . "stares blankly straight ahead" . . (more than reference to collar or position).
2. C. a. *Overemphasis on B's enjoyment* . . "has never experienced anything like it" . . "in ecstasy because he is being fed so long" . . (more than "satisfied", "gets enough", "very pleased").
3. A. a. *Emphasis on M's rejection of B or M's complete lack of interest* . . "feels disgusted" . . "exhausted" . . "worn out" . . "doesn't want to suckle B" . . (more than "is doing her duty", "is resting", "is relaxing").
3. A. b. *Emphasis on B's wish always to be a suckling* . . "would like to be nourished as long as he lives" . . "afraid his mother will send him away quite soon" . . (more than pleased with the present situation).
3. A. c. *Reference to B biting M or emphasis on B's wish not to be suckled* . . "B wants to bite in order to ensure that his mother will not leave him before he has finished" . . "B would like to bite in protest of her lack of attention" . . (more than "B feels that soon he will prefer biting and chewing to sucking and being nursed").

*Criteria for the Scoring of Responses to Picture No. 2:
The Late Oral Phase-Modality.*

A person is said to be "conflict-charged" in relation to late oral impulses if his spontaneous story about the Blacky picture contains one or more of the following characteristics:

1. B. a. *Emphasis on evasive details* . . . "unnatural eating position" . . . "long tail and long ears" . . . (more than mere comments on B's position and collar in passing).
1. B. b. *Overemphasis on the fact that chewing is natural and necessary – unwillingness to describe B's feelings* . . . "B doesn't know what he has between his paws" . . . "is only doing what is natural" . . . "cannot believe B feels anything" . . . (more than mere comments in passing).
2. A. a. *Complete avoidance of reference to chewing, eating on bone* . . . "B is afraid someone will come" . . . "B is lying with all his senses awake" . . . "B is prepared to fight" . . . (more than "B is playing", "amusing himself").
2. B. a. *Emphasis on B's inabilities* . . . "too small to provide for himself" . . . "bone too hard to chew" . . . (more than "B has trouble with the bone").
2. B. b. *Open denial of B's appetite* . . . "not a bit hungry" . . . "has no appetite" . . . "doesn't like solid food" . . . (more than "likes bones even when not hungry").
2. C. a. *Overemphasis of B's satisfaction* . . . "extremely happy" . . . "in ecstasy" . . . "intoxicated" . . . (more than "pleased", "satisfied", "very happy").
3. A. a. *Emphasis on B's defensive attitude* . . . "B is only interested in holding on to his bone" . . . (more than "has a good grip on the bone", "will not give up his bone").
3. A. b. *Reference to eating implying deprivation* . . . "famished" . . . "eats everything he comes across" . . . (more than "very hungry", "some time since last meal").

*Criteria for the Scoring of Responses to Picture No. 3:
Oral Aggression.*

A person is said to be "conflict-charged" in relation to oral aggressive impulses if his spontaneous story about the Blacky picture contains one or more of the following characteristics:

1. B. a. *Emphasis on evasive details* . . . "long tail and long ears" . . . "rolling his head" . . . (more than comments on B's position in passing).
1. B. b. *Moralizing or dissociation from B's behaviour* . . . "wicked" . . . "bad-mannered" . . . "ought to be thrashed" . . . (more than "B is up to mischief again").
1. B. c. *Unwillingness to describe B's feelings* . . . "impossible to say what B feels" . . . "I suppose B is in a temper" . . . (more than mere comments in passing).
2. A. a. *Complete avoidance of reference to biting, chewing or anger* . . . "clings to the collar" . . . "feels little and helpless" . . . "the collar is the only reminder of M" . . . (more than "likes to play", "finds it difficult to master").
2. B. a. *Specific denial that B is angry or aggressive* . . . "hasn't taken the collar from M" . . . "not because it is M's collar" . . . "don't know who owns the collar" . . . (more than "B behaves more aggressively than he is").
2. B. b. *Overemphasis on chewing and teeth* . . . "B always has an intense urge to bite" . . . "has a strong itch in his teeth" . . . (more than "likes to use his teeth").
2. B. c. *Reference to food or eating implying deprivation* . . . "is so hungry that he doesn't see what he has in his mouth" . . . "wants to devour the collar" . . . (more than chewing the collar).

- 2.C.a. *Overemphasis of B's satisfaction* . . . "in complete ecstasy" . . . "exceedingly playful" . . . (more than "pleased with himself", "playful").
- 3.A.a. *Emphasis on B's destructive motives or B being in physical fight with M* . . . "spiteful" . . . "hates M" . . . "only wants to destroy things" . . . "wants to bite M" . . . (more than "angry", "resentful of the collar", "aggressive", "stolen M's collar").
- 3.A.b. *Any reference to M being killed or to violence against her* . . . "M has been run over by a car" . . . "killed by an accident" . . . (more than "B snaps back when frustrated", "has snatched the collar from M").
- 3.A.c. *Emphasis on B being afraid of what may happen* . . . "B is afraid he will be punished" . . . "is about to run away" . . . (more than "hopes M will not turn up just now").

*Criteria for the Scoring of Responses to Picture No. 4:
The Early Anal Phase-Modality.*

A person is said to be "conflict-charged" in relation to early anal impulses if his spontaneous story to the Blacky picture contains one or more of the following characteristics:

- 1.B.a. *Listing of details* . . . "trees and bushes" . . . "parents look in different directions" . . . "sand-dunes" . . . (more than comments on landscape and on B's or P's position in passing).
- 1.B.b. *Moralizing or dissociation from B's behaviour* . . . "bad-mannered" . . . "no manners" . . . "immature" . . . (more than "ill-mannered and unruly as puppies are and should be").
- 1.B.c. *Unwillingness to describe B's feelings* . . . "doesn't interest me what B feels" . . . "suppose he doesn't feel anything special" . . . (more than mere comments in passing).
- 2.A.a. *Complete avoidance of any reference to evacuation or faecis* . . . "B is looking for angleworms to eat" . . . "want to dig a deep hole" . . . (more than "B is busy", "engaged in his own business").
- 2.B.a. *Emphasis on B's desire to please his parents* . . . "does only what M and P have taught him" . . . "wants to show how good-mannered he is" . . . (more than "thinks it is proper to stay a little away from M and P").
- 2.B.b. *Emphasis on B's orderliness and cleanliness* . . . "hates the smell" . . . "hides it so no-one can find it" . . . "buries it as a treasure" . . . (more than "wants to be clean", "kicks sand over it").
- 2.B.c. *Specific denial that B is rebellious or is doing anything wrong* . . . "not because he wants to irritate M and P" . . . "his food doesn't agree with him" . . . "has got food poisoning" . . . (more than "B doesn't like to disturb anyone").
- 2.B.d. *Reference to bowel dysfunctioning* . . . "constipation, difficulty in excreting" . . . "impatient – takes too long" . . . "sluggish bowels" . . . (more than "excretion takes time").
- 2.C.a. *Overemphasis on B's satisfaction* . . . "triumphs" . . . "feels terribly happy" . . . (more than "feels better afterwards", "is pleased with himself").
- 3.A.a. *Emphasis on B being spiteful* . . . "obstinate" . . . "rebellious" . . . "revengeful" . . . (more than "up to mischief again").
- 3.A.b. *Reference to the parents as condemnatory* . . . "M and P turn away in disgust" . . . "feels deeply ashamed of B" . . . "B is afraid of being found out" . . . "expects ironical remarks" . . . (more than "M and P feel a little modest", "embarrassed").

*Criteria for the Scoring of Responses to Picture No. 5:
The Late Anal Phase-Modality.*

A person is said to be "conflict-charged" in relation to late anal impulses if his spontaneous story to the Blacky picture contains one or more of the following characteristics:

1. B. a. *Listing of details* . . . "houses" . . . "trees and bushes" . . . (more than comments on landscape and dog-kennels in passing).
1. B. b. *Moralizing or dissociation from B's behaviour* . . . "B utterly impossible" . . . "incorrigible" . . . (more than "B's behaviour can be looked at from many angles").
1. B. c. *Unwillingness to describe B's feelings* . . . "can't say what B feels" . . . "doesn't interest me very much what B feels" . . . (more than mere comments in passing).
2. A. a. *Complete avoidance of any reference to controlling, shaping or excretion* . . . "B is looking for worms to eat" . . . "B is only bored and waits for his parents to return" . . . (more than "digging a deep hole", "play with soil and sand").
2. B. a. *Emphasis on B's desire to please his parents* . . . "he's only thinking about how proud they will be" . . . "wants to demonstrate how well-trained he is" . . . (more than "shows he can be of some help" . . . "thinks he is really constructive").
2. B. b. *Emphasis on B's orderliness and cleanliness* . . . "likes hiding things so nobody can find them" . . . "gets his greatest pleasure in cleaning up" . . . "covering up" . . . "collecting things" . . . (more than "likes sometimes to clean up", "likes kicking sand with his forelegs").
2. B. c. *Specific denial that B is doing anything bad or wrong* . . . "not because he wants to irritate M and P" . . . "doesn't feel angry" . . . "spiteful" . . . (more than "B hopes it doesn't matter").
2. B. d. *Reference to bowel dysfunctioning.*
2. C. a. *Overemphasis of B's satisfaction* . . . "in complete ecstasy" . . . "exceedingly happy" . . . (more than "happy", "pleased with his own achievement").
3. A. a. *Emphasis on B being destructive and spiteful* . . . "wants to set his parents against each other" . . . "hopes P will get the blame" . . . (more than "up to mischief again").
3. A. b. *Emphasis on B's expectation of punishment or rejection* . . . "afraid of being discovered" . . . "afraid his parents will find out" . . . (more than "thinks his parents will feel a little embarrassed", "modest").

*Criteria for the Scoring of Responses to Picture No. 6:
The Early Genital Phase-Modality (males).*

A man is said to be "conflict-charged" in relation to early genital impulses if his spontaneous story about the Blacky picture contains one or more of the following characteristics:

1. B. a. *Emphasis on evasive details* . . . "chopping block" . . . "bandage in front of his eyes" . . . (more than mere comments on physical details in passing).
1. B. b. *Emphasis on the fact that tailcutting is natural, unwillingness to describe B's feelings* . . . "don't know what B feels" . . . "cannot believe B feels anything" . . . "possibly necessary and natural" . . . (more than mere comments in passing).
2. A. a. *Complete avoidance of reference to Blacky or axe* . . . "T has been bandaged and

- can't see . . . "Some cruel fellows must have hurt her by cutting her long ears" . . . (more than "T feels confused and hopes someone near to her will come to help").
2. B. a. *Emphasis on B's incomprehension of the situation* . . . "doesn't understand anything" . . . "doesn't know what is going on" . . . (more than "B doesn't know how to help", "doesn't know the background").
2. B. b. *Emphasis on denial of fear* . . . "not at all frightened" . . . "not at all afraid of what will happen" . . . (more than "T doesn't understand that danger threatens him").
2. B. c. *Emphasis on the situation as one of punishment or execution* . . . "B fears he will be punished in the same way if he doesn't behave himself" . . . "B thinks the punishment a little too severe" . . . (more than "T has put herself in a dangerous situation").
3. A. a. *Reference to B's tail* . . . "wonders whether his tail is to be cut off too" . . . "B's tail sticks straight up" . . . (more than "B wouldn't like being in T's position").
3. A. b. *Reference to B as an aggressor* . . . "B hopes the axe will go in a bit deeper" . . . "hopes T will wag his tail to the right" . . . "imagines himself cutting off T's tail" . . . (more than "B feels he has some responsibility for provoking this critical situation").
3. A. c. *Emphasis on B's anxiety and powerlessness* . . . "scared stiff" . . . "the axe cannot be avoided" . . . "completely paralyzed" . . . "has to get away as quickly as possible" . . . (more than "anxious", "nervous", "excited", "involved").

*Criteria for the Scoring of Responses to Picture No. 7:
The Early Genital Phase-Modality (females).*

A woman is said to be "conflict-charged" in relation to early genital impulses if her spontaneous story about the Blacky pictures contains one or more of the following characteristics:

1. B. a. *Emphasis on evasive details* . . . "chopping block" . . . "needle and sewing-thread" . . . (more than mere comments on physical details in passing).
1. B. b. *Emphasis on the fact that tail-sewing is unnatural – unwillingness to describe B's feelings* . . . "unnatural and impossible" . . . "don't know what B feels" . . . "Cannot believe B feels anything" . . . (more than mere comments in passing).
2. A. a. *Complete avoidance of reference to Blacky* . . . "T has been sewn and bandaged because some cruel fellow must have wanted to cut his long tail off" . . . (more than "T feels pleased that some near him has been so helpful).
2. B. a. *Emphasis on B's non-involvement in the situation* . . . "doesn't know how T feels" . . . "B doesn't understand what has happened and is glad she doesn't know" . . . (more than "B doesn't know the background").
2. B. b. *Emphasis on B's lack of tail envy* . . . "B is very pleased to be without a tail" . . . "thinks T should amputate her tail too" . . . "not at all envious" . . . (more than "B thinks she looks better as she is").
2. B. c. *Emphasis on the situation as one of revelation or invention* . . . "in ecstasy of own accomplishment" . . . "extremely happy" . . . "has never experienced anything like this" . . . (more than "very happy", "pleased", "satisfied by the result").
3. A. a. *Emphasis on B being envious of T* . . . "B admires T's long tail" . . . "hopes someone will come and sew her tail on too" . . . (more than "B thinks dogs ought to decide themselves if they want tails or not").

- 3.A.b. *Reference to B as an aggressor* . . . “B has wanted to cut off T’s tail for a long time and now she has almost succeeded” . . . “B hopes T’s tail will never grow again” . . . (more than “B feels she has some responsibility for provoking this critical situation”).
- 3.A.c. *Reference to B’s anxiety about injury* . . . “B afraid of being hurt herself” . . . “B fears strongly needles and knives” . . . (more than “doesn’t like to be operated on”).