

CHAPTER XX

GENETIC ASPECTS OF THE AUTHORITARIAN PERSONALITY: CASE STUDIES OF TWO CONTRASTING INDIVIDUALS

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A. INTRODUCTION

As Mack and Larry have been followed through the various techniques of the study each of these subjects has shown striking consistency of response, and numerous differences between them have been found. The consistency embraces personality as well as ideology, and the differences have appeared in each area of investigation, from surface attitudes to the deep-lying needs explored by the T.A.T. Evidence has accumulated in support of the view that the differing ideological patterns are closely associated with differences in personality structure. The present task is to describe these personality structures, to see how they are expressed in ideological trends and, above all, to learn as much as possible about how they developed. Numerous personality characteristics of the two subjects have already been brought to light, and the T.A.T. has given strong indications of what the central forces in each case might be; over-all formulation, however, has had to wait upon an examination of the material from the clinical section of the interview. This material obviously leaves much to be desired, but when it is brought into relation with what has gone before and interpreted with the freedom which the background afforded by the foregoing clinical chapters now permits, reasonably complete and meaningful pictures emerge.

Many of the variables discussed in the chapters dealing with data from the clinical interviews will appear again as we consider these two cases. It is hoped that by paying more attention to specific detail than has been possible when the concern was with groups of subjects, we may come to closer grips with some of the concrete phenomena from which our variables were abstracted and that they will thus gain something in meaningfulness. The concern here, however, is not so much with particular variables as with the patterning of variables within a single individual. The aim is to achieve as lifelike a portrait of one authoritarian personality, in its genetic aspects, as our frag-

mentary material permits, and to point up the contrasts with a nonauthoritarian personality.

Most consideration will be given to the case of Mack: Here, as throughout the book, prejudice, rather than the relative lack of it, is in the focus of attention. Larry's case is used mainly for purposes of contrast—contrast both with respect to the broad outlines of personality structure and with respect to certain turning points of development which seem to have been crucial for prejudice.

B. THE CASE OF MACK

The clinical part of Mack's interview follows.

"Mother was sick in bed a great deal of the time. I remember her reading and singing to us. She devoted her last strength to us kids. I don't have those early recollections of my father. My first recollection of him as a father was one spring morning, when mother passed away. He came back to tell us. Of course, there is such a disparity between his age and mine. He is 77 now. Mother had 3 operations. The third time she left I was very distressed. It was like a premonition. The aunt across the street helped take care of us, when we got sick. Father spent all of his time with us after mother died.

"My sister is 4 years older than I. She has been married about 3½ years. She is a housewife, has a 2-year-old boy, and is expecting another. I have had very good relations with her, a few arguments, but not like other brothers and sisters I have seen. She took care of the family cooking and took care of me. They called her 'the little old lady.' That has kept up. She helped put me through school and to buy my clothes. She is an accomplished stenographer and bookkeeper. She loaned me money to get started in the East. I have repaid her. No, she has not influenced me much in ideas. She's like myself in that. She doesn't take religion very seriously; she never drinks or smokes, has high ideals. But father was more responsible for that.

"Up to high school I didn't do much thinking about anything. When I entered high school, my sister had left. The four years in high school I spent mostly with my father. When I graduated, he was living with us in _____."

(What things did you admire especially in your father?) "Mostly, his attention to us kids was very admirable. He's very honest, so much so that he won't condone charge accounts. He's known throughout the country as a man whose word is as good as his bond. His greatest contribution was denying himself pleasures to take care of us kids. (What disagreements have you had with your father?) There haven't been any to any great extent. I had a mind of my own at a very early age. He has too. We've had arguments, but I can't remember any lickings by him. He scolded but usually talked things over. Our arguments were usually about things I wanted that he didn't want me to have—like the 22 rifle I wanted when I was 10, or a bicycle. He had to be very careful about money. He wouldn't let me work—he thought it was beneath me. He was afraid I would hurt myself with the rifle. But he never denied me anything I needed. (What have been the effects of the age discrepancy?) Well, I've had to shift for myself a lot. I would have welcomed instruction that he wasn't able to give me. My first venture socially was in the DeMolay. I was a charter member and later a master counselor. I was vice-president of the student body in high school and president of the student body at business school. He was pleased and encouraged me.

"Bud, my cousin, and I were always together. He is 2 months younger. We played baseball and went hunting, etc. We're still close, though we write seldom. He is in India."

(What are your most pleasant memories of childhood?) "Those good times Bud and I had, and with other groups. Skiing and tobogganing. My real pleasures are very simple and always have been. But I like nice equipment, for example, a good rifle. Bud and I had good help from father. He used to spend his winters alone in the mountains, and made his own skis and snowshoes. He showed us how to make them."

(What did you worry most about as a kid?) "Well, mostly about being held back by lack of funds. I worried about such things. In the 7th grade, I was the best speller, but I remember a defeat by a girl at the county spelling bee. Often I was just a little under the top. Just like in the service. I went to OCS, and got sick just before getting my commission. Usually I tried too hard, like in football. I was not as good an end as I should have been. I dropped passes because I tried too hard and so I was mediocre. Now, when I'm relaxed I have no trouble at all."

"They found I was anemic at the age of 12. I had my first hemorrhage from the stomach when I was 18. It always comes around when I start working too hard."

(Where did you get your sex instruction?) "I never had any from my parents, though I did get some suggestions from my aunt; no real instruction. What I know I have picked up from reading. I've listened to men talk, but accepted little of it; I weighed it in the light of what I have read."

(What was your first sex experience?) "It was in 1940-41, the aftermath of a New Year's party in Washington. There was liquor. I was always the backward boy. I hope to get married to the girl I'm going with now. She is an awfully nice companion. Most girls are interested only in a good time and want fellows with lots of money to spend. I didn't have the money for giving them a swell time. The girl I'm in love with now lived 9 miles from me. She attended a rival high school. I dated her once in high school. When I got back from the army, I worked in a lumber mill. This girl had graduated from _____ and started teaching. Her uncle is the vice-president of the bank. I talked to him about buying an automobile that she was interested in. I looked it over for her, since I knew something about cars, and told her it was in good condition. I got started going with her that way. I found out that she wasn't interested in money, but was interested in me in spite of my discharge from the army, my poor health and prospects. She's just very good—not beautiful, but a tremendously nice personality. She is French with some Irish in her. She has a nice figure and is very wholesome. When we get married depends on circumstances. It's quite a responsibility. She wants to get married now; she is teaching in _____. I'm under the GI Bill. If I get assurance of four years in college, I might get married this spring. We're well suited; I know she's interested in me, because I have so little to offer. We're both at the proper age. I intend to work part time. I don't like her teaching; I like to support my wife. I've always had that idea. But maybe under the circumstances, that won't be fully possible. She is a good cook, and that is an asset, what with my stomach condition. When I tell her that you approve of our marriage, she will be pleased, but of course, I'm always a man to make my own decisions."

1. ENVIRONMENTAL FORCES AND EVENTS

a. SOCIOECONOMIC FACTORS. Mack is not very informative with respect to the socioeconomic status of his family—partly because he was not questioned

closely enough and partly, as it seems, because he is sometimes tempted to distort the facts. We learned from his questionnaire, it may be recalled, that the father is a "retired lumberman" with an annual income of \$1,000. In the interview we are told that the father has not worked for thirty years (this would mean that he stopped working when he was 47, approximately six years before Mack was born) and that his present income is from "stocks and bonds." At the time he *did* work the wage, we are told, was \$75 a month, hardly enough to have accumulated stocks and bonds the income from which is \$1,000 a year. The most plausible hypothesis, it seems, is that Mack is merely guessing at the time since the father retired, that it was actually not so long as thirty years, and that the major portion of the income is from a pension. ("He owned some lumber lands, but he mostly preferred working for other people.") That the father owned his home probably helped to give the family an aspect of stability, but there seems little reason to doubt that Mack was indeed "held back by lack of funds" or that this was a cause for worry.

The status of the family would seem to have been lower middle-class, bordering on lower class. There was certainly little upward mobility in the sense of actual social or economic advancement. Whether or not the family was concerned with status is a question. The mother and the aunt appear to have tried to keep the children in Sunday School, but the father, whom Mack regards as his major guide, seems not to have participated in this endeavor. We are told that the father wanted his son to go into business, which is not remarkable; but that he did not want Mack to work as a boy because "he thought it was beneath me" sounds definitely status-minded. It also sounds somewhat dubious. We are led to wonder whether we are not dealing here with the status-mindedness of the son rather than with that of the father. It seems that part of the time Mack would like to gain prestige by giving the impression that his father was a man of parts—a retired lumberman who was "known throughout the country as a man whose word was as good as his bond"—and that part of the time he would attain the same end by showing that he had done well despite the economic handicaps with which he had to contend. A man who retired on \$1,000 a year at the age of 47, or when his two children were in infancy—or not yet born—could hardly be described as a go-getter or as a man who was deeply concerned to secure advantages and status for his children. That Mack does not deliberately tell us this may probably be put down as an aspect of his general inability to criticize his father.

b. FATHER. Although the father seems not to have been status-driven in the ordinary sense, there is no evidence that he was relaxed or easy-going with respect either to traditional morality or the values of a business community. While Mack undoubtedly exaggerates the virtuous aspects of his father, some of the remarks about his moral strictness have the ring of truth.

He "followed the church rules" although he did not go to church, he "drank but little, and never smoked," he was "very honest and strict in his dealings—so honest that he wouldn't condone charge accounts"; even when considerably discounted, these remarks still give a picture of a rigidly moral man or at the least, of a man who held up this type of standard for his son. That he did so without showing by example that such standards led to satisfying goals—he himself did not work or provide adequately for his family—may well have been the cause for resentment in Mack.

But Mack only hints at this state of affairs. Each time he describes an authoritarian trait or behavior pattern of his father he seems constrained to deny it or to cancel it out by mentioning something of an opposite character: although "he forced some decisions on me," he "allowed me to do as I pleased"; arguments were about "things he didn't want me to have," but "he never denied me anything I needed"; "he scolded but usually talked things over"; "I've had to shift for myself a lot," but "his attention to us kids was very admirable." It is possible, of course, that these statements should be taken at their face value, for such inconsistency as Mack describes is certainly not uncommon among parents. In this case the conclusion would be that our subject had to deal both with authoritarian discipline and with kindly solicitude on the part of his father. This circumstance would not have prevented the discipline from being resented but it would have made open rebellion against it very difficult, if not impossible. With the father in the position of both disciplinarian and love object it would have been necessary for Mack to submit to the discipline in order not to lose the love.

There is reason enough to believe that after the death of the mother¹ Mack's father did have the central role which is here assigned to him, but it is doubtful that Mack got as much from his father as he seems to want us to believe or that the father's dominance was always as easily excused. Mack seems entirely unambiguous when it comes to the matter of his father's distance from himself. Not only does he appear to have been genuinely troubled by the father's advanced age and to feel that this by itself made the latter inaccessible, but the nearest he comes to uttering a complaint against the father is when he refers, repeatedly but as it seems reluctantly, to the old man's retiring nature. It is easy to believe that a man who "used to spend his winters alone in the mountains" was deeply introverted, and it is easy to imagine that after the death of his wife he used to spend a great deal of time brooding at home, rousing himself now and then to issue a categorical command and telling himself occasionally that he ought to take more interest in "the kids." This picture is unlike that found most commonly among the fathers of

¹ It should be borne in mind, as the effects of the mother's death upon Mack's development are discussed in this chapter, that of the 7 subjects in our sample of interviewees who suffered the same misfortune, all were high on the E scale.

prejudiced men; one might even go so far as to speculate that Mack's father was himself unprejudiced; but even so, his silence and reserve could have been of decisive importance in impelling Mack in the direction of prejudice. If this father possessed such human qualities as suggested above, they were certainly lost on Mack, who says he "can't understand" his father's withdrawal. It is likely that after the mother's death Mack turned to his father for love and comfort, but there is no evidence that he received it in adequate measure. There is no hint of warmth or demonstrativeness on the father's part; instead he is assigned those empty virtues—moral strictness and kindness—which prejudiced subjects characteristically ascribe to parents with whom they were not on good terms. Silence and distance, no less than meaningless aggression, on a father's part may be a sufficient stimulus for fear and hostility in the son.

In summary, it seems that the nearest we can come to an estimate of what the father was like in reality is to say that he was a defeated man who, in an authoritarian manner, held up conventional moral standards for his son without being able to show by example that adherence to these standards actually led to worthwhile ends; after the death of his wife he seems to have tried to take over some of the maternal functions in his relations with his children but because of his own personality problems he was unable to be understanding or affectionate toward his son.

c. **COUSIN BUD.** Although very little is known about Bud, the cousin two months younger than our subject, it must be noted that he seems to have supplied more or less constant male companionship for Mack. There is a hint that Bud was the stronger and more assertive of the two boys; Mack was sick much of the time and finally failed in Officer Candidate School because of his stomach condition, while Bud, at the time of our interview, was overseas as a member of the armed services.

d. **MOTHER.** In approaching the question of what Mack's mother was actually like, in her relations with her own son, we face the same difficulty that arose in the case of the father: our subject tends to glorify his parents, and, in assigning traits to them, to express so well his own personality needs that we cannot accept his appraisal at face value. When Mack tells us that his mother was kind and self-sacrificing ("she devoted her last strength to us kids") and that she was morally strict ("she brought us up very strictly in this [church] guidance") our first thought is that this is what the great majority of our prejudiced subjects—in contrast to the unprejudiced ones—report. The question is whether Mack's mother, and the mothers of most high-scoring men, was actually as he describes her—in which case we should understand the relations of this type of maternal influence to prejudice in the son—or whether the personality needs of the subject are such that he has to describe the mother as he does, even though she may have been quite different in reality.

There seems little reason to doubt that the mother was strict in much the way that Mack describes. She tried to bring up her children according to the moral principles of the Methodist Church and she, no more than the father, could give sex instruction to the subject. This general pattern of strictness seems to have been carried forward by the aunt and by the sister after the mother's death. It can well be imagined that the sister especially, who was cast so prematurely into the role of mother—"the little old lady"—overdid in her attempts to enforce conventional moral standards. But there is no basis for thinking of Mack as a victim of "maternal domination"; the strictness which we may envision here seems no more than what is ordinary among mothers of the lower middle-class.

That Mack may have felt imposed upon by these women, however, is another matter. He may well have felt that the amount of love he received was far from being enough to make up for the restrictions that were placed on him. True, Mack undoubtedly received *some* genuine love from his mother. When he remembers "her reading and singing to us" and notes that he does not have such recollections of his father, when he reports his distress on learning of her death, and when he says—at the conclusion of his T.A.T. session—"there were times when I would have gone to a mother had I had one," it seems clear that he at the least knew what it was to be loved by his mother. But Mack lost this love, and the indications are that it went hard with him. The sense of deprivation and of injustice that this loss may have aroused in him could easily have made later restrictions seem unfair; if at the time of the mother's death Mack harbored some resentment because of her real or imagined strictness, there would be sufficient reason why he, out of guilt feelings, should idealize her.

The mother's illness, which seems to have been a lingering one ("she was sick in bed a great deal of the time" and had three operations), was probably also a significant factor in our subject's development. It could have meant that although he received a certain amount of love, he did not feel secure about it; there must have been many times when he wanted more than she was able to give, and because she was sick in bed he could not be demanding or give vent to the anger which his frustration must have aroused in him.

e. **MACK'S ILLNESS.** Mack's illness as a boy may be regarded both as an event which had important effects upon his later behavior and attitudes and as something which itself may have been, in large part, psychologically determined. That the illness must have been severe and of long standing seems clear from the following: "I have had a lot of sickness; stomach trouble ever since I was 12. I had my first hemorrhage from the stomach when I was 18" and "I went to OCS and got sick just before getting my commission." An indication of how much this illness has meant to Mack is found in his statement on his questionnaire that "physical weakness, perhaps due to ill health

continued over the last four years" is the mood or feeling most disturbing to him.²

2. DEEPER PERSONALITY NEEDS

The concern here is with those needs in Mack's personality which were aroused with particular intensity early in his life and which were later inhibited so that their present activity becomes manifest only in indirect ways. These needs do not form a part of his "better self"; they are not accepted by his ego, and he would conceal them from himself as well as from other people. To appraise these needs, therefore, it is necessary to use special techniques for getting below the surface, to call into play what psychological insight we can, and to rely rather heavily upon inference. The T.A.T. and the Projective Questions offer some evidence bearing fairly directly upon inhibited trends in the personality; analysis of the interview material with special attention to "giveaways" of hidden motives can provide further understanding. When the results of this analysis are integrated with the projective material, and when the conclusions reached are viewed in the light of what is known from psychoanalytic investigation of similar cases,³ a meaningful formulation of the most important deeper personality needs may be achieved.

a. **DEPENDENCE.** After a reading of Mack's interview, one might be inclined to say that his dependence—his wish to be taken care of, to have someone to lean upon—is hardly below the surface. He tells us straight out that he missed his mother very much, that he relied upon his sister's care, that there have been times when he has turned to the Bible for comfort; and when he speaks of his approaching marriage it seems plain that he is attracted by the prospect of having someone take care of him. Yet there is sufficient indication that Mack does not really accept his present dependence. It is only under special conditions that the need for love and support comes into the open. The first condition is that this need be made to appear as belonging to the past, as an aspect of his former self that he has, as it were, got over: There *were* times when he would have turned to a mother. The second condition is that the need be justified by the fact of illness. It is as if he felt that being physically ill is beyond one's control and that in this circumstance one cannot be blamed, or accused of being weak, if he accepts help from others. Thus, it is during periods of illness that he likes to turn to the Bible and it is because of his stomach condition that he can tolerate the idea

² The greater incidence of "concern with physical symptoms" in high- than in low-scoring subjects has been discussed in Chapter XII. It is especially interesting to note in the present connection that of the 7 subjects from our sample of Psychiatric Clinic Patients (Chapter XXII) who, like Mack, suffered from stomach ulcers, 4 were high and none was low on the E scale.

³ Cf. in this connection Ackerman and Jahoda (1), E. Jones (58), and Sanford (104). A study of a case very similar to Mack, based entirely on questionnaire and projective material, has been reported by Sanford and Conrad (107).

of his wife's working and cooking for him. And even when these conditions are met, Mack does not seem to feel comfortable about being dependent; it is necessary for him to assert that, as a matter of fact, he is, and was, quite independent. This defensive procedure seems to go on unconsciously. Mack is not in the least aware of the bid for sympathy implicit in his recounting of his illnesses and handicaps.

There is, to be sure, nothing particularly remarkable about a young man's having feelings of dependence which he tries to suppress because they do not accord with his ideal of masculinity. But in Mack it seems that we are dealing with dependent impulses which are unusually strong, and which come to the surface in spite of his unusual pains to hold them in check. One might say that one reason he cannot allow himself openly to express these impulses is that they are childish, and that the reason they are so is because they were repressed in childhood and, hence, could not be transformed into more mature forms of expression. It is here that the mother's illness and death would seem to have played a crucial role. As noted above, there is reason to believe that during the early years of his life Mack received considerable love and attention from his mother and felt close to her. Her illness intensified his need, and her death must have been a severe trauma for him. With the main source of love and comfort thus lost it is natural that he would make every attempt to repress his longings for dependence. His sister and his aunt were hardly adequate substitutes. And, as has also been noted above, his attempts to get "mother's love" from the father were frustrated by the latter's "distance." Mack's references to his father's devotion and attention can be better understood as expressions of a wish rather than as statements of what the father was like in actuality.

The manifestations of dependence contained in Mack's responses on the T.A.T. seem to have more to do with the father than with the mother. As the examiner points out, the need is for direction and advice rather than for love and understanding and it appears to be aroused by the fear of rejection. This would seem to reflect certain aspects of Mack's relations with his father, in later childhood, more than it reflects the early tie to the mother. The hypothesis would be that after the mother's death the father became both disciplinarian and love object, and it became necessary for Mack to go strictly according to his father's wishes in order to avoid the danger of a further loss of love. It was not, however, that he expected, or even dared to seek, the kind of warmth and care that he had experienced at his mother's hand. This aspect of the dependence need had been firmly repressed. Both the father-dependence and the mother-dependence conflict, at the present time, with Mack's ideal of masculinity and can be admitted only when sufficiently rationalized, but it is the mother-dependence that lies deeper and has resulted in the building up of the more elaborate defenses. One way in which this deeper dependence seems to find indirect expression is through the use of

symbols. The enjoyment of music and singing in church could have this significance. The same interpretation might be given to several of Mack's responses to the Projective Questions: his desire to see all of the world, his fascination with natural wonders and with rare jewels and metals. As substitutes for "mother" these cathected objects have the advantage of being sufficiently removed from the human, so that the forces of repression, originally directed against the need for mother, are not brought into play. Mack's dependence upon "things," e.g., food, the Bible, might conceivably be explained in the same way. The special importance of illness, as a condition under which dependence can be admitted and gratified, has already been discussed. It remains only to point out that Mack's stomach ulcer was very probably psychogenic and that in this case it could be regarded, in accordance with generally accepted theory,⁴ as an expression par excellence of unconscious dependence.

b. **HOSTILITY AGAINST THE FATHER.** If the above attempt to reconstruct the actual behavior of Mack's father was successful then one might say that there was reason enough why our subject should feel hostile toward him. Silence and distance on the father's part when the son wants to be loved, authoritarian discipline without any demonstration of its purpose—these are stimuli which regularly arouse aggression, and there is no reason to suppose that Mack was an exception. But if Mack has such impulses they must be severely inhibited, for at no time does he allow himself freely to blame or to criticize his father. Indeed, the underlying hostility here hypothesized is very well concealed and it is only by the maximum use of subtle cues that we become convinced of its existence.

In responding to the Projective Questions Mack tell us that "anger" is the emotion which he finds most difficult to control. This is in keeping with his references, in the interview, to his "hot temper" and "stubborn nature." These expressions might be understood in the light of his need to impress us with his masculinity, to present himself as a man who is not to be trifled with. They might be dismissed as the whistling in the dark of a young man who in his overt behavior is—far from being aggressive—rather timid and deferential. But in another response to the Projective Questions—"murder and rape" are the worst crimes—we are given a hint that aggression might indeed be one of Mack's preoccupations, and when we come to the T.A.T., evidence that this is true accumulates. Here the analysis seems to reveal "underlying hostile feelings toward the world," "crude aggressive fantasies," and a tendency to "impulsive antisocial acts." A striking figure in the stories is that of a young man "who might do violence if pushed too far." We are given no direct indication of what might be the form of the violence or against whom it might be directed. The responses are like the bare and unqualified "anger" of the Projective Questions. But in the present light it seems clear that in that in-

⁴ Cf. for example, F. Alexander, *et al.* (5).

stance Mack was doing more than protesting his toughness; he was probably telling us the truth. Not that he frequently becomes angry and gets into trouble; it is rather that he is afraid he might become angry and release forces which, though not familiar to him, are vaguely imagined to be primitive and chaotic and likely to provoke disastrous retaliation.

What are the reasons for believing that this deep-lying hostility is directed primarily against the father? We have already seen that the father is the central figure in Mack's imagery of his childhood and that the father was the source of major frustrations. The T.A.T. stories contain no instances in which heroes express aggression against father figures, but the T.A.T. analysis contains indications that it is precisely this type of aggression that our subject is most concerned to control. Whereas hostility against women is clearly manifested by T.A.T. heroes and can be regarded as a tendency that is accepted by Mack's ego, the primitive impulsive aggression of which we speak is exhibited only by characters whom the story-teller has been at pains to reject and it may be regarded, therefore, as ego-alien. This ego-alien aggression is directed against powerful figures, against "oppressors." "The young man looks as if he might commit murder if oppressed." But the heroes do not fight oppression; instead, to quote the T.A.T. analysis, they "identify themselves with the restraining force." Thus, the T.A.T. material favors the hypothesis that underlying aggression against the father has immediately to be countered—disclaimed, redirected, or smothered—because the father is conceived as too strong and dangerous. And in this circumstance the aggression itself is felt to be dangerous.

In this light, a rereading of Mack's interview seems to show clearly the ambivalence of his feelings about his father. It is entirely necessary for Mack that every implied criticism of the father be taken back or counterbalanced by "good" traits; otherwise the hostility might come too much into the open, and with it, images of disastrous consequences. A rather poignant illustration of what Mack is up against is afforded by one of his responses to the Projective Questions. He gives as one of his two greatest assets, "ability to enjoy people's company." At first glance this might not seem to be much to be proud of, but in Mack's case it represents a real achievement. After telling us, in the interview, of his father's social withdrawal he says, "I looked at my father and saw that I had to do differently," and "I have gone in for social things in spite of a great dread of them." Going in for social things is an expression of rebellion against the father, and hence the "great dread." In no other instance, as far as our material goes, has Mack made so bold; and even here it must have been a comfort to him to know that "he (the father) was pleased and he encouraged me."

c. SUBMISSION, PASSIVITY, AND HOMOSEXUALITY. With the single not very striking deviation just described, the general picture of Mack's surface attitudes toward his father is one of submission and admiration. And this

despite the subject's claim to stubbornness and independence. One might say that his only recourse in the face of what he conceived to be the father's irresistible power was to submit—and then to gain a sense of adequacy by participating psychologically in the father's power. This, in the last analysis, is the homosexual solution of the Oedipus problem.⁵ It is not surprising, therefore, to find in Mack's T.A.T. productions clear indications of his fear of homosexual attack. (This is made manifest, primarily, in his treatment of the "hypnotist" picture.)

Even without this piece of direct evidence we would be led to hypothesize repressed homosexuality in order to explain some of the outstanding features of Mack's personality development. The material is replete with manifestations of authoritarian submission. As clear a manifestation as any, perhaps, is the conception of God "as strictly a man, one who would treat us as a father would his son." There would seem to be no doubt that Mack has longed for his father's love—as we should expect in a boy who lost his mother when he was 6 years old. He has tried to replace the imagery of a bad, dangerous father with imagery of a good father who would spend "all of his time with us." But Mack is not able to admit this need. Even while *acting* in a submissive and deferential manner he seems to cling to the belief that he is very manly and self-sufficient. The reason for this self-deception, we can well believe, is that, for this subject, to submit to a man and so to gain his love has definite sexual implications. It may be connected with very primitive imagery of passivity and emasculation. One might say that Mack's homosexuality, repressed in childhood in a setting of sadomasochistic relations with the father, has remained on an infantile level; insufficiently sublimated, it cannot find gratification in friendly, equalitarian relations with men but, instead, it determines that most such relations have to be on a dominance-submission dimension.

d. FEAR OF WEAKNESS. It is Mack's repressed homosexuality, very probably, that is mainly responsible for his compelling fear of weakness. If weakness means emasculation, if it means being at the mercy of an irresistibly strong man, then it is not difficult to see why this subject should exert every effort to make himself appear impregnable.

Fear of weakness, and the need to conceal any signs of it, comes almost to the surface in Mack. As we shall see in a moment it seems to lie immediately behind a number of his most pronounced manifest traits and attitudes. But just because Mack is so concerned to cover up his fear, direct evidence of its existence is not easy to obtain. Perhaps the closest he comes to an open admission is when he writes, in response to the Projective Question, "What mood or feelings are most disturbing?": "Physical weakness, perhaps due to ill health continued over the last four years." If the weakness is clearly physical and can be excused on the ground of ill health, then it can be fully admitted. But

⁵ Cf. S. Freud (41), E. Jones (58), and, for a recent discussion, C. Thompson (117).

it is not physical weakness alone, but a general sense of inadequacy which seems to be expressed indirectly in Mack's response to the Projective Question pertaining to greatest assets: "A definite desire to raise myself physically, financially, and socially." Not that a desire to raise oneself is necessarily based upon an underlying sense of inadequacy; the argument that it is so based in Mack's case rests upon what appears to be the extraordinary emphasis that he places upon this desire and upon supporting indications from the T.A.T. It may be recalled that the analysis of Mack's stories gave considerable emphasis to the "underlying fears and feelings of inadequacy behind the desire to 'be a strong individual' or to 'be like most men.'"

The T.A.T. throws rather direct light upon the sexual aspects of the fear of weakness. The manifest attitudes of contempt and distrust toward women seem clearly to derive from the idea that they will drag a man down or deprive him of his "strong character." It is because women are weak that they are not to be trusted; they are out to exploit the man and to reduce his manliness by involving him in the "sordid" business of sex.

The role of Mack's physical illness, particularly in childhood, in determining the fear of weakness should not be underestimated. We can well imagine that the experiences of illness rearoused the infantile anxiety of helplessness. More than this, the sense of being a "sickly boy" might have put Mack at a disadvantage in his relations with his Cousin Bud, so that homosexual feelings were aroused—with the consequences that have been discussed above. Again, the weaker Mack was in actuality the stronger would the father appear to him; and it was the idea that the father was too strong and dangerous, we may suppose, that prevented any basic identification with him. This failure in identification would, by itself, be sufficient ground for the fear that he was not quite a man. The mother's illness and death was probably a factor here also. As suggested above, there is some reason to believe that in the early years of his life Mack tended rather strongly to identify with his mother. (His illness may, indeed, have been in some part an identification with her.) He still has his "softer side," as it were. But following her death this identification could hardly have remained as a source of inner security; on the contrary, Mack had had an experience well calculated to promote terrifying ideas of what it might mean to be feminine, and we should expect him to regard any feminine traits within himself primarily as areas of vulnerability.

This consideration of Mack's fear of weakness seems to throw further light on his struggle with dependence. It is very likely that he regards his dependent needs as signs of weakness—the same kind of weakness that has just been discussed—and that this is another reason why he cannot freely admit the existence of these needs. It is as if accepting help or love or comfort from a woman meant being somehow identified with her, and hence open to the dangers with which women have to contend. Accepting help or love

or comfort from a man suggest being treated like a woman by that man, and hence threatened with the loss of masculinity. But because in his innermost self Mack would like to be treated in just this way, the sense of weakness is constantly stimulated, and no amount of counteractive striving can entirely dispel it.

3. DYNAMICS OF SURFACE BEHAVIOR AND ATTITUDES

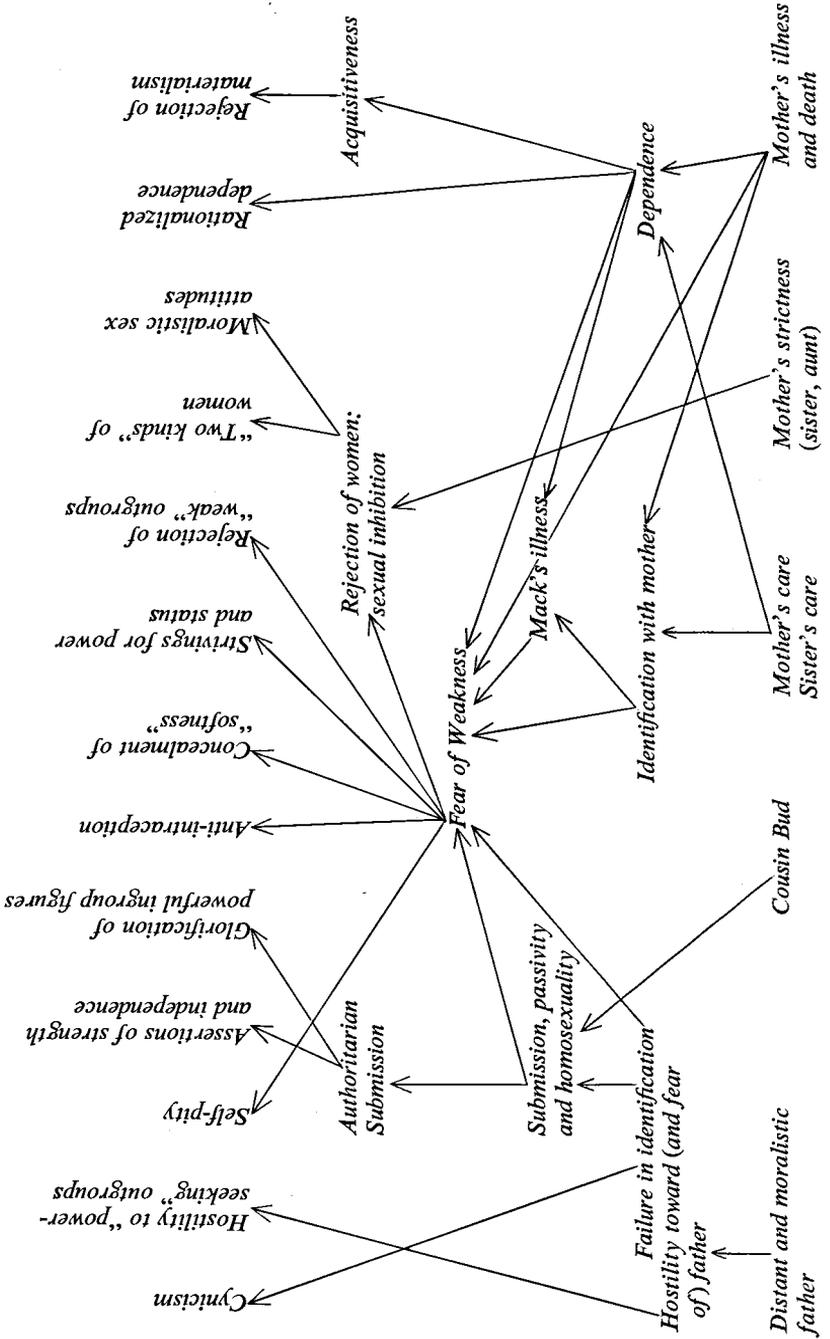
Given these underlying trends—dependence, hostility against the father, submission, passivity and homosexuality, and fear of weakness—it is possible to offer reasonable explanations for most of Mack's characteristic traits and attitudes. These surface trends can be understood in large part as derivations or transformations of the deep-lying needs we have discussed. Surface and depth are connected by means of well-known psychological mechanisms.

An abstract formulation of Mack's personality, in its genetic aspects, is sketched in its general outlines in Figure 1(XX). Genetically early forces and events appear at the bottom of the chart, and the course of development is followed by reading upward, arrows indicating the directions of determination and the points at which it is applied. No attempt is made to indicate the nature of the causation in the various instances. A rough correspondence between order in the genetic sequence and degree of depth within the contemporary personality structure is assumed, the earliest reaction tendencies being regarded as those which now lie deepest within the personality.

It may be noted at once that fear of weakness occupies the most central position on the chart. Deriving, as we have seen, chiefly from the deep-lying tendencies toward dependence on the one hand and toward submission, passivity and homosexuality on the other, this fear necessitates several protective devices which lead to a variety of behavior patterns and general attitudes at the surface level. The fear has to be denied, allayed, and if possible, overcome. We observe in Mack, therefore, attempts to conceal weakness by verbal denial and by presenting a façade of toughness, to get rid of weakness by projecting it onto other people, chiefly outgroups, and then condemning them on this score, to overcompensate for weakness by strivings for power and status and to allay the sense of weakness by aligning himself with powerful individuals and groups.

Little more need be said, it seems, concerning Mack's straightout verbal denial of weakness. It is simply that all through his interview he is at pains to tell us that he is not weak but strong and that if at any time he has appeared to be weak, then this was entirely justified by external circumstances. Of particular importance for Mack's susceptibility to fascist propaganda is the fact that the need to excuse weakness sometimes leads him into distortions of reality; he exaggerates the power and misreads the intentions of outgroups according to the formula, "If I appear to be weak, it is because they are so

FIGURE 1 (XX)
THE GENETIC ASPECTS OF MACK'S PERSONALITY



strong and out to take unfair advantage of me." The mechanism is the same as that which underlies the "persecution complex" so regularly associated with repressed homosexuality, though the conflict in Mack seems much less intense than that found in clinic patients. What we see on the surface here is the self-pity implicit in his thesis that he has done well considering all that he has had to contend with, and his projective thinking about such outgroups as the Jews, the New Deal, and the Washington bureaus. There can be little doubt that the problem with which Mack is struggling here was first presented to him in connection with his childhood relations with his father: "How can I be expected to oppose, to be strong and independent, to become a man, when father is so strong." That he has been able to transpose the whole complex into the area of group relations saves him from having to oppose any individual or group that is really strong, and at the same time—since his ideas are now shared for various reasons by many other people—to achieve an appearance of "normality" that he would not have were he to concentrate on a single private "enemy."

Mack has made some attempt to conceal weakness by contriving a tough exterior. The leather jacket and the "nice equipment, for example a good rifle" are probably intended as unmistakable signs of masculinity. Mack is unable, however, to behave aggressively,⁶ and hence the device of over-compensatory toughness does not serve him as well as it does many prejudiced men. But if he is unable to be physically tough, he can at least be tough-minded. His general attitude of anti-intracception can be understood as primarily an attempt to ward off any suggestion of "softness" that might be implicit in a more human way of looking at things.

The most primitive mechanism for dispelling a sense of weakness is the projection, "I am not weak, they are." Mack makes some use of this mechanism, though not in the crudest possible way. It is not so much that he sees weakness where none exists; rather, he thinks of people and groups in rigid categories of weak versus strong, and if any weakness is actually there it is what first strikes his eye, as it were, and he reacts to it in a particular way. His main concern is not to be in any way identified with weakness. Religious people, Jewish refugees, and women may actually be, in one sense or another, weak, but for Mack this is the *main* fact about these groups of people and he must at all costs set them apart from himself. If one asks why he cannot have pity for weak people but instead actually hates them, the answer is twofold. In the first place, they remind him too much of his own weakness and all the dreadful fear with which it is associated. Second, and probably more important, he believes weak people to be dangerous. When he says that Jews "should not resent" their persecution we can readily infer that he believes they *do* resent it and will seek revenge in time. Women and Ne-

⁶ Cf. in this connection J. F. Brown's findings, from the use of the Rosenzweig Picture-Frustration Test, on "passive anti-Semitism" (16).

groes, as the T.A.T. analysis made clear, are regarded in this same way. It is to be granted that the strictness of Mack's mother, and later attempts of the sister and the aunt to carry out her policy, helped to teach Mack that women could be aggressive, but there is reason to believe that his notions about the dangerous aspects of "weak" people are based primarily upon a projection. The feeling of being persecuted aroused in him the strongest impulses to violence ("the young man looks like he might commit murder if oppressed") and he imagines that "downtrodden" people are similarly motivated.

Fear of the weak woman, as has been pointed out, would largely explain Mack's sexual backwardness, and this in turn offers sufficient basis for the moralistic sex attitudes expressed on the questionnaire and in the interview. How is the rejection of women to be reconciled with the fact that Mack idealizes his mother and intends to marry a girl with a "tremendously nice personality"? Here it must be considered that Mack actually has two conceptions of women: the "bad," weak, dangerous, exploitive, sexual woman who drags one down, and the good, wholesome, asexual one who gives. It is the former with whom one dares to have sex relations as "the aftermath of a New Year's party"; the latter is described mainly contrasting her with the former; she is not interested primarily in "a good time" or "in spending fellows' money" or in anything "sordid." Undoubtedly the imagery of this "good" woman derives in part from the imagery of the mother "who devoted her last strength to us kids." Certainly Mack would like to recapture some of the love and comfort that he received from his mother, provided this motive on his part can be adequately rationalized. It must be pointed out, however, that his appreciation of his mother seems somewhat overdone, enough so to suggest that his idealization of her is based partly on bad conscience and is an attempt to undo hostility that was directed against her. One cannot be very optimistic about the prospects for Mack's forthcoming marriage. While on the one hand he wants more than any woman can give him, on the other hand, he feels it would be weak to ask his wife for anything at all. And this is not to mention the problem of how sex is to be introduced into the picture without spoiling it altogether.

It has already been suggested that Mack's strivings for power and status—his desire to "raise" himself—may be regarded as largely overcompensatory. Indeed, it would be very surprising if some kind of counteractive activity did not have a place among the devices he employs for overcoming the sense of weakness. From this point of view we can understand why it is that the needs for affiliation and recognition when they appear in the T.A.T. are expressed mainly as a desire for having the members of his group look up to him, and why being an officer in the DeMolay and in his class at business school is important to him. The crucial role of the status drive in determining Mack's general ideology was first indicated in the analysis of his remarks concerning vocation and income. There it seemed clear that for him "going up" meant

going up in a hierarchy; in his mind the existence of dominant groups and submerged groups was "natural" and, far from being concerned with changing this state of affairs, his aim was to have membership in the groups that were dominant. This is something different from the ordinary, everyday desire to improve one's lot in a sociological sense. It seems that here again Mack's thinking about group relations is dominated by the rigid categories of "strong" and "weak." In the light of the foregoing personality analysis we may say that, once again, Mack brings to his interpretation of group relations images and attitudes which have remained unchanged since their genesis in the childhood relations with his father. That one was weak and the other strong was then the salient fact, and the persistence of this idea is a part of the fixation upon the traumatic situation of childhood. Since Mack could not conceive of himself opposing the irresistibly strong father, his attempt at a solution was to convince himself that his father was "good" and so to align himself with him. This corresponds exactly with Mack's present approach to group relations. He does not oppose any group that is, in actuality, strong; instead, he argues that the strong ones are the good ones, and even while admiring and being subservient to them he overcomes weakness through gaining a sense of participation in their power.

This last is, of course, one aspect of the general attitude which we have termed authoritarian submission, and which we have previously seen to be an outstanding feature of Mack's manifest personality. To say that this attitude rests upon an attempt to overcome weakness through identification with power is to mention only one of its major sources. In so far as authoritarian submission is a means for overcoming weakness it stands as a kind of defense against the underlying homosexual submission and passivity; it remains to be pointed out that this surface trend offers at the same time gratification for these very same needs. In glorifying strong groups and individuals—"father figures"—he is expressing the need for a father's love and support and guidance, for a God who is "strictly man, greater than any on this earth, one that would treat us as a father would his son." Whereas most channels for the expression of this need are closed because they pass too close to weakness, it can in certain circumstances come into the open and be gratified: Chiefly when the strong man or strong group is *strong enough*, strong enough so that there is a chance for participation in real power and strong enough so that submission can be readily excused. If one should ask why Roosevelt, who was almost universally experienced in this country as a father figure, was not happily accepted and admired by Mack instead of being rejected as a "dictator," the answer would seem to be that he was not strong enough:⁷ he "would come off second best in a contest with Winnie," while as for General Marshall, "nobody could alter his position."

How authoritarian submission promotes political conservatism and moral

⁷ This point has been elaborated in Chapter XVII.

conventionalism in this subject has been described in sufficient detail in Chapter II. Lacking a firmly internalized superego, a result of the failure to achieve a basic identification with the father, Mack looks outside of himself for guidance as to what to do and what not to do, and turns naturally to the authorities that seem strongest and most commonly accepted. He cannot, however, admit that this is the case, but clings to the illusion that he has a stubborn nature and is a man to make his own decisions.

This last suggests that Mack's relations with his authorities are not entirely harmonious, that he is not altogether comfortable with the arrangements that he has made. This is no more than we should expect from a consideration of the sources of his authoritarianism. It springs originally, as we have seen, from hostility toward his father. This hostility led to submission based on fear and, although submission offers other rewards as well, the element of fearful necessity still has an important role in Mack's attitude toward authority. It is this circumstance that gives his adherence to conventional standards the aspect of rigidity; since they have never been fully integrated with the ego, it is necessary to adhere to them strictly lest they be thrown overboard altogether.

Mack's hostility against minority groups and other groups and individuals is almost always justified by him on moral grounds. And the morality to which he appeals is that of the external authorities to which he is subservient. His manifest aggression is, so to speak, in the name of authority. He arranges things so that his conscience and his deepest antisocial impulses operate in collaboration. But if we ask what is his conception of the outgroup and why it provokes him so we are led back to the same sources that gave rise to his conceptions and attitudes concerning ingroup authorities. Outgroups are hated, as we saw in Chapter II, for being selfishly and ruthlessly aggressive. (That outgroups are also "weak" may be a logical contradiction, but it is not a psychological one; Mack's thinking about social and political matters is dominated by unconscious processes and, hence, cannot be expected to conform with the rules of logic.⁸) The power-seeking features of the outgroup, no less than the admirably strong aspects of the "good" ingroup, can be understood as derivatives of the infantile imagery of the father. Since Mack dared not oppose his father but could only submit to him, it became necessary to convince himself that the father was good. But this did not dissipate the original hostility against the father. Nor did Mack attempt to handle it by turning it against himself; one of the outstanding features of his case is the relative absence of self-criticism. What he did was *displace* the hostility onto outgroups; or better, the frustrating, punishing, persecutory features which had to be denied in the father were seen as originating in outgroups who could then be hated in safety, because they were not strong in actuality, and in good conscience, because the traits ascribed to them were those which the

⁸ Cf. Freud's discussion of "exemption from mutual contradiction" as one of the characteristics of unconscious processes.

ingroup authorities would condemn. Thus it is that each "good" trait that the father is said to have is the opposite of a "bad" trait which belongs to the image of the Jew: while the father's "greatest contribution was denying himself pleasures to take care of us kids" the Jews are not "interested in humanity," while the father was renowned for his "honesty," one has to be careful of Jewish clothiers. At the same time, when it comes to the one trait in the father which Mack is almost inclined to criticize, that is, social withdrawal, one finds that it too looms large in the imagery of the Jew: they refuse "to mingle and become a part of our people," "they would rather be alone." If the Jews have thus to bear the brunt of Mack's ambivalent feelings toward his father, there might be some comfort for them in the fact that his feelings toward them are also somewhat ambivalent. It may be recalled that Mack's explanation for what he supposes to be Jewish pressure on Congress and for the fact that Jews have been "fully repaid" for their part in the war effort is that "they are businessmen," and we know that he has nothing but admiration for businessmen, especially those who represent a "concentration of wealth in a certain class," i.e., "the big capitalists." Unfortunately, however, it is very doubtful that the Jews could ever benefit from the positive phase of Mack's ambivalence, for their supposed inability makes them more dangerous to him. The separation of the good father image from the bad is an essential of Mack's personality adjustment and he could no more see "good" in his image of the Jew than he can see "bad" in his father.

As far as our material goes the only outlets for the expression of aggression that Mack has is through his ethnocentrism, that is, through authoritarian aggression against various kinds of outgroups. There is, however, one other manifestation of underlying aggression which may afford some vent for his feelings, and that is cynicism. This prominent tendency in our subject has been described in Chapters II and VII. It seems clear enough now that its major source is the bottled-up resentment with which the present analysis has been so largely concerned. We must understand, however, that in cynicism the destructiveness is directed against the self as well as against the world.⁹ It is not only that the subject's own aggressiveness is projected onto other people, who are then accused of being acquisitive and warlike, but contempt for other people seems to be closely related to contempt for himself. In Mack's case—and this probably holds generally for authoritarian personalities—the self-contempt derives from his sense of weakness and this, as we have seen, is the aftermath of his surrender to his father. This surrender cannot be wholly excused, and as long as he cannot permit himself to feel aggressive toward those who are actually strong, there will be a nagging reminder that he, in reality, is weak. He tries to free himself from this thought

⁹ On the topic of cynicism Sanford, Conrad, and Franck (108) have published findings based on a questionnaire similar to those employed in the present study.

by projecting the contemptibleness onto mankind, and thus there is some basis for saying that he hates others because he hates himself.

To complete the picture it is necessary to return now to the topic of Mack's dependence. The sense of deprivation that followed the loss of his mother, and the growing feelings that because of his weakness people might leave him out or take advantage of him, seem to have generated in him a general attitude of acquisitiveness and, more specifically, a feeling that somebody ought to give him something. The highest praise of mother, father, sister, or fiancée is that they gave or will give to him, and one of the major characteristics of "bad" people is that they are selfish or "not interested in humanity." It is not difficult to infer that his concern with justice is primarily concern with getting something. A man who can speak sentimentally of justice in one breath and almost in the next speak of barring Hitler's victims from this country on the ground that they are "Europe's misfits" is hardly employing the term "justice" in its basic sense. But apparently his acquisitiveness encounters his conventional moral standards and has to be reacted against. He is very careful to assure us that he has "repaid" what he got from others, and he is moralistically temperate in stating his objectives with respect to income. The importance of this conflict about acquisitiveness for Mack's social outlook lies in the fact that it supplies the basis for another accusation against outgroups. They are said to be "materialistic" and "money-minded." This seems to be in part a projection, since outgroups are accused of doing exactly what he and his own group do but would like to deny, and in part a mere complaint about the fact that the world goes its own way without paying much attention to him and his wants.

A remarkable feature of Mack's dependence is that although it has been rendered ego-alien and as an unconscious force leads to the misjudgment and rejection of other people, so much of it still finds expression in behavior. (This has been brought out in the above discussion of underlying dependence.) This is testimony to his outstanding facility in rationalization, something that is made possible, as it seems, by his unwillingness to look at himself.

This brings us to a place where we must consider Mack's stereotypy, a characteristic of his thinking that is highly pronounced and, clearly, of the greatest significance for his prejudice. In one sense, his stereotyped thinking about social phenomena seems to be related to his general attitude of anti-intraception and to be dependent, in part at least, upon the same underlying conditions. It might be said that one reason why Mack's explanations of social phenomena are so primitive and oversimplified (for example, differences among ethnic groups are categorical and due to differences in blood strain) is that he is unable to make any use of social or psychological theories of determination. This can hardly be due to a lack of intelligence or of information, for an examination of his interview leaves a strong impression that with regard to those factors he is above the average for college students. A stronger

argument could be made for the view that his is an educational deficiency, that he simply has not been subjected to instruction about man and society. But this is such a widespread phenomenon in this country that it can hardly be used to explain why Mack stands out from the group. Besides, he could have made some use of the social and psychological viewpoints that are available, but he chose not to. And, for that matter, the fact that anti-intrceptive education is so widespread has itself to be explained, and we can well believe that factors of individual psychology have an important role to play. In Mack's case at least there is a strong suggestion that he cannot reckon with either the sociology or the psychology of other people because he cannot examine the conditions or determinants of his own behavior. Ideas or observations that would be necessary to lend breadth or depth to his view of the world or of himself cannot enter the picture, because they would arouse too much anxiety. It is as if—to put it somewhat dramatically—*he can see only what he has seen before and learn only what he already knows*. In our consideration of Mack's anti-intrception we were given reason to believe that he has to avoid introspection or attention to human factors in order to maintain his sense of being tough-minded. The fuller analysis of his personality shows that his problem is much more serious: he has to deal with a variety of strong unconscious impulses which are not integrated with the ego and which he feels—not without good cause—might get out of hand. In short, the task of maintaining his repressions imposes a heavy burden upon him. This state of affairs has been described, in previous chapters, as ego weakness, and Mack's case offers an excellent illustration of this concept. The problems with which he was faced as a child—problems centering around the loss of his mother and the necessity for making an adjustment to the “distant” father—were too much, they were more than the undeveloped ego could handle. Primitive defenses, chiefly repression and countertransference, were necessary; and since that time, the ego has had to devote so much energy to maintaining these defenses that it could not develop normally. It remains narrow and constricted, in danger of being overwhelmed by emotional impulses from within or authoritative commands from without. Since the inner impulses are more to be feared than the outer authorities there is rigid adherence to the standards of the latter, but since these authorities are not accepted in any fundamental way this adherence could be given up altogether in circumstances that made it safe to do so. Since the traumatic experiences of childhood have not been integrated with the ego, the categories with which the child structured the world have persisted, in more or less unmodified form, to dominate contemporary thinking. Since there is little that is truly *inside* the personality, there can be little tolerance of inner conflict and little self-criticism; instead there is an attitude of hostile watchfulness toward a world that is largely alien.

C. THE CONTRASTING CASE OF LARRY

We may now turn to the case of Larry. A final appraisal of Mack and a judgment of the implications of his case can better be made after the two cases have been compared.

At the time of recording Larry's interview, the interviewer made the following observations:

Larry is conventional, conservative, well-mannered, deferent, quiet, and a conformist. Overtly he could be described as a passive, feminine type. He is a good example of the weak, unadjusted man who reads Dale Carnegie and becomes well-mannered, friendly, articulate, outgoing, but empty.

In appearance, he is slight, short, becoming bald-headed, rather feminine in general. He is openly dependent, highly articulate, and highly involved in the interview, making great effort, and appearing to enjoy it very much, remarking so especially at the end and being concerned with the general nature and purpose of the study. In spite of his highly conservative politics and his big-business personal goal, there is something very naive and unworldly about him.

The clinical section of Larry's interview follows.

(What were you like as a child?) "I seldom got any spankings. I was very active and played a lot of games. I don't want to brag, but I was well liked, like by the neighborhood women, who said I was a nice boy, if you know what I mean. That was until I was about 10. But outside the home, like in school and the neighborhood, away from home, I was more mischievous. I got into little difficulties. My brother, who is two and a half years older than I, and I were always together. We were fighting, jealous of each other, then friendly, going to the show or something. He was huskier, more athletic; I was always small, still am. My brother was more studious, conservative, wouldn't take chances, quiet. I admired him for this, for being a good big brother; for having a nice build, being nice looking, having good judgment; I admired him a lot, but I always maintained my own independence."

(Early experiences?) Age 3—an uncle passed away. "I remember his body in the house; it stayed there all day; then the hearse came and took it away. He used to hold me on his knee; I liked him a lot. I was the baby of the family. And his wife was especially nice. She used to pet me and play with me a lot. Then, another time—I guess about age 3 also—I remember wandering into the bull pen on the farm; and then the bull came for me, and the hired man just barely saved me, and I was really scared to death. I remember my mother's being there nearby and how scared she was too. Another memory I have, age 3 or 4, I remember how my brothers would catch rabbits on the farm. The rabbits would get into a lot of long pipes that we had in the back yard and my brothers would force the rabbits out with long poles and catch them as they came out the other end of the pipe. They would either knock them over the head as they came out, or sometimes they would catch them alive. What impressed me particularly was being able to touch a wild animal, and it couldn't run away, and I would rub its fur. Then, at the same period, on the farm, I have another memory, of sitting on a horse which belonged to my brothers and being held on it, half afraid and half jubilant over riding."

(Larry is extremely effortful here and apparently has thought about these things considerably. They come out fairly easily.)

(Experiences with father?) "I remember at age 2½ my father whipped my oldest brother very severely and my mother took all the children and went into town to separate from my father. I remember we went to the lawyer's office and had to stay there overnight because there was nowhere else. The next morning my father came in and found us, and he and my mother settled their differences. That's the only difficulty that I've ever known between them. There's never been an argument since, they've gotten along swell. I've had a wonderful home. (Is father very severe?) He wasn't strict in the sense of many rules, but when he told us to do something, we had to do it. We got few whippings, but when we did, they were plenty bad. (What about you?) I didn't get as many as my brothers did. I'd maneuver out of them. I didn't get any after the age of 12. I remember my brother got one even when he was 15. That was when I learned how to maneuver out of things—I just kept out of his way. When I was younger, I did whatever might avoid his punishment. My mother spanked us more often, but not so severely. We feared our father through our mother, that is, we feared she'd tell him and he'd punish us. Her main threat was not 'I'll spank you,' but 'I'll tell your father.' Her own spankings were so mild that we almost enjoyed them."

(Fears?) "I was afraid of the dark till age 16 or 18, my last years of high school, but I overcame it. I don't fear animals, except snakes, which I still fear and dislike."

(Nightmares?) "I had them, but I don't recall any particular ones." (Larry brought up nightmares himself, asking if that were a fear.) "One fear I had was in a big farmhouse we lived in when I was a kid, and it creaked in the wind, and I'd lie awake for an hour or more, thinking someone was there and being afraid. I remember lying awake sometimes most of the night; sometimes I'd go into my mother's bed."

"I still have unpleasant dreams; I don't know if they're nightmares. One was that my heart was stopping; or that I was sick and wouldn't get well. One was that my leg was getting amputated; I'd have to feel it just to see that it was still there. That was probably on account of the war, though. Recently I dreamed I was awake, in bed, and someone was just about to grab me. I couldn't move or yell; I was just completely paralyzed there, but at the last minute I woke up. Or I'll dream that I can't see people or writing around me; it's like being blind. They can see, but I can't quite make things out."

(Adolescence?) "I went through it smoothly into manhood. I didn't notice any great change in my life. (Sex?) No great problem. I thought about girls all the time, as boys will, and I looked at them. I started going out with them at about 15. I liked them a lot and associated with them at school and in the neighborhood. You know, you have the usual sexual desires, but you don't let them bother you. (Sex morals?) I feel a girl should remain a virgin until 21 or 22 anyway. If she expects to marry soon after that, she should wait until after marriage, but if she is a career girl or doesn't want to get married, then an affair with an unmarried man is O.K. if they keep it quiet and secluded so the moral standards of others are not lowered. She should pick out one fellow to have a sex relation with, and not carry on with several." (This is another example of Larry's highly articulate and theorized views on a subject.)

(You?) "Not until after I came out of the hospital, when I was 23 or 24. Since then I've had several affairs, lasting a few weeks or a month. I won't marry until I have more security. She almost has to be a virgin, though not necessarily. I lost respect for the women I slept with. I know that's selfish, but I guess that's the way most fellows are."

(Ideal wife?) "She shouldn't work, no career. She should stay at home, love me, raise a family, not expect too much in the way of fine clothes and a good time. She should have a good reputation, be attractive, not taller than I, nor too short, say 2 or 3 inches shorter; she should be intelligent and a college graduate; congenial, easy to get along with, sympathetic, a good mother, stick with me through thin and thick, even if I get sick. She shouldn't drink to excess, but drinking moderately is all right. She shouldn't get too friendly with other men—you know how some married women put their arms around other men, and things like that—but she should be friendly with men. She should have a good home background, come from a good family. Wealth is immaterial."

(Ideal husband?) "He should give her happiness, through security, home, car, enjoyment and entertainment; money to travel, and so on. He should be a good father to the children, shouldn't give the wife any worries; he shouldn't get drunk, and he should be faithful to his wife."

(Good father?) "He should be devoted to his children, give them the proper clothing, food, education; he shouldn't spoil them, give them cars in high school, and like that; but be good to them; he should take them on vacations; discipline them in a kind but firm way, teach them the proper morals when they are young, and give them the right environment."

(What were you good at in school?) "History and economics. I wasn't very good or very bad at anything. I had a C plus average. I didn't work hard in high school; I just slid along. I liked sports, and I played basketball for four years in high school, although I was too slight and light to get very far. Languages were especially difficult, and math. Then I went to junior college for a year; then I got sick and was in a sanitarium for four years. I got out, worked, and I've been back in school for a semester now. I'm living at a cooperative house."

Most of the outstanding features of Larry's personality seem to belong to one or the other of two syndromes: the one centering around dependence, passivity, and feminine identification, the other around subservience to an internalized but relatively narrow and restricting superego. Both of these patterns are more pronounced in this subject than in most unprejudiced men. Whereas some acceptance of dependence, passivity, and femininity appears regularly in men who score low on the scales, Larry's "softness" would seem to be fairly extreme by any standard. His conservatism, conventionalism, and authoritarian aggression—trends which in his case can be attributed mainly to the superego—are sufficiently pronounced so that he exhibits a number of features which are found more commonly among high than among low scorers. He actually scores high on the PEC scale, and there is reason to believe that his liberal sentiments with respect to minority issues are of fairly recent origin. The contrasts between Larry and Mack are nevertheless marked. The fact that the two men are similar in certain respects—passivity and conventionalism have loomed large in the discussion of Mack's case—should help us to see what circumstances made the crucial differences.

Numerous manifest traits of Larry's can be grouped on the basis that they express a general pattern of dependence, passivity, and feminine identification. He quite openly expresses his desire for understanding and support, and

his readiness to accept the material help which he expects will be offered to him. He wants to be liked, and to this end he is prepared to inhibit aggression and to be generally pleasing in his relations with others. More than this, he wants pleasure and comfort and relaxation—and he wants to be assured of a bountiful and dependable source of supply. He has a basic “taking in” attitude toward the world. What prevents him from being grasping, it seems, is his conviction that there is plenty for everybody. This conviction even permits him to be generous. He *wants* everybody to have plenty and to be happy—himself included. What holds for material supplies holds also for people: he is ready to take them in too, that is, to be identified with them and to share their feelings, just as he is ready to give out his own feelings. This attitude leaves him sensitive to rejection, but at the same time able to sympathize with those whom he conceives as downtrodden—an essential feature of his positive attitudes toward minority groups. Relatively free from the idea that softness might leave him open to attack, he is able to indulge in tendencies which in men like Mack are automatically associated with dangerous weakness: he can experience the human, emotional aspects of things; he can be subjective and introspective, enjoy fantasy life and “philosophizing,” admit having fears, anxieties, and doubts. Consistent with all this is the fact that he can have close relationships with women, whom he conceives to be not very different from himself.

These trends are on the surface in Larry; they are directly expressed in his overt behavior. The contrast with Mack lies in the fact that in him trends of this very same kind operate below the surface and he is very concerned to deny and counteract them. What is it that has made the difference? Most important, it would seem, were the differing circumstances connected with the childhood relationships with the mother. It was in this area that Mack was subjected to severely traumatic experiences, whereas Larry's early relationship with his mother was close and for the most part highly gratifying. Indeed the mother looms as the central figure in Larry's childhood. There is reason to believe that she took good care of him and that he became strongly attached to her. The attitude of love-seeking was carried over into his relations with other women, whose love he sought to obtain and to hold by being a “good boy.” It seems that he is still bent on obtaining the kind of gratification he received as a child, and that to a considerable extent he succeeds in doing so—through having found modes of behavior that are more or less acceptable socially. (Mack, for his part, was forced to repress his dependent needs in childhood, and so was not able to find suitable modes for their expression; hence, he remains comparatively frustrated, unhappy, and self-pitying.) Larry is not, however, altogether secure with respect to the needs under discussion. He did not receive enough gratification in childhood, nor does he receive enough now, so that he can take love and support for granted. He is still susceptible to frustration and sensitive to rejection. The circumstance of

there being much but still not enough gratification would account, in large part, for Larry's identification with his mother in childhood. Identification was a means for getting close to her and holding on to her, and of protecting himself from having to feel rejected and hostile. It seems, however, that the identification is a comfortable one, and that it must have been based more upon love than upon fear.

An additional reason why Larry is able to be comfortable and relaxed with his feminine identification lies in the fact that his mother was to a sufficient extent strong and protective. We are told that when the father was too hard on one of the boys, the mother took all the children and went to see her lawyer. She thus made it plain that she was not afraid to oppose the father and that she was a real source of protection. Larry could be on the side of this woman, be identified with her, without feeling that he was placing himself in a hopelessly weak position. This is in crucial contrast to Mack and many other prejudiced men, who cannot possibly come close to or be identified with the mother, no matter how "sweet" or "devoted" she might be, because she is conceived as too weak or inconsequential. Apparently, it is easier for a boy to identify himself with a feminine role, which he associates with the weakness and suffering of the underdog, when the weakness is not seen as hopeless nor the suffering as intolerable.

But if Larry's passivity and amiability is mainly a derivative of his childhood dependence on the mother, it has at the same time another function within the personality. It serves as a defense against his underlying aggressive impulses. Several of his responses in the interview and to the Projective Questions seem to show a particular concern with the inhibition of aggression, e.g., after describing the good time he would have if he had only six months to live, he adds "all this without hurting anyone"; and "a feeling that I have hurt someone" is one of the moods or feelings most disturbing to him. His concern with "true comradeship" and his solicitude for persecuted people suggest that, to some extent at least, he loves in order that he might not hate. The hypothesis of underlying aggression is supported by the T.A.T., which gives evidence of "strong underlying hostile impulses." These impulses are directed both against women and against men. Hostility against women is aroused by rejection or the threat of it, and can be understood as an aspect of the mother-dependence discussed above. (This is different from Mack, whose aggression against women is aroused by the fear that they might drag him down to their level.) Hostility against men is fused with antisocial rebellion, and the conflict between these tendencies on the one hand and the demands of conscience on the other is much more intense than is common among low-scoring men. Here, it appears, Larry is expressing attitudes built up on the basis of experiences with his father. There is nothing in the interview material to indicate that the father was unusually provoking, but he certainly enforced his will, administered some whippings, and was cast by

the mother in the role of feared disciplinarian. This would be reason enough why Larry should have hostile and rebellious feelings. More than this, the T.A.T. offers the strong suggestion that Larry reproaches his father for not loving him enough, and that part of the interview in which Larry tells what a father *should* be seems to be in keeping with this suggestion. But what is particularly important, Larry must also have loved his father and become to some extent identified with him. This would account for the fact that rebellious aggression goes against Larry's conscience and leaves him feeling guilty and remorseful. It is to ward off such feelings that he must praise his father, remain subservient to his family's ideals, and exhibit other conservative tendencies more characteristic of high-scoring men. This brings us to the most crucial differences between Larry and Mack. The two subjects differ in the quality and intensity of their aggression and in the way of dealing with it. Larry takes responsibility for his aggression; though it is not conscious now, it seems to have been conscious at one time so that he could actually imagine himself taking revenge in one way or another upon his father. With Mack, as we have seen, the aggression appears to be out of touch with the rest of the personality; it is something which is entirely disclaimed, but which might suddenly explode in a blindly impulsive way. We have attributed these aspects of Mack's aggression to his extreme fear of the father. With Larry this fear seems not to have been so great. He tells us that he was afraid of his father's punishment, it is true, while Mack does not admit such fears; but Larry acted as if he were afraid of being merely whipped while Mack acted as if he were afraid of being torn limb from limb. There seems to have been two reasons for this: first, Larry's father was in an objective sense less dangerous; he was more human and understandable; and second, Larry had his mother to support him; she did not come off so badly in her quarrels with the father, and though "she would tell father" if Larry did not behave, she would protect him if the father was unjust.

These differences in the real situations with which the two subjects had to deal seem to have determined also their differing ways of handling their aggression. Whereas in Mack it is immediately repressed and displaced onto outgroups, in Larry it is turned against the self, giving rise to guilt feelings and self-depreciation. It is this state of affairs in Larry that makes it impossible for him to indulge in wholesale condemnation of other individuals or groups; there is a readiness to take blame himself, to suspect that the fault might lie within him. This is the work of a fairly normal conscience, a conscience built up through identification with the father as well as with the mother. Larry was willing to accept and to internalize their punishment or disapproval because he received enough love to make it seem that his sacrifices were worthwhile. In the case of Mack, the father has remained "out there," a source of actual danger, rather than become an inner source of guilt or conflict; instead of striving to live up to principles in order to feel

loved and free of guilt, Mack acts like a man who has made a bad bargain; he feels that he has somehow been "gypped" and it is mainly fear that keeps him in line.

But Larry can hardly be regarded as a model of personality integration. There is too great a discrepancy between what he feels he must be and what he believes himself to be capable of. Since he is still dependent on his parents for love and support, he must constantly exert himself lest he "fall from grace" and lose their good will. And since his underlying aggressive tendencies are not fully integrated with the ego, it is necessary for him to maintain careful defenses against them. These defenses include masochism, passivity, and oversolicitude for possible victims of aggression. Thus it is that his positive attitudes toward minority groups are based in part upon neurotic trends. But this does not mean that these attitudes are unstable. It would be as difficult to induce Larry to attack a minority group member (just because he belonged to such a group) as it would be to get Mack to see that there might be some evil in himself or in his group. It would take a series of severe disappointments to divert Larry from his present course; he would have to be shown that it is not true that virtue and good work lead to the rewards of love and material support and then, instead of becoming overtly aggressive, he would probably suffer a depression.

It must be noted, however, that Larry is capable of further growth. The fact that he is willing to look at himself and to inquire into his motivations indicates that he may achieve a higher degree of personality integration. And should he continue to gain understanding of himself, we should expect his understanding of the world to increase.

We should not expect Larry to become militantly outspoken in the interests of his democratic beliefs, nor would he be likely to assume any leadership in a moment of acute crisis. He is too weak, that is to say, he finds it too difficult to be overtly aggressive, for that. His tendency, rather, would be to try in an inoffensive way to smooth troubled waters, to get everybody to "cooperate"—a contribution not to be altogether despised.

Larry is a rather ordinary young man. His case, though not typical of our low scorers, seems to show that among the determinants of relative freedom from prejudice are a willingness to accept one's own softness and to take responsibility for one's own "badness." But, as the results from our clinical sample as a whole have shown, accepting one's softness does not require that one *be* as soft as Larry or that one overadjust to it as he has done; and one can certainly take responsibility for one's own "badness" without remaining caught like Larry in the dilemma of parental dependence, with its underlying hostility and overlying guilt feelings.

Turning back now to Mack, it would appear that therapy in his case would have to consist, first of all, in showing him that the sources of his frustrations and unhappiness are mainly *in him*. (Only after attaining this insight could

he approach a true appraisal of the conflicts and dislocations within society.) He would have to learn to accept more of his own softness and to come to terms with his own aggression. Since, however, the sources of these trends lie, as we have seen, very deep within the personality it is doubtful that anything short of individual therapy would effect any important change in him. Would individual therapy work? Since he is a relatively mild case and since he showed in his interview that he is able to make a positive transference to an older man, it probably would—but it is highly doubtful that he would ever seek it. But if it seems unlikely that his *personality* will change, there is good reason to believe that his *behavior* can be controlled. Indeed he can be *too easily* controlled, and therein lies one of the major troubles. There is little in his make-up to render him resistant to fascist propaganda or to fascist leadership. He too, in his own way, is weak and afraid to be overtly aggressive. He could never on his own initiative be an aggressive leader, but given strong direction from above he could pass it along to those who, in an organizational sense, were below him. He would be unlikely on his own initiative openly to attack a minority group member, not because of conscience but because of fear that he might get hurt or be disapproved of; but given the safety and influence of a crowd or the backing of someone he regarded as an authority, he could be violently aggressive. However regrettable from the democratic point of view this susceptibility to external control might be, the fact remains that it offers the best basis for preventing his antidemocratic tendencies from expressing themselves in action. The appeal should be not to his sympathy or his conscience, but to his fear and submissiveness. He must be convinced that arrayed against the overt expression of his prejudices are the law, overwhelming numbers of people, numerous conventional authorities and prestige figures. If those who stand for democracy want to win him to their side, they must do more than show him that they have high ideals and realistic plans for social improvement; they must convince him that they also have strength. Such a program, unfortunately, involves an essential paradox: in inducing him to *behave* in accordance with democratic principles, one is likely to strengthen his authoritarianism and, hence, his antidemocratic *potential*. One could not, therefore, undertake so to influence the contemporary behavior of individuals like Mack unless one exerted as much effort toward insuring that antidemocratic leadership did not gain the ascendancy in the future.