ATTITUDES TOWARD CHILD REARING
AS RELATED TO SOME PSYCHODYNAMIC
FACTORS IN MOTHERS

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ABSTRACT

ATTITUDES TOWARD CHILD REARING AS RELATED TO
SOME PSYCHODYNAMIC FACTORS IN MOTHERS

by Joseph L. White, Jr.

The major purpose of the investigation was to examine the relation-ship between extreme patterns of mothering and maternal personality dynamics as formulated by psychoanalytic theory. Seventy-two (72) mothers, primarily wives of students at Michigan State University, participated in the study. The instruments administered to the subjects included the Blacky Cartoons along with the Defense Preference Inventory, and a version of the Parental Attitude Survey Instrument (PARI) com-posed of 65 regular PARI items and 65 reversed items. The latter were included primarily as a control for the acquiescence response set.

The Blacky protocols were rated on 13 Standard Dimensions, and four Conflict Patterns. In addition, four over-all summary scores, designed as diffuse indices of emotional disturbance were coded from the Blacky protocols. Defense Preferences were classified into the pathogenic or general and specific categories.

The scores on the PARI hostility-rejection and authoritarian control factors were converted into a bi-variate stanine distribution. The 19 Ss with scores in the upper or lower stanines on both major PARI factors were designated as extreme in their attitudes toward child rearing, conversely, the 24 Ss with scores in the middle categories of the stanine distribution for both factors were designated as moderate or non-extreme in their attitudes toward child rearing.

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The significance tests, by means of the chi square method, for the specific predictions derived from the major hypotheses were accomplished by comparisons between the extreme and non-extreme mothers on the following Blacky variables: (1) The over-all summary scores; (2) Pregenital Dimensions; (3) Dimensions and conflict patterns concerned with the identification process; (4) Defense Preferences.

The findings offered partial support for the general prediction that mothers designated as extreme in their child rearing attitudes would show stronger evidence of emotional disturbance than mothers not classified as extreme. The findings for the specific predictions are summarized below:

I. Mothers classified as extreme did not display evidence of more intense pregenital strivings than mothers not classified as extreme in their child rearing attitudes.

II. There were no significant differences between extreme and non-extreme mothers on the psychosexual identification variables of the Blacky.

III. No significance was achieved for the comparison between extreme and non-extreme mothers on rigidity of ego defense preferences as measured by the consistency of preferences on the DPI, although the extreme mothers showed some trend toward a preference for statements in the projection category.

Further examination of the PARI results for the entire sample did not support previous theoretical speculation regarding the relationship between the authoritarian control factor and masculine sexual striving, nor was the hostility rejection factor related to the global indices of emotional disturbance coded from the Blacky. Several sets of significant correlations appeared between the major PARI factors and variables such as age, education, social desirability, and response sets.

In the discussion, the writer pointed out certain limitations in the use of multiple choice questionnaires, such as the PARI, to assess attitudes toward child rearing; namely, that attitudes as measured in this fashion may not provide a representative picture of the mother's typical behavior in the child rearing situation. Recommendations for future research concerned the development and refinement of more subtle instruments to assess maternal attitudes and a suggestion was offered regarding the type of research design which might best be employed in future studies of the psychodynamics of maternal attitudes.

Approved _____
                Major Professor

Date _____

ATTITUDES TOWARD CHILD REARING AS RELATED TO

SOME PSYCHODYNAMIC FACTORS IN MOTHERS

By

Joseph L. White, Jr.

A THESIS

Submitted to
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in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of

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Department of Psychology

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I. REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

A. Introduction

Most theoreticians in the area of personality development assign a crucial role to the child's experiences with the mother or the mother surrogate. While there are vast conceptual differences among theorists in this area, it is generally agreed that the quality of the maternal climate is an important determinant of the child's overall psychological development.

Much of the current literature in the area of child development can be characterized as an attempt to make valid predictions about the effects which differential patterns of mothering will have on children. In contrast, maternal dynamics as a field of investigation has not held the popular attention of researchers and theoreticians. Are syndromes of maternal attitudes and behavior isolated areas of the mother's psychological existence, or are these structures meaningfully related to broader personality dimensions in the mother? Why is it that one mother reacts with warm accepting attitudes toward her children, while another is hostile and punitive and still another fosters dependency and passivity?

a. Components of a Theory of Maternal Attitudes

Before a sophisticated answer can be provided to these kinds of questions we need a conceptual framework which provides: (1) the outlines of testable hypotheses which are deductively related to a comprehensive body of psychological theory; (2) a system for ordering the variables of the maternal attitude universe into meaningful clusters.

b. The Role of Psychoanalytic Theory

Psychoanalysis represents a theoretical system which can be extended to meet the first requirement as outlined above. Although

orthodox psychoanalytic theory is not directly concerned with the psychological dynamics underlying distinctive patterns of mothering, the most general hypothesis of this system, namely, that conscious attitudes and behavior are often the product of unconscious needs, wishes and strivings, is sufficiently broad to include the universe of maternal attitudes and behavior.

The assumption that unconscious needs influence maternal behavior has long served as a working hypothesis for clinicians in family treatment centers and child guidance agencies. In keeping with this premise, their approach to maternal attitude change is built upon psychotherapeutic as opposed to direct educational procedures.

Brim (1959), in his discussion of parent behavior, considers unconscious factors as one of the causal influences of child directed attitudes. Accordingly, he recommends that parent education programs should be prepared to accommodate the resistance to change that results from conflicts, needs and strivings of which the parent is not fully cognizant.

c. Review of Psychoanalytic Contributions

Levy (1943) recognized the explanatory power which psychoanalysis could contribute toward an understanding of the genotypical factors associated with certain forms of maternal over-reaction. He reviewed 20 cases of maternal overprotection, selected from the records of a child guidance clinic. Maternal overprotection, as defined by Levy, is characterized by prevention of independent behavior, infantilization and excessive contact with the child. Overprotective mothers were further separated according to the type of control techniques which they employed. Levy classified as overindulgent, mothers who displayed an exaggerated surrender to the child's needs and wishes. A second cluster of control techniques, dominance, was evidenced by exaggerated possessiveness in mother-child interaction.

Although Levy does not rule out psychological factors such as affect hunger, guilt and marital conflicts, his major premise is that maternal behavior is primarily directed by biological drives. Adverse life experiences, family deaths and prolonged illnesses represent the kinds of circumstances which can, by altering hormonal balance in the mother, heighten maternal drives. Manifest maternal over-reactions such as maternal overprotection and overindulgence are essentially expressions of heightened maternal drives. These forms of maternal over-reaction are not considered as prima facie evidence of neuroticism. However, Levy feels that a definitive answer to the question of maternal neuroticism, as a determinant of maternal over-reaction, could be provided by the evidence from psychoanalytic therapy with overprotective and overindulgent mothers.

Following Levy's initial impetus, Symonds (1949) made a more direct attempt to link psychoanalytic formulations to syndromes of maternal attitudes. In his discussion of the psychological dynamics underlying extreme phenotypical patterns of maternal attitudes, Symonds draws heavily on the psychoanalytic theory of neurosis. Briefly stated, psychoanalytic theory considers the nuclear neurotic conflict as a failure to resolve the oedipal conflict. Mature object relations and psychosexual identification are dependent upon the relinguishment of the hostile and erotic strivings which the child feels toward the parents, and upon the subsequent introjection of the sex appropriate parental image (Fenichel, 1945).

Symonds outlined four extreme or pathogenic maternal phenotypes: (1) maternal rejection; (2) maternal overindulgence; (3) maternal over-protection; (4) maternal overauthority.

Maternal rejection is characterized by neglect, denial of affection and continuous humiliation, and criticism of the child. The mother's hostility toward the child is the most pervasive feature in this syndrome.

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The hostile affects which the mother directs toward the child often represent a displacement of feelings which had as their original objects, figures in the mother's early environment. Maternal rejection may be associated with excessive narcissim and it is generally indicative of the mother's inability to accept the demands of her adult psychosexual role. In addition to displacement, the defense structure of the mother contains an admixture of projection and rationalization. The mother projects the feelings of unworthiness and guilt which she previously introjected from her own parents. By handling unacceptable affects in this manner, the mother is provided with a ready rationalization for the hostile, rejecting manner in which she interacts with her child.

Symonds describes the overindulgent mother as a person whose orientation toward the child is characterized by excessive contact, superficial displays of affection, and a constant tendency to give in to the child's demands. The psychological dynamics associated with maternal overprotection are similar to those postulated for maternal rejection. However, there is one salient difference. The overindulgent mother is able to erect an effective reaction formation against the conscious expression of hostility. Maternal indulgence can also represent a displacement of erotic feelings which had as their original object the parent of the opposite sex.

Maternal overprotection is evidenced by excessive anxiety and concern about the child's safety. The child's every action is controlled. The excessive anxiety which the mother experiences may be a reaction against unconscious hostility or it may be connected with feelings of inferiority and inadequacy which have generalized to the child. In some cases of overprotection, the child is identified with some earlier lost love object toward which the mother felt some responsibility. The child takes the place of the lost love object or becomes symbolically identified with the former object and is responded to with manifest over concern by the mother.

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Maternal overauthority is characterized by strictness, rigidity, and domination. The overauthoritarian mother generally erects strong taboos against any impulse expression in the child. The assertive needs which appear in this syndrome are suggestive of a strong masculine component in the mother's character structure, while the rigid impulse taboos are felt to indicate the presence of a rigid, puritanical super ego.

The dynamics of normal mothering are identified as the successful resolution of pregenital sexual conflicts and the resultant sex appropriate identification. The distinctive component of this syndrome is the emotional warmth and acceptance which characterizes mother-child interaction. Disciplinary problems are handled in a constructive democratic fashion. The mother can love freely without guilt, yet is not plagued with obsessive self doubts when faced with situations which call for realistic limit setting.

d. Discussion

At least three major hypotheses regarding maternal attitudes and behavior seem readily apparent from the presentations of Symonds (1949) and Levy (1943):

1. That child directed maternal attitudes can be classified into meaningful syndromes.

2. That syndromes of maternal attitudes are related to more general personality variables in the mother.

3. That extreme maternal syndromes are associated with neuroticism as defined by psychoanalytic theory.

The evidence which is offered in support of these hypotheses is mainly in the form of descriptions from case histories and, as such is illustrative rather than confirmatory. Despite the obvious lack of systematic investigation, the heuristic value of the work of Levy and Symonds cannot be denied. If extreme patterns of mothering can be associated with neuroticism as defined by psychoanalytic theory, the constructs of this system can be legitimately used in building a theory of maternal attitudes and behavior.

B. Personality Correlates of Maternal Attitudes: Research Review

Several investigators have more systematically explored the relationship between personality variables and child directed attitudes in mothers. In many cases the statements under test were explicitly or implicitly similar to the hypotheses proposed by Levy and Symonds.

Patterson (1943) found a relationship between dominance and neuroticism scores on the Bernreuter Personality Inventory and certain scales of the Fels Institute parent-child rating schedules. The research population consisted of mothers who were participating in the Fels longitudinal investigations of child development. High neuroticism was associated with shielding, thwarting, overauthority and disapproving criticism in mother-child relationships. Dominance, which Patterson interprets as self confidence and self sufficiency were positively correlated with the use of rational disciplinary policies and approving rather than disapproving criticism.

Behrens (1954) explored child rearing behavior as a function of maternal character structure as it is integrated into the maternal role. The research sample consisted of 25 Jewish mothers selected from the clientele of a psychoanalytically oriented mental hygiene clinic and nursery school. Maternal role integration was assessed by means of a schedule designed by the author on the basis of social role theory and psychoanalytic formulations of personality. Personality variables included self mastery, range of emotional interaction, quality of affect, self image and rigidity flexibility. The findings revealed a significant correlation between mothers' character structure and the handling of the maternal role as evidenced by maternal conduct in areas related to social discipline, handling of primary drives and affective response to the child. Behrens concluded that maternal character structure is a causative agent underlying the wide variations in child rearing practices.

Zemlick and Watson (1953) were concerned with "psychic acceptance-rejection" in areas related to sexuality, femininity, motherhood and marriage as a determinant of mothers' adjustment in the post partum period. Fifteen white, married "primparious" patients participated in the investigation. Ratings on acceptance-rejection were made from TAT stories, sentence completion tests and diagnostic interviews. Post partum adjustment was evaluated by means of observations of mother-baby interaction during feeding periods; criteria included length of sucking time, cooperativeness of mother and baby during feeding and mothers' verbal evaluation of the baby. "Psychic rejection" was inversely correlated with postnatal adjustment problems. That is, mothers high on "psychic rejection" displayed fewer postnatal adjustment problems. Since within the context of this investigation extremes in the positive direction of postnatal adjustment also tended to be oversolicitous in their handling of the neonate, Zemlick and Watson concluded that basic rejecting attitudes in mothers are often expressed in the form of maternal overprotection.

Levinson and Huffman (1955) examined the relationship between family ideology, measured along an authoritarian-democratic continuum and the California F scale. The Traditional Family Ideology Scale (TFI) was designed by the authors to tap the individual's conceptions regarding familial relationships, degree of discipline in child rearing and the extent to which roles within the family setting are sharply dichotomized. This forty item scale along with the California F scale was administered to 109 adult members of evening psychology classes. The findings supported the authors' predictions. The TFI scale correlated .73 with authoritarianism as measured by the California F. The results were interpreted as evidence for the hypothesis that family ideologies exist within a broader psychological context.

Kates and Diab (1955) predicted that scores on the California F would be positively related to the dominance, possessiveness and "ignoring" variables on the USC Parental Attitude Survey. A second prediction was the high F subjects would describe parent-child relationships with less emphasis on love and understanding. The research sample consisted of 172 university students (61 males and 111 females) enrolled in psychology courses. The results suggest that the connection between authoritarianism and child rearing attitudes differs markedly for males and females. High F scores in female subjects were positively related to dominance and possessiveness, while for males high F scores were only related to the ignoring scale. A positive correlation was also found for females between scores on the California Ethnocentricism (E) scale and dominance and possessiveness. These gross sex differences were taken as indicative of a stronger link between beliefs and child rearing patterns in females.

Hart (1957) investigated the effects of maternal authoritarianism on the choice of control techniques. One hundred and twenty-six mothers participated in the study. During a structured interview 38 behavioral situations which commonly elicit a limit setting type of response from mothers were presented. Areas covered in the behavior situations were toilet training, sex, aggression, dependency and independence. Mothers' responses were classified as love oriented, non-love oriented and ambiguous. High authoritarian mothers showed more non-love oriented techniques than low F mothers. Although the findings support the hypothesis under test, Hart feels that the direction of the causal link is not clearly indicated; the preference for non-love oriented techniques may be a cause as well as an effect of authoritarianism.

Sigel and Hoffman (1956) and Sigel, et al. (1957), operating under the general assumption that behavior is an expression of personality as it interacts with the demands of the environment, hypothesized that

parental influence techniques could be predicted from parental personality pictures. Influence techniques are defined as the behavioral mechanisms which the parent uses to modify the child's strivings in the course of socialization. The subjects participating in the research were 22 mothers and 22 fathers of nursery school children living in an urban industrial community. Information pertinent to influence techniques was collected by means of questionnaires, sentence completion tests and interviews. A TAT type test, depicting various types of adult-child interaction was used to evaluate parent personality structure. In the preliminary findings reported in two separate articles, the authors claim a high degree of predictive success. They attribute their success to a thorough conceptualization in advance of behavior situation about which predictions would be made and, secondly, basing their predictions on a coherent personality picture of the parent.

Zuckerman and Oltean (1959) investigated the personality correlates of maternal attitude factors. The research population consisted of three groups of subjects: (1) 60 female psychiatric patients most of whom were mothers; (2) 24 mothers of college students; (3) 88 non-married student nurses. In addition to the Parental Attitude Research Instrument (PARI), the Edwards Personal Preference Schedule (EPPS), the MMPI, the California F scale, and a self acceptance scale devised by the senior author was administered. The PARI authoritarian control factor correlated positively with the F scale in patients and student nurses, negatively with EPPS affiliation need in mothers and positively with the MMPI MF scale in the patient group. The hostility-rejection factor of the PARI was positively associated with achievement and affiliation (EPPS) in mothers. In the patient group six of the MMPI clinical scales were positively correlated with the PARI hostility-rejection factor. The authors interpret their findings as evidence for the construct validity of the PARI.

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Discussion

The evidence provided in the research studies reviewed in the previous section seems to clearly indicate that maternal attitudes are not isolated, independent psychological structures. A conclusive statement regarding the hypothesized connection between maternal over-reactions and neuroticism cannot be made from the findings of these investigations. It seems that maternal dominance often appears in conjunction with high authoritarianism. This apparent positive relationship between authoritarianism and maternal dominance may be indicative of some more basic personality trend in the mother such as strong masculine psychosexual identity. The findings of Zuckerman and Oltean (1959) offer some support for this assumption, however, its generality is limited, since the correlation between masculinity and maternal dominance appeared in only one of the three groups which participated in their study.

Extremes in the direction of hostile-rejecting attitudes appear to be indicative of a pervasive personality disturbance in the mother. The evidence available does not clearly suggest the direction of this disturbance. It may be in the direction of neuroticism as defined by psychoanalytic theory or it may be along the lines of a more psychotic-like disorder. The findings of Zuckerman and Oltean (1959) with respect to psychoticism as a correlate of hostile-rejecting maternal attitudes must be considered in terms of the group in which this relationship emerged. Since the group was composed of female psychiatric patients, it would be fallacious to conclude that psychotic indices consistently correlate with hostile-rejecting attitudes in mothers.

The findings of at least one report suggests that manifest over-protection may occur in the presence of underlying rejecting attitudes.

C. Non-Personality Correlates of Maternal Attitudes

It is evident that personality factors do not account for all the manifest differences in child directed attitudes. Sociological variables such as age, education, occupation, religious preference, marital status and general socio-economic status have consistently appeared as correlates of maternal attitudes (Hoffman and Lippitt, 1960). Sears et al. (1957) found that mothers from lower socio-economic strata in contrast to middle class mothers, tended to be less permissive and more punitive in their attitudes toward child rearing. The former also showed a greater tendency to rely on physical punishment as opposed to other types of limit setting or influence techniques. Zuckerman et al. (1958) report a marked negative correlation between the PARI authoritarian control factor and educational level of the mother. Since education is a major index of social class level, one obvious inference from the findings is that authoritarian and suppressive child rearing attitudes are more characteristic of lower social class mothers.

Miller and Swanson (1958) present a rather interesting set of formulations to account for the complex interaction between child rearing philosophies and sociological phenomena. Operating under the general assumption that child rearing goals and attitudes are determined by parental occupational experiences, Miller and Swanson examined the child rearing practices of parents employed in bureaucratic vs. entrepreneurial occupational or, integration settings. Bureaucratic settings are characterized by large size, complex division of labor, large capital investment and careful long term planning as opposed to "risk taking." Entrepreneurial settings have the features of small size, simple division of labor, and small capital investment. Advancement and growth of the organization is highly dependent on competitiveness and "risk taking." Entropreneurial parents emphasize training for self control, self denial and active but responsible independence. In contrast bureaucratic mothers

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encourage some spontaneous impulse expression, foster passivity and are generally more permissive in the attitudes toward child rearing.

These marked differences in child rearing orientations of the two occupational settings seemed to hold up even when other parental factors such as education, social class level, intergenerational mobility, urban vs. rural birth, consistency of family economic status and ethnic background were considered. Of the above group of variables only two, religious preference and social class level were consistently related to child rearing attitudes; however, the best single predictive index which emerged in this study was occupational setting.

The bureaucratic occupational setting, according to Miller and Swanson, is becoming increasingly more typical in the American family. This trend toward bureaucracy is viewed as one consequence of the complex economic changes which have taken place during the past century. The fact that Miller and Swanson show a distinct preference for the child rearing behaviors of the bureaucratic integration setting is not germane to the focal purpose of their investigation, which was stated as an attempt to outline the causative factors associated with emerging patterns of child rearing. Their major conclusions are that child rearing aims, methods and goals are determined by the occupational demands characteristic of the society, and secondly, that the rise of the bureaucratic family integration setting in American society is a function of increased bureaucratization of work experiences.

The purpose of this brief discussion of the sociological correlates of child rearing attitudes was mainly to provide some indication of the types of variables which should be considered in investigations exploring maternal attitudes as related to personality dynamics.

D. Schema for Classifying Maternal Attitudes

In the introduction the writer stated that it was necessary to develop a system for ordering the variables of the maternal attitude universe.

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One rather promising schema was recently proposed by Schaefer (1959). Schaefer presents the premise that maternal attitudes and behavior can be ordered along the two major bi-polar dimensions illustrated in Fig. 1 (page 14); the axes are labeled autonomy vs. control and love vs. hostility. Freedom and possessiveness are at the opposing poles of the autonomy dimension, while acceptance and hostility are the polar opposite on the hostility vs. love dimension. Maternal authoritarianism, strictness and antagonistic demanding occupy the quadrant that indicates a hostile-controlling type of interaction with the child. The constructs in this quadrant correspond to Symond's (1949) description of maternal rejection. In the quadrant indicative of both love and inability to treat the child as a differentiated object, the variables of excessive love, over-indulgence and overprotection are placed. The variables in this quadrant resemble Symond's definition of maternal overindulgence.

Three separate factor analytic studies of maternal behavior, conducted by Schaefer (1959) using Guttman's circumplex model, provide supporting evidence for this two-dimensional schema. Additional support comes from Baldwin's et al. (1945) published data on the Fels Parent Behavior rating scales and also from Sears' et al. (1957) comprehensive study of child rearing patterns. Schaefer organized the variables included in Baldwin's three major clusters (democratic attitudes, acceptance, and indulgence) into a circumplex order. Most of the variance in the Fels Scales could be accounted for by the democratic and acceptance factors. In the Sears et al. (1957) study, seven factors emerged from the interview schedule for mothers. Schaefer notes the low communality between variables and also that maternal acceptance, the most pervasive factor found in this study, is similar to his love vs. hostility dimension.

Zuckerman and Oltean (1959) suggest the use of this schema, with certain modifications, as a basis for classifying research subjects in studies of maternal attitudes. The hostility vs. love and the autonomy vs.

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Figure 1

ADAPTED FROM SCHAEFER'S (1959) HYPOTHETICAL CIRCUMPLEX
MODEL FOR MATERNAL BEHAVIOR

AUTONOMY

DETACHED   FREEDOM

INDIFFERENT   DEMOCRATIC

NEGLECTING   COOPERATIVE

REJECTING   ACCEPTING

HOSTILITY_____LOVE

DEMANDING   OVERINDULGENT

ANTAGONISTIC   PROTECTIVE

                                              INDULGENT

AUTHORITARIAN   OVERPROTECTIVE
DICTATORIAL
                                              POSSESSIVE
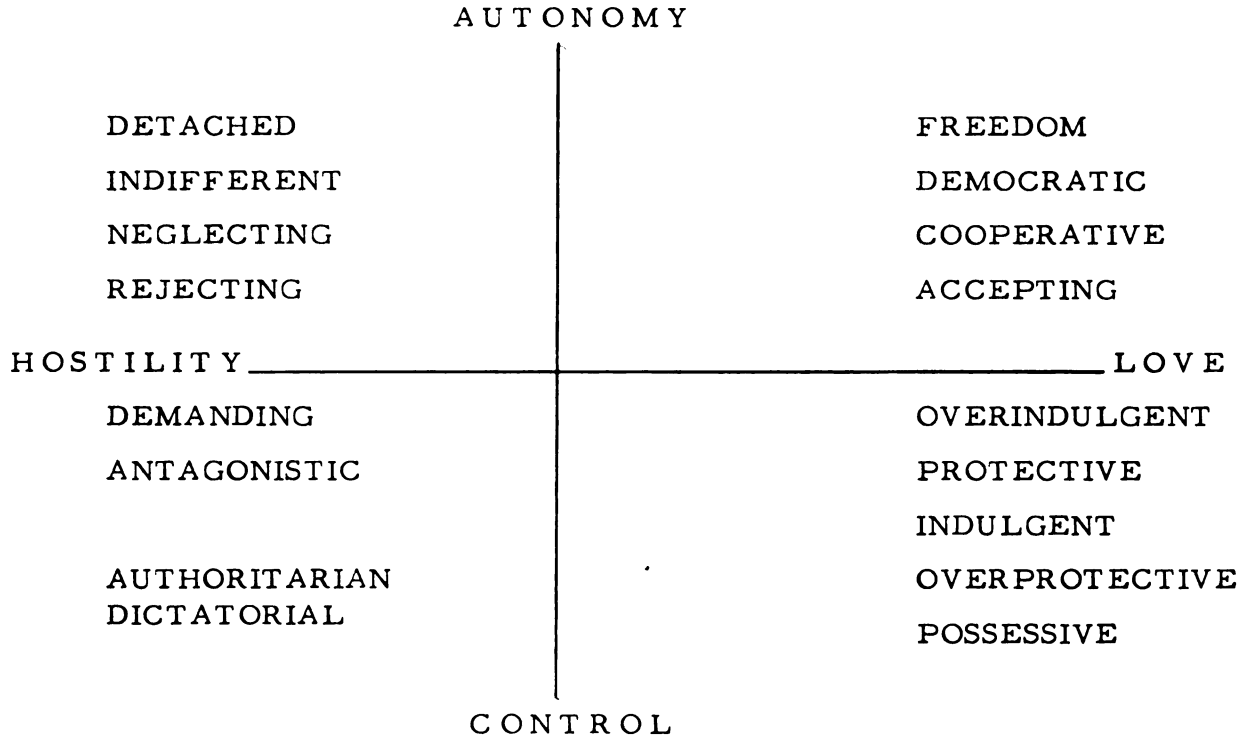
CONTROL

control dimensions are condensed into the single variables of hostility
and control respectively. This simplified model, like the original,
yields four combinations of extremes which Zuckerman and Oltean label
as follows: (a) punitive mothering (high control, high hostility);
(b) maternal rejection (low control, high hostility); (c) maternal over-
protection (high control, low hostility); (d) maternal overindulgence
(low control, low hostility).

It is evident that these extremes, with the possible exception of
the punitive category, resemble Symond's categories of maternal over-
reaction. This type of conceptual linkage is advantageous, since it

permits the use of this two-dimensional schema as a basis for classifying subjects in investigations designed to test hypotheses derived from Symond's discussion of the psychodynamics associated with extreme patterns of mothering.

E. Summary

In this chapter the thesis that child directed attitudes could be linked to maternal personality dynamics as formulated by psychoanalytical theory was presented. From a review of the major theoretical and research contributions, the writer concluded that further investigation of the psychodynamic correlates of maternal attitudes is warranted. Other sets of maternal attitudes correlates such as age, education, occupational setting, and social class variables were discussed and it was suggested that future researchers in the area of maternal dynamics make an explicit attempt to control for the variance associated with these factors.

A schema for ordering maternal attitudes along the major dimensions of hostility vs. love and autonomy vs. control was discussed along with certain revisions which would permit the efficient use of this model in the classification of research subjects.

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II. HYPOTHESIS

A. Purpose

The aim of the present investigation is to examine the relationship between personality dynamics as formulated by psychoanalytic theory and child-directed attitudes in mothers. On the basis of the evidence presented by Schaefer (1959), the writer assumes that maternal attitudes can be ordered along the major dimensions of hostility and control (authoritarian) and further that the extremes in the four quadrants of this two-dimensional space resemble the syndromes which have been described as: (1) maternal overprotection; (2) maternal overindulgence; (3) maternal rejection; (4) punitive mothering.

It is evident from previous studies that no set of factors, such as personality dynamics, can completely account for the variance associated with maternal attitudes. However, the evidence and theoretical considerations reviewed in the last chapter offer some support for the assumption that the status of the mother's unconscious conflicts, impulses, psychosexual identification and ego defenses have some influence on her attitudes toward child rearing.

While the focus of the present study will be on personality dynamics as a major correlate of child directed attitudes, some attempt will be made to assess the effects of other correlates of maternal attitudes, such as age, social class variables, and response bias.

The hypotheses which will be submitted to test were taken from Symond's (1949) discussion of the dynamics of pathogenic and normal patterns of mothering. According to Symonds, extreme or pathogenic maternal syndromes, as evidenced by maternal rejection, maternal

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overprotection, maternal overindulgence, and maternal overauthority, are related to neuroticism as defined by psychoanalytic theory. Within the context of this particular framework the nuclear neurotic conflict is viewed as a failure to resolve the hostile, and erotic impulses which the child experiences in his interaction with the parents. Psychosexual maturity is dependent upon the successful resolution of the vicissitudes of childhood sexuality. Hence, a logical deduction from the assumption regarding maternal neuroticism is that mothers manifesting extreme phenotypical reactions in their child directed attitudes as measured by a representative parental attitude questionnaire should also exhibit other signs of neuroticism such as: (1) inappropriate sexual identification; (2) a strong residual of pregenital sexual strivings; (3) rigid ego defenses.

B. Statement of the Hypotheses

The following hypotheses will be submitted to test:

I. Mothers classified as extreme in their child directed attitudes will exhibit more intense pregenital drives than mothers not classified as extreme.

II. Mothers classified as extreme will show a greater degree of disturbance in the area of psychosexual identification than mothers not classified as extreme.

III. Mothers classified as extreme in their child rearing attitudes will show a more rigid pattern of ego defenses than mothers not classified as extreme.

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III. METHOD

A. Instruments

    1. The Parental Attitude Research Instrument. (PARI)

The PARI, as modified by Zuckerman (1959) to control for
response bias, was selected to assess attitudes toward child rearing.
The choice of the PARI was based on two major considerations:
(1) the PARI items and scales presented below were developed from
an extensive analysis of the concepts and questionnaires employed in
several studies of parental attitudes; (2) the major factors of the PARI
(authoritarian control and hostility-rejection) correspond to the di-
mensions of Schaefer's (1959) system for classifying maternal attitudes
reviewed in Chapter I. In its original version, published by Schaefer
and Bell (1958), the PARI (Form IV) consists of 115 Lickert type
items, stated in the form of truisms, cliches and rationalizations.
The items are broken down into the following 23 five item scales.

    1. Encouraging Verbalization
    2. Fostering Dependency
    3. Seclusion of the Mother
    4. Breaking the Will
    5. Martyrdom
    6. Fear of Harming the Baby
    7. Marital Conflict
    8. Strictness
    9. Irritability
    10. Excluding Outside Influences
    11. Deification
    12. Suppression of Aggression

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13. Rejection of the Homemaking Role

14. Equalitarianism

15. Approval of Activity

16. Avoidance of Communication

17. Inconsiderateness of the Husband

18. Suppression of Sex

19. Ascendence of the Mother

20. Intrusiveness

21. Comradeship and Sharing

22. Acceleration of Development

23. Dependency of the Mother

In the preliminary stages of the development of the PARI, the authors selected discriminating items from the Inventories of Shoben (1949) and Mark (1953). Additional scales and items, as noted earlier were, constructed from an extensive analysis of the concepts which had been used in previous studies of parental attitudes and on the basis of a critical review of the literature concerning parent-child inter-action. Promising items were sorted into homogeneous groups by clinical psychologists.

In the normative sample, composed of wives of military personnel tested 1-4 days following parturition, analysis of the factorial structure of the PARI revealed three factors. Factor A, authoritarian control, seems to measure suppressive, authoritarian, restrictive and punitive attitudes toward child rearing. This factor has significant loadings on 16 of the 23 PARI scales. Factor B, hostility-rejection, loads heavily on the irritability, rejection of the homemaking role and marital conflict scales. High scores on this factor seem to reflect hostility toward the family, rejection of the homemaking role. Factor C, democratic attitudes, consists of three scales, encouraging verbalization, equalitarianism and comradeship and sharing. Factor C is apparently not

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independent and is considered to be less significant then Factors A and B. It seems to reflect knowledge of expert opinion and the tendency to respond to positive sounding generalizations. Subsequent research with the PARI (Zuckerman and Oltean, 1959) has shown some justification for the assumption that this factor has little potential for validity.

In a second factor analytic investigation of the PARI (Zuckerman, et al., 1958) using a larger and more homogeneous group of subjects, three factors similar to those discussed above emerged.

a. Reliability

Internal consistency coefficients and test retest coefficients as reported by Schafer and Bell (1958) are generally satisfactory. The reported median scale coefficients of stability for a sample of 100 student nurses is .67 with a median scale consistency coefficient of .64.

b. Validity

The original pool of items for the PARI consisted of items from the Mark and Shoben inventories which had previously shown some discriminatory power. Since only the items which discriminated between the experimental and control groups of Mark (1953) and Shoken (1949) at the .05 level were retained, some measure of concurrent validity is assumed by the PARI authors. Mark (1953) compared mothers of schizophrenics with mothers of non-schizophrenics; Shoben (1949) contrasted mothers of problem children with mothers of non-problem children.

The findings of Zuckerman and Oltean (1959) reported earlier, can be interpreted as evidence for the construct validity of the PARI authoritarian control and hostility rejection factors. These factors correlated with authoritarianism, personality needs, self-acceptance and personality scales reflecting psychopathology.

One of the criticisms frequently levied at attitude questionnaires is that no attempt is made to link the major factors to behavioral data.

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The items or sub-scales are usually retained because they differentiate criterion groups or because they correlate with other psychological test data. Since no index of overt maternal behavior was used as a criterion in the selection of PARI scales, the interpretive power of the instrument is obviously restricted. Subsequent investigation, however, has shown that the PARI is sensitive to child directed attitudes and attitude change in persons carrying "quasi" parental roles.

Freedheim and Hackett (1959) administered the PARI to four groups of subjects: (a) 16 professional staff members of a children's cerebral palsy hospital; (b) 16 nurses aids at the same hospital; (c) 48 college students enrolled in a developmental psychology course which included practicum type experience with nursery school children; (d) 48 history students who served as controls. Several PARI scales satisfactorily discriminated between nurses aids and professional staff members. This result was expected since the two groups differed in terms of cultural background, training and overt behavior with children. PARI scores for the students in Group C correlated with rating of their behavior in the practicum setting. Changes in re-test scores tended to be in agreement with external evaluations of the students' growth in the understandinf of child behavior. No significant differences were noted in retest scores for Group D.

c. Response Sets

Zuckerman and Norton (1958) investigated the effects of three kinds of response sets in the PARI; (1) Acquiescence Set, or the tendency to use the agree category; (2) the Oppositions Set, or the tendency to use the disagree category; (3) The Extremes Set or the tendency to use the strongly agree or strongly disagree categories when offered a choice between the four alternatives used for items of the Lickert type. Their findings indicate that a substantial portion of the variance in the PARI can be accounted for by the acquiescence and extreme response sets.

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Zuckerman recommends the use of reversed items to handle the prob-
lem of response sets in the PARI. A sample of the reversed items
taken from the Strictness scale of the authoritarian control factor is
presented in Table I. Zuckerman administered the 115 PARI items and
115 reversed items to a sample of 88 unmarried student nurses. The
correlation between the usual and reversed PARI items (corrected
for attenuation) of -.62 is taken as an indication of the adequacy of
reversal.

Table 1. Usual and Reversed Items From the Strictness Sub Scale of
The PARI Authoritarian Control Factor

Item Number[*]	Item Content
	-USUAL-
5.	A child will be grateful later on for strict training
22.	Strict discipline develops a fine strong character
38.	Children who are held to a firm rule grow up to be the best adults
53.	Most children should have more discipline than they get
67.	Children are actually happier under strict training
	-REVERSED-
80.	Strict training will make a child resent his parents later on
99.	Strict discipline makes children grow up to be mean or rebellious
116.	If children are given too many rules they will grow up to be unhappy adults
129.	Most children are disciplined too much
142.	Strict training makes children unhappy

[*]Item numbers refer to version of the PARI used in the present
investigation.

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In Zuckerman's suggested modification, the three scales defining the hostility rejection factor (Marital Conflict, Irritability, and Rejection of the Homemaking Role), are retained along with ten of the sixteen scales which load highly on the authoritarian control factor; the democratic attitude factor is omitted. Since this latter scale seems to show little potential for validity, the writer assumes that its omission in the present study will not critically effect the hypotheses under test.

The changes proposed by Zuckerman increase the total number of PARI items from 115 to 130; 65 regular PARI items from the 13 scales listed below and their 65 reversals:

Factor A, Authoritarian Control

Scale No.
2. Fostering Dependency

4. Breaking the Will

5. Martydom

8. Strictness

10. Excluding Outside Influences

11. Deification

16. Avoidance of Communication

18. Suppression of Sex

20. Instrusiveness

22. Acceleration of Development

Factor B, Hostility Rejection

Scale No.
7. Marital Conflict

9. Irritability

13. Rejection of the Homemaking Role

In addition to scores on the major factors, this version of the PARI yields three response set scores: (1) Acquiescence Set; (2) Opposition Set; (3) Extreme Ratio Set.

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d. Social Desirability

Edwards (1957) has discussed the influence of social desirability as a source of response bias in personality inventories and other questionnaires of the paper and pencil type. Social desirability refers to a need for social approval and is operationally defined as the tendency for the subject to respond in a test taking situation to the social stimulus properties of the item. In order to assess the influence of this variable on attitudes toward childrearing, 20 items from the Edwards Social Desirability Scale were included in the PARI. Thus the attitude questionnaire administered to the subjects contained a grand total of 150 items; 65 usual PARI items, their 65 reversals and 20 items from the social desirability scale. A copy of this questionnaire is presented in Appendix A.

2. Blacky Cartoons

Since the hypotheses under test in the present study were adapted from psychoanalytic formulations of maternal dynamics, it would seem appropriate to select an instrument which is deductively related to the conceptual network of psychoanalytic propositions. The Blacky, a projective technique designed by Blum (1949), was constructed from the model provided by psychoanalysis. The instrument consists of 11 cartoons, designed to tap information pertaining to object relations, psychosexual identification and stages of psychosexual development. The 13 major dimensions of the Blacky are listed below:

<div align="center">Cartoon</div>

I. Oral Eroticism

II. Oral Sadism

III. Anal Expulsiveness
Anal Retentiveness

IV. Oedipal Intensity

V. Masturbation Guilt

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VI. Penis Envy

VII. Identification Process

VIII. Sibling Rivalry

IX. Guilt Feelings

X. Ego Ideal

XI. Anaclitic Love Object
Narcissistic Love Object

A score of strong vs. not strong for each dimension is obtained from the subjects spontaneous story, inquiry choices, related comments and cartoon preferences. The data from the same sources serve as a basis for ratings on four additional conflict patterns: (1) Confused Sex Role; (2) General Hostility; (3) Disgruntled Dependency; (4) Impulse Inhibition.

In recent years, the Defense Preference Inventory (DPI, Form 53) has become an integral part of the Blacky Administration. The purpose of the DPI is to reveal the characteristic ways which the subject uses to defend against psychosexual and interpersonal conflicts. In the final version of the DPI (Form 53) the subject is asked to rank a series of alternative statements in terms of how well they reflect what Blacky is experiencing or feeling on a particular cartoon. The statements are intended as operational definitions of either avoidance (the generic term for the repression-denial family) reaction formation, projection, regression and intellectualization. In the instructions for the DPI the subject is encouraged to empathize with the vicissitudes of Blacky's existence, and thereby reveal his personal feelings.

a. Reliability

The evidence, reported by Blum (1957) concerning the consistency of ratings between different judges bears some relevance to the general question of reliability in the Blacky Cartoons. The spontaneous stories in the protocols of 49 undergraduates were rated independently by three different judges. The latter were members of a research

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project involving the Blacky Cartoons being conducted at the University of Michigan. The individual ratings were compared with pooled ratings, arrived at through group discussion with Blum, the test author. The percent of agreement between the individual ratings and the final pooled ratings ranges from 77% to 100% throughout all dimensions with a median of 92%.

b. Validity

The question of what constitutes an adequate criterion for validating a projective test cannot be unequivocally answered at this time. In Blum's initial investigation based on the Blacky Protocols of 209 college students, the findings concerning states of psychosexual development and sex differences within these stages were consistent with predictions derived from psychoanalytic theory.

Newman and Salvatore (1958) examined the factorial structure of the Blacky using the raw data from Blum's initial study. The sex factors which emerged for males corresponded to the oral, anal, phallic, oedipal, latency and genital stages of psychosexual development.

In other areas of clinical research the Blacky has successfully discriminated nosological groups, such as paranoid schizophrenics, stutterers, ulcer patients and maladjusted recruits (Beck, 1956).

The DPI has been the subject of several exploratory investigations by Blum and his colleagues at the University of Michigan. In a preliminary tryout of DPI items, Goldstein (1952) found that subjects who tended to use the same type of defense across Blacky dimensions showed more disturbance in their spontaneous stories than subjects who exhibited more flexible defense preferences. He classified the former as "general defenders" and the latter as "specific defenders."

Shire (1954) conducted a more intensive analysis of the personality differences between these two types of defenders. The general defenders in contrast to specific defenders showed stronger signs of

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maladjustment on spontaneous Blacky stories and on the Rorschach. In addition, those general defenders who consistently selected reaction formation and regression categories in the DPI were more guarded in their response to the Guilford Martin Personality Inventory, despite the fact that their answers were given under anonymous conditions.

Segal (1954) equated general and specific defenders on the basis of hostile and dependent impulses manifested in their TAT and Blacky stories. During a personal interview, the general defenders, in contrast to specific defenders, were less able to express hostility or dependency toward their mothers.

Following Shire's investigation an extensive revision of the DPI was undertaken. The final outcome of the endeavors of Blum and his colleagues was DPI, Form 53.

This latter version of the DPI is in the process of being validated. The findings to date with fraternity groups (Blum, 1957) tend to support psychoanalytic hypotheses regarding a hierarchical organization of defenses and affinities between genetic levels of defense.

It seems apparent from this brief review that some measure of construct and concurrent validity can be assumed for the Blacky.

B. Subjects

Tne research sample consisted of 72 mothers, recruited by the author and his spouse from the following sources: (a) 42 mothers who were wives of students living in the married housing units operated by the university; (b) 10 mothers from a co-operative nursery school affiliated with the university; (c) 10 mothers enrolled in a foundations of education course, and (d) 10 mothers who were members of a church group located in a community near the university. Fifty-four of the Ss or 75% of the sample, were wives of graduate and undergraduate students

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at the university. The racial make-up of the sample was 94.5 percent caucasian, largely natives of Michigan. Religious affiliation was predominantly Protestant, with only 12% of the mothers indicating a preference for non-Protestant faiths.

The means and standard deviations for age, number of years married and number of children are presented in Table 2. The mean age of the mothers participating in the study as shown in Table 2 was 29.5 years, while the mean number of years married was 8.5.

Table 2. Means and Standard Deviations for Research Mothers on Age, Length of Marriage and Number of Children (N=72)

Variable	$\overline{X}$	SD
Age	29.5	7.5
Number of Years Married	8.5	6.3
Number of Children	2.2	1.1

As compared to the mean age of 38.5 years recorded for one of the normative samples for the PARI (Zuckerman, et al., 1958) the present sample is made up of relatively younger mothers in their first decade of marriage. The average number of offspring as indicated by a mean of 2.2 is consistent with the norms of the general population.

Since 75% of the mothers were wives of students, it could be inferred that these subjects would show ample evidence of educational sophistication. This assumption is supported by the educational information obtained from the personal history questionnaires which shows that 65% of the mothers had attended colleges or universities. The mean length of college attendance for mothers in the present sample was 1.9 years as compared to the mean educational level of 11.9 years reported for the PARI normative sample referred to above.

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The sociological composition of the sample as indicated by the information reviewed in this section is relatively homogeneous, especially with reference to variables such as age, education, racial extraction and religious preference. The choice of present income ($\overline{X}$ = $5004) as a criterion for social class would not give a representative picture of the general socio-cultural level of the sample, since these mothers were primarily wives of students. If the social class distinction is made on the basis of education, the most likely inference is that the sample is composed mainly of middle to upper middle class mothers or at least of mothers who are using education as a vehicle for increased social status.

The major advantage of a sociologically homogeneous sample in an investigation designed to explore the relationships between maternal personality dynamics and child rearing attitudes is the possibility that the correlations between child rearing attitudes and sociological variables such as age, education, and religious preference will be significantly reduced. This apparent advantage, which is a function of constrictions in the range, must be weighed against the major criticism surrounding the use of a selective sample, namely that the generality of the findings would be restricted to groups of mothers similar to those used in the present investigation.

C. Procedure

1. Administration

The PARI and the Blacky Cartoons were administered to the subjects in small groups. In addition to the above instruments the subjects were required to complete a copy of the personal history questionnaire which is shown in Appendix D. The author introduced himself as a staff member of the Michigan State University who was doing research in the field of family attitudes and suggested that most

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participants would find the research activities interesting and novel.
Anonymity was insured by assigning identification numbers on the basis
of the last four digits of the Ss father's home phone number. A more
detailed outline of the procedures for administration of the PARI and the
Blacky Cartoons is presented below.

a. PARI

The following instructions, printed on the first page of the test
booklet, were read aloud by the author:

"Read each of the statements below and then rate them as
follows:

A	a.	d	D
strongly agree	mildly agree	mildly disagree	strongly disagree

Indicate your opinion by drawing a circle around the "A" if you
strongly agree, around the "a" if you mildly agree, around the
"d" if you mildly disagree, and around the "D" if you strongly
disagree.

There are no right or wrong answers, so answer according to
your own opinion. It is very important to the study that all
questions be answered. Many of the statements will seem alike
but all are necessary to show slight differences of opinion. "

The subjects were encouraged to work rapidly and not to communi-
cate with each other. Although no formal time limits were envoked
during the administration of the PARI, the Ss were informed that most
participants could complete the inventory in 40 minutes or less.

b. Blacky Cartoons

In the procedure for the group administration of the Blacky, the
cartoons were individually projected on a screen for a period of two
minutes. During this two minute exposure period the subjects were
asked to write a story about the cartoon (spontaneous story) in a booklet
provided by the author. In the instructions the Ss were encouraged to

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write vividly, rapidly and not to be concerned about grammar, spelling, as the Blacky was primarily a test of imagination. Following the completion of the spontaneous story, the Ss were directed to the inquiry items which appeared on alternate pages of the booklet. Seventy seconds were allotted for the Ss to respond to the inquiry items.

When the spontaneous story and inquiry items were completed for all 11 Blacky Cartoons, the Defense Preference Inventory (DPI) was administered. Each Blacky Cartoon was individually re-exposed for 60 seconds. During the second exposure period the subject was instructed to think about the spontaneous story written earlier and asked to rank the five statements reflecting defense preferences in the order which seemed most appropriate. Preferences for each cartoon were indicated by writing the words like or dislike on the bottom of the page containing the DPI items. A complete copy of instructions for the spontaneous story, inquiry and DPI are presented in the Appendices B and C.

2. Scoring

a. Blacky Cartoons

The Blacky protocols (standard dimensions and conflict patterns) were evaluated by the writer. The writer has used the Blacky in a previous research study and has also received supervision in scoring and administration from Dr. Blum, the author of the Blacky cartoons. The critical feature in the scoring system outlined by Blum (1951, 1957) is the intensity of emotional disturbance reflected in the subject's spontaneous story, choice of inquiry items, cartoon preferences, and related comments. In coding the subject's responses the writer followed the list of conflict indicators which Blum provides for each dimension and conflict pattern. Expression of extreme affect, evasions, selection of non-neutral inquiry items, avoidance of certain themes and the like qualify as conflict indicators.

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Lack of agreement between different judges is most likely to occur in the ratings for the spontaneous story. To guard against bias from this source, the spontaneous stories of ten protocols selected at random were scored by a second judge. The two sets of protocols were ranked according to total number of conflict indicators recorded in the spontaneous stories. Inter-rater agreement as measured by a rank order correlation of .97 (p > .001) provides some evidence of reliability.

The number of conflict indicators (+'s) or (++'s) in the subject's protocol were recorded separately for each dimension and conflict pattern. Subjects whose total number of conflict indicators exceeded the median for the entire group on a given variable were assigned a final score of Strong (++). Conversely, subjects whose total number of conflict indicators fell below the median will receive a final rating of Not Strong (0). The use of a relative criterion for assigning final intensity ratings represents a departure from the traditional clinical use of the Blacky. Blum (1957) recommends this type of procedure for research investigations, since it obviates the need for inferences regarding absolute degree of pathology.

In addition to the ratings on the individual conflict patterns and dimensions, each subject received a high or low conflict rating on four summary scores, designated as over-all conflict scores: (a) the over-all pregenital score was determined by summing the number of conflict indicators across the seven Blacky dimensions (Oral Eroticism, Oral Sadism, Anal Expulsiveness, Anal Retentiveness, Oedipal Intensity, Masturbation Guilt, and Penis Envy) concerned with the strength of infantile sexual strivings and conflicts. (b) The over-all standard dimension score was determined by summing the number of conflict indicators across the 13 standard Blacky dimensions shown in Table 3. (c) The over-all score on the conflict patterns was determined by

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Table 3. Summary of the Ratings for the Blacky Cartoons

Ratings	Blacky Variables
Strong vs. Not Strong	Standard Dimensions: Oral Eroticism Oral Sadism, Anal Retention, Anal Expulsiveness, Oedipal Intensity, Masturbation Guilt, Penis Envy, Identification Process, Sibling Rivalry, Guilt Feelings, Ego Ideal, Anaclitic Love Object, Narcissistic Love Object
Strong vs. Not Strong	Conflict Patterns: Confused Sexuality, General Hostility, Disgruntled Dependency, Impulse Inhibition
High Conflict vs. Low Conflict	Over-all Summary Scores. Over-all Standard Dimensions Score, Over-all Pregenital Score, Over-all Conflict Pattern Score, Over-all Pathogenic Score
*General vs. Specific Defender	Defense Preferences

* Determined by average rank of statements in each class of defenses and the coefficient of concordance.

summing the number of conflict indicators on the four conflict patterns (Confused Sexuality, Disgruntled Dependency, Generalized Hostility, Impulse Inhibition). (d) The over-all pathogenic score was based on the total number of conflict indicators in the subject's protocol.

The statistical indices were computed from the subjects rankings of the DPI alternatives: (a) The average rank of statements in each class of defenses. For example, the projective score consisted of the average rank of all projective statements, the avoidance score, the average rank of all avoidance statements, etc.; (b) the coefficient of concordance, a quantitative measure of the degree of agreement between

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sets of ranks. Subjects who displayed a high index of agreement between sets of ranks as measured by a W (coefficient of concordance) significant at the .05 level of confidence and in addition had average ranks of 2.5 or less on at least two defense categories were classified as pathogenic or general defenders. The remaining subjects were classified as non-pathogenic or specific defenders.

A brief summary of the scoring system employed for the Blacky Cartoons and the DPI is presented in Table 3 on the preceding page.

b. PARI

The usual and reversed items of the PARI were scored on the customary four point scale used for Lickert type items (i.e., strongly agree = 4, agree = 3, disagree = 2, strongly disagree = 1). Each subject received a score adjusted for response sets on Factor A, Authoritarian Control, and on Factor B, Hostility Rejection. The adjustment was accomplished by subtracting the score on the reversed items from the score on the positively worded or usual items and adding a constant large enough to eliminate negative scores. In questionnaires of this type, it is commonly assumed that attitude strength is positively associated with numerical score. Thus a high score on either PARI factor reflects a stronger attitude than a corresponding low score. The presence of reversed items in the PARI does not alter the interpretation of the scores.

In addition to the ratings on the hostility rejection and authoritarian control factors of the PARI, each subject received a social desirability score and three response set scores. The social desirability and response sets scores were determined in the following manner: (A) Acquiescence Set: the number of item pairs where the subject agreed with both the positive and reversed forms of the same item; (B) Oppositions Set: the number of item pairs where the subject disagreed with both the positive and reversed form of the same item;

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(C) Extremes Set: number of items where the subject responded strongly disagree or strongly agree; (D) Social desirability: number of items from the social desirability scale responded to in the disagree direction.

To briefly recapitulate, each subject received raw scores on the six PARI variables listed below:

(1) Authoritarian Control Factor

(2) Hostility Rejection Factor

(3) Acquiescence Response Set

(4) Oppositions Response Set

(5) Extremes Response Set

(6) Social Desirability

3. Selection of Extreme and Non-Extreme Mothers

The hypotheses of the present investigation necessitate the identification of certain mothers as extreme and others as non-extreme in their attitudes toward child rearing. The method of making these selections from the present sample was based on the criteria for extreme patterns of mothering outlined by Schaefer (1959) along with the modifications proposed by Zuckerman and Oltean (1959). Briefly stated, it is assumed that extreme patterns of mothering are characterized by the following combinations of attitudes ordered along the major dimensions of authoritarian control and hostility rejection: (a) high hostility, high control (punitive mothering); (2) low control, high hostility (maternal rejection); (3) high control, low hostility (maternal overprotection); (4) low control, low hostility (maternal over-indulgence).

The first step in the procedure for selecting groups of mothers according to the above criteria consisted in converting the scores on the hostility rejection and authoritarian control factors of the PARI into a bi-variate stanine distribution.[1] This distribution is presented in

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[1]The raw scores, means, standard deviations and correlation of Factor A and B are presented in Appendix E.

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Stanine Scores for Authoritarian Control

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Table 4. A stanine distribution is a method for grouping scores to approximate the percentages of the normal curve and can be used whenever it is possible to arrange the data in rank order. The range of scores in a stanine distribution is from 1 (low) through 9 (high) with a mean of 5 and a standard deviation of 2.

Table 10. Bivariate Distribution Expressed in Stanine Scores for the Hostility Rejection and Authoritarian Control Factors of the PARI (N=72)

	Stanine Scores for Hostility Rejection										
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	fa*	ft*
9		1	1	1						3	3
8			1	1			1	2		5	5
7		1	1	2	1	2	1			8	9
6			1	3	1	4	2	1		12	12
5	1	1	2	3	4	1	1	2		15	15
4			2		4	4		1	1	12	12
3		1		2	4		1		1	9	9
2	1		1		1		2		1	6	5
1	1	1								2	3
fa*	3	5	9	12	15	11	8	6	3		
ft*	3	5	9	12	15	12	9	5	3		

(left vertical label: Stanine Scores for Authoritarian Control)

fa* = Obtained Frequencies
ft* = Expected Frequencies--based on Normal Curve

Mothers with scores in the middle of the stanine distribution (4 – 5 -6) on both the hostility-rejection and authoritarian control factors of the PARI were designated as non-extreme in their attitudes toward child rearing. Conversely, mothers with scores in the upper (7-8-9) or lower (1-2-3) stanines on both PARI factors were designated as extreme in their attitudes toward child rearing.

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Twenty-four (24) mothers meet the criteria for classification as non-extreme in their attitudes toward child rearing, whereas 19 mothers meet the criteria for inclusion into the extreme group. The number of mothers in the extreme group from each quadrant in the bi-variate distribution was as follows: (a) high control, high hostility = 4 Ss; (b) high control, low hostility = 5 Ss; (c) low control, low hostility = 5 Ss; (d) low control, low hostility = 5 Ss.

D. Hypothesis Testing Strategy

The essential step in this phase of the research design involves the deduction of a series of predictions from the major hypothesis as previously stated. These predictions, which are presented below, concern the expected relationships between the observations of attitude toward child rearing as measured by the PARI and personality dynamics as they are revealed through the Blacky dimensions, defense preferences and conflict patterns. The most general prediction is the <u>mothers designated as extreme in their child rearing attitudes will respond to the projective in a way which reflects stronger emotional disturbance.</u> Conversely, it is anticipated that mothers who display a more moderate attitude toward child rearing will manifest less emotional disturbance in their handling of the projective instrument.

E. Predictions

<u>Hypothesis I.</u> Mothers classified as extreme in their child directed attitudes will exhibit stronger pregenital drives than subjects not classified as extreme.

Predictions:

1. Extremes as contrasted to non-extremes will show a greater proportion of strong ratings on the following Blacky dimensions: (a) Oral Eroticism; (b) Oral Sadism; (c) Anal Expulsiveness; (d) Anal Retentiveness; (e) Oedipal Intensity; (f) Masturbation Guilt; (g) Penis Envy.

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Table 5.

Attitudes
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2. Subjects classified as extreme will show a greater proportion of high conflict ratings on: (a) the over-all pregenital rating; (b) Over-all psychological conflict score.

Hypothesis II. Mothers classified as extreme will show a greater degree of disturbance in the area of psychosexual identification than mothers not classified as extreme.

Predictions:

1. Extremes will show a proportion of strong scores on the following Blacky dimensions: (a) Ego Ideal; (b) Love Object; (c) Identification Process.

2. Extremes will show a greater proportion of strong scores on the Blacky conflict pattern Confused Sexuality.

Hypothesis III. Mothers classified as extreme in their child rearing attitudes will show a more rigid pattern of ego defenses than mothers not classified as extreme.

Prediction:

1. Mothers classified as extreme will also show a greater tendency to be categorized as general defenders.

The statistical tool employed to determine the significance level for each prediction was the chi-square technique. This technique seemed most appropriate for the kind of dichotomous data which resulted from the coding and classification systems used for the PARI and the Blacky. An example of how the two by two Chi square tables were arranged is presented in Table 5 using the oral eroticism dimension from the Blacky.

Table 5. Sample Chi Square

	Blacky Variable	
	Oral Eroticism	
	Strong	Not Strong
Attitudes as Extreme Classified by PARI Non-Extreme		

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Table 6.

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IV. RESULTS

A. Test of Hypotheses

The data presented in Tables 6, 7, and 8 represents a test of the specific predictions of the study derived from the major hypotheses.

Hypothesis I. Mothers classified as extreme in their child directed attitudes will exhibit more intense pregenital drives than mothers not classified as extreme.

The number of mothers in the extreme and non-extreme groups who received either strong or not strong ratings on the seven Blacky dimensions concerned with pregenital sexual strivings and conflicts is reported in Table 6.

Table 6. Comparison of Extreme and Non-Extreme Mothers on Pregenital Sexual Dimensions

Blacky Dimension	Extremes N=19		Non-Extremes N=24		X^2
	Strong	Not Strong	Strong	Not Strong	
Oral Eroticism	10	9	11	13	0.196
Oral Sadism	9	10	13	11	0.196
Anal Expulsion	10	9	11	13	0.196
Anal Retention	12	7	11	13	1.279
Oedipal Intensity	10	9	15	9	0.424
Penis Envy	8	11	16	8	2.59*
Masturbation Guilt	9	10	12	12	0.029

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None of the X^2 values reported in Table 6 for the comparisons between groups on the pregenital dimensions of the Blacky approach the .05 level of confidence. The comparison between groups on the Penis Envy dimension shows a trend toward significance ($X^2=2.59$) which is opposite the direction of the prediction. When the correction for continuity is applied to the frequencies shown for the Penis Envy dimension, the trend is unchanged ($X^2=1.69$). A higher percentage of mothers classified as extreme received strong ratings on the anal retention dimension, but the difference between groups on this dimension did not approach statistical significance.

The predictions derived from the hypothesis that mothers classified as extreme in their child rearing attitudes would show more intense pregenital strivings and conflicts as measured by the Blacky are clearly not supported by the findings reported in Table 6. Furthermore, the one statistical trend which appears on the penis envy dimension is in the direction opposite the prediction.

Hypothesis II. Mothers classified as extreme will show a greater degree of disturbance in the area of psychosexual identification than mothers not classified as extreme.

The comparisons between the extreme and non-extreme mothers on the Blacky Variables concerned with conflicts in the area of psychosexual identification are presented in Table 7. Since none of the X^2 values reported in Table 7 approach significance or show a trend in the direction of statistical significance, Hypothesis II is also not supported by the findings.

Table 7. Comparison of Extreme and Non-Extreme Mothers on Blacky Psychosexual Identification Variables

Blacky Variables	Extremes N=19		Non-Extremes N=24		X^2
	Strong	Not Strong	Strong	Not Strong	
Identification Process	11	8	16	8	0.349
Ego Ideal	13	6	13	11	0.901
Narcissistic Love Object	9	10	13	11	0.196
Anaclitic Love Object	9	10	10	14	0.140
Confused Sex Role	10	9	13	11	0.010

No Significance

Hypothesis III. Mothers classified as extreme in their child rearing attitudes will show a more rigid pattern of ego defenses than mothers not classified as extreme.

The data pertinent to Hypothesis III is presented in Table 8. No significant difference was found between the proportion of mothers in the extreme and non-extreme groups classified as general or pathogenic defenders. A further comparison based on the average ranks of statements in the projection category of the DPI (Defense Preference Inventory) was attempted. Subjects whose projection score, as determined by the average rank for statements in the projection category, fell below the median for the entire group of subjects were classified as high projectors, conversely, subjects with projection scores above the median were rated as Projectors. The rationale for comparing the two groups on the projection variable, comes from the psychoanalytic view that projection, a primitive defense, is indicative of emotional disturbance when it appears with some degree of consistency in adults.

Table 8. Number of Extreme and Non-Extreme Mothers Classified as
General and Specific Defenders

Extremes N=19		Non-Extremes N=24	
General	Specific	General	Specific
5	14	5	19

$X^2 = 0.178$ - Not Statistically Significant

As shown in Table 9 the comparison between groups on the projection
scores reveals a trend toward significance. Application of the correction
for continuity changes the X^2 from 2.59 to 1.69, but does not alter the
trend toward significance. While the trend toward significance on the
projection score does not support the hypothesis as stated, that mothers
classified as extreme in their child rearing attitudes would show a more
rigid pattern of defense preference, this finding is consistent with the
general psychoanalytic formulation that extreme patterns of mothering are
associated with neuroticism.

Table 9. Number of Extremes and Non-Extreme Mothers Classified as
High and Low Projectors

Extremes N=19		Non-Extremes N=24	
High Projectors	Low Projectors	High Projectors	Low Projectors
11	8	8	16

$X^2 = 2.59$
p $= 0.10 - 0.05$ (trend)

The comparisons, shown in Table 10, between extreme and non-
extreme mothers on the remaining defense categories (avoidance,

reaction formation, intellectualization and regression) classified as
high or low did not reveal any significant differences between groups.

Table 10. Number of Extreme Mothers and Non-Extreme Mothers
Classified as High and Low on Avoidance, Reaction Formation,
Intellectualization and Regression

Defense Class	Extremes N=19		Non-Extremes N=24		X^2
	High	Low	High	Low	
Avoidance	8	11	14	10	1.12
Reaction Formation	8	11	13	11	0.62
Intellectualization	10	9	12	12	0.03
Regression	9	10	12	12	0.03
		No Significance			

Table 11 shows the number of mothers in the extreme and non-extreme groups who were rated as either high conflict or low conflict on the four over-all scores derived from the Blacky Cartoons. The information reported in Table 11, while not pertinent to the specific hypotheses of the study, is relevant to the general prediction that mothers designated as extreme in their attitudes toward child rearing would show stronger signs of emotional disturbance.

The comparison between groups on the over-all conflict pattern score, as shown in Table 11 results in a value of X^2 which is significant below the .05 level of confidence. When the correction for continuity is applied, the X^2 based on the comparison between groups on the over-all conflict pattern score is reduced from 4.408 to 3.250. The latter value of X^2 remains significant below the .05 level of confidence. A higher percentage of mothers in the extreme group received high conflict ratings on the over-all pathogenic score, but the X^2 of 1.279 based on the comparison between groups on this summary score does not approach the

Table 11. Comparison of Extreme and Non-Extreme Mothers on
Blacky Summary Scores

Blacky Summary Score	Extremes N=19		Non-Extreme N=24		X^2
	High	Low	High	Low	
Over-all Pregenital Score	11	8	15	9	0.094
Over-all Standard Dimension Score	12	7	15	9	0.002
Over-all Conflict Pattern Score	14	5	10	14	4.408*
Over-all Pathogenic Score	12	7	11	13	1.279

*p = .025 - .01

requisite level for statistical significance. The comparisons between groups on the remaining two summary scores shown in Table 11, does not reveal any particular trend toward significance.

The over-all conflict pattern score is determined from the number of +'s recorded on the individual conflict patterns (confused sexuality, disgruntled dependency, general hostility and impulse inhibition) and can be interpreted as a diffuse index of emotional disturbance. The significant difference obtained between groups on this summary score offers some support for the most general hypothesis of the study that mothers designated as extreme in their child rearing attitudes would show stronger signs of emotional disturbance.

B. Additional Findings

1. Correlations of Blacky Variables with PARI Factors

After completing the phase of the data analysis which was developed from the original design of the study, a decision was made to explore the

individual relationships between the major PARI factors and certain variables from the Blacky Cartoons by the correlation method. The rationale for this decision was based on two major considerations: (1) This permits the utilization of all the subjects who participated in the study; (2) Evidence obtained by means of correlations between the major PARI factors and the Blacky variables is pertinent to previous theoretical speculation regarding the meaning of the hostility rejection and authoritarian control factors. Since this portion of the analysis is exploratory, significant correlations in either direction are considered relevant to the over-all aims of the investigation.

Table 12 shows the product moment correlations of the PARI hostility-rejection and authoritarian control factors with the summary score, and standard dimensions of the Blacky Cartoons. Before the correlations reported in Table 12 were submitted for machine computation, the individual data plots were examined for evidence of curvilinearity. Of the 18 correlations reported for the authoritarian control factor, two are significant at or below the .05 level of confidence. Factor $_1$, authoritarian control is negatively related to the Oedipal Intensity Dimension of the Blacky ($r = -.31$) and positively related to the Sibling Rivalry Dimension ($r = .27$). These findings suggest that the passive, non-authoritarian mother may retain a strong residual of unconscious aversive feelings toward the parent who is perceived as the frustrating agent in the family triangle, while the mother who is restrictive, domineering, and controlling in her attitudes toward child rearing may feel that she was overshadowed by other members of the family circle in the competition for rewards from the parents. The rationale for offering the above interpretations is questionable since one significant correlation in each direction could occur by chance fluctuations. On the basis of previous research (Zuckerman and Oltean, 1959) which postulates a relationship between the authoritarian control factor

Table 12. Correlations of PARI Factors A and B with Blacky Summary Scores, Pregenital Dimension and Identification Variables (N=72)

Blacky Variable	PARI Factor	
	A	B
Blacky Summary Scores		
Over-all Pregenital Score	-.06	-.12
Over-all Standard Dimension Score	.00	.05
Over-all Conflict Pattern Score	.03	.00
Over-all Pathogenic Score	-.01	.02
Pregenital Sexual Dimensions		
Oral Eroticism	-.04	-.04
Oral Sadism	.06	-.05
Anal Expulsion	.10	-.05
Oedipal Intensity	-.31*	-.04
Masturbation Guilt	-.04	.07
Penis Envy	-.18	-.14
Anal Retention	.08	-.09
Psychosexual Identification		
Identification Process	.00	.06
Ego Ideal	-.14	.16
Narcissistic Love Object	.06	.07
Analclitic Love Object	.08	.16
Confused Sex Role	.08	.06
Sibling Rivalry and Guilt Feelings		
Sibling Rivalry	.27*	.20**
Guilt Feelings	.03	.17

*
**Significant at or below .05
Significant between .10 - .05 (trend)

and masculine psychosexual strivings, one would expect some significant relationships between this factor and the Blacky variables which focus on the identification process. This inference is clearly not supported by the findings presented in Table 12.

The general absence of significant correlations is even more apparent when the data for Factor B, hostility-rejection, shown in Table 12 is examined. With the exception of a trend toward significance which appears for the correlation between this factor and the sibling rivalry dimension of the Blacky, none of the remaining correlations approach statistical significance.

2. Sociological Correlates of PARI Factors

Table 13 shows the product moment correlations of PARI Factors A and B with several sociological variables coded from the Research Information Form. Factor A, authoritarian control, is negatively correlated with the educational status of the mother as measured by educational level (i.e., grade school, high school, etc.), and number of years in college. Since education of the father was also negatively related to the authoritarian control factor, it would seem that less sophisticated parents, educationally speaking, are more likely to be suppressive, authoritarian and domineering in their attitudes toward child rearing. The negative correlation between education of the parents and authoritarian control has been a consistent finding in previous research with the PARI, hence it's appearance, even in this relatively select sample was anticipated. Total family income, religious preference and frequency of church attendance were not significantly correlated with Factor A.

From Table 13 it appears that Factor B, hostility rejection is relatively independent of the sociological indices employed in the present study. With the exception of number of years married, Factor B does not show significant correlations with any of the sociological variables

Table 13. Correlations of PARI Factors A and B With Some Socio-
logical Characteristics of the Research Sample (N=72)

| Sociological Variable | PARI Factor | |
	A	B
Marital and Family Information		
Age	.07	-.20
Number of Years Married	.11	-.25**
Number of Children	-.15	.06
Educational Status of Mother		
Level of Education	-.27**	.08
Number of Years Attended College	-.29**	-.13
Religious Information		
Frequency of Church Attendance	-.09	.17
Religious Preference	-.02	-.05
Educational Status of Father		
Level of Education	-.19	.05
No. of Years Attended College	-.26**	.07
Income		
Total Family Income	.03	-.17

**Significant at or below .05

listed in Table 13. The correlation between Factor B and age (r = -.20)
reflects a trend toward significance. Since age and number of years
married are closely related (r = .94) a correlation approaching signifi-
cance between age and hostility rejection is not surprising.

The negative relationship of the hostility-rejection factor with
years married and age suggests the younger mothers, who, incidentally
are likely to have pre-school children, find the home making role much
more demanding and frustrating than older mothers whose children may
be away during school hours.

3. The Effects of Response Sets and Social Desirability

Table 14 presents the correlations and intercorrelations of PARI Factors A and B with the social desirability scale and the three response set measures: (1) Acquiescence Set; (2) Oppositions Set; (3) Extremes Ratio Set. Using the .05 level of confidence, social desirability is negatively related to both Factor A (r = -.31) and Factor B (r = -.28).

Table 14. Correlation Matrix, PARI Factors A and B, Response Sets and Social Desirability (N=72)

Variable	I	II	III	IV	V	VI
I. Acquiescence Set	...	...	...	...	...	...
II. Opposition Set	-.43*	...	...	...	...	...
III. Extremes Ratio Set	-.07	-.13	...	...	...	...
IV. Social Desirability	-.28*	-.18	.07	...	...	...
V. Factor A	.46*	-.00	-.58*	-.31*	...	...
VI. Factor B	.07	-.04	.09	-.28*	.09	...

*Significant at or below the .05 level of confidence

Factor A, authoritarian control shows a significant positive correlation with the acquiescence responses set (r = .46) and a significant negative relationship with the extremes ratio response set (r = -.58). Table 14 also shows an absence of significant correlations between Factor B, hostility rejection, and the three response set measures.

The positive relationship between the PARI authoritarian control factors and the acquiescence response set, as measured by the number of item pairs (usual and reversed) which the subject responded to in the agree direction is somewhat of a logical paradox, since the reversed items were included mainly as a control for the bias normally associated

with the acquiescence response set. A high score on the acquiescence
response set means that the subject tends to respond in the agree
direction when offered a set of choices on an objectively worded item.
Interpreted literally, the relationship between Factor A and the acquies-
cence response set suggests that mothers who earn high scores on
authoritarian control factor or who describe themselves as suppressive,
domineering and controlling in their attitudes toward child rearing tend
to respond in the agree direction when offered a set of choices on an
objectively worded questionnaire.

An alternate interpretation is that the correlation between the
authoritarian control factor and the acquiescence response set is an
artifact of the scoring system employed when reversed items are included
in the PARI. As noted earlier, raw scores on Factor A and B were
determined by subtracting the score on the reversed items from the
score on the positively worded or usual items. The usual and reversed
items are scored on an identical four point scale.

A subject who responded to the 65 positively worded PARI items
in the disagree direction would receive a low score on the authoritarian
control factor, regardless of his performance on the reversed items
and a zero score on the acquiescence response set, since it would be
theoretically impossible under these conditions to agree to any one set
of usual and reversed items. As the number of usual items responded
to in the agree direction increases, there is some increase in the score
on Factor A and a corresponding increase in the number of item pairs
which could be responded to in the agree direction.

The negative correlation between extremes response set and authori-
tarian control seems to indicate some degree of consistency in the response
patterns of the Ss. Subjects who tended to strongly disagree with the usual
items on the authoritarian control factor and who responded in the opposite
direction (strongly agree) to the reversed items would have low raw scores on

Factor A, and high scores on the extremes ratio response set, since the latter is scored by adding the number of items which were rated either strongly agree or strongly disagree.

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V. DISCUSSION

The findings offer minimal support for the general prediction that mothers designated as extreme in their child rearing attitudes would show more evidence of emotional disturbance than mothers who displayed a more moderate attitude toward child rearing. Within the population studied, mothers classified as extreme in their child rearing attitudes by virtue of their scores on the authoritarian control and hostility rejection factors of the PARI showed a greater proportion of high conflict ratings on the over-all conflict pattern score, a summary index taken from the Blacky Cartoons. The differences between groups which appeared on this diffuse index of emotional disturbance must be viewed against the negative results obtained for the specific predictions derived from psychoanalytic formulations of the dynamics of maternal over-reaction.

The assumption that mothers classified as extreme would show a greater proportion of scores indicative of emotional disturbance on the pregenital dimensions and on the psychosexual identification variables of the Blacky was not supported by the findings. The final prediction that a greater proportion of mothers in the extreme group would be classified as general or pathogenic defenders was also not supported by the findings. A trend toward significance appeared on a related prediction. Mothers in the extreme group showed a trend in the direction of a stronger preference for projection as a mode of ego defense. While this finding was not one of the initial predictions of the study, it is consistent with the general psychoanalytic assumption that maternal over-reaction is a function of neuroticism, since projection, a primitive defense mechanism is normally taken as evidence of serious emotional

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conflict. No significant differences between groups appeared on the remaining defense categories (avoidance, reaction formation, intellectualization, and regression).

The exploration of the authoritarian control and hostility rejection factors of the PARI by individual correlations with the Blacky standard dimensions and over-all summary scores from the Blacky Cartoons did not support previous theoretical speculation, advanced by Zuckerman and Oltean (1959) regarding the meaning of these factors. High scores on the authoritarian control factor according to the above authors are indicative of strong masculine strivings which the mother expresses through her domineering and controlling attitudes toward her children, whereas high scores on the hostility rejection factor were felt to be suggestive of pervasive psychopathology or emotional disturbance in the mother. Within the present population of mothers, no significant relationships appeared between the authoritarian control factor and the variables coded from the Blacky Cartoons, nor was the hostility rejection factor related to the diffuse indices of emotional disturbance as measured by the summary scores from the Blacky Cartoons. The hostility rejection and authoritarian control factors were moderately related to the sibling rivalry dimension of the Blacky. While these relationships could have occurred by chance one cannot dismiss the possibility that the rejecting, controlling mother may retain a strong residual of resentment toward the affection relationships which existed in her own family circle or that she is continuing with her own children in the direction outlined by behavior patterns initially established toward her peers. The negative relationship which appeared between authoritarian control and oedipal intensity supports Symond's (1949) formulation of unconscious hostility as one of the dynamics of the passive, compliant mother.

The lack of support for at least two of the hypotheses derived from psychoanalytic formulations of the dynamics of maternal over-reaction

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and the failure of present findings to correspond with the theoretical speculations advanced by Zuckerman and Oltean (1959) raises several theoretical issues. The most direct course of action in a case of negative findings is either to reject the hypotheses or to question the validity of the measuring instruments. Although neither of these lines of explanation can be ruled out, a re-evaluation of certain structural differences between the PARI and the Blacky might provide more in the way of constructive suggestions for future research.

One obvious difference between the PARI and the Blacky is that in the latter measurement is accomplished by a more indirect subtle method. The Blacky is a projective instrument designed to reveal something about the dynamics operating below the level of awareness. The PARI, on the other hand is an instrument of the questionnaire type. The respondent is offered a set of items which she can accept or reject as consistent with her general orientation toward child rearing. Responses to the PARI have been related to sociological variables, social desirability, and response sets of various kinds. The selection of a sociologically homogeneous group of mothers and the inclusion of reversed items to control for response sets, as done in the present sample, reduces but does not eliminate the relationships mentioned above. In addition, maternal attitudes as measured by the PARI, while not consistently related to the Blacky variables, have been correlated with personality scales from other instruments of the questionnaire variety. Although projective instruments such as the Blacky are designed to tap variables which are in some respects similar to the scales of certain personality inventories, the two types of instruments may be assessing different levels of psychological functioning. A possible explanation for the greater degree of congruence between the major PARI factors and the personality scales of the EPPS and MMPI is that in each case measurement is geared in the direction of conscious or at least semi-conscious needs, attitudes, and strivings.

Observations of child rearing attitudes based on the multiple choice questionnaires may provide valid evidence about the mother's conscious image of herself as a parent and may also supply some information regarding the mother's awareness of conventional attitudes toward child rearing. However, the mother's conscious orientation toward child rearing or her ego cognitive attitude are not necessarily a valid index of the affective tone, characteristic of her day to day interaction with children.

Perhaps the clinician's claim that extreme attitudes toward child rearing as reflected by maternal over protection, maternal over-indulgence, maternal rejection and punitive mothering are associated with maternal neuroticism has reference more to the affective component of child rearing attitudes, as opposed to the ego cognitive orientation. To the extent that this is a valid assumption, the major problem confronting future researchers in the area of maternal dynamics is the development of an instrument which will provide a set of constructs geared to the feeling tone of mothers' operations in the child rearing situation.

Individual interviews, home observations, and observations of mothers in settings outside the home, such as co-operative nursery schools are methods which could be employed to handle the problem of obtaining a representative sample of the emotional tone which characterizes the mother's interaction with her children. Each of these methods, however, involves the risk that the sample of the mother's behavior might be drastically changed by the presence of the observer or other adults in the situation. A tool which circumvents some of the dilemma, inherent in direct observations is the semi-structured projective technique composed of pictures depicting parents and children in various life like situations. Preliminary reports from research in progress at this time (Sigel et al., 1957) suggest that this type of instrument has some promise for assessing attitudes toward child rearing.

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The major difficulty involved in the use of the semi-structured projective instrument to assess attitudes toward child rearing is the development of an adequate system to rate the stories which the respondent provides to the stimulus materials. This step in the refinement of the instrument could be accomplished by a group of experienced clinicians using already existent categories, such as irritability, hostility, rejection, authoritarian control, etc. The use of a TAT type instrument for purposes of categorizing maternal attitudes and the further exploration of the relationships between attitudes assessed in this fashion and maternal personality dynamics does not prevent the inclusion of a questionnaire such as the PARI in the research battery. Indeed, the utilization of both types of instruments enrich the investigation, since the research would be in position to carefully examine groups of subjects who showed wide discrepancies in their attitudes toward child rearing as measured by the questionnaire and semi-projective approaches.

The final recommendation for future research is primarily methodological. The application of a version of the treatment by levels design with the mothers classified on the basis of socio-economic level would permit the investigation of relationships between child rearing attitudes and maternal personality dynamics within each social class and across social classes. The use of this type of design would also enable the research to focus on the interactions between social class and maternal personality dynamics.

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VI. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The major purpose of the investigation was to examine the relation-ship between extreme patterns of mothering and maternal personality dynamics as formulated by psychoanalytic theory. Seventy-two (72) mothers, primarily wives of students at Michigan State University, participated in the study. The instruments administered to the subjects included the Blacky Cartoons along with the Defense Preference Inventory, and a version of the Parental Attitude Survey Instrument (PARI) com-posed of 65 regular PARI items and 65 reversed items. The latter were included primarily as a control for the acquiescence response set.

The Blacky protocols were rated on 13 Standard Dimensions, and four Conflict Patterns. In addition, four over-all summary scores, designed as diffuse indices of emotional disturbance were coded from the Blacky protocols. Defense Preferences were classified into the pathogenic or general and specific categories.

The scores on the PARI hostility-rejection and authoritarian control factors were converted into a bi-variate stanine distribution. The 19 Ss with scores in the upper or lower stanines on both major PARI factors were designated as extreme in their attitudes toward child rearing, conversely, the 24 Ss with scores in the middle categories of the stanine distribution for both factors were designated as moderate or non-extreme in their attitudes toward child rearing.

The significance tests, by means of the chi square method, for the specific predictions derived from the major hypotheses were accomplished by comparisons between the extreme and non-extreme mothers on the following Blacky variables: (1) The over-all summary scores; (2) Pregenital Dimensions; (3) Dimensions and conflict patterns concerned with the identification process; (4) Defense Preferences.

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The findings offered partial support for the general prediction
that mothers designated as extreme in their child rearing attitudes
would show stronger evidence of emotional disturbance than mothers
not classified as extreme. The findings for the specific predictions
are summarized below:

I. Mothers classified as extreme did not display evidence of
more intense pregenital strivings than mothers not classified
as extreme in their child rearing attitudes.

II. There were no significant differences between extreme and
non-extreme mothers on the psychosexual identification
variables of the Blacky.

III. No significance was achieved for the comparison between
extreme and non-extreme mothers on rigidity of ego defense
preferences as measured by the consistency of preferences
on the DPI, although the extreme mothers showed some trend
toward a preference for statements in the projection category.

Further examination of the PARI results for the entire sample did
not support previous theoretical speculation regarding the relationship
between the authoritarian control factor and masculine sexual striving,
nor was the hostility rejection factor related to the global indices of
emotional disturbance coded from the Blacky. Several sets of significant
correlations appeared between the major PARI factors and variables
such as age, education, social desirability, and response sets.

In the discussion, the writer pointed out certain limitations in the
use of multiple choice questionnaires, such as the PARI, to assess
attitudes toward child rearing; namely, that attitudes as measured in
this fashion may not provide a representative picture of the mother's
typical behavior in the child rearing situation. Recommendations for
future research concerned the development and refinement of more

subtle instruments to assess maternal attitudes and a suggestion was offered regarding the type of research design which might best be employed in future studies of the psychodynamics of maternal attitudes.

Conclusions:

It is concluded that the formulations derived from psychoanalytic theory concerning the psychodynamics of extreme patterns of mothering, while not supported by the present findings, are open to further investigations with certain revisions in the procedures used to assess maternal attitudes.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

PARI SCORING KEYS AND SCALES

Scale N-

Scale N.

Factor A, Authoritarian Control	Item Numbers
Scale No. 2. Fostering Dependency:	1, 14, 27, 40, 53, 76, 89, 102, 115, 128
4. Breaking the Will:	2, 15, 28, 41, 54, 77, 90, 103, 116, 129
5. Martydom:	3, 16, 29, 42, 55, 78, 91, 104 117, 130
8. Strictness:	5, 18, 31, 44, 57, 80, 93, 106, 119, 132
10. Excluding Outside Influences	7, 20, 33, 46, 59, 82, 95, 108, 121, 134
11. Diefication	8, 21, 34, 47, 60, 83, 96, 109, 122, 135
16. Avoidance of Communication	10, 23, 36, 49, 62, 85, 98, 111, 124, 137
18. Suppression of Sex	112, 24, 37, 50, 63, 86, 99, 122, 125, 138
20. Instrusiveness	12, 25, 38, 51, 64, 87, 100, 113, 126, 139

Factor B, Hostility-Rejection	Item Numbers
Scale No. 7. Marital Conflict	4, 17, 30, 43, 56, 79, 92, 105, 118, 131
9. Irritability	6, 19, 32, 45, 58, 81, 94, 107, 120, 133
13. Rejection of the Homemaking Role	9, 22, 35, 48, 61, 84, 97, 110 123, 136

Social Desirability	
	6, 7, 13, 14, 23, 30, 31, 43, 44 54, 81, 82, 88, 89, 95, 76, 102 103, 110, 111

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INVENTORY OF ATTITUDES ON FAMILY LIFE AND CHILDREN

Read each of the statements below and then rate them as follows:

A	a	d	D
strongly	mildly	mildly	strongly
agree	agree	disagree	disagree

Indicate your opinion by drawing a circle around the "A" if you strongly agree, around the "a" if you mildly agree, around the "d" if you mildly disagree, and around the "D" if you strongly disagree.

There are no right or wrong answers, so answer according to your own opinion. It is very important to the study that all questions be answered. Many of the statements will seem alike but all are necessary to show slight differences of opinion.

		Agree		Disagree	
1.	A good mother should shelter her child from life's little difficulties.	A	a	d	D
2.	Some children are just so bad they must be taught to fear adults for their own good.	A	a	d	D
3.	Children should realize how much parents have to give up for them.	A	a	d	D
4.	People who think they can get along in marriage without arguements just don't know the facts.	A	a	d	D
5.	A child will be grateful later on for strict training.	A	a	d	D
6.	I have reason for feeling jealous of one or more members of my family.	A	a	d	D
7.	Criticism or scolding hurts me terribly.	A	a	d	D
8.	Children will get on any woman's nerves if she has to be with them all day.	A	a	d	D
9.	It's best for the child if he never gets started wondering whether his mother's views are right.	A	a	d	D
10.	More parents should teach their children to have unquestioning loyalty to them.	A	a	d	D
11.	One of the worst things about taking care of a home is a woman feels that she can't get out.	A	a	d	D

A = strongly agree   a = mildly agree   d = mildly disagree   D = strongly disagree

		Agree		Disagree	
12.	If you let children talk about their troubles they end up complaining even more.	A	a	d	D
13.	I am easily embarrassed.	A	a	d	D
14.	I blush no more often than others.	A	a	d	D
15.	A young child should be protected from hearing about sex.	A	a	d	D
16.	A mother should make it her business to know everything her children are thinking.	A	a	d	D
17.	Most children are toilet trained by 15 months of age.	A	a	d	D
18.	A mother should do her best to avoid any disappointment for her child.	A	a	d	D
19.	It is frequently necessary to drive the mischief out of a child before he will behave.	A	a	d	D
20.	A mother must expect to give up her own happiness for that of her child.	A	a	d	D
21.	Sometimes it's necessary for a wife to tell off her husband in order to get her rights.	A	a	d	D
22.	Strict discipline develops a fine strong character.	A	a	d	D
23.	I shrink from facing a crisis or difficulty.	A	a	d	D
24.	Mothers very often feel that they can't stand their children a moment longer.	A	a	d	D
25.	A parent should never be made to look wrong in a child's eye.	A	a	d	D
26.	The child should be taught to revere his parents above all other grown-ups.	A	a	d	D
27.	Having to be with the children all the time gives a woman the feeling her wings have been clipped.	A	a	d	D
28.	Parents who start a child talking about his worries don't realize that sometimes it's better to just leave well enough alone.	A	a	d	D

A = strongly agree   a = mildly agree   d = mildly disagree   D = strongly disagree

		Agree		Disagree	
29.	It is very important that young boys and girls not be allowed to see each other completely undressed.	A	a	d	D
30.	I cannot keep my mind on one thing.	A	a	d	D
31.	No one cares much what happens to you.	A	a	d	D
32.	A child should never keep a secret from a parent.	A	a	d	D
33.	The sooner a child starts to walk the better he's trained.	A	a	d	D
34.	A child should be protected from jobs which might be too tiring or hard for him.	A	a	d	D
35.	A wise parent will teach a child early just who is boss.	A	a	d	D
36.	Few women get the gratitude they deserve for all they have done for their children.	A	a	d	D
37.	No matter how well a married couple love one another, there are always differences which cause irritation and lead to arguments.	A	a	d	D
38.	Children who are held to a firm rule grow up to be the best adults.	A	a	d	D
39.	It's a rare mother who can be sweet and even tempered with her children all day.	A	a	d	D
40.	Children should never learn things outside the home which make them doubt their parents ideas.	A	a	d	D
41.	A child soon learns that their is no greater wisdom than that of his parents.	A	a	d	D
42.	Most young mothers are bothered more by the feeling of being shut up in the home than by anything else.	A	a	d	D
43.	I find it hard to keep my mind on a task or job.	A	a	d	D
44.	I feel anxiety about something or someone almost all the time.	A	a	d	D
45.	Children pester you with all their little upsets if you are not careful from the first.	A	a	d	D

A = strongly agree   a = mildly agree   d = mildly disagree   D = strongly disagree

		Agree		Disagree	
46.	Children who take part in sex play become sex criminals when they grow up.	A	a	d	D
47.	An alert parent should try to learn all her child's thoughts.	A	a	d	D
48.	The earlier a child is weaned from its emotional ties to its parents the better it will handle its own problems.	A	a	d	D
49.	Parents should know better than to allow their children to be exposed to difficult situations.	A	a	d	D
50.	Children need some of the natural meaness taken out of them.	A	a	d	D
51.	Children should be more considerate of their mothers since their mothers suffer so much for them.	A	a	d	D
52.	There are some things which just can't be settled by a mild discussion.	A	a	d	D
53.	Most children should have more discipline than they get.	A	a	d	D
54.	Most any time I would rather sit and daydream than to do anything else.	A	a	d	D
55.	Raising children is a nerve-wracking job.	A	a	d	D
56.	The child should not question the thinking of his parents.	A	a	d	D
57.	Parents deserve the highest esteem and regard of their children.	A	a	d	D
58.	One of the bad things about raising children is that you aren't free enough of the time to do just as you like.	A	a	d	D
59.	If a child has upset feelings it is best to leave him alone and not make it look serious.	A	a	d	D
60.	Sex is one of the greatest problems to be contended with in children.	A	a	d	D
61.	A mother has a right to know everything going on in her child's life because her child is part of her.	A	a	d	D

A = strongly agree a = mildly agree d = mildly disagree D = strongly disagree

		Agree		Disagree	
62.	A mother should make an effort to get her child toilet trained at the earliest possible time.	A	a	d	D
63.	Children should be kept away from all hard jobs which might be discouraging.	A	a	d	D
64.	It is sometimes necessary for the parents to break the child's will.	A	a	d	D
65.	Mothers sacrifice almost all their own fun for their children.	A	a	d	D
66.	It's natural to have quarrels when two people who both have minds of their own get married.	A	a	d	D
67.	Children are actually happier under strict training.	A	a	d	D
68.	It's natural for a mother to "to blow her top" when children are selfish and demanding.	A	a	d	D
69.	There is nothing worse than letting a child hear criticisms of his mother.	A	a	d	D
70.	Loyalty to parents comes before anything else.	A	a	d	D
71.	A young mother feels "held down" because there are lots of things she wants to do while she is young.	A	a	d	D
72.	The trouble with giving attention to children's problems is they usually just make up a lot of stories to keep you interested.	A	a	d	D
73.	There is usually something wrong with a child who asks a lot of questions about sex.	A	a	d	D
74.	It is a mother's duty to make sure she knows her child's innermost thoughts.	A	a	d	D
75.	A child should be weaned away from the bottle or breast as soon as possible.	A	a	d	D
76.	A good mother lets her child learn the hard way about life.	A	a	d	D
77.	A child should never be taught to fear adults.	A	a	d	D
78.	Parents shouldn't feel they have to sacrifice for their children.	A	a	d	D

A = strongly agree   a = mildly agree   d = mildly disagree   D = strongly disagree

		Agree		Disagree	
79.	There is no reason for agruments in a happy marriage.	A	a	d	D
80.	Strict training will make a child resent his parents later on.	A	a	d	D
81.	My parents and family find more fault with me than they should.	A	a	d	D
82.	I sometimes feel that I am about to go to pieces.	A	a	d	D
83.	There is no reason why a day with the children should be upsetting.	A	a	d	D
84.	Children have every right to question their mothers views.	A	a	d	D
85.	Loyalty on the part of children to their parents is something that the parents should earn.	A	a	d	D
86.	Taking care of a home doesn't have to coop a woman up.	A	a	d	D
87.	Children should be encouraged to talk about their problems.	A	a	d	D
88.	I am happy most of the time.	A	a	d	D
89.	I am liked by most people who know me.	A	a	d	D
90.	Children should be taught about sex as soon as possible.	A	a	d	D
91.	A child's thoughts and ideas are his own business.	A	a	d	D
92.	Very few children are toilet trained by 15 months of age.	A	a	d	D
93.	A child should learn that he has to be disappointed sometimes.	A	a	d	D
94.	You can't make a child behave by cracking down on him.	A	a	d	D
95.	I dream frequently about things that are best kept to myself.	A	a	d	D
96.	I frequently notice my hand shakes when I try to do something.	A	a	d	D

A = strongly agree   a = mildly agree   d = mildly disagree   D = strongly disagree

		Agree		Disagree	
97.	There is no reason why a mother can't be happy and make her child happy too.	A	a	d	D
98.	A good wife never has to argue with her husband.	A	a	d	D
99.	Strict discipline makes children grow up to be mean or rebellious.	A	a	d	D
100.	Most mothers never get to the point where they can't stand their children.	A	a	d	D
101.	If a parent is wrong he should admit it to his child.	A	a	d	D
102.	It makes me uncomfortable to put on a stunt at a party even when others are doing the same sort of thing.	A	a	d	D
103.	It makes me nervous to have to wait.	A	a	d	D
104.	A child should be taught that there are many other people he will love and respect as much or more than his own parents.	A	a	d	D
105.	Most mothers are content to be with children all the time.	A	a	d	D
106.	A child should always be encouraged to talk about his troubles.	A	a	d	D
107.	There is nothing wrong with bathing boys and girls in the same bath tub.	A	a	d	D
108.	Children are entitled to keep their own secrets.	A	a	d	D
109.	A child should take all the time he wants to before he walks.	A	a	d	D
110.	I worry quite a bit over possible misfortunes.	A	a	d	D
111.	Life is a strain for me much of the time.	A	a	d	D
112.	Children should be encouraged to undertake tough jobs if they want to.	A	a	d	D
113.	There is no need for children to look on parents as their bosses.	A	a	d	D
114.	Most children are grateful to their parents.	A	a	d	D

A = strongly agree   a = mildly agree   d = mildly disagree   D = strongly disagree

		Agree		Disagree	
115.	If a couple really loves each other there are very few agruments in their married life.	A	a	d	D
116.	If children are given too many rules they will grow up to be unhappy adults.	A	a	d	D
117.	Most mothers can spend all day with the children and remain calm and even-tempered.	A	a	d	D
118.	A child should be encouraged to look for answers to his questions from other people even if the answers contradict his parents.	A	a	d	D
119.	Most children soon learn that their parents were mistaken in many of their ideas.	A	a	d	D
120.	Most young mothers don't mind spending most of their time at home.	A	a	d	D
121.	A mother should be concerned with any problem of a child no matter how trivial.	A	a	d	D
122.	Sex play is a normal thing in children.	A	a	d	D
123.	A good parent doesn't try to pry into the child's thoughts.	A	a	d	D
124.	A child needs to be emotionally close to its parents for a long time.	A	a	d	D
125.	Children have to face difficult situations on their own.	A	a	d	D
126.	If a child acts mean he needs understanding rather than punishment.	A	a	d	D
127.	Children don't "owe" their mothers anything.	A	a	d	D
128.	Almost any problem can be settled by quietly talking it over.	A	a	d	D
129.	Most children are disciplined too much.	A	a	d	D
130.	Raising children is an easy job.	A	a	d	D
131.	When a child thinks his parent is wrong he should say so.	A	a	d	D
132.	A parent should not expect to be more highly esteemed than other worthy adults in their children's eyes.	A	a	d	D

A = strongly agree   a = mildly agree   d = mildly disagree   D = strongly disagree

		Agree		Disagree	
133.	If you run your home right, you have plenty of time to do the things you like to do.	A	a	d	D
134.	A mother should always be concerned about upset feelings in a child.	A	a	d	D
135.	Sex is no great problem for children if the parent doesn't make it one.	A	a	d	D
136.	Being a mother doesn't give women the right to know everything in their children's lives.	A	a	d	D
137.	Toilet training should be put off until the child indicates he is ready.	A	a	d	D
138.	Children should be encouraged to undertake all kinds of jobs no matter how hard.	A	a	d	D
139.	Children have a right to rebel and be stubborn sometimes.	A	a	d	D
140.	Having children doesn't mean you can't have as much fun as you usually do.	A	a	d	D
141.	Husbands and wives who have different views can get along without agruments.	A	a	d	D
142.	Strict training makes children unhappy.	A	a	d	D
143.	A mother should keep control of her temper even when children are demanding.	A	a	d	D
144.	A good mother can tolerate criticism of herself, even when the children are around.	A	a	d	D
145.	Loyalty to parents is an over-emphasized virtue.	A	a	d	D
146.	Most young mothers are pretty content with home life.	A	a	d	D
147.	Anything a child wants to tell a parent is important enough to listen to.	A	a	d	D
148.	Children are normally curious about sex.	A	a	d	D
149.	Every child should have an inner life which is only his business.	A	a	d	D
150.	The longer a child is bottle or breast fed, the more secure he will feel.	A	a	d	D

APPENDIX B

I. DIRECTIONS FOR SPONTANEOUS STORY AND INQUIRY

II. BOOKLET FOR BLACKY SPONTANEOUS STORY AND
INQUIRY ITEMS

INSTRUCTIONS FOR THE SPONTANEOUS STORY AND
INQUIRY ITEMS

I am going to show you a series of pictures about a dog named Blacky. These are like the cartoons you see in the funny papers. I will present one cartoon at a time and I want you to make up a story about each one. Tell what is happening in the picture and why it is happening. Since this is a test of how good your imagination can be, try to write vividly about how the characters feel. Don't bother about such things as grammar, spelling, punctuation and the like as it is desirable to write as much as possible within the time limit. You will have two minutes for each story. I will give a signal when there are only 30 seconds remaining.

After the two minutes for the story are up you will be asked to turn to the next page of the booklet where you will find a series of questions about the cartoon you just saw. In most cases simply circle the answer which you feel fits best. Where a written answer is called for, write your answer in the space provided. You will have 60 seconds to complete the questions for each cartoon, so work rapidly. Naturally, there are no right or wrong answers to these questions. I will give a signal when there are 15 seconds remaining. Please do not turn any pages until told to do so.

Before we start, here are the characters you will see in the cartoons. (Frontpiece shown for 30 seconds). Here is Papa, Mama, Tippy and their daughter Blacky, who is the main figure in the cartoons.

WRITE YOUR STORY TO CARTOON I HERE. REMEMBER--TELL WHAT
IS HAPPENING, WHY IT IS HAPPENING, HOW THE CHARACTERS FEEL,
ETC.

DO NOT TURN THE PAGE UNTIL TOLD TO DO SO.

BELOW ARE SOME QUESTIONS ABOUT CARTOON I. IN MOST CASES SIMPLY CIRCLE THE ONE ANSWER YOU THINK FITS BEST. WHERE A WRITTEN ANSWER IS CALLED FOR, WRITE YOUR ANSWER IN THE SPACE PROVIDED.

1. Is Blacky
    (a) Happy?
    (b) Unhappy?
    (c) Or doesn't she feel one way or the other

2. How does Mama feel in this scene?
    (a) Very contented.
    (b) Pleased but tired.
    (c) Rather unhappy.

3. Which would Blacky rather do?
    (a) Stay until her feeding is over and then go someplace else.
    (b) Stay as long as possible to be sure she gets enough nourishment.

4. Which one of the following best describes Blacky?
    (a) She's a little glutton who never stops eating.
    (b) She's got a hearty appetite which usually gets satisfied.
    (c) She sometimes doesn't get enough to replace all the energy she burns up.

5. Judging by appearances, how much longer will Blacky want to be nursed by Mama before being weaned?
    (a) She'll want to be on her own fairly soon.
    (b) She'll want to continue being nursed until she's quite a bit older.
    (c) She feels Mama would like to turn her loose right now.

6. How will Blacky feel about eating when she grows older?
    (a) She will rather eat than do most anything else.
    (b) She will enjoy eating but will like lots of other things just as much.
    (c) She will never get enough to satisfy her appetite.

DO <u>NOT</u> TURN PAGE UNTIL TOLD TO DO SO.

WRITE YOUR STORY TO CARTOON II HERE. REMEMBER--TELL
WHAT IS HAPPENING, WHY IT IS HAPPENING, HOW THE
CHARACTERS FEEL, ETC.

DO <u>NOT</u> TURN THE PAGE UNTIL TOLD TO DO SO.

BELOW ARE SOME QUESTIONS ABOUT CARTOON II. IN MOST CASES
SIMPLY CIRCLE THE ONE ANSWER YOU THINK FITS BEST. WHERE A
WRITTEN ANSWER IS CALLED FOR, WRITE YOUR ANSWER IN THE
SPACE PROVIDED.

1. Why is Blacky doing that to Mama's collar?

2. How often does Blacky feel like acting up this way?
    (a) Once in a while.
    (b) Fairly often.
    (c) Very Often.

3. Blacky most often acts like this when she can't get enough of which
one of the following?
    (a) Attention.
    (b) Milk.
    (c) Recreation.

4. What will Blacky do next with Mama's collar?
    (a) Get tired of it and leave it on the ground.
    (b) Return it to Mama.
    (c) Angrily chew it to shreds.

5. If Mama comes on the scene, what will she do?
    (a) Feed Blacky again.
    (b) Send her off to bed without her dinner.
    (c) Bark.

6. What would Blacky do if Mama did come over to feed her?
    (a) She'd ignore Mama and continue chewing the collar.
    (b) She'd put down the collar and start eating.
    (c) She'd get even with Mama by trying to bite her instead of
       the collar.

DO NOT TURN THE PAGE UNTIL TOLD TO DO SO.

WRITE YOUR STORY TO CARTOON III HERE. REMEMBER--TELL
WHAT IS HAPPENING, WHY IT IS HAPPENING, HOW THE CHARACTERS
FEEL, ETC.

DO NOT TURN THE PAGE UNTIL TOLD TO DO SO.

BELOW ARE SOME QUESTIONS ABOUT CARTOON III. IN MOST CASES SIMPLY CIRCLE THE ONE ANSWER YOU THINK FITS BEST. WHERE A WRITTEN ANSWER IS CALLED FOR, WRITE YOUR ANSWER IN THE SPACE PROVIDED.

1. What was Blacky's main reason for defecating there?
 (a) She wanted to spite somebody. . . . Who?
 (b) She was doing what Mama and Papa told her to.
 (c) She picked the spot by accident.
 (d) She wanted to keep her own area neat and clean.

2. Which one of the Following is Blacky most concerned with here?
 (a) Throwing dirt over what she did so that it will be neatly covered up.
 (b) Relieving herself so that her system feels more comfortable.
 (c) Getting rid of her anger.

3. Why is Blacky covering it up?
 (a) She wants to make as little mess as possible.
 (b) She doesn't want Mama and Papa to find out.
 (c) She's automatically doing what she's been taught.

4. How does Blacky feel about the training she's been getting?
 (a) By relieving herself in the way she's been taught, she now has an opportunity to show her family what a good dog she can be.
 (b) She feels Mama and Papa are expecting too much of her at this early stage.
 (c) She is very happy to have control of herself.
 (d) She thinks she's got Mama and Papa right where she wants them.

5. What will Mama say to Blacky?

6. What will Papa say to Blacky?

DO NOT TURN THE PAGE UNTIL TOLD TO DO SO.

WRITE YOUR STORY TO CARTOON IV HERE. REMEMBER--TELL WHAT
IS HAPPENING, WHY IT IS HAPPENING, HOW THE CHARACTERS
FEEL, ETC.

DO NOT TURN THE PAGE UNTIL TOLD TO DO SO.

BELOW ARE SOME QUESTIONS ABOUT CARTOON IV. IN MOST CASES
SIMPLY CIRCLE THE ONE ANSWER YOU THINK FITS BEST. WHERE
A WRITTEN ANSWER IS CALLED FOR, WRITE YOUR ANSWER IN THE
SPACE PROVIDED.

1. How does Blacky feel about seeing Mama and Papa make love . . . Why?

2. When does Blacky get this feeling-
    (a) Whenever she sees Mama and Papa.
    (b) Whenever she sees Mama and Papa together.
    (c) Whenever she sees Mama and Papa making love.

3. Which one of the following makes Blacky most unhappy-
    (a) Mama keeping Papa all to herself.
    (b) The idea that Mama and Papa seem to be ignoring her on purpose.
    (c) She is ashamed watching them make love out in the open.

4. What does Blacky suspect is the reason behind the scene she's watching?
    (a) She suspects Mama and Papa are planning an addition to the family.
    (b) She suspects Mama and Papa are very much in love.
    (c) She suspects Papa is having his own way about things.
    (d) She suspects Mama and Papa are purposely depriving her of
        attention.

5. What will Papa do if he sees Blacky peeking?

6. What will Mama do if she sees Blacky peeking?

7. Which would make a happier picture?
    (a) Mama left on the outside watching Blacky together with Papa...Why?
    (b) Papa left on the outside watching Blacky together with Mama...Why?

DO NOT TURN THE PAGE UNTIL TOLD TO DO SO.

WRITE YOUR STORY TO CARTOON V HERE. REMEMBER--TELL WHAT IS HAPPENING, WHY IT IS HAPPENING, HOW THE CHARACTERS FEEL, ETC.

DO NOT TURN THE PAGE UNTIL TOLD TO DO SO.

BELOW ARE SOME QUESTIONS ABOUT CARTOON V. IN MOST CASES SIMPLY CIRCLE THE ONE ANSWER YOU THINK FITS BEST. WHERE A WRITTEN ANSWER IS CALLED FOR, WRITE YOUR ANSWER IN THE SPACE PROVIDED.

1. How does Blacky feel here?
   (a) Happy, without a care in the world.
   (b) Enjoying herself, but a little worried.
   (c) Mixed up and guilty.

2. How might Blacky feel about this situation when she is older?
   (a) Happy, without a care in the world.
   (b) Enjoying herself, but a little worried.
   (c) Mixed up and guilty.
   (d) The situation won't come up again when she is older.

3. Whom might Blacky be thinking about here?

4. Does Blacky naively fear that something might happen to her?....What?

5. What will Mama say if she comes over and finds Blacky?

6. What will Papa say if he comes over and finds Blacky?

DO NOT TURN THE PAGE UNTIL TOLD TO DO SO.

WRITE YOUR STORY TO CARTOON VI HERE, REMEMBER--TELL WHAT
IS HAPPENING, WHY IT IS HAPPENING, HOW THE CHARACTERS FEEL,
ETC.

DO <u>NOT</u> TURN THE PAGE UNTIL TOLD TO DO SO.

BELOW ARE SOME QUESTIONS ABOUT CARTOON VI. IN MOST CASES SIMPLY CIRCLE THE ONE ANSWER YOU THINK FITS BEST. WHERE A WRITTEN ANSWER IS CALLED FOR, WRITE YOUR ANSWER IN THE SPACE PROVIDED.

1. How does Blacky feel about her own tail?
   (a) She has resigned herself to the inevitable.
   (b) She's thinking desperately about a way to save it.
   (c) She thinks she might look better if it is cut off.

2. What would Blacky be most upset about if she were in Tippy's place?
   (a) The fact that nobody loved her enough to prevent this from happening.
   (b) The fact that she would not have her tail any more.
   (c) The fact that she had allowed herself to be bad enough to deserve this.

3. Which member of the family most likely arranged for Tippy's tail to be cut off?

   ✓

4. How will Tippy feel afterward about having had the tail cut off?
   (a) Tippy will always be envious of dogs that have tails to wag.
   (b) Tippy will try to make the best of a bad situation.
   (c) Tippy will be proud to be different from the others.

5. What will other dogs in the neighborhood do when they see Tippy's short tail?
   (a) Start worrying about their own tails.
   (b) Make fun of Tippy.
   (c) Wonder what's going on.
   (d) Admire Tippy.

6. How would Blacky feel about trading her tail for a pretty bow which the male dogs would all admire?

DO **NOT** TURN THE PAGE UNTIL TOLD TO DO SO.

WRITE YOUR STORY TO CARTOON VII HERE. REMEMBER--TELL
WHAT IS HAPPENING, WHY IT IS HAPPENING, HOW THE CHARACTERS
FEEL, ETC.

DO <u>NOT</u> TURN THE PAGE UNTIL TOLD TO DO SO.

BELOW ARE SOME QUESTIONS ABOUT CARTOON VII. IN MOST
CASES SIMPLY CIRCLE THE ONE ANSWER YOU THINK FITS BEST.
WHERE A WRITTEN ANSWER IS CALLED FOR, WRITE YOUR ANSWER
IN THE SPACE PROVIDED.

1. Who talks like that to Blacky--Mama or Papa or Tippy?

2. Whom is Blacky most likely to obey--Mama or Papa or Tippy?

3. Whom is Blacky imitating here--Mama or Papa or Tippy?

4. Whom would Blacky rather pattern herself after--Mama or Papa or
   Tippy?

5. Blacky's disposition, actually, is most like the disposition of which
   one--Mama or Papa or Tippy?

6. What would Blacky have an impulse to do if she were in the position
   of the toy dog?
      (a) Get frightened and hide.
      (b) Stand there and take it.
      (c) Get mad and sulk.
      (d) Start fighting.

DO **NOT** TURN THE PAGE UNTIL TOLD TO DO SO.

WRITE YOUR STORY TO CARTOON VIII HERE. REMEMBER--TELL
WHAT IS HAPPENING, WHY IT IS HAPPENING, HOW THE CHARACTERS
FEEL, ETC.

DO NOT TURN THE PAGE UNTIL TOLD TO DO SO.

BELOW ARE SOME QUESTIONS ABOUT CARTOON VIII. IN MOST
CASES SIMPLY CIRCLE THE ONE ANSWER YOU THINK FITS BEST.
WHERE A WRITTEN ANSWER IS CALLED FOR, WRITE YOUR ANSWER
IN THE SPACE PROVIDED.

1. What does Blacky probably feel like doing now?
    (a) Beat Tippy up.
    (b) Bark happily at the group and join them.
    (c) Show up Tippy by doing something better.
    (d) Run away to spite Mama and Papa.

2. According to Blacky, how much praise does Tippy actually deserve?
    (a) She feels Tippy fully deserves the praise.
    (b) She feels Tippy deserves some praise, but not that much.
    (c) She feels Tippy deserves to be punished instead of praised.

3. Who does Blacky feel is paying more attention to Tippy?
    (a) Mama.
    (b) Papa.
    (c) Both paying the same amount.

4. How often does Blacky see this.
    (a) Once in a while.
    (b) Fairly often.
    (c) Very often.

5. How does Blacky think Mama and Papa really feel toward her at this time?
    (a) She thinks they love her more than they do Tippy.
    (b) She thinks they love her about the same as they do Tippy.
    (c) She thinks they love her less than they do Tippy.

6. If Blacky is angry, whom is she most angry at--Mama or Papa or Tippy? . . . Why?

DO NOT TURN THE PAGE UNTIL TOLD TO DO SO.

WRITE YOUR STORY TO CARTOON IX HERE. REMEMBER--TELL
WHAT IS HAPPENING, WHY IT IS HAPPENING, HOW THE CHARACTERS
FEEL, ETC.

DO NOT TURN THE PAGE UNTIL TOLD TO DO SO.

(17)

BELOW ARE SOME QUESTIONS ABOUT CARTOON IX. IN MOST
CASES SIMPLY CIRCLE THE ONE ANSWER YOU THINK FITS BEST.
WHERE A WRITTEN ANSWER IS CALLED FOR, WRITE YOUR
ANSWER IN THE SPACE PROVIDED.

1. What might have happened between the last picture and this one?

2. How is Blacky's conscience here?
    (a) Her conscience is so strong she's practically paralyzed.
    (b) Her conscience is bothering her somewhat, but she's mostly
        afraid of what will be done to her.
    (c) She's hardly bothered at all by her conscience, just afraid
        of what will be done to her.

3. Which character do the actions of the pointing figure remind Blacky of?

4. Who is really to blame for Blacky's feeling this way?
    (a) Herself.
    (b) Somebody else . . . Who?
    (c) The situation couldn't be helped.

5. How guilty does Blacky feel here?
    (a) She feels very guilty.
    (b) She feels fairly guilty.
    (c) She hardly feels guilty at all.

6. What might Blacky do now?

7. Do you think Blacky will
    (a) Have this feeling as long as she lives?
    (b) Feel bad every now and then?
    (c) Feel bad for a little while and then go out and play?

DO <u>NOT</u> TURN THE PAGE UNTIL TOLD TO DO SO.

WRITE YOUR STORY TO CARTOON X HERE. REMEMBER--TELL
WHAT IS HAPPENING, WHY IT IS HAPPENING, HOW THE CHARACTERS
FEEL, ETC.

DO <u>NOT</u> TURN THE PAGE UNTIL TOLD TO DO SO.

BELOW ARE SOME QUESTIONS ABOUT CARTOON X. IN MOST CASES
SIMPLY CIRCLE THE ONE ANSWER YOU THINK FITS BEST. WHERE
A WRITTEN ANSWER IS CALLED FOR, WRITE YOUR ANSWER IN THE
SPACE PROVIDED.

1. Whom does the figure remind Blacky of?

2. In Blacky's mind, how does Mama stack up against the dream figure
   when she compares them?

3. What would be the main reason for Blacky wanting to be like the
   figure in her dream?
   (a) Then she would show up Tippy.
   (b) Then she would be the envy of all female dogs.
   (c) Then she would be loved more by Mama and Papa.
   (d) Then she would be very popular with the males.

4. What does Blacky herself probably feel about her chances of growing
   up to be like the figure in her dreams?
   (a) She probably feels she has a very good chance to grow up to
       be like that.
   (b) She probably feels that she has a fair chance to grow up to
       be like that.
   (c) She probably feels she has a very poor chance to grow up to
       be like that.

5. Actually, what are Blacky's chances of growing up to be like the
   figure in her dream?
   (a) Very good.
   (b) Fair.
   (c) Very poor.

6. How often does Blacky probably have this kind of dream?
   (a) Very often.
   (b) Fairly often.
   (c) Once in a while.

DO **NOT** TURN THE PAGE UNTIL TOLD TO DO SO.

WRITE YOUR STORY TO CARTOON XI HERE. REMEMBER--TELL
WHAT IS HAPPENING, WHY IT IS HAPPENING, HOW THE CHARACTERS
FEEL, ETC.

DO <u>NOT</u> TURN THE PAGE UNTIL TOLD TO DO SO.

BELOW ARE SOME QUESTIONS ABOUT CARTOON XI. IN MOST CASES SIMPLY CIRCLE THE ONE ANSWER YOU THINK FITS BEST. WHERE A WRITTEN ANSWER IS CALLED FOR, WRITE YOUR ANSWER IN THE SPACE PROVIDED.

1. Who is the figure Blacky is dreaming about?

2. Whom does the figure remind Blacky of?

3. Which of the following possibilities would attract Blacky most?
   (a) The possibility that the dream figure looks like herself, which would increase her pride.
   (b) The possibility that the dream figure looks like Papa, which would remind her of the good old days.
   (c) The possibility that the dream figure looks like someone else, whom she would make happy by giving him all her love.

4. Why does Blacky feel so contented while she is dreaming?
   (a) She feels everyone will admire her.
   (b) She feels contented thinking about Papa.
   (c) She feels the dream figure will be delighted by her attentions.

5. In Blacky's mind, how does Papa stack up against the dream figure when she compares them?

6. Would Blacky rather be like the figure in her dreams? . . . Why?

DO **NOT** TURN THE PAGE UNTIL TOLD TO DO SO.

APPENDIX C

DIRECTIONS FOR DEFENSE PREFERENCE INVENTORY
AND CARTOON PREFERENCE

DPI SCORING KEY

INSTRUCTIONS FOR THE DEFENSE PREFERENCE INVENTORY
AND CARTOON PREFERENCES

Now we are going to have another task involving the Blacky
Pictures. On each page of the booklet before you is a series of five
statements describing some possible feelings or reactions of Blacky in
one of the pictures shown earlier. We will flash each picture again
briefly and then ask you to rank the five statements as to how well you
think they represent the way Blacky seems to be feeling in the situation.
Naturally there are no right or wrong answers involved. Just write a
"1" alongside the statement that fits best, a "2" along side the second
best, a "3" along side the third best, a "4" along side the statement
that fits fourth best, and a "5" for the one that fits worst. Regardless
of how well or how poorly the statements seem to fit, be sure to rank
them all from 1 through 5. Never leave a statement unranked. You
will have 60 seconds to complete each set of rankings, so you will have
to work rapidly. Never turn the page until I give the signal. There
will be a warning when only 10 seconds are left. Please indicate at
the bottom of the page whether you like or dislike the cartoon.

Before I collect the booklets I want to find out which cartoon you
like best and which cartoon you like least. Please turn to the back of
the last page in the booklet and write the words like best and like least.
I am going to hold up a board containing all 11 Blacky Pictures.
Select the number of the cartoon which you like best and the number of
the cartoon you like least and place it opposite the words which reflect
your choice. Please write a short statement indicating the reasons for
your selections.

DPI SCORING KEY

Av = Avoidance
RF = Reaction Formation
P   = Prejection
Rg = Regression
Int = Intellectualization

	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI
A	Int	Rg	Av	RF	Int	RF	Rg	Av	P	Av	P
B	Rg	RF	Int	P	Av	Rg	P	RF	Av	P	Int
C	P	Int	Rg	Av	RF	P	Av	Int	↗RF	Rg	RF
D	RF	Av	P	Rg	P	Int	Int	Rg	↘Int	RF	Av
E	Av	P	RF	Int	Rg	Av	RF	P	Rg	Int	Rg

Rank all of the following statements according to how well they seem to fit the situation.

1 = fits best	4 = fits fourth best
2 = fits second best	5 = fits worst
3 = fits third best	

I

___A. Blacky makes sure she eats heartily to facilitate the growth of healthy bodily tissues which will fortify her for activities which might lie ahead.

___B. Blacky tends to act in the same helpless infantile way as when she was first born, often stuffing herself more than is good for her.

___C. Blacky is busy getting her dinner here, but she thinks it is really Mama who makes her eat so much all the time.

___D. As Blacky eats, she thinks to herself that its about time she went after her own food rather than having to depend on Mama.

___E. When Blacky is busy with other things, she often forgets to come to eat, but here she's making up for lost time.

II

___A. When Blacky gets angry, she often throws a temper tantrum like she did in her earlier days.

___B. Blacky tries to pretent that she's ferocious, but when Mama is around she is sure to be overly gentle, calm, and well-behaved.

___C. Blacky is a firm believer in the idea of releasing ones' aggressions, so she feels justified in ripping Mama's collar here.

___D. Blacky is so intent on chewing the collar to pieces that she doesn't even realize it belongs to Mama.

___E. In Blacky's own way of thinking, her family has been treating her so unfairly that she feels entitled to chew up the collar.

Rank all of the following statements according to how well they seem to fit the situation.

1 = fits best   4 = fits fourth best
2 = fits second best   5 = fits worst
3 = fits third best

III

___A. It may look like Blacky is relieving herself between her parents' houses, but possibly she's just digging a hole to bury a bone.

___B. Blacky knows Mama and Papa are not going to like the spot she chose, but to her way of thinking a dog's physical well-being is extremely important.

___C. The consequences of Blacky's relieving herself there might very well make her wish that she were a young pup again.

___D. Blacky thinks her behavior here is perfectly all right because she senses that Mama and Papa have been unreasonably irritated with her, even though their actions didn't show it.

___E. Blacky figures that Mama and Papa will be pleased to find her so clean and neat about covering her mess.

IV

___A. Blacky is feeling irritable, but she'll cheer up when she realizes that Mama and Papa love each other so much.

___B. Though Blacky is the one behind the bushes, she's still upset by the thought that her parents are hiding their love-making from her in order to keep her out of the group.

___C. At the moment Blacky is upset watching her parents together, but she'll soon forget her anger as she starts playing again.

___D. As Blacky watches, she works herself into a fit of anger and help-less rage which will force Mama to take care of her again.

___E. Blacky feels justified in getting angry here because she wants her parents to enjoy the other activities they had planned.

Rank all of the following statements according to how well they seem to fit the situation.

1 = fits best	4 = fits fourth best
2 = fits second best	5 = fits worst
3 = fits third best	

V

___A. Blacky has come to believe that frequent explorations of this sort are necessary to learn more about the role of her sexual anatomy in the functioning of her body.

___B. Though licking herself, Blacky isn't affected by sexual sensations and will soon more on to other parts of her body.

___C. Blacky will soon give up this childish practice and will devote her time to more constructive activities.

___D. Blacky is enjoying her discovery, but she knows that others often get very upset and guilty over such actions.

___E. When Blacky gets puzzled by a strange new experience like this, she naturally thinks back to the "good old days" before such problems existed.

VI

___A. Blacky is intently watching this scene, waiting to see if Tippy's appearance will be improved as a result.

___B. Blacky's anticipation of this happening to her will lead her to act like a puppy too young to have her tail removed.

___C. Blacky's own reaction here is merely one of interest, but she thinks that seeing such an act would make other dogs panicky whenever they got around a knife.

___D. Blacky is frightened here, but she knows that experiences like this will toughen her for future trials and tribulations.

___E. At first Blacky is terrified by seeing the knife, but she soon decides that it must be some new kind of game.

Rank all of the following statements according to how well they seem to fit the situation.

1 = fits best   4 = fits fourth best
2 = fits second best   5 = fits worst
3 = fits third best

VII

___A. Blacky is so perplexed and frustrated by the toy that she may lose control of her temper the way she did when she was a pup.

___B. Blacky wants to mind her own business but she figures the toy dog is trying to start a fight by blocking her path.

___C. Blacky is eagerly calling the family's attention to her new toy dog, which she is very proud of.

___D. Blacky feels justified in this furious outburst against the toy dog because, after all, discipline is vital to the development of a well-rounded personality.

___E. Blacky is delighted to have this little companion to whom she can give advice, love and affection.

VIII

___A. Standing off at a distance like this, Blacky is impressed primarily by the fact that her family is such an intimate group.

___B. Blacky is pleased to see Mama and Papa being affectionate to Tippy, since she feels that Tippy deserves a turn at getting attention.

___C. Blacky believes that insight into her own jealousy of Tippy will enable her to handle herself better in competitive situations later on.

___D. As Blacky watches the rest of the family, she'll act like a helpless infant so they will have to treat her like a baby the way they once did.

___E. Blacky suspects that Tippy has been trying to win over Mama and Papa because Tippy is envious of their feelings toward Blacky.

Rank all of the following statements according to how well they seem to fit the situation.

1 = fits best   4 = fits fourth best
2 = fits second best   5 = fits worst
3 = fits third best

IX

___A.   Blacky feels she wouldn't be in the spot she's in now if others hadn't led her astray.

___B.   Blacky's unhappiness will force her to drift into other thoughts which don't bother her as much.

___C.   After an experience like this, Blacky will become a model of virtue and scrupulously avoid any wrongdoing.

___D.   Though she's suffering now, Blacky will come to realize that her code of ethics is needlessly strict and confining.

___E.   This experience proves so disturbing to Blacky that it will be a long time before she is able to act her age again.

X

___A.   Blacky isn't concerned about not getting a dog like this, because she figures that even handsome males are sometime inadequate in their dealings with females.

___B.   Blacky hasn't been very successful in her love life, but she likes to believe that fantasy often serves as a preparation for action.

___C.   Blacky is solely concerned with adding to her long list of male conquests, and where she is dreaming of another prospect.

___D.   Blacky's dream is becoming clearer to her, but she still can't make out who that familiar figure could be.

___E.   Blacky is dreaming here of a mate who will cater to her strong needs for comfort, support and protection.

Rank all of the following statements according to how well they seem to fit the situation.

1 = fits best   4 = fits fourth best
2 = fits second best   5 = fits worst
3 = fits third best

XI

___A. Blacky is enjoying her dream now, but she probably won't remember it when she wakes up.

___B. As Blacky dreams, she thinks of the gap between what her family really is like and what ideal dogs should be.

___C. When Blacky wakes up to what she's really like, she'll want to run to her parents for advice and comfort.

___D. After Blacky awakens, she'll begin to show off and act like the big shot she dreamt about.

___E. Blacky figures she doesn't amount to much now, but knowing where one really stands is half the battle.

APPENDIX D

RESEARCH INFORMATION FORM

RESEARCH INFORMATION FORM

1. Identification No. _____   2. Birth date. _____

3. Age in years. _____   4. Place of Birth _____

5. Approximate Size of Home Community _____   6. Number of Children _____

7. Number of years married _____   8. Ages and Sex of Children _____
   (e.g. Boy-4)

9. Religious Preference _____   _____

   _____

10. Church Attendance (check one)
    _____ Once every week
    _____ About twice a month
    _____ About once a month
    _____ A few times a year

11. Ethnic Background_____
    (i.e., nationality of husband's
    father)

12. Education (check one)
    _____ Grade School
    _____ High School
    _____ College
    _____ Post Grad

13. Are you presently employed?
    Yes _____   No._____

    If yes, by whom?

    _____

14. Did you attend college? Yes __ No __

    If Yes, how many years?_____
    Major _____
    Degree_____
    (e.g., RN, BS, AB, etc.)

15. Husband's Occupation_____

16. Employed by _____

17. Education (of husband)
    _____ Grade School
    _____ High School
    _____ College
    _____ Post Grad

18. If husband is a student, please
    answer the following questions:

    Major _____

    College Class _____ .
    (e.g., frosh, soph, grad, etc.)

    Occupational objective_____
    (e.g. medical doctor, teaching,
    lawyer, etc.)

19. What was your total family income in 1960 considering all sources
    such as wages, assistantships, etc. ?

    /Under $1000/   /$1000-1999/   /$2000-2999/   /$3000-3999/

    /$4000-4999/   /$5000-5999/   /$6000-6999/   /$7000-7999/

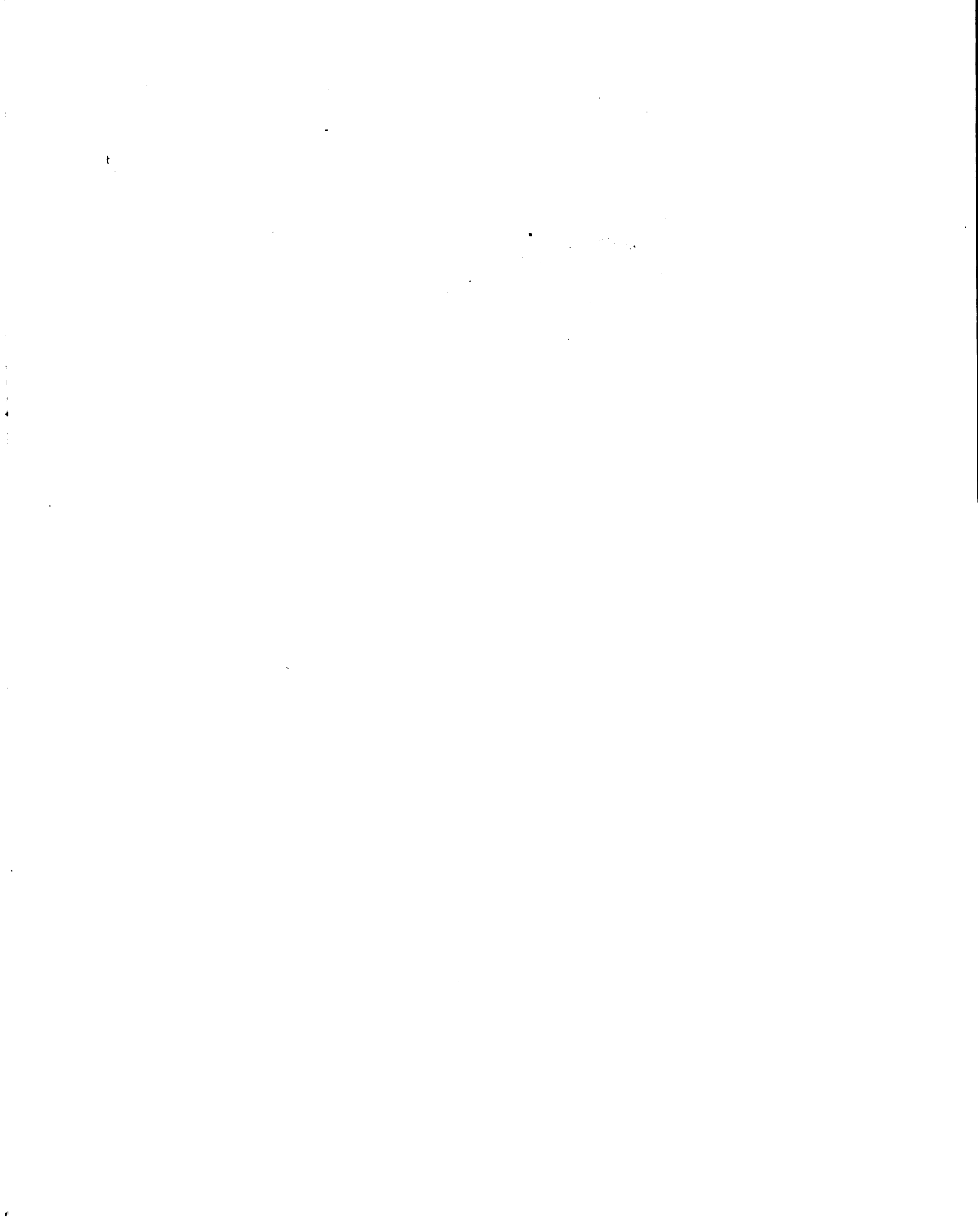   /$8000-9999/   /$10,000 or over/

APPENDIX E

DISTRIBUTION OF RAW SCORES, MEANS, STANDARD
DEVIATIONS AND CORRELATION OF PARI FACTORS A AND B

DISTRIBUTION OF RAW SCORES, MEANS, STANDARD DEVIATIONS AND CORRELATIONS OF PARI FACTORS A AND B

Factor A[*]		Factor B[**]	
Interval	F	Interval	F
190-194	3	125-129	3
185-189	1	120-124	2
180-184	4	115-119	8
175-179	4	110-114	9
170-174	5	105-109	9
165-169	4	100-104	12
160-164	2	95-99	11
155-159	0	90-94	10
150-154	4	85-89	1
145-149	7	80-84	2
140-144	4	75-79	2
135-139	4	70-74	3
130-134	11		
125-129	6	N = 72	
120-124	3		
115-119	2		
110-114	2		
105-109	0		
100-104	4		
95-99	0		
90-94	1		
85-89	1		

N = 72

$\overline{X}_A = 146.1$ $\overline{X}_B = 102.8$

S_A 25.9 S_B 13.9

$r_{ab} = .09$

[*]Constant of 200 added to eliminate negative scores.
[**]Constant of 100 added to eliminate negative scores.