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WILLIAM JAMES MUMMERY

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this study is to explore the relationships between the tendency to conform to others' judgments and ways of handling hostility.

Psychoanalytically oriented personality theories view an excessive need to conform as a psychological coping mechanism, as one of numerous ways of dealing with threatening hostile feelings and impulses toward others (Adorno, Frenkel-Brunswick, Levinson, & Sanford, 1950; Alexander & Ross, 1950; Fenichel, 1945; Fromm, 1941; Fromm-Reichmann, 1950; Horney, 1939; Thompson, 1950). A now familiar example of one mechanism of coping with hostility is the apparent need to conform to authority which is described as an aspect of the personality syndrome "authoritarianism" by Adorno et al. (1950). As interpreted in a psychoanalytic frame of reference, such conformity is viewed as a defense involving repression, dissociation, projection, and denial of threatening hostile-aggressive feelings and impulses toward authority. The

findings of Adorno et al. (1950) suggest that excessive fear of and dependency upon strict, moralistic, dominating parent figures tend to be perpetuated and generalized to all authority figures. By depending upon others the person thus avoids any conflict with authority.

Psychoanalytically oriented personality theorists view hostile destructive reactions of the child to felt rejection, to deprivation, and to frustration as powerful impulses with which the child must learn to cope in order to meet the demands of reality. The kind of control developed is greatly influenced by the reactions of parents and by relationships of the parent with the child. These writers generally agree upon the great difficulty of learning to handle these reactions and upon the tendency for maladaptive ways of coping with these reactions to develop. Fenichel states:

> All pregenital impulses, in their aims of incorporation seem to possess a certain destructive component. Unknown constitutional factors, and above all, experiences of frustration, greatly increase this destructive element. . . . It is often the specific repression of this sadistic component of infantile sexuality that later leads to conflicts and thus to neuroses (Fenichel, 1945, p. 73).

Parsons states:

> Evidence is overwhelming as to the enormous importance of relations to others in the development and functioning of personality. . . . we may say that the pathogenic strains center at two main points. The first concerns what psychiatrists often call the "support" a person receives from those surrounding him. . . . For the child this means, first of all, acceptance by the family. The individual is emotionally "wanted" and within considerable limits this

> attitude is not conditional on the details of his behavior. The second aspect concerns the upholding of the value patterns which are constitutive of the group . . . the compulsive "legalistic" enforcement of them [values] are the primary sources of strain in social relationships.
>
> Reactions to such strains are in their main outline, relatively familiar to students of mental pathology. The most important may be enumerated as anxiety, production of fantasies, hostile impulses, and the resort to special mechanisms of defense. In general we may say that the most serious problem with reference to social relationships concerns the handling of hostile impulses. If the strain is not adequately coped with in such ways as to reduce anxiety to manageable levels, the result will, we believe, be the generating of ambivalent motivational structures. Here, because intrinsically incompatible motivations are involved, there must be resort to special mechanisms of defense and adjustment. . . . first, by the repression of the hostile side, there develops a compulsive need to conform with expectations and retain the favorable attitudes of the object; second, by dominance of the hostile side, compulsive alienation from expectations of conformity and from the object results (Parsons, 1953, pp. 611-612).

Fromm-Reichmann asserts:

> The patient's selection of subject matter for repression and dissociation, according to my thinking, is determined by the existing cultural standards governing his life. . . .
>
> To many people it is threatening to experience within awareness feelings, thoughts, and actions which are in contrast to these standards. These "forbidden" experiences may be connected with the sense of expected disapproval by others, and so will arouse anxiety. Because of the anxiety-provoking character of culturally unacceptable experiences the patient will attempt to bar them from awareness, to dissociate or repress them. . . . At the present time feelings of hostility, antagonism, and malevolence between any two individuals seem to be more subject to disapproval in our Western culture, therefore to more repression than any other unacceptable brand of human experience and behavior (Fromm-Reichmann, 1950, p. 83).

Fenichel also states in relation to this problem:

> Social anxiety often necessitates an energetic suppression of all aggressive strivings and a development of submissiveness in order to make the environment well disposed. . . . In social anxiety the field relinquished is often the field of valuation. The patients do not dare to decide what should be accepted and what rejected; they only want to find out what others expect them to do, and act accordingly (Fenichel, 1945, p. 520).

Although clinical work constantly appears to confirm the relationship between over-conforming, dependent, submissive types of personality adjustment and underlying hostile-aggressive feelings, there is not unequivocal formal research evidence for this relationship. It seems desirable therefore to design a research project to see whether such evidence can be supplied.

Definition of Conformity

The phenomenon of being influenced by social pressure has become an exceedingly important area of investigation for the field of psychology as well as for the field of sociology. Social psychologists have considered many aspects of conforming behavior, and many variables have been shown to influence conforming behavior. In order to deal with the relationship between conformity and other variables, however, it is necessary to define conformity rigorously.

The occurrence of agreement or of disagreement among people may have a number of determinants. Whether or not agreement is conformity depends upon the determinants of the agreement. The determinants of agreement or disagreement may be conceived of as falling into one of five categories. A

person may agree with others because:

1. Independent judgment brings the person into agreement with others.

2. Despite the fact that his evaluation of the situation leads him to conclusions which differ from those of others, overt agreement is coerced by some aspect of the immediate situation.

3. Regardless of his judgment he finds it important to agree with others because of an inner (unconscious) need to avoid disagreement and implied conflict with others.

A person may disagree because:

4. Independent judgment by him leads him to conclusions which differ from the conclusions of others.

5. Regardless of his judgment he finds it important to disagree with others (presumably) because any agreement with others implies compliance and consequent threat to feelings of independence or autonomy.

Only agreement under condition 3 will be termed conformity. Conformity, therefore, refers to agreement with others which results from an inner need to avoid disagreement.

An example of conformity as here defined is found in a study by Asch (1952). In order to explore individual differences in the tendency to conform, Asch developed a contrived situation in which agreement with others could be interpreted as a consequence of an inner need to conform. He placed one naive subject in a group consisting of the subject

and nine other individuals. The others had been instructed to agree on an incorrect response to the simple problem of choosing which of three vertical lines of varying lengths was identical with a standard line presented for comparison. The naive subject was placed last in the response order, so that all the others gave their judgments orally before the subject was called upon to respond.

The effect of this kind of procedure is to exert pressure on the subject to agree with the other subjects. It is unlikely that a subject would make the kind of perceptual error which would bring him into agreement with the others; therefore, if he does agree with them he probably does so because he cannot resist the pressure to conform. That is, he finds it important to agree in order to avoid disagreement.

In this kind of situation Asch found a very significant tendency for some subjects to report agreement with an obviously false judgment concurred in by the nine planted subjects, a judgment different from that which the subject would report had it not been for the pressure created by the false group opinion. Under identical pressure however, some subjects remained independent, reporting judgments which did not deviate from the actual relationships.

The Relationship Between Conformity and Other Variables

As early as 1935 Sherif (1935) clearly demonstrated that an individual's judgment is influenced by the judgment of others in the group, and that the individuals' judgments converge. Since then there have been many studies demonstrating that various relationships hold between the tendency toward agreement and the individual's identifications or values (Newcomb, 1943; Sherif, 1936), the amount of prestige accorded the group (Berkowitz, 1957; Hyman, 1942; Janis, 1954), and the difficulty of the task or judgment (Blake, Helson, & Mouton, 1957; Luchins, 1945). An example of the interaction of a number of such variables is provided by a recent study by Blake et al. (1957). These investigators found that the type of material to be judged (factual vs. attitudinal), the difficulty of the task to be performed, and the amount of social pressure to conform were all related to the tendency to be influenced by others' judgments or opinions; further they demonstrated that individuals were consistent in the amount of yielding behavior they displayed in tasks having different contents.

The work of Adorno et al. (1950) appears to support the hypothesis that conformity may represent one of many ways of coping with hostile-aggressive feelings and impulses and that conformity is associated particularly with repression, dissociation, denial, and projection of hostile feelings and

impulses. These writers emphasize differences in ways of handling unacceptable impulses as characterizing and differentiating "High" and "Low" Authoritarians. They found that the "Highs" were less able to accept or express feelings of hostility toward authority, such feelings being so threatening that they were completely repressed or were made alien to the person's self concept. They were expressed, nevertheless, in indirect ways through mechanisms of defense such as projection of hostility onto the environment, denying feelings of hostility, and displacing hostility onto acceptable scapegoats. The "Lows" were not characterized as having less hostility but as differing in their ways of handling hostility. Unlike the "Highs," the "Lows" appeared to be more aware of even intense hostile-aggressive feelings toward authority, and more frequently they accepted hostile feelings toward others as part of themselves (Adorno et al., 1950).

In summarizing the significance of the findings of the study of The Authoritarian Personality for the field of personality theory, Sanford states:

> Subjects who are relatively free of authoritarianism also have to deal with aggression against parents, with dependence, passivity and homosexual trends. Indeed, there is nothing to indicate that these tendencies are less strong in them than in the more authoritarian subjects; the differences lie in the way these tendencies are managed (Sanford, 1956, p. 310).

Barron (1952-53) studied personality differences between groups of "Independents" and "Yielders" using an experimental situation similar to that used by Asch (1952). Barron

administered the Gough Adjective Check List (Gough, 1950) of 279 common personality descriptive adjectives to the subjects who checked those adjectives which they believed characterized themselves. He found that a number of adjectives discriminated significantly between the two groups. Among the adjectives checked more often by "Independents" were: emotional, demanding, excitable, reckless, original, artistic, logical, mischievious, moody, rational, and tactless. "Yielders" more often checked the following adjectives: determined, efficient, kind, obliging, optimistic, patient, affected, appreciative, considerate, dignified, humorous, stable, tactful, and wise. Barron summarized the material as follows:

> Self descriptions of the Independents seem to involve these factors: (1) a certain cathection of intellect and cognitive originality, as well as a spirit of openmindedness . . . (2) a high degree of personal involvement and emotional reactivity . . . (3) a lack of social ease, or an absence of commonly valued social virtues. . . .
>
> The Yielders on the other hand most strongly cathect (1) ease and helpfulness in interpersonal relations . . . (2) personal effectiveness and planfulness in achieving some goal . . . (3) personal stability and healthy mindedness. Some of them, however, confess a certain lack of spontaneity in this (Barron, 1952-53, p. 293).

The self-descriptions of the "Independents" suggest the kind of person for whom hostile-aggressive feelings and impulses may be more frequently allowed into awareness and accepted as an aspect of themselves. The emphasis on helpfulness, personal stability, and a lack of spontaneity in the

"Yielders" suggests that hostile-aggressive feelings and impulses would be less likely to be allowed into awareness; that they would be defended against by various mechanisms.

In the study by Asch (1952) previously cited, he discussed the implications of his findings as they relate to the social consequences of remaining independent vs. yielding to the pressure to agree with others. He states:

> The meaning of consensus collapses when individuals act like mirrors that reflect each other. . . . The need for consensus demands that individuals should be able to refuse agreement when they see no way of reaching it. . . . The act of independence is productive from the social point of view, since it is the only way to correct errors and to steer the social process in accordance with felt requirements. The act of yielding is antisocial because it spreads error and confusion (Asch, p. 495).

Among those who are little influenced by the pressure to conform as created by Asch's procedure, it is apparent that factors other than the desire to report reality accurately may also be operating. For example an individual might, because of strong inner needs, have to see himself as different from or as opposing others. Such an individual may find it necessary to resist yielding to the pressure of the group regardless of "reality" demands. Such needs to be "non-conformist" might easily result in less accurate reporting of "reality." Such an individual would not be acting independently, as Asch defines independence, for his judgment is also a reaction to felt pressure to conform. The factor which appears common to one who is independent and to one who resists group pressure because of his "non-conformist" ten-

dencies appears to be the ability to oppose others. For both, opposing others is not opposed to their self concepts. The conforming person, on the other hand, appears unable to express such opposition and unable to accept opposing others as a part of his self concept. He consistently inhibits or represses all tendencies to oppose others.

In another situation similar to that employed by Asch, Crutchfield also has studied personality factors which differentiate conformers from independents. Conformity was determined by the use of various types of material which ranged from purely perceptual discriminations at one extreme to purely personal preferences at the other. He found a positive correlation between yielding and authoritarianism as measured by the F scale, and negative correlations between yielding and measures of social participation and of responsibility (Crutchfield, 1955, p. 194). The subjects were also evaluated clinically by means of descriptive Q sorts. These subjects who exhibited extreme independence were described as follows:

> Takes an ascendant role in his relations with others. Is persuasive; tends to win other people over to his point of view. Is turned to for advice and reassurance. Is an expressive, ebullient person. Seeks and enjoys aesthetic and sensuous impressions. Is self-reliant; independent in judgment; able to think for himself (Crutchfield, 1955, p. 194).

In contrast to this picture, those who yielded most under social pressure were described as follows:

> With respect to authority, is submissive, compliant and overly accepting.
> Is conforming; tends to do the things that are prescribed.
> Has a narrow range of interest.
> Overcontrols his impulses; is inhibited; needlessly delays or denies gratification.
> Is unable to make decisions without vacillation or delay.
> Lacks insight into his own motives and behavior.
> Is suggestible; overly responsive to other people's evaluations rather than his own (Crutchfield, 1955, p. 194).

The inferences made from the descriptive self concepts reported by Barron (1952-53) also appear to be applicable to Crutchfield's findings. The descriptive Q sorts by the clinicians suggest that Independents and Yielders differ in the ways in which they cope with hostility. The Yielders appear more likely to repress, to inhibit, and to deny hostile feelings, but Independents express their feelings of hostility more readily.

The results of these investigations tend to support the interpretation that <u>conformity</u> is one means of coping with hostility. A justifiable inference made from the personality characteristics of the Yielders is that they have a strong need to deny and repress hostile feelings and impulses. The Independents however, do not appear to be particularly blocked in their ability to express their feelings--including their negative feelings--or to rely heavily on denial and repression of hostility.

Despite considerable research exploring the factors which influence the tendency to conform, there is only one

study which considers the relationship between the tendency to conform and hostility (Hoffman, 1953). In this study it was predicted that "compulsive conformers" would have more repressed hostility toward parents and more intropunitive handling of hostility than would independents. In a somewhat ambiguous fashion his prediction was partially confirmed.

Hoffman developed a measure of "compulsive conformity" and tested two criterion groups obtained on the basis of this measure. He then compared the responses of the two groups on a sentence completion test, two attitude questionnaires, and the TAT (Hoffman, 1953, p. 386). He chose a number of variables which, according to his hypotheses, should differentiate the two groups. He used the TAT to obtain a measure of repressed aggression toward parents and predicted that the "Highs" (compulsive conformers) would have a greater incidence of parents dying in their TAT stories. He found no difference between his two groups on this measure, however, and he states:

> Only slightly more parents were found to die in the thematic apperceptions of the highs than in those of the lows. Further investigation of the TAT protocols led to findings seemingly even more contradictory to the hypothesis that the highs have more repressed hostility than the lows. . . . that the particular measures used were at fault rather than the hypothesis was suggested after completion of all the analyses in the study revealed an over-all consistency with the theoretical formulation. It was then concluded that the TAT situation was not sufficiently remote for the highs to enable them to express their deeply repressed and feared hostile impulses "directly," even through a figure in a contrived story (Hoffman, 1953, pp. 389-390).

Hoffman then predicted that "Highs" would have more instances in their stories in which the parent is made extremely unhappy or miserable and also that the "Highs" would have a greater total number of people die in their stories. The second of these predictions was confirmed. Thus Hoffman's results do tend to support the contention in the present study that conformity is related to the way in which hostility is handled and tend to support the contention that conformity is associated with the repression of hostility.

Theoretical and Practical Problems in the Measurement of Hostility

It is evident that hostile-aggressive reactions to frustration must be modified to some extent in interpersonal relationships. Dynamically oriented theories of personality attempt to account for both adaptive and maladaptive ways in which a person modifies or learns to cope with hostile reactions to felt frustration (Fenichel, 1945; Freud, 1949; Fromm, 1950; Horney, 1939; Monroe, 1955; Thompson, 1950). According to these theories, if a person develops adequate ways of coping with frustration (so that he is more or less successful in satisfying his needs within the limits of reality demands) he would have fewer feelings of hostility and would be capable of coping with these feelings at a conscious level. One of several ways of handling unacceptable feelings of hostility is to keep these feelings out of awareness as a part of one's self concept by such mechanisms as

repression, dissociation, and projection. As a defense, conformity prevents the expression of hostility directly. At the same time, conforming can be an anti-social act and an indirect expression of hostility toward others.

In order to explore the relationship between conformity and hostility, it is necessary to differentiate between conscious and unconscious expressions of hostility. Differentiating between conscious and unconscious levels of hostility in turn appears to be a part of the larger problem of differentiating between conscious and unconscious levels of personality. The latter problem has been dealt with by a number of authorities in the field of projective testing who have asserted that the Rorschach and TAT tap different levels of personality. Shneidman (1956), for instance, views the Rorschach as revealing more of the unconscious than of the conscious aspects of personality. In supporting this stand he reports the findings of a dissertation by Stone (1953) which explored the relationship between aggressive behavior and aggressive content on the Rorschach and TAT. In evaluating the results of this study he states:

> The data do support the notion that the Rorschach taps deeper levels of personality than does the TAT; specifically, the content of the Rorschach records would seem to reveal mostly ego-alien aspects (such as hostility) whereas the TAT reveals more of the ego-syntonic features (such as how much of the hostility one can accept without its being ego-alien) (Shneidman, 1956, p. 603).

Schafer maintains a very similar position. He states:

> The Rorschach test introduces the greatest loss of reality support. . . . In contrast the Thematic Apperception Test at least shows relatively familiar situations, and the stories are subject to conscious and unconscious manipulation on some basis that satisfies the patient to some degree as to their safety or appropriateness. . . . By putting the patient in a situation more like those he encounters in daily life, and in which he has more or less well established modes of response, the TAT helps us get a balanced picture of the patient's adaptive and defensive assets and strengths (Schafer, 1954, p. 65).

Following the reasoning of Shneidman and of Schafer, it is felt that if the Rorschach and TAT could be used as different measures of hostility, one as a measure of conscious hostility and the other as a measure of unconscious hostility, a feasible approach to the exploration of the relationship between conformity and hostility might be developed. A review of the literature was undertaken to determine if there is support for the general contention that the Rorschach and TAT can be considered to measure different levels of personality functioning. If the evidence supports this contention then it would be reasonable to develop measures for studying conscious and unconscious hostility based on these two instruments. Studies related to this question were not found to support the theory unequivocally (Finney, 1955; Gluck, 1955a; Gluck, 1955b; Kagan, 1956; Lindzey & Tejessy, 1956; Mussen & Naylor, 1954; Pittluck, 1950; Radar, 1957; Smith & Coleman, 1956; Stone, 1953; Storment & Finney, 1953; Towbin, 1955; Walker, 1951), but the results do not preclude the use of these measures.

Many attempts to measure hostility have been made in studies which investigated the relationship between hostility and other variables. Projective tests have often been employed in a partially successful attempt to relate hostility as inferred from these tests to measures of overt hostility (Bernstein, 1954; Davids, McArthur, & McNamara, 1955; Elizure, 1949; Finney, 1955; Gluck, 1955b; Gorlow, Zimet, & Fine, 1952; Kagan, 1956; Lindzey & Tejessy, 1956; Mussen & Naylor, 1954; Pittluck, 1950; Purcell, 1956; Radar, 1957; Sanders & Cleveland, 1953; Scodel & Lipits, 1957; Towbin, 1955). Such studies generally assume a positive relationship between hostile content on projective tests and underlying aggressive drive, and the results are generally accepted as confirming this relationship; however studies which have used content of the Rorschach protocols as measures of hostility have yielded conflicting results. Sometimes these measures are positively related to some measure of overt aggressive behavior (Finney, 1955; Gorlow et al., 1952; Storment & Finney, 1953; Towbin, 1955); at other times they are negatively correlated (Elizure, 1949; Sanders & Cleveland, 1953; Stone, 1953).

In attempting to clarify the kind of relationship which exists between projective test content and measures of overt behavior, a number of more recent studies have evaluated the hostile content in projective tests in the context of defense mechanisms which affect the expression of hostility (Davids et al., 1955; Mussen & Naylor, 1954; Pittluck,

1950; Purcell, 1956; Radar, 1957; Scodel & Lipits, 1957; Smith & Coleman, 1956; Stone, 1953; Witkin, 1954). Generally it has been maintained that these mechanisms must be considered in order to determine the relationship between hostile content in projective tests and hostile aggressive behavior (Davids et al., 1955; Mussen & Naylor, 1954; Pittluck, 1950; Radar, 1957).

A recent study which lends strong support to the theoretical position that TAT fantasy and "signs" of hostility are more related to the conscious aspects of personality than to unconscious levels has been reported by Lindzey and Tejessy (1956). This study was designed to test Murray's contention (1951, p. 577) that the TAT's special merit is its ability to reveal things that the patient is unable to tell because he is unconscious of them. These writers predicted that ten "signs" of aggression, including "aggressive turns," "violence," and "strong aggressive fantasies" would correlate highly with aggression as determined by clinical ratings and would not correlate with the subjects' aggression as measured by "self-ratings" (Lindzey & Tejessy, 1956, p. 568). The results of this study were that only one of the ten "signs" showed a significant positive correlation with their clinical ratings of aggression and this one correlation could be expected by chance. In complete contradiction to their predictions, seven of these ten TAT variables (including those above) did show a significant positive relationship with the

subjects' self-ratings of overt observable aggression. The authors conclude:

> While there is some variability among the "signs" they appear to be much better indicators of conscious aspects of aggression than of covert or repressed aspects, in spite of the fact that most of the originators of the statements have suggested the reverse (Lindzey & Tejessy, 1956, p. 573).
>
> Our results make clear that the TAT reflects different levels of behavior and thus suggest the importance of attempts to specify conditions or factors within the story protocols that may differentiate motives or dispositions that are reflected at different levels. A significant warning that may be derived from this study is that the clinician or investigator who uses projective techniques must not assume that his results necessarily refer to unconscious or covert aspects of behavior (Lindzey & Tejessy, 1956, p. 574).

Other recent studies of the relationship between overt behavior and the content of the TAT add additional evidence that the TAT does reveal much about the conscious and overt aspects of personality and behavior, although it also may reveal the ways in which the individual may inhibit overt expression of feelings and impulses (Kagan, 1956; Lindzey & Tejessy, 1956; Mussen, 1954; Pittluck, 1950; Purcell, 1956).

From these results it appears that the TAT can be used to obtain a measure of relatively conscious hostility; that is, it does present a situation which encourages the production of material which is not denied access to conscious awareness by means of defenses including repression, projection, and denial.

The conflicting results of the studies reported above, in which a relationship between Rorschach hostile content and

some measure of overt aggression was studied, do not refute the contention that hostile content on the Rorschach reflects covert or unconscious hostility. The results only show that in some studies hostile content on the Rorschach was positively correlated with overt measures of hostile-aggression.

There are two studies which do lend support to the contention that the hostile content on the Rorschach is related to covert or unconscious hostility. The first study was a dissertation by Stone (1953), the second by Smith and Coleman (1956).

Stone tested the hypothesis that:

> (1) The acting out of hostile impulses should result in a reduction of tensions pertaining to these impulses which should be reflected in a lowered aggressive content score on the Rorschach Test; (2) a direct relationship should hold between the TAT and overt behavior. In other words the acting out of hostility behaviorally should be reflected in increased aggressive content on the TAT (Stone, 1953, p. 2).

These two hypotheses generated eight predictions which dealt with the relationships between the acting out of hostility and hostile-aggressive responses to the Rorschach and TAT. Five of his eight predictions were confirmed. Since Stone's study is an important one, the existence of the three unconfirmed predictions casts doubt on the utility of the Rorschach and TAT for measuring hostility at different levels. As a consequence, it is necessary therefore to examine the study in some detail.

Stone wished to obtain evidence that the Rorschach reveals more covert or unconscious aspects of personality than does the TAT. He presented a rationale and evidence for the idea that the Rorschach content could be used as a measure of aggression at a covert level and that TAT content could be used as a measure of aggression which is acted out. He used an existing Rorschach content scale and a TAT aggressive content scale developed by him as the two measures of aggression. He assumed that when hostile-aggressive feelings are acted out in behavior the result is a reduction of the tensions which generate these feelings. In those who act out their hostility in an overt aggressive manner, therefore, there should be less covert tension and less aggressive content in their Rorschach protocols than in the protocols of those who did not. TAT aggression, on the other hand, would be positively related to the amount of acting out of aggression.

In order to test these hypotheses he selected three groups of army prisoners which he conceived of as occupying different points on a continuum of overt aggression. Group 1, the "least aggressive," consisted of 25 men confined to prison for going AWOL or deserting from the Army while in combat in Korea. Group 2, the "medium aggressive," consisted of 27 men who went AWOL or deserted from the Army while not in combat. These men also had a record of at least two previous offenses of a similar type. Group 3, the "most

aggressive," consisted of 31 men who had acted out their hostility in an assaultive manner and were confined for this type of offense (murder, assault). In addition they had a record of at least two previous offenses of a similar nature (Stone, 1953, pp. 40-42).

Stone's predictions dealt with comparisons among the three groups with respect to the amount of hostile content they would have in their Rorschach protocols and in their TAT stories. Three of the eight predictions followed from the TAT hypothesis that: "A direct relationship should be obtained between aggressive content on the TAT and aggressive overt behavior; more aggressive content on the TAT should be associated with more overt aggressive behavior" (Stone, 1953, p. 63).

1. Group 3 should show a greater amount of aggressive content than Group 2.

2. Group 3 should show a greater amount of aggressive content than Group 1.

3. Group 2 should show a higher aggressive content score on the TAT than Group 1 (Stone, 1953, p. 64).

Three more predictions followed from the Rorschach hypothesis that: "There should be a smaller amount of aggressive content on the Rorschach Test in individuals who overtly act out their hostile impulses; the acting out of hostile impulses should provide a release from aggressive tensions which should be reflected in a lowered aggressive

content score on the Rorschach" (Stone, 1953, p. 65).

4. Group 3 should show a smaller amount of aggressive content than Group 2 on the Rorschach Test.

5. Group 3 should show a smaller amount of aggressive content on the Rorschach than Group 1.

6. Group 2 should show a smaller amount of aggressive content on the Rorschach than Group 1 (Stone, 1953, p. 67).

Two predictions were made (presumably) after Stone had found that not all of his predictions had been confirmed. He states: "These predictions are based on the line of reasoning from which the original hypotheses were derived; namely, that the acting out of hostility should be reflected in diminished aggressive content on the Rorschach Test and increased aggressive content on the Thematic Apperception Test" (Stone, 1953, p. 68).

7. Group 3 should show less aggressive content than combined Groups 1 and 2 on the Rorschach Test.

8. Group 3 should show more aggressive content than combined Groups 1 and 2 on the TAT (Stone, 1953, p. 69).

Predictions 3, 5, and 7 were not confirmed. For prediction 3, Stone found that a reverse trend was shown, but the trend was not significant. For prediction 5, Stone found a reverse trend which was significant. For prediction 7, Stone found practically no difference between Group 3 and combined Groups 1 and 2 (Stone, 1953, pp. 64-69).

Stone tried to account for his failure to confirm his predictions by reasoning that such variables as "ego strength" and "stress tolerance" might well affect the aggression scores (Stone, 1956, p. 450). He then suggested that Group 1 should not be included on a "gradient" of aggression and stated: "If, however, we use our two groups which are most comparable with respect to our criterion, and eliminate from consideration that group which does not conform to a 'gradient of aggression,' then our predictions are born out and our hypotheses verified" (Stone, as quoted in Shneidman, 1956, p. 602).

By excluding Group 1 from this "gradient of aggression" Stone weakened his predictions unnecessarily. Let us see what can be made of these unconfirmed predictions if Group 1 is retained on this continuum of aggression. On the basis of the criteria for choosing the three groups, the present writer is led to characterize the three groups as follows:

The behavioral criterion for placing subjects in Group 1 suggests that these subjects are the least hostile group on the continuum of hostile aggression. From their records they have displayed neither direct nor indirect aggressive behavior in the past. Their offenses do not appear to be acts of hostile-aggression but only attempts to escape from a situation in which their lives were threatened. On the other hand the present writer is led to believe that both Group 2 and Group 3 are high on the continuum of hostile aggression, differing primarily in the way in which hostility

is handled. Group 3 appears to be free to act out hostility in direct aggressive acts but Group 2 appears to inhibit the expression of direct aggression. For Groups 2 and 3 there is no adequate way of determining which is the more hostile. The criteria for choosing these groups is mainly one which refers to the way in which hostility is expressed rather than the amount of hostility present.

With the three groups re-evaluated in this fashion we can return to the predictions based on Stone's two hypotheses concerning the level of personality in the content of the TAT and Rorschach.

From the nature of Group 2 there does not appear to be an adequate basis for making his third prediction. The prediction that Group 2 should show a higher aggressive content score on the TAT than Group 1 appears to have no basis because there is no way of evaluating the strength of underlying hostility in relation to the opposing strength of the inhibitory forces in Group 2. Therefore, whether the aggression expressed by Group 2 in the TAT would be greater than the aggression expressed by Group 1 cannot be predicted.

Again referring to the characteristics of the three groups in relation to the assumption that overt hostile aggression is revealed in the content of the TAT, we would expect Group 3 to show more aggressive content than Group 1 or Group 2 (predictions 1 and 2). This is so because Group 1 is a low hostility group and because Group 2 is a high

hostility group which inhibits the expression of hostility.

A re-evaluation of Stone's predictions concerning the relationship between the three groups in the amount of aggressive content they would be expected to produce on the Rorschach provides a basis for predictions 4 and 6 but does not provide a basis for making prediction 5. In comparing Groups 1 and 3 we would expect to find what Stone actually did find (as contrasted with what he predicted); that Group 3 would have a greater amount of hostile-aggressive content on the Rorschach than Group 1. At the very least, since we have no way of knowing how much hostility would be dissipated by acting out aggressively, we would be unable to predict the direction of the difference between Group 1 and 3 in the amount of hostile-aggressive content produced.

Group 3 would be predicted to show a smaller amount of aggressive content on the Rorschach than Group 2 (prediction 4); that is, Group 2, a hostile group, inhibits the expression of aggression directly, which Group 3 does not do, so that Group 2 would have more underlying hostility. Group 2 would be expected to show a greater amount of aggressive content on the Rorschach than Group 1 (prediction 6) since it is not only a more hostile group but it also inhibits the overt expression of hostile-aggressive feelings.

Stone's remaining two predictions depend upon the outcome of the predictions with which we have just dealt. Both predictions involve the comparison of Group 3 with

Groups 1 and 2 combined. Prediction 8 deals with the TAT. It has already been demonstrated that Group 3 has a higher aggressive content score than either Group 1 or 2; therefore we expect Group 3 to be higher than the combination of Groups 1 and 2. No further information is gained by the confirmation of this prediction.

Prediction 7 deals with the Rorschach. It has already been shown that Group 3 has more hostility on the Rorschach than Group 1, and Group 2 has more hostility on the Rorschach than Group 3. Whether Group 3 will have more hostility than the combination of Groups 1 and 2 depends upon relationships among the three groups which we just cannot predict.

It can be concluded, therefore, that the three unconfirmed predictions should not have been made because they do not necessarily follow from the nature of the three groups as evaluated here. There is no clear basis for making predictions 5 and 7. The basis for making prediction 3 also is not clear. It may be concluded further, therefore, that the unconfirmed predictions in Stone's study do not preclude the use of the Rorschach and TAT to measure different levels of hostility.

The second study which lends support to the contention that the Rorschach and thematic fantasy tests like the TAT tap different levels of personality functioning was carried out by Smith and Coleman (1956). They found:

> A positive and statistically significant relationship . . . between the degree to which hostile themes were acted out without modification in the MAPS protocols and overt hostility. . . . There was a low but statistically significant correlation between the hostile content in the Rorschach and overt hostility. This relationship was essentially curvilinear with high and low amounts of hostility being associated with low overt hostility and mid-range amounts of hostile content being associated with high overt hostility. . . . The different relationships found between the MAPS and Rorschach hostile content and overt hostility indicated that the two tests were measuring different aspects of this personality dimension (Smith & Coleman, 1956, p. 333).

Their hypothesis that "hostile content in the Rorschach is an expression of covert hostile tension" (Smith & Coleman, 1956, p. 327) and also that "there would be a close correspondence between story stimuli and real life stimuli and that hostile content on the MAPS should approximate a direct, linear relationship to overt behavior" (Smith & Coleman, 1956, p. 326) is in line with the theoretical position of Schafer and of Shneidman which asserts that the Rorschach taps a deeper level of personality than does the TAT.

The results of Smith and Coleman are that those who expressed the most hostility in behavior were often among those with moderate amounts of hostile content on the Rorschach while those with the highest amounts of hostile content on the Rorschach tended to be those rated lowest in hostile behavior. These findings lend support to the assumption that hostile tension may be reduced to some extent through expression in behavior. More pertinent to the present problem is that the findings of Smith and Coleman

do support the contention presented here that different ways of handling hostility can be revealed by comparing hostility on the Rorschach with that found in the content of a test like the TAT or MAPS tests.

In reporting the findings of Stone and of Smith and Coleman, no description of the measures used in these studies was included. The measures were omitted because the methods of scoring for hostile content on both the Rorschach and TAT are very similar to those used in the present research. These are described in detail in the section on Method (pp. 45-46, 49-50).

Conceptual position of the present research. We have presented a line of reasoning based on psychoanalytically oriented theory concerning the relationship between conformity and the way in which hostile-aggressive feelings and impulses are handled by the individual. Analytically oriented theory states that conformity can be used as a means of avoiding the arousal of anxiety which would result from the threat of becoming aware of hostile impulses. By conforming, the person avoids the development of situations in which he would be at odds with others and thereby avoids expression of opposition or of hostility toward others. Being in a situation which might demand expression of hostility and being in a situation of disagreement which might develop into expression of hostility is threatening for those who must repress hostile impulses toward others. Conforming therefore is a technique

which prevents the development of opposition and the possibility of the expression of hostility.

From leading workers in the field of projective test theory and from a review of attempts to study the relationship between hostility in projective tests and other measures of hostility, it is assumed that the TAT and Rorschach do tap different levels of personality. The assumption is made that the TAT is more likely than the Rorschach to reveal aspects of personality which the person can tolerate or accept as part of himself. It is assumed that the Rorschach, on the other hand, reveals more of the unconscious aspects of the personality.

On the basis of these assumptions and the experimental evidence outlined, it appears possible to test the theory of the dynamics of the relationship between conformity and ways of coping with hostility. It follows that the relationship between the amount of hostility expressed at a more conscious level as compared to the amount expressed at a more unconscious level would permit one to make predictions about conformity.

Conformity predictions from TAT vs. Rorschach hostility. Suppose persons were placed in a situation similar to that created by Asch in which each is forced to make an individualistic choice and disagree with others or to agree with others at the expense of his personal judgment. Such a situation will be referred to as one in which there is

pressure to conform.

Those individuals who express relatively little hostile content in their TAT stories and relatively much hostility in their Rorschach protocols would tend to yield to the pressure to conform. This prediction is made because this pattern of expressing hostility is assumed to show the need to avoid hostility producing situations in order to keep hostile impulses repressed. Those who express relatively much hostility in their TAT stories and relatively little in their Rorschach protocols would tend to resist pressure to conform. Conformity as a defensive technique is not necessary for them. Those who express relatively little hostility at both levels would tend to resist pressure to conform. A tendency to resist in these individuals is based on the assumption that the failure to express hostility at either level is an indication of relatively little hostility within the personality and therefore there would be little need to repress it or to conform in order to maintain repression of hostile impulses. Finally, those who express relatively large amounts of hostility at both levels would tend to resist social pressure to conform. They would tend to be most resistant to conformity since they appear to have a high degree of hostile tension and a high degree of awareness and expression of hostile feelings. For those who express relatively large amounts of hostility at both levels, there would appear to be little need to rely heavily on the

technique of conformity in order to repress or suppress hostile-aggressive feelings and impulses. Though they have much hostile tension they do not inhibit its expression in consciousness.

CHAPTER II

PROBLEM

A line of reasoning has been presented which leads to the conclusion that a relationship should be found between the mode of handling feelings of aggression or hostility and the degree of conformity displayed in social situations. In general, the purpose of this study is to evaluate this line of reasoning by determining whether such a relationship exists.

The theoretical position states that individuals who repress feelings of hostility are more likely to be conformers than are individuals who do not repress feelings of hostility. In order to determine whether such a relationship (i.e. the relationship between ways of handling hostility and degree of conformity) exists, one must be able to designate different levels of consciousness at which these feelings of hostility are experienced. An argument was presented which leads to the designation of hostility which is inferred from Rorschach responses as "unconscious hostility"; feelings of hostility which are inferred from TAT responses are designated "conscious hostility." In effect, a conscious

unconscious dichotomy is superimposed upon a continuum of expression of hostility.

Within each class (Rorschach, or unconscious, and TAT, or conscious) another dichotomy may be formed: a high degree of hostility and a low degree of hostility. By combining classes across levels, four classes are generated: high degree unconscious-low degree conscious, high degree unconscious-high degree conscious, low degree unconscious-high degree conscious, and low degree unconscious-low degree conscious. Since Rorschach and TAT responses have been equated with unconscious and conscious levels, respectively, the four classes may be designated as:

Class I. High Rorschach-Low TAT. This class contains individuals who characteristically are presumed to repress feelings of hostility. They show a large amount of unconscious hostility but little conscious hostility. These individuals would be expected to yield to pressure to conform since they appear to repress hostile feelings.

Class II. High Rorschach-High TAT. This class contains individuals who characteristically are presumed to express much unconscious hostility and much hostility at a conscious level. These individuals would be expected to resist pressure to conform since they have little need to inhibit feelings of hostility.

Class III. Low-Rorschach-Low TAT. This class contains individuals who are presumed to have relatively little

hostility since little is found at either conscious or unconscious levels. Such individuals would have little need to yield to social pressure in order to maintain repression of hostile feelings; hence there should be little evidence of conformity.

Class IV. Low Rorschach-High TAT. This class contains individuals who have much conscious hostility but little hostility at a more unconscious level. In a manner which is consistent with the results of studies reported above (pp. 18-29), individuals in this class are seen as ones who discharge hostility regularly. As a consequence, hostility at an unconscious level is dissipated. Therefore, individuals in Group IV would appear to have little need to repress hostile-aggressive feelings and would not be expected to conform.

According to the theory under consideration, the High Rorschach-Low TAT group consists of individuals who are most likely to be conformers. The ranking of each of the other groups is not clearly predicted by the theory, but one might reasonably expect that all three groups will be significantly less conforming than the High Rorschach-Low TAT group.

Despite the directness with which this prediction follows from the line of reasoning developed above, it is desirable to find the answers to two other questions first. These questions arise because of the difficulties encountered by previous investigators in their use of the Rorschach and TAT

to measure different levels of hostility. The questions are: Is there a relationship between ways of handling hostility and the tendency to conform to others' judgments? Is there a relationship between Rorschach and TAT measures of hostility? The first question is a very general one, the answer to which would permit statements to be made about the relationships between the tendency to conform and Rorschach hostility, TAT hostility, and the interaction between Rorschach and TAT hostility. The answer to the second question would throw direct light upon the issue of whether the Rorschach and TAT measures of hostility deal with hostility expressed on two different levels of consciousness.

The primary purpose of this study is:

1. To test the prediction that individuals with a high degree of unconscious hostility who inhibit the expression of hostility at more conscious levels are more likely to conform to the judgment of others than are individuals with other conscious-unconscious hostility patterns. In other words the primary purpose is to test the prediction that the High Rorschach-Low TAT group will show a greater tendency to conform to the judgment of others than will the High Rorschach-High TAT, Low Rorschach-High TAT, or Low Rorschach-Low TAT groups.

The secondary purposes of the study are:

2. To determine the relationship between ways of handling hostility and the tendency to conform to the

judgments of others. In other words the relationship between the tendency to conform and Rorschach hostility, TAT hostility, and the interaction between Rorschach and TAT hostility will be investigated.

3. To determine the relationship between Rorschach and TAT hostility.

CHAPTER III

METHOD

In order to investigate the hypothesized relationships between conforming behavior and ways of handling hostility, it was necessary to obtain reliable measures of the tendency to conform and of hostility at different levels of awareness. On the basis of theory and of supporting research findings, it was decided that a quantification of the hostile content in Rorschach and TAT protocols would be used as measures of hostility at two different levels of personality functioning. TAT hostile content was regarded as indicative of relatively conscious hostility, and Rorschach hostile content was regarded as indicative of relatively unconscious hostility.

The technique used to obtain a measure of the tendency to conform was adapted from the technique originally used by Asch (1952) and modified by Crutchfield (1955). This technique was designed to differentiate between conformity and mere agreement. The means of producing pressure to agree with others allowed the agreement which occurred to be attributed to the individual's need to conform.

The research design included two major steps. First, a group of 52 subjects participated in the conformity test situation. These subjects were selected on the basis of criteria other than their performance on the Rorschach and TAT. Second, these subjects participated with all other students in their large introductory psychology class in taking the Rorschach and TAT tests administered to the entire class during regularly scheduled class periods. The group administration of the Rorschach and TAT was done within one month following the subjects' participation in the conformity test situation.

Subjects

Because the present study is concerned with differences in ways of coping with hostility resulting in generally successful adjustment to the demands of reality, these processes should be examined in a "normal" population; therefore the sample used consisted of 52 undergraduate male students, all of whom were enrolled in a large introductory psychology course at the University of Oklahoma during the Spring Semester of the 1958-59 academic year. These 52 subjects who participated in the conformity test situation were among the 75 male students in the course whose Freshman Placement Test scores on the Ohio State Psychological Examination fell between the third and seventh deciles inclusive. These restrictions with regard to sex and intelligence were imposed

because both variables have been shown to be related to conformity, or to susceptibility to external pressure (Crutchfield, 1955; Rosen, 1951).

The subjects were not volunteers in the usual sense; i.e., all students in the introductory psychology courses understood that they might be asked to serve as subjects in psychological research and were expected, though not required, to participate. Obtaining a representative undergraduate male sample on this basis minimized a probable source of bias which appears when only volunteer subjects are used in personality research. Limiting the sample to those who volunteer might well limit the spread on the conformity variable. Those subjects who are generally more negativistic toward authority or more hesitant to participate in psychological research probably would not volunteer; only those subjects who are more cooperative toward authority would volunteer. Previous research has demonstrated that results in the area of personality differences, especially under conditions involving authority and stress, differ for volunteer subjects as opposed to non-volunteers (Riggs, 1955, p. 239).

Rorschach Procedures

As stated above, the Rorschach and TAT tests were administered to all subjects at the same time. The simultaneous administration of the Rorschach (and of the TAT) to all subjects by a single tester eliminated tester and testing

differences from the research procedure.

Administration. The Rorschach test was administered by the group technique used by Rohrer, Bagby, and Hermann (1955). They conclude that "the results obtained by the group procedure do not differ greatly from those usually reported for similar populations under conditions of individual administration" (Rohrer et al., 1955, p. 11).

At the meeting of the class just prior to the one in which the Rorschach was administered, the class was informed that the next two class periods would be given over to the administration of two of the projective tests which the class would study later in the semester. As the students arrived for the next meeting of the class, each was given a booklet of blank paper on which the responses were recorded. After all were seated, the investigator's assistant (a graduate assistant in psychology) introduced himself and gave a brief explanation of the reason for asking the class to participate in taking these tests. He informed the class that the material would be used in research in which the department is interested. The following instructions were then given:

> Please put your name in the upper right hand corner of the first page of the test booklet which you have been given. In a few minutes the room will be darkened and you will be shown ten ink blots on the screen, one at a time. You are to write down the things suggested to you by the ink blots. There will be enough light to do this and you need not worry about either spelling or handwriting. You will write your responses in the booklet. The booklet is arranged so that each sheet can be divided into two equal columns. Turn the booklet so that there will be a left and a right column and so that the stapled end of the booklet is to your

left. Leave the first sheet blank and begin writing on the second sheet using the first or left hand column. Place a Roman numeral "I" at the top of the left hand column and use this column to write down your responses to the first card you will see. Do not use the right hand column for your responses. Begin with a new sheet for each ink blot and write down the number of the card at the top of each left hand column. If you fill the column before completing your responses to any card, turn to the back of the sheet you have just completed and continue writing your responses on the left hand side of this page.

This test is called the Rorschach Test. Everyone goes about responding to it in his own way, so there are very few rules we can give you. Each ink blot will be thrown on the screen for three minutes. Write down what you can make out on the card; what it might be, what it looks like to you, or what resemblances you find in it. Write these down describing briefly what you have seen. There are no right or wrong answers because no two people see the same things in the blot or are they reminded of the same objects in each blot. For each new idea you get when looking at each blot, start writing the new response on a new line, numbering each response to the blot consecutively. After we begin, no questions will be answered from the floor, but if you have any difficulty please raise your hand and one of us will come to your seat. Absolute quiet is necessary throughout the test. Are there any questions?

After routine questions were answered, the room was darkened and each plate was projected by means of an opaque projector onto a beaded screen for three minutes. Presentation was restricted to the upright position. Illumination in the auditorium was maintained just high enough for recording of the responses. Soft pencils were used to make it easier for the subject to see what he was writing. After the plates were projected for three minutes each, the following instructions for the inquiry were given:

Please open your booklets to your first response to Card I. The right hand column opposite your first response is for recording the additional information needed to complete the test. Now each of you has been given a sheet on which small black and white reproductions of the ten ink blots appear. Write your name on this sheet. (At this point Card I was projected on the screen.) Now, using the small reproduction of Card I, encircle the part of the blot which you used for your first response to Card I. If you used the whole blot, circle the entire figure and number your response as number 1 by extending a line from the circle in this fashion. (The procedure was demonstrated on the blackboard.) Be sure to place the number of the response at the end of this line. For every response show as accurately as possible just what portion of the blot you used. When you have done this for all of your responses to Card I, continue for Card II and so on.

Before you begin locating your responses, some additional information about them is also needed. This information is to be placed in the right hand column opposite each different response that you have made. For each response write what it was about the blot which first made you think of the response. One of three different qualities of the blot may have been used in seeing it the way you did: First, the shape of the blot may have first made you think of your response; second, the color of the blot may have first made you think of your response; third, the shading or variation of coloring may have first made you think of the response. In addition to the shape, either the color, the shading, or a combination of both may have helped you see the response as you did. If so, also write either "color" or "shading" or "color and shading." Finally, underline the aspect of the blot which was most important to you in making each particular response. If shape was most important, underline "shape"; if color was most important, underline "color," etc.

After completing this, briefly describe <u>how</u> you saw each response in a phrase or two. For example, you may have seen the whole blot in Card I as a bat. If you saw the bat as if it were flying or gliding, write this down. If, on the other hand, it appeared to be just there, mention this. (At this point Card II was projected on the screen.) On Card II you might have seen the whole blot as two clowns. They may have been just there or they may have appeared

to be dancing, fighting, or playing a game. Tell how they appeared to you. If they seemed to be friendly, write this in the right hand column opposite your original response. If they seemed to be angry or happy, add this to your comments. Each blot will be projected on the screen briefly so that you can add this information in your booklets.

Now to repeat: First, locate your response by circling the part of the blot you used on the location sheet, remembering to number each response. Next, in the right hand column, opposite your response, write what it was about the blot that helped make you see it the way you did--shape, color, or shading. Next, underline the quality of the blot which was most important for you. Finally, write a phrase telling briefly the way you saw your responses or any special characteristics of them.

Are there any questions? When you have finished, place the location chart inside your booklet and hand the booklet to the person at the door as you go out.

Each card was projected on the screen again for one minute. Allowing three minutes exposure for each blot and one minute for the inquiry, it was possible to complete the administration, including the location of the subjects' responses on the location sheet, within the fifty minutes alloted for a class period. The location sheets which were used were those published by Klopfer (The Psychological Corporation).

Scoring criteria. Rorschach content (as contrasted with other Rorschach categories) was chosen for analysis because it is the direct verbal expression of the subject and because it can be compared more readily with TAT hostility than can other scoring categories of the Rorschach. In addition, previous studies which were concerned with Rorschach

and TAT hostility used content as the basis of analysis (Finney, 1955; Gluck, 1955; Gluck, 1955a; Gorlow, Zimet, & Fine, 1952; Kagan, 1956; Lindzey & Tejessy, 1956; Murstein, 1956; Pittluck, 1950; Purcell, 1956; Radar, 1957; Scodel & Lipitz, 1957; Smith & Coleman, 1956; Stone, 1953; Storment & Finney, 1953; Towbin, 1955; Walker, 1951). The results of this study, therefore, may be compared to those of the investigations cited above.

Only the first response to each card was used; thus variations in the number of responses per subject was eliminated.

Aggressive percepts in the content of the Rorschach protocols were scored by the Palo-Alto Aggressive Content Scale developed by Finney (1951). This scale provides four categories of aggressive responses: "Derogatory Remarks," "Victim of Destruction," "Possibly Destructive," or "Active Destruction." A fifth category contains all other responses. Any response which can be categorized in one of the first four categories is counted, and the score for aggressive content is the number of such responses in the total response record. In addition to the main scoring principles there are two supplementary scoring principles: (a) "The destructive aspects are dominant," and (b) "No more than double scoring" (Finney, 1951).

The characteristics which determine the placement of a Rorschach percept in each of the four aggressive content

categories can be summarized as follows: "Derogatory Remarks" includes all percepts which have been described or referred to in a derogatory, contemptuous, or hostile manner, the criterion being whether an ordinary person would become angry and judge the person to be hostile if the remark was made to him; "Victim of Destruction" includes all percepts in which the object has been destroyed, crippled, damaged, injured, or has some essential part missing, or is in the process of escaping, warding off, or anticipating injury or harm. There must be some animal agent or victim involved in the percept. "Possibly Destructive" includes all responses in which the percept is (a) more likely than not to attack, injure, harm, or destroy something, (b) is usually used in some destructive activity, or (c) is considered by the subject to be dangerous or frightening. The basic criterion for assigning a response to this category is whether or not the percept would usually be regarded as dangerous or destructive. "Active Destruction" includes percepts in which the movement or action is explicitly destructive in nature. The standards for deciding whether movement is present or not are the usual ones for scoring M, FM, or m. The movement must be present rather than implicit and it must be explicitly destructive.

Scoring reliability. Twenty protocols were drawn at random from the male students to whom the Rorschach had been administered during the regularly scheduled class session.

Two fourth-year psychology trainees at the Veterans Administration Hospital in Oklahoma City were made thoroughly acquainted with the scoring categories of the Palo-Alto Aggressive Content Scale and with the examples given by Finney (1951) in his instructions. Each of the three judges (the two trainees and the investigator) independently scored each record according to Finney's instructions. Where any disagreement occurred in these scorings, the response was discussed and a compromise agreement reached. Wherever the basis for this agreement could be summarized as an additional principle, it was incorporated into the scoring instruction.

Following this procedure each of the judges scored twenty more randomly selected protocols. Each protocol received a total hostility score from each scorer. The three different pairings of the twenty hostility scores obtained from each of the judges allowed the calculation of the reliability coefficient for each of the three pairs of scorings. The procedure was repeated three times until a reliability coefficient of .85 was reached for each of the three pairings.

The investigator scored all of the protocols of the actual test subjects. Identification of protocols was removed by substituting code numbers for the names of subjects.

TAT Procedures

Administration. At the regular class meeting following the administration of the Rorschach, the TAT was adminis-

tered to the entire class. Cards 1, 3BM, 4, 6BM, 8BM, 12M, 13MF, 14, and 18BM were projected on a beaded screen by means of an opaque projector. These nine cards were selected from the fifteen originally used by Stone (1956). Only nine of the 15 were used because this was the maximum number which could be administered within the 50 minutes allowed for the class period.

The instructions which preceded the projection of the TAT pictures were as follows:

> You are going to be shown a series of nine pictures somewhat like those found as illustrations for a novel or short story. Using the booklets which you have been given, write a story about what is going on in each of the pictures. Begin by telling what led up to the present scene, then describe what is going on now, and then tell how it will all turn out. Be as spontaneous as possible, writing things down as soon as they come to mind. Tell what the people are feeling and doing. Your stories should be about one page long and probably not more than two pages. You will have five minutes in which to write each story and each picture will be on the screen while you are writing. After all nine pictures have been shown, you may request that any of the pictures be shown again briefly if necessary. Start each story on a new sheet in the booklet. You may use the reverse side of a page to complete your story when necessary. If you need more room, then go on to the second sheet. Be sure to begin each new story on a new sheet regardless of how much space you used on the preceding sheet. Beginning with the first story, number your stories consecutively from one to nine. Should you fill your booklet, raise your hand and one of us will bring you another. When you have finished, check to see that your stories are completed and numbered and that your name is on each booklet that you used. After checking you may leave, but be sure to give your stories to the person stationed at the door as you go out.

All TAT stories, as well as the Rorschach protocols obtained at the previous class period, were identified by

having each student record his name, birth date, and sex on the first page of each booklet used.

Scoring criteria. The criteria for identifying fantasy aggression in the TAT stories was based on Stone's "TAT Aggressive Content Scale" used by him in the study previously described in the Introduction (pp. 21-30). Each TAT story was considered individually and was placed in one of the following four categories:

Category 0: Non-aggressive Responses
Category 1: Verbal Aggression
Category 2: Physical Aggression
Category 3: Death Concepts

If the fantasy content in a story met the criteria for one of these four categories it was placed in that category. If a single story contained fantasy content which met the criteria for more than one of the above categories only the content pertaining to the highest numbered category was scored.

Each response (or story) received a point score which was equivalent to the category number. Thus, a response in Category 2 received a point score of 2. If the aggressive action in the story was implicit rather than explicit, however, a "P" was added to the category number. In this case, the point score that would ordinarily be given to the category was cut in half. A "P" scoring was given when the hostile-aggressive response was in the form of a wish, a dream, or thought and was not carried out in the story.

On the basis of the nine TAT cards administered in the present research, the limits of the total Aggressive Content Score which any individual could receive was 0 and 27.

Scoring reliability. For purposes of determining inter-judge reliability, Stone (1953) used eight responses given to each of the fifteen cards administered. Three judges were used, and the per cent of agreement within pairs of judges was 94, 90, and 89.

In the present study the three judges used to obtain a measure of reliability were the investigator and two fourth year Clinical Psychology Trainees at the Veterans Administration Hospital in Oklahoma City. The three judges first became thoroughly acquainted with Stone's scoring system. Each judge independently scored 90 stories chosen at random from the stories of all male subjects to whom the TAT had been administered. Ten stories were scored from each of the nine cards presented. It was decided that the per cent of agreement for each of the three pairings of the judges must reach 90 before the scoring would be accepted as sufficiently reliable for the present study. All discrepancies in scoring any story were discussed among the judges after completion of the calculation of the percentage of agreement, and for each story on which there was a scoring discrepancy the differences were resolved. Another set of 90 stories was then selected and the procedure repeated. The per cent of

agreement for all three pairs of scorings exceeded 90 on the third set of stories.

Measurement of Conformity

Recording apparatus. The apparatus consisted of five panels of lights, each panel resembling an old-fashioned telephone operator's switchboard. Five subjects participated together in each conformity test situation. The five panels were placed in a row and each subject was seated directly in front of a panel. Each panel consisted of five rows of small light bulbs, four bulbs to a row. Just below the panel and the five rows of lights there was a row of four switches. Each switch represented one of four possible choices or judgments a subject could make in responding to the material presented. This material was presented to all five subjects simultaneously by means of cards projected on a beaded screen eleven feet in front of the subjects. Between each panel was a partial partition which blocked off the subject's view of the other subjects and their panels and switches.

Instructions to the subjects were designed to lead them to believe that by closing one of the four switches in front of them each could send information (his judgment or choice) to each of the other four subjects by means of their panels of lights. That is, the instructions stated that when a subject closed any one of the four switches in front of him a light would go on in the same relative position in one of

the rows on each of the others' panels. So far as the subject was concerned, therefore, closing a switch would inform each of the other subjects of his choice. He would also believe that he was informed, through his own panel of lights, of the other subjects' choices or judgments.

In reality, the subjects' switches were connected only to the bottom row of lights on their own panels and to the investigator's panel. The master panel was seen only by the investigator. This panel showed the choice of each individual as he threw his switch. From this master panel, the investigator's assistant recorded the responses made by each subject to each of the problems or tasks presented in the conformity test series.

All lights in the top four rows of lights above each subject's own row of lights were connected to a master control panel of switches. By manipulating the switches on the master panel, the investigator was able to make it appear that any desired combination of responses had been made by the other four subjects; i.e., when the investigator closed an appropriate switch on his master control panel, a light went on in exactly the same position in the same row of lights on each of the five panels of lights simultaneously. Thus the investigator supplied all information reaching the subjects by means of their panels of lights, and all subjects always received identical information about the other subjects' simulated choices on any one trial or task presented

to the group.

The panels of lights were so constructed that the subject also received information as to his assigned position in the response order by means of numbered red lights located at the left side of each panel. This column of five red lights was numbered from one to five consecutively from top to bottom. If red light number 1 was on at the side of the subject's panel he knew that he was to be the first member of the group to respond. If red light number 5 was on, the subject knew that he was to respond last. The investigator controlled this response order by means of his master panel of switches; that is, each red light on each panel was connected to a switch on the investigator's master panel.

Stimulus material. Ninety tasks were presented serially to each group of five subjects. The tasks were divided into two sub-categories, one calling for perceptual judgments, the other calling for judgments of one's attitudes or of one's personal preferences. The material about which the judgments or preferences were to be made was recorded on eight and one-half inch by ten and one-fourth inch white cards. Each card was placed in an opaque projector and projected onto a six foot by six foot beaded screen located eleven feet in front of the subjects as they sat facing their panels of lights. Each task required that the subject choose one of two, three, or four possible answers listed at the bottom of each card. The subject indicated his choice by

closing one of four switches on his panel.

Five types of tasks were included under the two subcategories, two types calling for perceptual judgments, and three calling for attitudes or personal preferences. The five types of tasks were as follows: (a) judgment of the relative lengths of four lines, judgment of the length of a line as projected on the screen, or judgment as to which of three lines was the same length as a standard line; (b) judgment of the relative areas of two geometric figures; (c) personal preference for one of two line drawings; (d) personal preference for one of two personality traits or for one of two famous people; (e) estimates of one's own personal characteristics or values or of one's agreement or disagreement with an ethical or political value. The first two types of tasks represent relatively structured perceptual judgments, while the last three types represent relatively unstructured attitudinal judgments. The two categories of material were chosen in order to investigate possible differences in conformity which might appear with structured impersonal material as opposed to unstructured personal material. Of the 90 tasks presented in the conformity test situations, 10 were used in the preparatory or "warm-up" session. The remaining 80 tasks made up the conformity test during which pressure to conform was applied on 20 items. The 80 tasks in the test series consisted of 40 from the structured category and 40 from the unstructured category. Of the 20

pressure items, 10 were structured and 10 unstructured. The 10 structured pressure items included eight items of the first type and two of the second. The 10 unstructured items included three of the third type, four of the fourth type, and three of the fifth.

The pressure items were obtained by presenting a series of 110 tasks to a norm group of 32 male students who were enrolled in the introductory psychology course during the semester preceding that in which the actual test subjects participated. The same restrictions were applied in obtaining both norm group subjects and conformity test subjects. Viewing distance and angle and all projection equipment were identical for both groups.

The percentage of norm group agreement necessary for an item to be accepted as a pressure item was set arbitrarily. Before administration of the tasks to the norm group, it was decided that at least 90 per cent agreement on one of the possible answers would be necessary for inclusion of a task as a pressure item. After administration of the 110 tasks to the norm group, it was found that for two of the unstructured types of tasks, none of the items had resulted in 90 per cent agreement on one answer. Additional items of these types were therefore constructed in an attempt to provide answers on which there would be higher agreement. These tasks were administered to a second norm group, but there were still too few items with 90 per cent agreement on one

answer. It was therefore decided to accept items from these two types having the highest percentage of agreement on one answer and to use structured items on which the percentage of agreement was as close as possible to the percentage of agreement for these unstructured items. This resulted in a range of agreement on the ten unstructured items from 84 to 98 per cent, and on structured items from 87 to 100 per cent. The mean per cent of agreement for the ten structured items was 93.8 and for unstructured items, 91.5. A list of these 20 pressure items is presented in Table 2, pages 66-67.

Procedure. The conformity test was administered to 56 male students enrolled in the second semester, 1958-59, introductory psychology course five weeks after the beginning of the semester. Nineteen additional male students whose OSPE scores fell between the third and seventh decile did not participate because they had previous commitments during the week end when the test was administered or because they failed to appear for their scheduled test session and could not be worked in for a subsequent session.

Testing sessions were scheduled beginning on Friday morning and continuing through Sunday evening. They were scheduled during one week end in order to minimize the possibility that subjects who had participated in the conformity test procedure might discuss the procedure with those who were to participate at a later session.

In order to maintain the same degree of pressure to conform in all groups, it was essential for five subjects to participate in each session. Therefore a substitute subject was available for each session in the event that one of the subjects failed to appear. If more than one subject failed to appear, that session was cancelled and, when possible, these subjects were re-scheduled for a subsequent session. The stand-by subject was a paid assistant who was also a student in the introductory psychology class. When a scheduled subject did not appear within ten minutes of the appointed time, the stand-by subject presented himself as the fifth subject. If the scheduled subject appeared later, he was re-scheduled by the receptionist. When the stand-by subject participated, responses from his panel were eliminated in tabulating the data.

The initial phase of the conformity test procedure consisted of a series of ten trials or tasks and included an example of each of the five types of tasks. During this phase of the test, the subjects were assigned to two of the five different positions in the response order and were administered five tasks in each position. The investigator fed appropriate simulated responses into the panels. As a result of the instructions they had received, the subjects were led to believe that each had a different position in the response order.

At the conclusion of this series of 10 trials, the

investigator announced that each subject would be assigned to a permanent position. During the final test series, the investigator continued to supply all of the simulated responses of the other four subjects on each trial. With one restriction, the 90 tasks administered were presented randomly; the first two times a specific type of task appeared, it was not used as a critical task. This procedure was followed so that two tasks of each type appeared before pressure to conform and that type of material appeared together. It was felt that by maintaining this restriction there would be less chance for the subjects to discover the deception inherent in the procedure.

During the conformity test series, each subject saw a light go on in one row after another until the simulated choices of each of the other four subjects had appeared on his panel. By following the procedure outlined here, identical conditions of "pressure to conform" were provided for all subjects at all times.

In order to maintain the deception, three additional precautions were taken. First, the investigator cautioned the subjects not to clear their switches until given the signal to clear. He said that there would be a slight delay between the presentation of successive cards so that he and his assistant could record the responses and check the apparatus. This explanation was used to provide a reason for the elapsed time between the closing of a switch by the subject

who responded most quickly and the one who was slowest to close his switch on each trial. Second, the subjects were told at the beginning of the "warm up" series and again at the beginning of the test series that they must wait for their turn before closing a switch to record their choice, that the apparatus would not record a response on the other panels if it were not made in the order designated by the red light. A subject might otherwise wonder why there was no comment from the other subjects if he should make an error and close a switch at a time other than in the assigned order. Third, in order to discourage the association of a particular row of lights with one subject who might be perceived as quick or slow to respond, the investigator varied the time intervals between appearance of lights in the simulated response series.

Instructions. The instructions to the subjects were given after all five had arrived and were seated at their individual panels. The instructions were:

> This research project is sponsored by the Department of Psychology. The procedure in which you are about to participate is one aspect of a large testing program in which the Department is interested in order to learn more about similarities and differences in the perceptual abilities, general attitudes, and personal judgmental abilities among college age males.
>
> The procedures in which you will be participating are of such a nature that it will be imperative that you maintain silence during the test. Communication between subjects may lead to unnecessary confusion for each of you in performing the tasks which will be presented and might affect the value of the measurements.

You will be making judgments of a number of different kinds of stimuli which will be presented on the screen you see in front of you. Although you will each make individual judgments in responding to the tasks and problems presented to you, some of you will have the benefit of the judgments of the other subjects by means of the panel of lights directly in front of you. As you see, there are five rows of small light bulbs, four bulbs to the row on each panel. The panels are identical, as you probably noticed when you came in. Each row of bulbs can bring you information from one of the other four subjects; that is, when a light goes on in one of the top four rows, one of the four other subjects is sending you information about his judgment. The four bulbs in each row represent one of four possible answers which may be chosen when responding to the multiple choice items which will be presented to you on the screen. By closing one of the four switches at the bottom of your panel, each of you will be turning on a light in the same relative position in the bottom row of lights on your own panel; but the apparatus is so wired that a light will also go on in one of the four top rows of lights on all of the other panels. The light which will go on will be in the same relative position in the row as the switch you close. In this way you can each send information to the other subjects. When a task is presented, each of you will decide which one of the answers listed at the bottom of the screen is most nearly correct or most nearly represents your judgment, attitude, or preference. When you have decided on your answer, wait for your turn, then close the switch which represents the number of the answer you have chosen. When you close the switch, your answer will also appear on all of the other panels. For example, if you decide on answer number 1, then close switch number 1, etc. Now are there any questions before I go on with the rest of the directions? There is one thing to remember about the panels. Each is so wired that if you should make a mistake and close a switch at any time other than in the response position you have been assigned, the response cannot be sent to the other panels.

Throughout this test you will be assigned the order in which each of you will respond; that is, you will always respond in a specified order when giving your answers to the series of tasks to be presented. I will inform you of the order in which to respond by means of the column of large red bulbs

you see at the left of your panel. Notice that there are five red lights in this column numbered consecutively from top to bottom. These five red lights represent the five possible positions in the response order. I will inform you of your response order by turning on a different red light on each of your panels. From time to time I will change the response order by turning on a different red light on each panel. In this way I can inform you of the order in which you are to respond to each of the tasks which will be presented. For example, I will set up a response order now. Now each of you has a red light on in his left column of red lights. (At this point the investigator set up a response order in which each panel had a different position shown by the red light. He then asked each subject in turn to report his response order aloud as given by the panel. As the subject reported, the investigator said, "That is correct.") If the red light at the top of the column is on, it means that you are to respond first when the task is presented. If the second red light is on you will wait until you see one of the small white lights go on in one of the rows of clear lights on your panel before you close your switch to give your answer. When a light goes on in one of the four upper rows of lights, you will know the answer which has been chosen by the person who is first in the response order. If you are third, two lights will appear on your panel before you respond; if fourth, three lights will appear before you respond. Finally, if your fifth red light is turned on in your column of red lights, you are to respond last. This means that you are to wait until you have seen a light go on in each of the four upper rows of lights before you close your own switch to record your answer to the task on the screen.

In this test series there will be 90 tasks flashed on the screen. During the first part of the procedure, I will change the response order from time to time, so be sure you check to see which of your red lights is on before giving your response. Be sure you wait your turn by noting what red light is on before answering. I will always inform the group each time just before I change the response order. However, during the last part of the test I will assign a response order which you will keep during the remainder of the test.

The cards projected on the screen will always present material about which you will be making a discrimination, a judgment, or about which you will be expressing your own attitude or personal preference.

> The instructions, questions to be answered, or the task will be given at the bottom of the screen. When you have decided which of the answers is most nearly correct or which most nearly represents your judgment, attitude or preference, be ready to close the switch which represents your answer as soon as it is your turn to respond. But be sure to wait for your turn. If you respond out of order, the apparatus cannot record your answer on the other panels. After all five of you have responded to each task, there will be a short delay while my assistant records the responses and checks the apparatus to see if all panels are working properly. After you have responded by closing one of your switches, leave the switch closed until I give you the signal to clear all switches. Do not clear your switches until I give the signal so that all responses can be recorded.
>
> If there are no further questions, I will assign a response order and we can start the test. Notice which red light is on. From now on if you have a question, raise your hand and we will stop the trial if necessary. All switches open? All right, here is the first task. Work as rapidly as you can without being careless.

After five trials in third position, the investigator changed the response order so that all subjects were in second position, although each subject believed that he alone was in second position. At the conclusion of five more trials, the subjects were placed in fifth position and the 80 test items were presented.

At the conclusion of the test series, the subjects were asked not to discuss the procedure with anyone for three days. After this time the investigator would be available to answer any questions they might have about the conformity test.

CHAPTER IV

RESULTS

The purposes of this study were listed on pages 36 and 37. Each of these purposes and its accompanying analyses appear below.

Before proceeding to the analysis of the data, it is desirable to present in one place information which has been scattered throughout the previous chapters.

A total of 52 subjects completed all three phases of testing. An N of 52 is used for the analysis under Purpose 3. An N of 40 is used for the analyses under Purpose 2 and Purpose 1. Twelve cases were randomly eliminated from three of the four Rorschach-TAT classes in order to equalize the Ns of the four classes.

The variables under consideration are: (a) Rorschach hostility, with a possible range from 0 to 20, (b) TAT hostility, with a possible range from 0 to 27, (c) conformity, with a possible range from 0 to 20. Two kinds of tasks were used in the Conformity Test series: structured and unstructured, each kind of task yielding a possible range of scores from 0 to 10. The role of structuredness is essentially that

of a control variable. Where pertinent the effects of structuredness will be indicated. In all analyses a significance level of .05 will be used to evaluate statistical tests.

Test Distributions

Conformity test. Subjects yielded to the pressure to conform a total of 164 times, 103 times on unstructured items and 61 times on structured items. Table 1 contains the distribution of subjects over structured, unstructured, and total conformity scores. It is evident that the total group of 52 subjects shows only a moderate degree of conformity to the pressured items, over half of the subjects conforming fewer than 3 out of a possible 20 times.

Table 1

Distributions of Ss over Structured, Unstructured, and Total Conformity Scores

(N = 52)

Type of Score	Score										
	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Structured	22	14	8	5	1	0	2	0	0	0	0
Unstructured	8	14	14	7	5	4	0	0	0	0	0
Total	3	12	12	4	6	7	5	1	0	0	2

Table 2 contains the list of 20 "critical" items (10 structured and 10 unstructured) and each item's position in the series of 80 test items, the percentage of the conformity test subjects choosing the answer on which pressure was applied, and the percentage of the norm group choosing the same answer. A complete list of the 80 conformity test items is given in Appendix A, page 107.

An examination of Table 2 reveals that on two of the twenty items, the Experimental Group chose the answer on which pressure was applied the same percentage of the time as had the Norm Group. On two other items the Experimental Group chose the answer on which pressure was applied a slightly smaller percentage of the time than did the Norm Group. That is, 80% of the time the Experimental Group chose the pressured answers more frequently than did the Norm Group. It appears safe to conclude that the Experimental Group would not have chosen differently from the Norm Group and in the expected direction on 80% of the items as a result of completely independent judgments.

A question also might arise as to whether the procedure adequately differentiated between coercion and conformity. Coercion appears to have been ruled out because of the nature of the conformity test situation including the instructions to the subjects. There was nothing in the test situation or in the instructions which was directly coercive. Rather, the subjects were supported in making independent

Table 2

Twenty "Critical" Conformity Test Items; Percentage Ss Choosing Pressured Answer and Percentage Norm Group Choosing Same Answer

Task	Position	Type of Item	Percentage choosing in Experimental Group	Percentage choosing in Norm Group
Choose which of 4 lines longest	6	Str.	15	9
Prefer which of 2 line drawings	13	Unst.	17	6
Choose larger of 2 areas	17	Str.	12	3
Self trait: true or false	18	Unst.	25	11
Prefer which of 2 famous people	25	Unst.	6	6
Choose larger of 2 areas	27	Str.	12	0
Prefer 1 of 2 personality traits	31	Unst.	15	9
Prefer which of 2 line drawings	33	Unst.	19	13
Self trait: true or false	40	Unst.	10	6
Choose which of 4 lines longest	42	Str.	0	3
Choose which of 3 lines = std.	44	Str.	6	3

Table 2 (Continued)

Task	Position	Type of Item	Percentage choosing in Experimental Group	Percentage choosing in Norm Group
Choose which of 3 lines = std.	47	Str.	13	13
Choose which of 3 lines = std.	54	Str.	4	6
Prefer which of 2 line drawings	57	Unst.	46	16
Prefer which of 2 ethical values	61	Unst.	12	3
Choose which of 4 lines longest	62	Str.	13	6
Choose which of 4 lines longest	67	Str.	27	6
Prefer which of 2 ethical values	70	Unst.	17	2
Choose which of 3 lines = std.	75	Str.	15	13
Prefer which of 2 famous people	78	Unst.	31	13

judgments since the instructions stated that individual differences in perceptual abilities, general attitudes, and personal judgmental abilities were being studied. Individual judgments were further specified in connection with the information that some subjects would have the benefit of the judgments of the other subjects. Therefore it appears unreasonable to interpret the agreement which did occur as the result of coercion. In addition, the investigator interviewed six of the Experimental Subjects a week following the experimental test procedure. It was found that four of the six subjects had consciously attempted to remain uninfluenced by the judgments of the other four subjects.

In light of the above discussion it seems reasonable to conclude that the measure of conformity used in this study is consistent with the definition of conformity given on page 4.

Rorschach Test. The Rorschach test score distribution is given in Table 3. Each score was obtained by scoring

Table 3

Distribution of Ss over the Range of Rorschach Hostility Scores

	Score									
	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Number of Ss	5	8	8	8	7	10	2	1	2	1

the subject's first response to each of the 10 Rorschach plates according to the Palo Alto Aggressive Content Scale (Finney, 1951). The mean score is 3.3, and the median is 3.6.

TAT. Each TAT hostility score was obtained by summing the weighted scores for each of the nine stories according to the scoring procedure of the TAT Aggressive Content Scale (Stone, 1956). Table 4 contains the distribution of TAT hostility scores for the 52 subjects. The range of scores is from 3 to 24, the mean is 11.4, and the median is 11.25.

Table 4

Distribution of Ss over the Range of TAT Hostility Scores

	Score											
	2-3½	4-5½	6-7½	8-9½	10-11½	12-13½	14-15½	16-17½	18-19½	20-21½	22-23½	24-25½
Number of Ss	1	3	7	9	7	10	6	6	1	1	0	1

Rorschach-TAT Classes

In order to obtain the four classes of subjects required to test the main hypothesis of this study, the distributions of both the Rorschach and TAT hostility scores were divided as close to the median as possible. Scores below the medians were then treated as Low scores and scores

above the median as High scores. For the Rorschach distribution, the Low-High cutting point was set at 3.5. This division placed 29 subjects in the Low group and 23 subjects in the High group. For the TAT distribution, the cutting point was set at 11.25. This division placed an equal number of subjects in the Low and High groups.

The Low-High, Rorschach-TAT dichotomies generate four Rorschach-TAT Classes: High Rorschach-Low TAT, High Rorschach-High TAT, Low Rorschach-High TAT, and Low Rorschach-Low TAT. The Rorschach and TAT hostile content scores and the structured, unstructured, and total conformity scores for each of the 52 subjects are contained in Table 10, Appendix B, pp. 115-118. Subjects who were randomly dropped from the three larger classes in order to equalize the frequencies of the four classes are indicated in the table.

Analysis of the Data

Analyses for Purpose 3. Purpose 3 is to determine the relationship between Rorschach and TAT hostility. If the relationship is high it would not be reasonable to consider these tests as measures of hostility at different levels of personality. In order to evaluate the relationship between the two variables, two different analyses of the data were made.

E^2 was used to test the regression of Rorschach on TAT and to test the regression of TAT on Rorschach. A scatter plot containing 10 Rorschach intervals and 11 TAT

intervals was constructed. This plot is reproduced in Appendix C, p. 119.

In calculating the values for E^2, TAT values are identified as x values and Rorschach values as y values. E^2_{yx} = .21; for 10 and 42 degrees of freedom, $P > .05$. E^2_{xy} = .06; for 9 and 43 degrees of freedom, $P > .05$. There is no basis for rejecting the hypothesis that the Rorschach and TAT are independent measures of hostility.

A Chi-Square test for independence of the two measures also was performed upon the four-fold table created by dichotomizing the Rorschach and TAT hostility scores. Table 5 shows the frequencies in each of the four Rorschach-TAT classes.

Table 5

Distribution of Subjects into Rorschach-TAT Classes

		TAT		
		Low	High	Totals
Rorschach	High	10	13	23
	Low	16	13	29
	Totals	26	26	52

Chi-Square = .70; for one degree of freedom, $P > .05$. Thus the hypothesis of independence of the two measures again

could not be rejected.

These results allowed the analyses to proceed as though the measures dealt with hostility at two different personality levels.

Analysis for Purpose 2. Purpose 2 is to determine the relationship between ways of handling hostility and the tendency to conform to the judgments of others. In other words, the relationships between the tendency to conform and each of the following were investigated: Rorschach hostility, TAT hostility, and the interaction between Rorschach and TAT hostility.

In order to investigate these relationships, the data were treated by means of analysis of variance, Type III design (Lindquist, 1953, pp. 281-284). The design used requires proportional frequencies in the cells; when the double dichotomies (Rorschach and TAT) are formed at the medians, there should be equal frequencies in the cells. Equal frequencies were obtained by randomly eliminating the appropriate number of subjects from the three larger classes. The result was a total N of 40 with 10 subjects in each class. Table 6 gives the means of structured, unstructured, and total conformity scores for each of the four classes after adjustment of frequencies.

Table 6

Conformity Mean Scores for Each of the Four Rorschach-TAT Classes

Class	N	Conformity Means		
		Structured	Unstructured	Total
I High Rorschach-Low TAT	10	.4	1.6	2.0
II High Rorschach-High TAT	10	.5	2.0	2.5
III Low Rorschach-Low TAT	10	1.4	2.0	3.4
IV Low Rorschach-High TAT	10	2.3	2.8	5.1

The analysis of variance of the data is summarized in Table 7. The results show that Rorschach hostility is significantly related to conformity. An examination of the means in Table 6 reveals that Low Rorschach scorers conformed significantly more often than did High Rorschach scorers. Differences in TAT hostility were not significantly related to conformity, and there was no Rorschach-TAT interaction effect.

The results of the analysis reveal therefore that among college males, scoring between the third and seventh deciles on the Ohio State Psychological Examination, degree of conformity is negatively related to amount of Rorschach hostile content. Degree of conformity is not related to the

amount of TAT hostile content, nor to any interaction effect of the two measures of hostility.

Table 7

Analysis of Variance of Conformity Scores over Rorschach Hostility, TAT Hostility, and Structuredness

Source of Variation	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	P
Total	182.75	79			
Between Subjects	96.75	39			
Rorschach	20.00	1	20.00	10.45	$<.05$
TAT	6.05	1	6.05	3.16	$>.05$
Rorschach x TAT	1.80	1	1.80	.94	$>.05$
Error Between	68.90	36	1.91		
Within Subjects	86.00	40			
Structure	18.05	1	18.05	10.04	$<.05$
Rorschach x Structure	3.20	1	3.20	1.78	$>.05$
TAT x Structure	.05	1	.05	.03	$>.05$
Error Within	64.70	36	1.80		

Table 7 also shows a significant structuredness effect, but no significant interaction effects of Rorschach and structure nor of TAT and structure. Examination of the means of conformity on structured and unstructured items in Table 6 reveals that subjects yielded to the pressure to conform

significantly more often on unstructured items.

Analysis for Purpose 1. Purpose 1 is to test the prediction that individuals with high unconscious hostility who inhibit the expression of hostility at more conscious levels would be more likely to conform to the judgments of others than would individuals with other unconscious-conscious hostility patterns. In other words the primary purpose was to test the prediction that the High Rorschach-Low TAT group would show a greater tendency to conform to the judgments of others than would the High Rorschach-High TAT, Low Rorschach-High TAT, or Low Rorschach-Low TAT groups.

Table 7 reveals that the Rorschach-TAT interaction effect is not significant. Therefore, the results do not support the prediction. Further tests to determine the direction of differences between the four classes in the amount of conformity are unwarranted.

In summary, the results demonstrate that degree of conformity to others' judgments is inversely related to amount of hostility expressed on the Rorschach. They also demonstrate that degree of conformity is inversely related to the degree of structuredness in the tasks presented.

CHAPTER V

DISCUSSION

Effects of the Conformity Test Procedure

Degree of Conformity. Although the means of producing pressure to conform in the present study was similar to that developed and used by Crutchfield (1955), the degree of conformity obtained was less. For his group of 50 subjects, the range of conformity scores was from 1 to 17 out of a possible 21. The mean was about 8 and the distribution of scores was skewed toward the high end of the scale (Crutchfield, 1955, p. 195). In the present study the range of conformity scores was from 0 to 10 out of a possible 20. The mean was 3.15, and the distribution was also skewed toward the high end of the scale.

The greater resistance to conforming in the present study may have been due in part to the clarity of the correct or preferred choice on the items on which pressure was applied. All were items on which one of the alternative answers had been chosen by approximately 9 out of 10 of the Norm Group. On the 10 structured items the mean percentage of

agreement on a single answer was 93.8, and on the 10 unstructured items it was 91.5. Crutchfield's control subjects did not always have as high a percentage agreement on one of the answers to the pressured items. Also, in the present study all unstructured pressure items had only two alternative answers. This was necessary in order to obtain the required percentage of agreement on one answer. When there is only one choice other than the preferred answer, the clarity of the correct or preferred answer would appear greater than when there are four or five choices. A number of the attitudinal items in Crutchfield's series provided more than two possible choices.

Another factor which may have resulted in less pressure to conform than in Crutchfield's study was the effect of the instructions. The instructions implied that the individual's performance would not be important for evaluating him or for comparing him with others. In contrast, Crutchfield's subjects apparently participated in the conformity situation as one of several types of individual assessment during an intensive assessment program.

In summary then, the amount of conforming to pressured items in the present study was less than that reported by Crutchfield. This difference could be accounted for by differences in clarity of the preferred or correct answer, by the format of the unstructured items, and by the degree of personal involvement in the two settings.

An additional observation of interest is the degree of conformity obtained on four pressured items which were identical to those used by Asch in his earlier studies of yielding and independence. Comparison of results showed that for these four structured items the two control groups showed practically no difference in the high degree of agreement on the correct answer. However, subjects in Asch's study shifted to incorrect judgments approximately 25% of the time, while the 52 subjects in the present study shifted less than 1% of the time. The different procedure used here to create pressure to conform as compared with the procedure used by Asch (1952) would appear to account for the lack of conformity in the present study.

Relationship of structure to conformity. The significant negative relationship found between degree of structure and amount of conformity is consistent with the findings of previous investigators. Crutchfield found markedly greater effects of pressure on poorly structured items (Crutchfield, 1955, p. 192), and Blake et al. found that "attitudes are less firmly anchored objectively and hence are more subject to social pressures" (Blake et al., 1957, p. 301).

Relationship of Conformity to Rorschach and TAT Hostility

A combination of Rorschach and TAT hostility scores was used to indicate different ways of coping with hostility. It was predicted that subjects who showed relatively high

hostile-aggressive content scores on the Rorschach in combination with relatively low hostile-aggressive content scores on the TAT would show the greatest tendency to conform. The results did not support this prediction. The only significant relationship found was an inverse relationship between the amount of Rorschach hostility and conformity.

The data in the literature concerning Rorschach and TAT levels are not clear, but the position was taken that the Rorschach hostile content tapped hostility at a more unconscious level. On this basis a combination of the two measures could be used to evaluate repressive tendencies. The finding of independence of Rorschach and TAT measures of hostility was interpreted as evidence that they are measuring the same thing. Independence of the two measures allowed the analysis of the data to proceed in order to determine if there were significant relationships between conformity and each of the measures of hostility or their interaction. The inverse relationship found between Rorschach hostility and conformity was not expected since Rorschach hostility was assumed to reflect hostility at a more unconscious level. Further examination of the Rorschach hostility measure was therefore desirable.

Re-evaluation of Rorschach scoring. It was considered that the results might have been affected by using only the first response to each of the Rorschach cards. Therefore the records were re-scored by the investigator and all of the

responses were used. The proportions of hostile responses falling in each hostile response category were then compared with those obtained when only the first response was scored. Table 8 contains these proportions.

Table 8

Comparison of Proportions of Hostile Responses when Scored for All Responses and for First Response Only

	Derogatory Remarks %	Victim of Destruction %	Possibly Destructive %	Active Destructive %	All Hostile Responses N	All Hostile Responses %
First Response (N = 520)	1.5	8.1	18.3	5.4	173	33
Total Responses (N = 946)	0.8	7.0	16.8	4.5	276	29

From Table 8 it can be seen that there is a slightly greater proportion of responses scored in each category when only the first response to each card is used. This relationship is consistent over all categories. However, the overall increase in proportion of responses scored as hostile is only four per cent.

The data obtained by scoring all Rorschach responses were further treated by dividing the distribution of Rorschach

scores into Low and High groups. The cutting point for Rorschach scores was set at 5.5. This gave 22 High and 30 Low Rorschach scores. This division gave proportions as near as possible to those used for the first scoring.

A Chi-Square test for independence of the Rorschach and TAT measures was performed upon the four-fold table created by dichotomizing the two distributions. Chi-Square = .27; for one degree of freedom, $P > .05$. Thus, scoring for all responses on the Rorschach did not change the previous finding of independence of the two measures.

Table 9 contains the mean conformity scores for each of the four Rorschach-TAT classes created by dividing Rorschach and TAT scores into High and Low groups. The original means obtained when the Rorschach protocols were scored for only the first response are compared with those obtained when the protocols were scored for all responses. The rescoring resulted in one subject changing from Class III to Class I, two changing from Class I to Class III, three changing from Class IV to Class II, and two from Class II to Class IV.

It can be seen that the ranking of the four classes did not change for total mean conformity, and changes in the total mean conformity scores did not exceed one-tenth of a point for any class. It was concluded therefore that the scoring procedure using only the first response did not affect materially the results which would have been obtained

had all Rorschach responses been used.

Table 9

Conformity Mean Scores for Rorschach-TAT Classes; First Response Scoring Compared with All Response Scoring

(N = 52)

Class	Conformity Means					
	Structured		Unstructured		Total	
	1st	All	1st	All	1st	All
I High Rorschach-Low TAT	.4	.6	1.6	1.6	2.0	2.1
II High Rorschach-High TAT	.6	.9	1.7	1.5	2.3	2.4
III Low Rorschach-Low TAT	1.6	1.4	2.0	1.9	3.4	3.4
IV Low Rorschach-High TAT	1.9	1.6	2.7	2.9	4.6	4.5

Conformity-Hostility Results and the Findings of Related Studies

The results of the present study indicate the presence of an inverse relationship between conformity and Rorschach hostile content. Previous studies have not investigated this particular relationship; therefore, the discrepancy between the prediction and the results requires a review of studies of related variables in order to evaluate the results.

The present study was based upon two major premises. The first was the psycho-analytically oriented hypothesis

that the need to conform is an expression of the need to repress hostile feelings toward others, conformity being one way of maintaining this repression. Findings related to the dynamics of authoritarianism as explored by Adorno et al. (1950) support this hypothesis concerning the dynamics of conformity.

The second major premise in the present study was the hypothesis that the Rorschach taps a deeper (less accessible to conscious awareness and control) level of personality than does the TAT. This hypothesis found some support in the studies of Stone (1953) and Smith and Coleman (1956).

As reported in Chapter I, Hoffman first investigated the psycho-dynamic factors in conformity (1953). He attempted to demonstrate a positive relationship between conformity and repressed hostility toward parents by using TAT hostile content as a measure of repressed hostility. His results failed to support this relationship and he came to the following conclusion: "The TAT situation was not sufficiently remote for the highs [high conformers] to enable them to express their deeply repressed and feared hostile impulses 'directly' even through a figure in a contrived story" (Hoffman, 1953, p. 390). Hoffman also concluded that "the main difference between authoritarians and conformers seems to be that the authoritarians characteristically tend to make more use of the mechanisms of projection and displacement, devices which function quite effectively in

keeping repressed impulses from conscious awareness while at the same time allowing them disguised and acceptable outlet in the form of ethnocentric hostility" (Hoffman, 1953, p. 391).

Hoffman's results and his characterization of the difference between conformers and authoritarians did not appear to contradict the hypothesized relationship between conformity and repression of hostility. It did suggest that measurement of repression among authoritarians might be obscured by secondary defenses like projection and displacement.

A subsequent study by Kogan (1956) demonstrated that high authoritarians showed poorer recognition of sexual and aggressive verbal content directed toward self, parents, or people in general than did low authoritarians. This was interpreted by Kogan as "experimental evidence in favor of the hypothesized relationship between repression and authoritarianism" (1956, p. 36). These results also appeared to be tangential evidence supporting the hypothesized relationship between repression and conformity in the present study.

Evidence which appeared to throw doubt on the hypothesized relationship between authoritarianism and repression of hostility was found by Siegel (1956). He obtained results showing a direct relationship between a measure of conscious appraisal of one's own hostility and authoritarianism but found an inverse relationship between a Rorschach content measure of hostility and authoritarianism. Siegel

interpreted his results as suggesting that "to be consistent with other personality needs, he [the nonauthoritarian] need not or possibly must not, express aggression through manifest hostility. . . . Therefore, the nonauthoritarian has kept his aggression on a latent level, expressing it only in an indirect manner" (Siegel, 1956, p. 371). He recognized also that this interpretation was not in accordance with the generally held belief that authoritarian hostility is "irrational" while nonauthoritarian hostility is rational and well channelized (Siegel, 1956, p. 371).

It was hoped that the results of the present study might throw some light on the apparent contradiction between the findings of Siegel and the hypothesis of the relationship between repression of hostility and authoritarianism. Siegel's measure of Rorschach hostile content was similar to that used in the present study, although two different hostile content scales were used. Although comparison of Siegel's results with those in the present study must be taken as only suggestive, they have in common the finding of an inverse relationship between Rorschach hostile content on one hand and the two related variables, conformity and authoritarianism, on the other. Both seem to present evidence against greater repression of hostility for these two groups.

An interpretation of the results of the present study which would avoid questioning of the two basic premises would

require evidence of the operation of some variable previously not considered. This variable's influence on the expression of Rorschach hostility would have to be different from its influence on TAT hostile content. The results found suggest that the operation of this variable would have to block expression of Rorschach hostile content. Further, conformers would be more subject to its influence. On the other hand, consideration of the TAT results suggest that this variable must operate to equalize the amount of hostile-aggressive TAT content expressed by conformers and nonconformers. The finding of independence of the Rorschach and TAT measures of hostility makes it possible to consider that such a variable may be operating.

It may be possible to explain the present results if it is assumed that secondary defense mechanisms, including projection and displacement of hostility and reaction formation against dependency needs, are more prominent and more necessary among conformers than among nonconformers, that their operation has differential effects on the amount of hostile content produced on the Rorschach and TAT. The findings of Adorno et al. (1950) suggest that projection and displacement of hostility and reaction formations against dependency are prominent in the defense structure of authoritarians. In attempting to account for the present results, it is reasonable to assume that these defenses are important in the personality dynamics of conformers despite Hoffman's

suggestion that they are less used by conformers.

Differences in the amount of structure provided by the Rorschach and TAT stimuli may provide the basis for assuming a differential effect of these secondary defense mechanisms on the amount of hostile content expressed on the two tests. Schafer (1954) and Shneidman (1957) have argued that TAT stories provide a good opportunity for the subject to use the defensive and adaptive aspects of his personality and that the TAT reflects these aspects of personality. They characterize the Rorschach as reflecting deeper, more unconscious aspects of the personality because it fails to provide a familiar structure in which the defensive aspects of the personality can operate. It would follow that the TAT stories of conformers might reflect more hostile content which is a projection or displacement of hostility or a reaction formation against dependency, while the Rorschach protocols would not allow such an easy avenue for projection and displacement of hostility. The lack of objects in the ink blots might place conforming subjects in the position of relying more heavily on their basic repressive defenses in keeping unacceptable hostile feelings and impulses out of awareness as aspects of themselves. Repression, in turn, would result in blocking the expression of hostile content on the Rorschach. Thus, contrary to the assumption in the present study, it may be that among those who conform, repression of hostile feelings and impulses is reflected by

less hostile content on the Rorschach. On the other hand, it has been assumed that nonconformers do not have to repress hostile feelings and impulses or rely heavily on such secondary defense mechanisms. If so, they should be more able to integrate hostile feelings and impulses into good form percepts. Rorschach hostile content might then be interpreted as a reflection of their ability to integrate and adapt such feelings into conscious acceptable aspects of themselves. It might reasonably follow that they would be able to call on these same integrative aspects of personality in dealing with reality problems as is suggested by their ability to resist pressure to conform.

The assumption that the TAT provides more structure, and thus reveals more about secondary adaptive and defensive mechanisms, would have required a prediction of no difference in amount of conformity among Low and High TAT groups. That is, if the TAT does reflect the operation of these mechanisms, then the conformers, who are assumed to rely on projection and displacement of hostility, should produce hostile content. On the other hand, these TAT pictures (chosen in part because they have been found to be most productive) provide a stimulus which would allow nonconformers to respond by incorporating their conscious hostile-aggressive feelings into their stories. Hostile content in nonconformers might be not "defensive" but more an adaptive reaction to the stimulus. It would be difficult to predict

whether Low or High TAT scorers would conform most because of the differences in the needs which produce TAT hostile content.

The following comparisons of the Rorschach records of the 15 highest and 15 lowest conformers appear to add some support to the reasoning that low conformers have a greater ability to integrate their hostile-aggressive feelings into conscious awareness in more controlled and adaptive ways.

A smaller proportion of the nonconformers' hostile responses were poorly integrated. For example, they gave fewer responses in which destructive force was out of control (explosions, bombs, blasts, or forest fires) than did conformers. They also gave 61 M responses as compared to the conformers' 44 M responses. Also a greater proportion of the nonconformers' M responses were assertive in quality. As would be expected from the statistical analysis, the high conformers gave fewer hostile responses on cards on which hostile content is usually found (Cards II, III, IV, and VI), but they gave more hostile responses to Card V which does not usually elicit hostile content. This observation suggests that where projection and displacement of hostility are made difficult, hostility may break through in inappropriate settings. Although these observations can be taken only as suggestive, they would seem to support the inference that nonconformers are more able to integrate hostile responses into their percepts in a more controlled and adaptive way

than are conformers. On the other hand, conformers appear to repress hostility only to have it break through where it does not seem appropriate to the reality situation.

Evidence in the literature supports the assumption that the influence of secondary defense mechanisms on hostile-aggressive TAT content must be taken into account when predicting hostile-aggressive or antisocial behavior from the TAT (Kagan, 1956; Mussen & Naylor, 1954; Pittluck, 1950; and Purcell, 1956). Means of differentiating between the levels represented by hostility expressed on the TAT appear necessary in order to predict how hostility will be expressed in behavior. Purcell's investigation is representative of several recent approaches to the problem of secondary defense mechanisms, as inferred from TAT content, as they affect the expression of hostility in behavior. Purcell found that between antisocial and nonantisocial subjects who showed no difference in the amount of "fantasy aggression" "the proportion of internal punishment [themes] to fantasy aggression is much larger for the nonantisocial group ($p = .001$)" (Purcell, 1956, p. 453). Thus it appears necessary to evaluate the total context of TAT stories when attempting to predict how feelings expressed in the stories are related to behavior. It appears that one must be able to differentiate between TAT hostility which is the expression of a defense against acceptance of one's own hostile feelings and that which is an

expression of more integrated and accepted aspects of one's own hostile-aggressive feelings.

The results of a study by Radar (1956) may be interpreted as suggesting that Rorschach hostile content may reflect hostile-aggression that is not a defensive expression but a more integrated and accepted aspect of personality. Radar found that the expression of hostile-aggressive verbal behavior among prison inmates during group psycho-therapy sessions was positively related to the amount of hostile and mutilation content on the Rorschach. Although these results were not interpreted as showing a better integration and acceptance of hostile feelings and impulses, they are amenable to this interpretation. That is, in a setting where the expression of verbal aggression and hostility are encouraged, the better integrated prisoners may have been those who expressed hostility appropriately. The same reasoning suggests that nonconformers in the present study give more Rorschach hostile content as a reflection of their ability to express hostile-aggression adaptively in behavior.

The comments of two subjects who were interviewed a week after the administration of the conformity test are suggestive of the need to evaluate the defensive aspects of TAT hostility in interpreting its meaning. One of these subjects conformed seven times (only two subjects conformed more), and the other subject conformed only once. The high conformer had a TAT hostility score of 14 and the low conformer a score

of 15, both high TAT scores. However they differed in the amount of Rorschach hostility expressed; the high conformer was a low Rorschach scorer while the low conformer was a high Rorschach scorer.

In describing his reactions to the conformity test, the low conformer said, "I was only influenced once. It seemed like it didn't make any difference [on the particular item] so I said 'hell' and went along. When it was about halfway through I decided there was something wrong with the judgments because they were obvious. I decided I would make up my mind and not pay any attention to the others. In fact, after you gave the instructions I decided I wouldn't be influenced by the others but would make my own judgments. I think I did except for once."

The high conformer's statements are similar to those of the low conformer. He said, "When I was about halfway through I figured out what you were doing." (At the halfway point he had conformed three times.) "Then I decided to make up my own mind and not pay any attention to the others. I am the kind of person who is pretty independent. I usually go my own way."

It appears that a person's subjective evaluation of his own behavior may or may not be a defensive distortion of reality. The comments of these two subjects also suggest that the conformer may be resorting to the defenses of denial in order to avoid awareness of his need to conform. One

suspects that a need to deny feelings of dependence may result in the expression of hostility in his TAT stories as a reaction against unacceptable feelings of dependence.

The inverse relationship found between Rorschach hostile content and conformity leads to the conclusion that Rorschach hostile content is related to the ability to resist pressure to conform. In attempting to explain this finding, it is suggested that among normal college male subjects who resist pressure to conform, the Rorschach offers a situation in which they are able to incorporate their aggressive feelings and impulses into an integrated and acceptable percept. For those who have a need to conform, on the other hand, the Rorschach blots are threatening because they do not provide a familiar setting in which projection and displacement of hostility can operate. Because they cannot operate, it becomes necessary for the person to repress hostile feelings and impulses stimulated by the blots. The generally more constricted records of the 15 highest conformers appear to be evidence for this reasoning.

It has also been reasoned that TAT hostile content, at least as measured in the present study, may not only reflect hostility which is accepted into awareness as a conscious aspect of the self but may also reflect that which is not accepted. The appearance of hostile content on the TAT may be the result of the operation of secondary defense mechanisms which serve in part to keep hostility and other

unacceptable feelings and impulses divorced from conscious acceptance as an aspect of one's self.

The reasoning which has been presented as an explanation of the results found is post hoc and is not intended to nullify the findings of this study. There are other possible "interpretations" of the results. Some might point to a need for further study of the hypothesis that the Rorschach taps a deeper level of personality functioning than does the TAT. Still others would suggest that the "need to conform" is a complex syndrome which must be further evaluated to differentiate a number of possible "motives" affecting its appearance. For example, one might hypothesize that conformers are somehow basically more passive-dependent people who defend against their basic needs on the TAT because of the value placed on aggressiveness by the environment. The results also suggest that each test will contribute valuable information which may be obscured in the other test.

Suggestions for future research. In line with the findings of the present study, future research on the dynamics of the need to conform might profitably explore a four-way relationship between conforming behavior, perception of one's own hostile-aggressive behavior, perception of others' aggressiveness, and an objective rating of the subject's overt aggressiveness. The results of the present study and of studies by Siegel and by Lindzey and Tejessy suggest that those who conform might even describe their own feelings and

behavior as average or above average in hostile-aggression but that they would distort their perceptions of themselves in the direction of aggressiveness as a defensive measure. It appears likely that they would also project and displace their hostile feelings onto others.

Research designed to clarify the levels of personality functioning tapped by the Rorschach and TAT is limited and inconclusive. Further attempts to clarify this relationship would appear to require a careful consideration of the effects of defense mechanisms upon the kind of material elicited by the tests. The results of the present study suggest that both tests reflect a rather wide range of levels, including aspects of the personality that are conscious and ego syntonic and those which are unconscious and ego alien. Such an interpretation "fits" with the ability of experienced clinicians to infer both behavior and underlying dynamics from both instruments.

CHAPTER VI

SUMMARY

Psychoanalytically oriented theory views the need to conform as a psychological coping mechanism--one of several ways of dealing with threatening hostile-aggressive feelings and impulses toward others. The theory relates conformity to repression, dissociation, projection, and denial of threatening hostile-aggressive feelings. Although clinical work appears to confirm a relationship between the need to conform and repression of hostile-aggressive feelings and impulses, there is not strong formal research evidence for this relationship.

The purpose of the present study was to investigate the relationship between ways of handling hostility and the need to conform. It was hypothesized that those who repress feelings of hostility are more likely to conform than are those who do not repress feelings of hostility.

In order to determine whether such a relationship exists, it was necessary to differentiate from others those individuals who use repression as a technique for coping with feelings of hostility. An argument was presented which led to the designation of hostility inferred from Rorschach

responses as "unconscious" hostility and of hostility which is inferred from TAT responses as "conscious" hostility. A conscious-unconscious dichotomy thus was superimposed upon a continuum of expression of hostility. Within each of these two classes of hostility (Rorschach-unconscious and TAT-conscious) another dichotomy was imposed, a high degree of hostility and a low degree of hostility. By combining classes across levels, four classes were generated: Class I, High Rorschach-Low TAT; Class II, High Rorschach-High TAT; Class III, Low Rorschach-Low TAT; and Class IV, Low Rorschach-High TAT.

Class I (High Rorschach-Low TAT) would consist of individuals who were presumed to be repressors of feelings of hostility. According to the theory under consideration, these individuals were expected to be more conforming than would be individuals from any of the other groups. The ranking of the other three groups could not clearly be predicted by the theory.

Although the prediction that Class I would be more conforming than the other groups from the reasoning developed, prior evidence that TAT hostile content reflects conscious hostility and that Rorschach hostile content reflects unconscious hostility was not strong. It was desirable therefore, to answer another question first: Is there a relationship between Rorschach and TAT measures of hostility? Since the determination of a general relationship between

ways of handling hostility and the tendency to conform to others' judgments is of interest, this determination was included as one of the purposes of the research.

Therefore the three purposes of this study were to:

1. Test the prediction that the High Rorschach-Low TAT class would show a greater tendency to conform to the judgment of others than would any of the other three Rorschach-TAT classes.

2. Determine the relationship between the tendency to conform and Rorschach hostility, TAT hostility, and the interaction effect of Rorschach and TAT hostility.

3. Determine the relationship between Rorschach and TAT hostility.

Fifty-two subjects participated in the present study. All subjects were male undergraduates who were enrolled in the introductory psychology course at the University of Oklahoma and who had scored between the third and seventh deciles on the Ohio State Psychological Examination. The (Rorschach) Palo-Alto Aggressive Content Scale and the TAT Aggressive Content Scale were used to measure hostility in Rorschach and TAT protocols. The measure of conformity used was the number of times a subject conformed to a simulated unanimous group agreement on incorrect or nonpreferred answers to perceptual and attitudinal tasks. Structured (perceptual) and unstructured (attitudinal) tasks were included in the series of tasks presented as a control variable. It

had been previously demonstrated that structured tasks were less susceptible to pressure to conform than were unstructured tasks. The technique used to create pressure to conform was similar to Crutchfield's modification of a technique developed by Asch. Five subjects participated as a group, and each subject believed he had the benefit of the judgments of the other four subjects before he made his choice.

Analysis of the data showed that there was no relationship between the Rorschach and TAT measures of hostility. This finding permitted the conclusion that the expression of hostility at two different levels (conscious-unconscious) was being measured.

An analysis of variance showed a difference in the amount of conformity for high and low Rorschach scorers, high Rorschach scorers conforming significantly less than low Rorschach scorers. There was also a significant difference in amount of conformity to structured and unstructured items, subjects conforming more to the unstructured items. The finding of a greater amount of conformity on unstructured items was consistent with the findings of previous investigators. There was no relationship found between amount of TAT hostility and conformity, and there was no interaction effect of Rorschach x TAT hostile content on conformity.

The results did not support the prediction that the High Rorschach-Low TAT class would show the greatest tendency to conform.

On the basis of the present findings it was concluded that for subjects of the kind sampled here, amount of conformity is inversely related to amount of hostility expressed at the level of personality reflected in Rorschach content.

Further consideration of the defensive techniques used by conformers and of the nature of expression of hostility on the Rorschach and the TAT led to a post hoc interpretation of the results. Ways of testing this interpretation were suggested.

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APPENDIXES

Appendix A

List of Conformity Tasks Presented Showing the Percentage of the Norm Group Choosing Each Answer

"Warm up" Tasks

Task	Percentage Norm Group Choosing Each Answer
1. Which figure has the greater area? Fig. 1., or Fig. 2.	1. 19, 2. 81,
2. I am usually calm and not easily upset. 1. True, 2. False.	1. 72, 2. 28
3. 1. Napolean, 2. Caesar. My preference is: 1., or 2.	1. 56, 2. 44
4. Which of these four lines is longest: 1., 2., 3., or 4?	1. 38, 2. 22, 3. 6, 4. 34
5. 1. Novak, 2. Bardot. My preference is: 1., or 2.	1. 69, 2. 31
6. Success is a matter of will power. 1. Agree, 2. Disagree.	1. 59, 2. 41
7. 1. Rational, 2. Efficient. I prefer trait 1., or trait 2.	1. 47, 2. 53
8. Which drawing do you prefer? 1., or 2.	1. 19, 2. 81
9. In the long run art is more important than science. 1. Agree, 2. Disagree.	1. 22, 2. 78
10. 1. Dogmatic, 2. Critical. I prefer trait 1., or trait 2.	1. 30, 2. 70

Conformity Test Series

Task	Percentage Norm Group choosing each answer
1. Which of these four lines is longest: 1., 2., 3., or 4?	1. 53, 2. 6, 3. 22, 4. 19
2. What is the length of this line: 1., 2., 3., or 4?	1. 22, 2. 72, 3. 6, 4. 0
3. Which figure has the greater area: 1., or 2?	1. 28, 2. 72
4. Which of these lines is equal to the standard line: 1., 2., or 3?	1. 81, 2. 9, 3. 9
5. Which drawing do you prefer: 1., or 2?	1. 81, 2. 19
6[a]. Which of these four lines is longest: 1., 2., 3., or 4?	1. 0, 2. 9, 3. 0, 4. 91
7. What is the length of this line: 1., 2., 3., or 4?	1. 9, 2. 6, 3. 84
8. Which of these four lines is longest: 1., 2., 3., or 4?	1. 22, 2. 6, 3. 72, 4. 0
9. Divorce should be made more difficult. 1. Agree, 2. Disagree.	1. 44, 2. 56
10. Which of these lines is equal to the standard line: 1., 2., or 3?	1. 91, 2. 0, 3. 9
11. Which figure has the greater area: 1., or 2?	1. 19, 2. 81
12. Which of these lines is equal to the standard line: 1., 2., or 3?	1. 7, 2. 6, 3. 87

[a]Items on which false group pressure was applied.

Conformity Test Series

Task	Percentage Norm Group choosing each answer
13[a]. Which drawing do you prefer: 1., or 2?	1. 94, 2. 6
14. What is the length of this line: 1., 2., 3., or 4?	1. 84, 1. 16, 3. 0, 4. 0
15. Which figure has the greater area: 1., or 2?	1. 50, 2. 50
16. Democracy as practiced in this country would be the best kind of political system. 1. Agree, 2. Disagree.	1. 22, 2. 78
17[a]. Which figure has the greater area: 1., or 2?	1. 97, 2. 3
18[a]. Whenever important and difficult situations arise, I tend to become more tense. 1. True, 2. False.	1. 89, 2. 11
19. Which of these four lines is longest: 1., 2., 3., or 4?	1. 28, 2. 9, 3. 16, 4. 47
20. Which figure has the greater area: 1., or 2?	1. 66, 2. 34
21. Things seem simpler as one learns more about them. 1. Agree, 2. Disagree.	1. 66, 2. 34
22. Which drawing do you prefer: 1., or 2?	1. 75, 2. 25
23. Parents are much too easy on their children nowadays. 1. Agree, 2. Disagree.	1. 50, 2. 50
24. I have a good sense of humor. 1. True, 2. False.	1. 75, 2. 25

[a]Items on which false group pressure was applied.

Conformity Test Series

Task	Percentage Norm Group choosing each answer
25[a]. 1. Aristotle, 2. Aristarchus. My preference is: 1., or 2.	1. 94, 2. 6
26. A person is made better by the trials and hardships of life. 1. Agree, 2. Disagree.	1. 69, 2. 31
27[a]. Which figure has the greater area: 1., or 2?	1. 100, 2. 0
28. Which figure has the greater area: 1., or 2?	1. 28, 2. 72
29. Under no conditions should whites and negroes intermarry. 1. Agree, 2. Disagree.	1. 47, 2. 50 (1 S did not answer)
30. Which of these four lines is longest: 1., 2., 3., or 4?	1. 3, 2. 16, 3. 3, 4. 81
31[a]. 1. Adaptive, 2. Haughty. My preference is trait 1., or trait 2.	1. 91, 2. 9
32. Which of these four lines is longest: 1., 2., 3., or 4?	1. 19, 2. 81, 3. 0 4. 0
33[a]. Which drawing do you prefer: 1., or 2?	1. 87, 2. 13
34. I am easily disturbed by overbearing people. 1. True, 2. False.	1. 62, 2. 38
35. Which drawing do you prefer: 1., or 2?	1. 50, 2. 50

[a]Items on which false group pressure was applied.

Conformity Test Series

Task	Percentage Norm Group choosing each answer
36. Which of these lines is equal to the standard line: 1., 2., or 3?	1. 75, 2. 25, 3. 0
37. Which of these four lines is longest: 1., 2., 3., or 4?	1. 9, 2. 0, 3. 59, 4. 32
38. Which of these lines is equal to the standard line: 1., 2., or 3?	1. 50, 2. 3, 3. 47
39. Which of these lines is equal to the standard line: 1., 2., or 3?	1. 50, 2. 3, 3. 47
40[a]. Almost every day something happens which frightens me. 1. True, 2. False.	1. 6, 2. 94
41. Which figure has the greater area? 1., or 2?	1. 56, 2. 44
42[a]. Which of these four lines is longest: 1., 2., 3., or 4?	1. 0, 2. 3, 3. 94, 4. 3
43. Which figure has the greater area: 1., or 2?	1. 50, 2. 50
44[a]. Which of these lines is equal to the standard line: 1., 2., or 3?	1. 3, 2. 97, 3. 0
45. I seem to be about as capable as most others around me. 1. True, 2. False.	1. 72, 2. 28
46. Free speech being a privilege rather than a right, it is proper for society to suspend free speech whenever it feels itself threatened. 1. Agree 2. Disagree.	1. 41, 2. 59

[a]Items on which false group pressure was applied.

Conformity Test Series

Task	Percentage Norm Group choosing each answer
47[a]. Which of these lines is equal to the standard line: 1., 2., or 3?	1. 87, 2. 0, 3. 13
48. 1. Shrewd, 2. Naive. My preference is trait 1., or 2.	1. 75, 2. 25
49. Which figure has the greater area? 1., 2., or 3? (Equal)	1. 0, 2. 84, 3. 16
50. 1. Popular, 2. Sincere. My preference is trait 1., or 2.	1. 22, 2. 78
51. The length of this line is: 1., 2., 3., or 4.	1. 0, 2. 9, 3. 40, 4. 50
52. Which drawing do you prefer: 1., or 2?	1. 19, 2. 81
53. Which drawing do you prefer: 1., or 2?	1. 56, 2. 44
54[a]. Which of these lines is equal to the standard line: 1., 2., or 3?	1. 6, 2. 94, 3. 0
55. I easily become impatient with people. 1. True, 2. False.	1. 53, 2. 47
56. Which of these lines is equal to the standard line: 1., 2., or 3?	1. 0, 2. 0, 3. 97 (1 S chose no. 4)
57[a]. Which drawing do you prefer: 1., or 2?	1. 16, 2. 84
58. The length of this line is: 1., 2., 3., or 4.	1. 0, 2. 0, 3. 9, 4. 81

[a]Items on which false group pressure was applied.

Conformity Test Series

Task	Percentage Norm Group choosing each answer
59. 1. Robust, 2. Intellectual. My preference is trait 1., or 2.	1. 25, 2. 75
60. 1. Impulsive, 2. Deliberate. My preference is trait 1., or 2.	1. 38, 2. 62
61[a]. A person shouldn't be punished for breaking a law that he feels is unjust. 1. Agree, 2. Disagree.	1. 3, 2. 97
62[a]. Which line is longest: 1., 2., 3., or 4?	1. 3, 2. 6, 3. 3, 4. 87
63. Which figure has the greater area: 1., 2., or 3? (Equal)	1. 6, 2. 69, 3. 25
64. 1. Whitman, 2. Twain. My preference is: 1., or 2.	1. 22, 2. 78
65. 1. Aggressive, 2. Gentle. My preference is trait 1., or 2.	1. 47, 2. 53
66. 1. Lincoln, 2. Washington. My preference is: 1., or 2.	1. 56, 2. 44
67[a]. Which line is longest: 1., 2., 3., or 4?	1. 0, 2. 6, 3. 6, 4. 87
68. 1. Pleasure seeking, 2. Earnest. My preference is trait 1., or 2.	1. 66, 2. 34
69. The length of this line is: 1., 2., 3., or 4.	1. 9, 2. 84, 3. 6, 4. 0
70[a]. Parents should be careful not to show their feelings toward their children. 1. Agree, 2. Disagree.	1. 2, 2. 98

[a]Items on which false group pressure was applied.

Conformity Test Series

Task	Percentage Norm Group choosing each answer
71. 1. Gallileo, 2. Einstein: My preference is: 1., or 2.	1. 50, 1. 50
72. 1. Skeptical, 2. Trusting. My preference is trait 1., or 2.	1. 22, 2. 78
73. Whenever things become difficult or crucial I become more calm and collected. 1. True, 2. False.	1. 19, 2. 81
74. 1. Lucretius, 2. Plato. My preference is: 1., or 2.	1. 25, 2. 75
75[a]. Which of these lines is equal to the standard line: 1., 2., or 3?	1. 87, 2. 13, 3. 0
76. I would rather have people dislike me than look down on me. 1. True, 2. False.	1. 72, 2. 28
77. Which figure has the greater area: 1., 2., or 3 (Equal)?	1. 84, 2. 3, 3. 13
78[a]. 1. Freud, 2. Jung. My preference is: 1., or 2.	1. 87, 2. 13
79. I would be willing to describe myself as a pretty strong person. 1. True, 2. False.	1. 69, 2. 31
80. 1. Zane Grey, 2. E. S. Gardner. My preference is: 1., or 2.	1. 34, 2. 66

[a]Items on which false group pressure was applied.

Appendix B

Table 10

Individual Rorschach, TAT, and Conformity Scores Arranged by Rorschach-TAT Classes

($\underline{N}$ = 52)

Class	Rorschach Scores	TAT Scores	Conformity Scores		
			Structured	Unstructured	Total
I High Rorschach-Low TAT					
1.	7	10½	0	3	3
2.	5	9	0	1	1
3.	4	10	0	1	1
4.	5	10	1	0	1
5.	6	3	0	2	2
6.	5	7	0	2	2
7.	5	9	2	1	3
8.	5	7½	1	0	1
9.	5	8½	0	2	2
10.	4	7½	0	4	4

(Table 10 continued on next page)

Table 10--Continued

Class	Rorschach Scores	TAT Scores	Conformity Scores		
			Structured	Unstructured	Total
II High Rorschach-High TAT					
1.[a]	5	16½	2	2	4
2.	4	16	0	2	2
3.	8	16	1	1	2
4.	5	24	0	2	2
5.	5	19	0	4	4
6.	4	13½	0	0	0
7.	5	17½	3	3	6
8.	4	15	1	5	6
9.	9	12	0	2	2
10.	6	12½	0	1	1
11.[a]	4	15	1	0	1
12.[a]	8	13	0	0	0
13.	4	20½	0	0	0

[a]Cases dropped by random elimination to equalize the Ns for each class.

(Table 10 continued on next page)

Table 10--Continued

Class	Rorschach Scores	TAT Scores	Conformity Scores		
			Structured	Unstructured	Total
III Low Rorschach-Low TAT					
1.	2	8½	1	0	1
2.	2	6	1	0	1
3.[a]	2	6	1	1	2
4.[a]	2	8½	1	1	2
5.	1	5½	0	3	3
6.[a]	3	6	2	2	4
7.[a]	0	8½	6	4	10
8.	2	8	1	5	6
9.	3	5½	3	2	5
10.[a]	3	7½	1	1	2
11.	1	7	1	0	1
12.[a]	2	11	0	2	2
13.	2	10	2	3	5
14.	2	4	4	1	5
15.	3	11	0	1	1
16.	0	8½	1	5	6

[a]Cases dropped by random elimination to equalize the Ns for each class.

(Table 10 continued on next page)

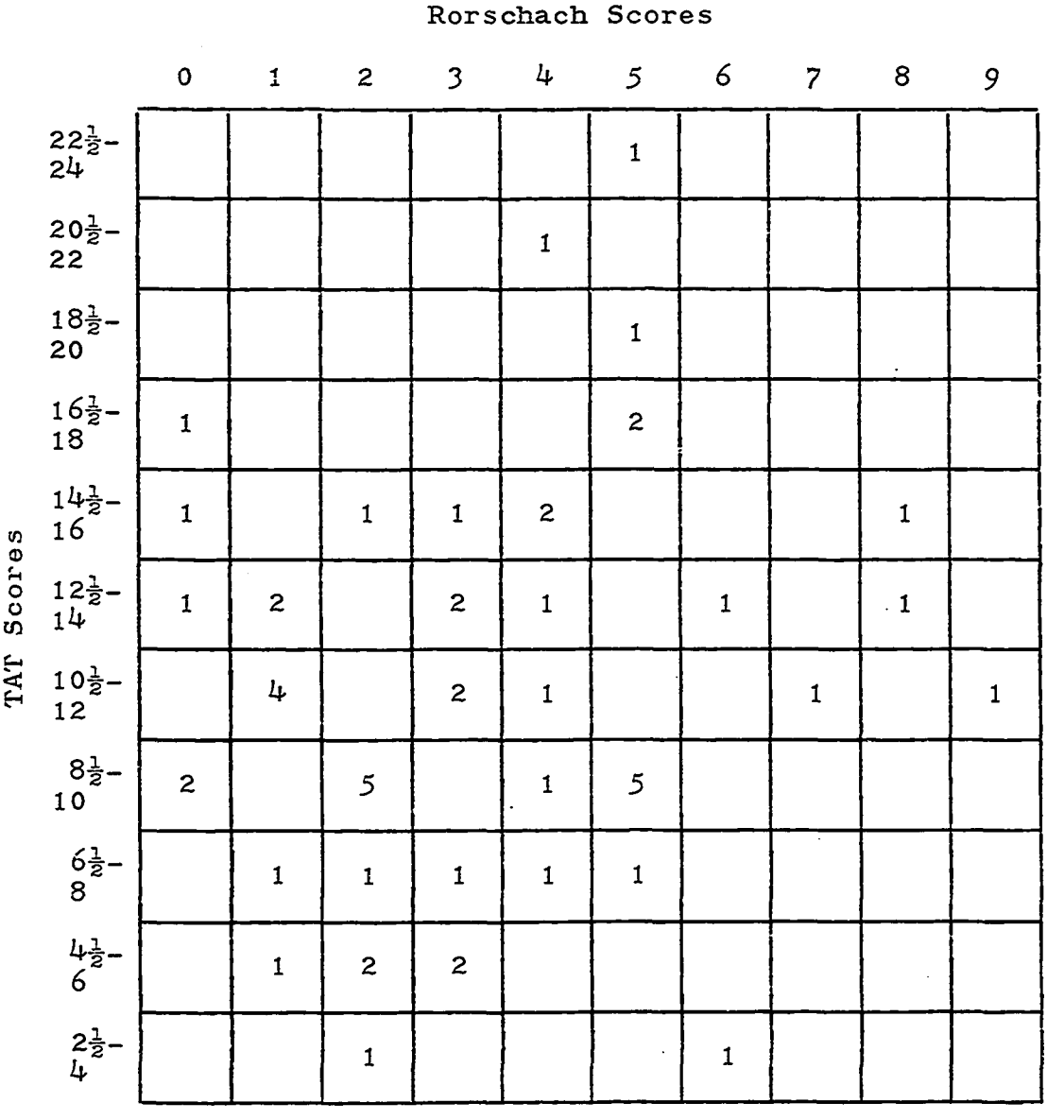
Table 10--Continued

Class	Rorschach Scores	TAT Scores	Conformity Scores		
			Structured	Unstructured	Total
IV Low Rorschach-High TAT					
1.	1	12	2	2	4
2.	3	13	6	4	10
3.[a]	1	14	2	5	7
4.[a]	1	12	0	1	1
5.	3	12½	3	2	5
6.	3	15½	3	3	6
7.	2	15½	1	4	5
8.	0	17	3	2	5
9.	3	12	1	1	2
10.	0	15	2	3	5
11.	1	14	2	4	6
12.[a]	1	11½	0	1	1
13.	0	14	0	3	3

[a]Cases dropped by random elimination to equalize the Ns for each class.

Appendix C

Scatter Plot for the Correlation Ratio of Rorschach on TAT Scores



TAT Scores	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
22½-24						1				
20½-22					1					
18½-20						1				
16½-18	1					2				
14½-16	1		1	1	2				1	
12½-14	1	2		2	1		1		1	
10½-12		4		2	1			1		1
8½-10	2		5		1	5				
6½-8		1	1	1	1	1				
4½-6		1	2	2						
2½-4			1				1			

Appendix D

Table 11

Rorschach, TAT, and Conformity Mean Scores for the Four Rorschach-TAT Classes before Equalizing the Ns for Each Class

(N = 52)

Class	N	Rorschach Mean	TAT Mean	Conformity Means Str.	Unstr.	Total
I Hi Ror.- Low TAT	10	5.0	8.40	.4	1.6	2.0
II Hi Ror.- Hi TAT	13	5.5	15.96	.6	1.7	2.3
III Low Ror.- Low TAT	16	1.8	7.63	1.6	1.9	3.5
IV Low Ror.- Hi TAT	13	1.5	13.77	1.9	2.7	4.6