VIOLENT IMAGERY IN AFFILIATION AND ACHIEVEMENT SITUATIONS

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Sandra J. Clark
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by

Sandra J. Clark

Approved by Committee:

Hilda L. Williams, Chair

Dennis D. Gilbride

Roy Dean Wright

James L. Romig
Dean of the School of Education
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An Abstract of a Dissertation by
Sandra J. Clark
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Advisor: Hilda Williams

The problem. In 1982 Pollak and Gilligan published an article claiming to have demonstrated that men tend to perceive danger in situations of affiliation while women tend to perceive danger in situations of achievement. Their study utilized responses to Thematic Apperception Test (TAT) pictures. Violent imagery in the responses was interpreted as indicating fear. The authors suggest that women's perception of danger in achievement situations is related to the concept "fear of success" that was developed by Horner (1969), and that men may have a "fear of intimacy" as a counterpart to the fear of success. Pollak and Gilligan's study was followed by replications with modification. Benton et al. (1983) and Sklover (1989) failed to replicate results while results obtained by Helgeson and Sharpsteen (1987) supported the conclusions of Pollak and Gilligan. Classification of the TAT pictures as portraying either achievement or affiliation situations was a key problem in these studies due to the ambiguous nature of the TAT pictures. Disagreement about classification led to differing interpretation of results.

Procedure. This study is a replication of the Pollak and Gilligan study with modifications related to decreasing the ambiguity of the stimuli. Participants were 49 male and 73 female students in undergraduate sociology classes. They were asked to write brief imaginative stories in response to four verbal leads, as opposed to pictures. Two of the leads portrayed affiliation situations and two achievement situations. Participants' stories were coded for violent imagery.

Findings. Males produced more violent imagery in their stories. Neither females nor males responded with violence significantly more often to achievement over affiliation leads or to affiliation over achievement leads.
**Conclusions.** The results of this study do not support the conclusions of Pollak and Gilligan (1982). There do not appear to be sex differences in the perception of danger in affiliation and achievement situations.

**Recommendations:** More productive lines of study may be the measurement of gender differences in intimacy and achievement motivation and in conflict about intimacy and achievement.
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CHAPTER 1
INTRODUCTION

Sex differences have been found in psychological research since psychologists began doing empirical studies. Countless theorists have tried to describe and explain basic differences between males and females (Chodorow, 1978; Gilligan, 1982; Jordan & Surrey, 1986; McClelland, 1975). Bakan (1966) uses the terms agency and communion to describe a dichotomy in human functioning. Males are likely to concern themselves more with agentic functions, those that support the individual, while females tend to concern themselves more with communal functions, those that support the participation of the individual within the larger group. Many theorists and researchers have used this or similar dichotomies as a framework for understanding sex differences (Block, 1973; Gilligan, 1982; McClelland, 1975).

Psychological research has not always supported this popular view of such differences between males and females. Certainly sex differences have consistently been found in some aspects of social behavior, but Maccoby and Jacklin (1974) found that the research evidence did not show that females are more social or altruistic than males. Staub (1978) found that sex differences in empathy are negligible. Colby and Damon (1983) conclude that the evidence is mixed for the existence of two different life orientations for females and males.

In spite of mixed results from the psychological research, many psychologists assert that the traditional view of differences between
the sexes has a basis in reality, if not always a measurable one. Explanations for these differences have been sought, and, often, proposed explanations rely on a view of females as aberrant or exceptional in some way. David McClelland (1975), referring to sex differences psychologists have found in research, states, "The difficulty in drawing conclusions from this mass of data is that they have tended to regard male behavior as the 'norm' and female behavior as some kind of deviation from that norm" (p. 81). In recent years numerous theorists have disputed that view and provided alternative conceptualizations of women and their development as different but not inferior (Chodorow, 1978; Gilligan, 1982; Jordan & Surrey, 1986; Miller, 1976). A key theme common to many of these relatively recent theories is that females develop their identity and continue to find meaning and motivation in the context of relationship with others. This is viewed as being different from males, who are seen as developing identity through separation and differentiation from others. In his fantasy research on human motivation McClelland (1975) finds women to be concerned with "interdependence" in human relationships, while men tend to view relationships in a hierarchical fashion. In May's (1980) fantasy research he finds the primary themes of "pride" and "caring" in the fantasies and lives of males and females, respectively. Gilligan (1982), in her research on moral judgment, finds females to more often describe a morality of "responsibility and care" while males lean more toward a morality of "rights and justice." These differences in the area of relationship are not seen as dividing males
and females into two distinct groups but as showing group tendencies in different directions.

In 1982 Pollak and Gilligan published an article claiming to have demonstrated that men perceive danger in situations of affiliation while women perceive danger in situations of achievement. Their study utilized responses to Thematic Apperception Test (TAT) pictures. The authors suggest that women's perception of danger in achievement situations is related to the concept "fear of success" that was developed by Horner (1969) and that the fear of success may actually be a fear of the isolation that may come from success. They also suggest that men may have a "fear of intimacy" as a counterpart to the fear of success and that their perceptions of danger in affiliation situations arise from a fear of closeness or connection.

Pollak and Gilligan's (1982) study was followed by attempts at replication with modification. Benton et al. (1983) and Sklover (1989) failed to replicate results. A study by Helgeson and Sharpsteen (1987) supported the conclusions of Pollak and Gilligan. Classification of the stimuli used (pictures and pictures accompanied by a verbal description) was a key problem in these studies. The ambiguous nature of the TAT pictures made it difficult to classify them as clearly depicting achievement or affiliation. Disagreement about classification led to differing interpretation of results.

In the Helgeson and Sharpsteen (1987) study traditional masculinity and femininity were measured using the Personal Attributes Questionnaire (Spence & Helmreich, 1978) to see if they "would mediate the relation between sex and situations that elicit
violent imagery” (p. 728). They found no significant relationship between traditional masculinity and femininity and the differential use of violent imagery in situations of achievement and affiliation.

The study presented here is a replication of the Pollak and Gilligan (1982) study with modifications primarily related to stimuli used. It attempts to answer the question: Do women tend to perceive danger more in achievement situations while men tend to perceive danger more in affiliation situations? The thinking-feeling dimension of Jung's (1923/1971) psychological types is also measured as a possible mediating variable between sex and the responses to achievement and affiliation situations. The thinking-feeling dimension of Jung's typology has been shown to be related to Gilligan's (1982) "care" and "justice" orientations. Myers and Myers (1980), interpreting Jung's theory, describes thinking types as being at their best when dealing with impersonal situations while feeling types excel at dealing with others in personal situations. The thinking-feeling dimension may be related to "fear of success" (Horner, 1969) or "fear of intimacy" (Pollak & Gilligan, 1982).
That males and females view relationships differently is stated by numerous theorists and supported by much research (Gilligan, 1982; Hyde & Linn, 1986; Maccoby, 1990; Miller, 1976). In her 1976 book Miller states that "...women's sense of self becomes very much organized around being able to make and then to maintain affiliations and relationships" (p. 83). Chodorow (1978) describes female identity formation as taking place in the context of relationship because, for the female child, the mother is both her primary love object and her object of identification during the first three years of life when gender identity formation takes place. In contrast, boys are required to separate from their primary love object and move toward the masculine object of identification. Boys gender identity is then tied to separation and individuation while "...girls come to experience themselves as less differentiated than boys, as more continuous with and related to the external object-world and as differently oriented to their inner object-world as well" (Chodorow, 1978, p. 167).

Gilligan (1982) takes this line of thinking a step further, stating, "Since masculinity is defined through separation while femininity is defined through attachment, male gender identity is threatened by intimacy while female gender identity is threatened by separation. Thus, males tend to have difficulty with relationships while females tend to have problems with individuation" (p. 8).

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Jordan and Surrey (1986), in their "self-in-relation" theory, emphasize the development of empathy between mother and daughter due to the more continuous pattern of female development when compared to the pattern of male development. They see this capacity for empathy as a significant factor in females' great investment in relationships.

McClelland (1975) describes the "assertive" role of males and the "interdependent" role of females. He refers to the "analytical" style of males and the "contextual" style of females, stating that women pay more attention to what is going on around them, particularly in the social realm, and they constantly make adjustments to remain in tune with surroundings.

Maccoby (1990) finds that sex differences are seen primarily in social situations, in the ways that people deal with others. She argues that reliance on the individual differences perspective in research has obscured some sex differences that actually do exist because interactions between people are not examined.

There is much research in support of sex differences in the way people deal with relationships with others. One of the most consistent findings in research on sex differences is that males are more aggressive than females for all types of aggression, all types of methodology, and all types of research design (Hyde & Linn, 1986; Maccoby & Jacklin, 1974).

Men have been shown to be quicker than women at detecting scenes of aggression flashed briefly on a screen (Kagan & Moss, 1962). Women were shown to be quicker than men at detecting scenes of interdependence presented in the same fashion.
Some studies suggest conflict between masculinity and intimacy. Women disclose more of their secrets than do men (Jourard, 1971), and men display less affection (Goldberg, 1977).

Women have more expressive faces, and they smile and laugh more than males (Hall, 1984). Women gaze longer at others, set smaller distances between themselves and others, and have a slight tendency to face others more directly during interaction (Hall, 1984).

While women are better at judging cues and expressing though face and body, males are slightly better at judging cues and expressing with the voice (Hall, 1984). Interestingly, the research has shown that the visual mode of expression is superior in conveying degrees of positivity-negativity, while the voice is better at conveying dominance-submission. A case might be made that the sexes excel in the mode most relevant for them.

In studying the games children play Lever (1976) found that boys play more often in large age-heterogeneous groups, their games are more often competitive, and their games last longer. One of the reasons their games lasted longer is that they were able to resolve disputes that arose in their games, sometimes through elaborate discussions or debates about the rules. The boys were frequently seen quarreling. The quarrels sometimes delayed the game but never ended it. When disputes occurred in the girls games the games were likely to be ended. The girls did not engage in the elaborate and legalistic discussions that were so common in the boys play, and their games were often not the competitive ones most likely to lead to disputes. Lever concluded that in their play boys learn independence and organizational skill and develop the ability
to handle competition within a framework of rules. Girls play is more cooperative and strengthens the ability to be empathetic and sensitive to others.

Citing numerous studies of same sex and opposite sex social interactions, primarily among children, Maccoby suggests that "it is because women and girls use more enabling styles that they are able to form more intimate and more integrated relationships" (Maccoby, 1990, p. 517). She goes on to say that probably it is "the male concern for turf and dominance—that is, with not showing weakness to other men and boys—that underlies their restrictive interaction style and their lack of self-disclosure" (Maccoby, 1990, p. 517). She describes males as developing well-defined structures that promote effective interaction in group settings.

**Projective Imagination Studies**

Studies on projective imagination or fantasy have contributed much to our knowledge of sex differences. Early research using fantasy in the Thematic Apperception Test (TAT) demonstrated a connection between fantasy and behavior (Mussen & Naylor, 1954; Purcell, 1956). Projective techniques are designed to bypass the normal censoring mechanisms that control expression, and they have been shown to reveal motives that are unacknowledged and sometimes unacceptable (Combs, 1947). David McClelland was a pioneer in TAT studies of motivation, and his work, along with that of other early researchers in the area, has led to a very large body of literature dealing with a variety of human motives, particularly achievement, affiliation and power. In making a case for fantasy
research in motivation over the use of self-report measures
McClelland (1986) asserts that fantasy is more highly correlated with
behavior than is self-report. He cites studies where fantasy also
correlates better with physiological measures. Sex differences are
not found in the majority of the motivation studies but do emerge in
significant areas.

Robert May (1980) has used projective fantasy research to
specifically study sex differences. He developed the
Deprivation/Enhancement Scoring System to distinguish between
what is characterized by May as a male and a female fantasy pattern,
and this has led to further research by others. May reports that
females tend to tell stories that move from pain to pleasure or from
difficulty to success, while males tend to relate stories with the
opposite pattern. He found that males with extreme scores in the
masculine direction value strength, independence and fortitude, have
a need to prove themselves to their fathers, have felt inadequate at
some point in their growing up, have a need to be in control, envision
men as inherently tougher than women and as the proper leaders in
relations with women, and they believe that men are under constant
pressure to prove their masculinity. Women who obtain extreme
scores in the feminine direction resent the pressure to always
behave in a "ladylike" fashion and may envy men their apparent
freedoms while resenting their own inferior role. Both males and
females with extreme Deprivation/Enhancement scores feel strain in
relation to their sex roles.
Fear of Success

In 1969 Horner introduced the concept "fear of success," in an attempt to explain sex differences in her research on achievement motivation. When presented with the verbal lead "After first term finals, Anne finds herself at the top of her medical school class," many women completed the story with negative endings, such as "her boyfriend resented her success and broke up with her" (Horner, 1972, p. 62). Men were presented the same lead with the name of John substituted for Anne, and only a few responded at all negatively. When the lead was given to women using the male name they responded with positive outcomes. Horner's results were interpreted as indicating achievement anxiety in some women due to fear of negative consequences of achievement. The concept of fear of success became very popular due to its facility in partially explaining some of the difficulties women so clearly have in competitive achievement.

Peplau (1976) studied the relationship between sex-role attitudes and fear of success in women and found an interaction effect of the two variables. The performance of women on a competitive task was negatively affected by a combination of traditional sex-role attitudes and fear of success. Peplau suggested that such women may see competition as a hurtful or aggressive behavior.

Much research was generated by the concept of fear of success, with inconsistent results. In attempts to gain more consistency in results many researchers abandoned the projective fantasy measures and developed objective scoring measures for fear of success. At
least six different fear of success questionnaires have been
developed (Fleming, 1982). Horner began in 1973 to work on a more
sound projective measure. Fleming (1982) argues that because fear
of success is an approach-avoidance conflict, the potential for
expression of both the approach and the avoidance motives is likely
to lead to very different results in varying achievement-related
situations. She suggests that the inconsistent results obtained in
fantasy studies may reflect the conflict between motives that is
experienced by the subjects, in both the experimental situation and
in every day life. After hundreds of studies the research on fear of
success continues in both the projective and psychometric spheres.

**Fear of Intimacy**

The concept of "fear of intimacy" proposed by Pollak and
Gilligan (1982) is not an established psychological construct with a
long research history as is the fear of success concept. There is
certainly much research suggesting that men do not seek intimacy to
the degree that women do, but the connection between fear and
intimacy is not well documented. A study by Bramante (1970) found
that men who viewed a romantic film, as opposed to a slapstick
comedy, responded by writing stories with more negative, often
violent, outcomes. Bramante's study was a replication of work by
Robert May demonstrating sex-linked fantasy patterns. In
Bramante's study the sex-linked fantasy patterns held true, and the
effect was intensified when subjects viewed a romantic film prior to
writing their stories. In other words, the men showed an even
stronger tendency to move from success or pleasure to failure or
pain in their stories after viewing a romantic film. The opposite was true for the women. Bramante concludes that a basic male concern is "fear of merger" and losses associated with merger.

McAdams et al. (1988) studied male and female responses to TAT pictures and scored them for intimacy motivation. He scored a subset of the responses for fear of intimacy, the concept discussed by Pollak and Gilligan. Women scored higher on intimacy motivation, but men did not write more stories with themes of violence in intimate relationships than did women. His results did not support the idea of a fear of intimacy in men.

Danger in Affiliation and Achievement Situations

In 1982 Pollak and Gilligan published their article claiming to have demonstrated that men perceive danger in situations of affiliation while women perceive danger in situations of achievement. Their study was based on responses to four Thematic Apperception Test (TAT) pictures, two of which they believed depicted situations of achievement and two situations of affiliation. The subjects' TAT stories were coded for the presence or absence of violent imagery. Violent imagery was interpreted as an indication of fear or the perception of danger. As would be expected from previous research findings in the area of sex differences in aggression (Hyde & Linn, 1986), men had more violent imagery in their stories than did women. However, the patterns of violence in their stories differed with women more often responding with images of violence to the achievement pictures than to the affiliation pictures, while men showed the opposite pattern. A content analysis
of the subject's stories was also done with results again showing the same pattern: males had more violent imagery in the context of affiliation situations and females in the context of achievement situations. The authors report that the content analysis also shed light on the kinds of danger men and women perceive. They state that the danger men saw in the affiliation situations was "a danger of entrapment in relationships or of rejection or betrayal." In the achievement situations the women perceived "a danger of isolation, of being set apart and left alone" (p. 163). Pollak and Gilligan suggest that women's perception of danger in achievement situations is related to Horner's concept "fear of success," and that the fear of success may actually be a fear of the isolation that may come from success. They also suggest that men may have a "fear of intimacy" as a counterpart to the fear of success and that their perceptions of danger in affiliation situations arise from a fear of closeness or connection.

In 1983 Benton et al. attempted a replication of the Pollak and Gilligan study with some alterations in methodology. They were critical of a number of aspects of Pollak and Gilligan's study and made corresponding alterations in their research design. The a priori classification of the four TAT pictures as either achievement or affiliation was considered unjustified, and Benton et al. had subjects rate the pictures as depicting achievement or affiliation. They did find notable differences between Pollak and Gilligan's classification and their rater's classification of two of the pictures. One picture in particular was viewed as problematic. It portrays a woman and a man in an aerial trapeze performance. The man is hanging by his
knees from the trapeze, and the woman is hanging in the air. They are holding on to each other's hands. Benton et al. (1983) found a large discrepancy between the rating of the trapeze card (clearly achievement) and the imagery elicited (mostly affiliation), and they raise the issue of how to a priori classify TAT pictures for fantasy research. They considered the picture classification problems to call into question all of Pollak and Gilligan's findings. In response, Pollak and Gilligan (1983) argue that their content analysis of the stories allowed them to see how the pictures were interpreted by the subjects, rather than by the raters or researchers, and that results were significant using that method.

Benton et al. also criticized Pollak and Gilligan for the restrictiveness of their scoring for hostility or violence, the use of instructions to the subjects to write "interesting and dramatic" stories, and the portrayal of only a female in danger in the trapeze picture. They made appropriate alterations in their study including the use of an alternate form of the trapeze picture with roles reversed. They found none of those three variables to be significant in the determination of their results. The two sets of authors debated all of these issues without any resolution (Benton et al., 1983; Pollak & Gilligan, 1983; Pollak & Gilligan, 1985; Weiner et al., 1983).

In 1987 an article was published describing a study done by Helgeson and Sharpsteen attempting to address the criticisms and resolve the conceptual and methodological issues between the two sets of researchers. Helgeson and Sharpsteen used only one of the pictures used in the other two studies, the trapeze picture in both of
its forms. The trapeze picture was selected because "it consistently
and effectively elicited violent imagery in both previous studies and
was the subject of great debate between the sets of authors"
picture as one of the best of the TAT pictures in assessing sex
differences. Helgeson's and Sharpsteen's key alteration in
methodology addressed the problem of classification of the picture as
representing an achievement or an affiliation situation. They
addressed this issue by presenting subjects with a brief statement
designed to influence their perceptions of the picture prior to giving
them the story-writing instructions. While being shown the picture
of a woman and man performing in a trapeze act subjects were
instructed to direct their attention to a written description of the
picture. Half the subjects were given the following description:
"These people have worked hard for many years to reach their
present level of achievement. They strive to improve their skills
with each performance" (p. 279). In addition, the word
"achievement" was typed across the top of their sheets. The other
half of the subjects received an "affiliation" title along with the
following instructions: "These people have had a close relationship
for many years. They have shared many activities and experiences,
which have created an intimate bond between them." (p. 729) The
subjects' stories were categorized by raters as affiliation or
achievement stories and then agreement between instruction
condition and story theme was examined.

Under achievement instructions significantly more subjects
wrote achievement stories. Under affiliation instructions there was
not a significant difference between the number of affiliation stories and the number of achievement stories. This result suggests that the instructions manipulation was not entirely successful in influencing the subject's perceptions. Ratings of the picture and of their own stories according to achievement and affiliation criteria were also made by the subjects. The picture ratings showed that a significant majority of the subjects characterized the picture as one of achievement. Examination of the subjects' own story ratings show that a significantly greater proportion of subjects in the achievement condition wrote achievement stories rather than affiliation stories. The reverse was true in the affiliation condition, but to a lesser degree. The authors conclude that their instructions manipulation was successful in "inducing subjects to write achievement-oriented stories or affiliation-oriented stories despite the fact that when asked, subjects in both instructions conditions described the picture as achievement oriented" (p. 732). In addition to the above mentioned design alterations, the Personal Attributes Questionnaire (PAQ) was administered to subjects following their story writing in order to look at a possible relationship between traditional masculinity and femininity and situations that lead to violent imagery.

Data analysis was done by Helgeson and Sharpsteen relating violent imagery and other selected dependent variables to Sex of Subject x Picture Form x Instructions Condition. A significant interaction was found between sex and instructions and violent imagery with females using violent imagery more often in the achievement condition and males in the affiliation condition. Data
was also analyzed using thematic content according to the researchers. This was considered to be comparable to Pollak and Gilligan's content analysis. Violent imagery was analyzed in relation to Sex of Subject x Picture Form x Thematic Content and this resulted in no significant interactions between sex and achievement/affiliation. The authors note that despite this negative finding, the majority of the men who wrote violent achievement stories did so under affiliation instructions, and the use of thematic content in the analysis may actually obscure the significant relationships. A third analysis was done to look at the relationship of sex roles, as measured on the PAQ, to the other variables. When sex role was substituted for sex in the analysis there were no significant results.

Helgeson and Sharpsteen conclude that their results support Pollak and Gilligan's conclusions that "men tend to perceive danger in situations of affiliation, and women tend to perceive it in situations of achievement" (p. 732). They discuss at length the interpretation of results using content analysis, for which both Benton et al. and Pollak and Gilligan argue, and using the stimulus itself. They conclude that "it is more important to know the nature of the stimulus than the thematic content of the story when evaluating subjects' motives" (p. 732). They state that the stimulus in their study was the combination of the picture and the instructions. If we accept this conclusion then it follows that the accurate classification of the stimulus is of paramount importance. Just as Helgeson and Sharpsteen conclude that using content analyses "actually concealed effects attributable to instructions" (p. 732), it seems that the
ambiguous nature of their stimulus, as demonstrated in the
disagreement among instructions, ratings and thematic content, may
obscure effects actually attributable to sex differences.

Sklover (1989) replicated the Pollak and Gilligan study using
the same pictures but classifying them empirically, resulting in a
classification differing from Pollak and Gilligan's. She reports an
absence of significant gender differences in the perception of
violence or fear of intimacy or fear of achievement. She did find a
significant effect of the pictures for intimacy, affiliation, achievement
and thoughts of violence. The different pictures elicited significantly
different imagery.

Dangers in the Study of Gender Differences

Benton et al. (1983) state that Pollak and Gilligan's assertion
about men and women "essentially upholds common and repressive
stereotypes regarding men and women" (p. 1167). Lerner (1988), in
a discussion of the problems associated with the study of gender
cautions against the careless use of language in describing or
reporting sex differences. She states the following:

To state "Women's identity is rooted in nurturance and
caretaking, while men's identity is rooted in achievement
and self-development" presents endless problems. If we
want to compare the sexes we would be far more
accurate in saying, for example, "More women than men
root their identity in nurturance and caretaking," or
"More men than women pursue ambitious strivings at the
expense of intimate relatedness and caretaking" (Lerner, 1988, pp. 280-281).

McClelland (1975) states that "...while there are average differences between the sexes, fully 40% of the women may be more assertive than the average male, and 40% of the men more interdependent than the average female" (p. 90). Traditional masculinity and traditional femininity are far from mutually exclusive dimensions of personality or behavior, but the study of group differences requires generalizations. Lerner (1988) states that we make these generalizations "not to obscure the diversity within groups, but rather to appreciate the different filters through which people see the world. Unfortunately, these same generalizations tend to stereotype or simplify people, to emphasize or exaggerate intergroup differences while minimizing similarities and commonality of experience" (p. 278). She points to the necessities of taking care in our language and continually working to broaden our perspective on the complex array of issues involved in findings of gender differences.

Denmark, Russo, Frieze, and Sechzer (1988) discuss gender bias in psychological research. They provide examples of common problems and propose remedies for those problems in the areas of question formulation, research methods, data analysis and interpretation, and conclusions.

**Jungian Type Theory**

A variable which appears to be related to many of the characteristics viewed as traditionally feminine or masculine is the
thinking-feeling dimension of Carl Jung's typology (Jung, 1923/1971). As elaborated by Myers and Briggs, Jung's theory of personality type involves the ways we perceive and the ways we make judgments. Jung believed that people have preferences for the way they do both those things and that thinking and feeling are the two distinct and contrasting ways of making decisions or coming to conclusions. Myers and Myers (1980) define thinking as "a logical process, aimed at an impersonal finding," and feeling as "appreciation—equally reasonable in its fashion—bestowing on things a personal, subjective value" (p. 3). According to type theory each individual arrives at conclusions sometimes with thinking and sometimes with feeling, but nearly all individuals have or develop a preference for one of the two ways of making judgments. As a result of the preference for thinking or feeling people are likely to develop certain other characteristics. "The child who prefers feeling becomes more adult in the handling of human relationships. The child who prefers thinking grows more adept in the organization of facts and ideas. Their basic preference for the personal or the impersonal approach to life results in distinguishing surface traits" (Myers & Myers, 1980, p. 4). Thinking types are likely to be most skilled in dealing with the parts of the world that are ruled by logic, and they typically have a fairly analytical style. Feeling types tend to become adept at dealing with people and prefer to deal with situations involving personal values. They become very aware of other people and their feelings, and they value harmony highly. As might be expected more men (about 60%) prefer the thinking form of
judgment, and more women (about 60%) prefer the feeling mode (Keirsey & Bates, 1984).

The Myers-Briggs Type Indicator (MBTI) was developed “to make the theory of psychological types described by C. G. Jung (1923/1971) understandable and useful in people’s lives” (Myers & McCaulley, 1985, p. 1). It is a personality instrument designed to implement a theory and has been used extensively in research.

Thinking and feeling preferences, as measured on the MBTI, have been correlated with scales on a variety of personality measures. Individuals who have a thinking preference are likely to score fairly high on the need for achievement scale on the Edwards Personal Preference Scale while those with a feeling preference are likely to score high on need for affiliation and need for nurturance (Lawrence, 1984).

In a study on psychological type and sex-role identification (Padgett, Cook, Nunley, & Carskadon, 1982) it was found that most androgynous males described themselves as feeling types, while most sex-typed masculine males stated a preference for thinking. Among females the majority of both androgynous and sex-typed feminine subjects expressed a feeling preference, but a significantly greater number of androgynous women described themselves as thinkers.

A 1989 study (Otis & Quenk) investigated the relationship between the thinking-feeling preference and the use of Gilligan's "care" and "justice" orientations in solving moral problems. The authors found that the thinking-feeling dimension of personality was
significantly related to the use of care and justice considerations while gender did not predict their use.

The literature suggests that the thinking-feeling dimension of personality type is related to sex-roles, but they are not one and the same. In the Helgeson and Sharpsteen (1987) replication of the Pollak and Gilligan study sex role did not contribute to an explanation of the use of violent imagery. Given that thinking types appear to have a relatively high need for achievement and tend to deal best with impersonal situations while feeling types have a relatively high need for affiliation and tend to be most comfortable dealing with others in a personal fashion, it seems possible that thinking-feeling preferences may be related to fear of achievement or affiliation situations.
CHAPTER 3
DESIGN OF THE STUDY

Problems and Hypotheses

Do men tend to perceive more danger in situations of affiliation while women tend to perceive more danger in situations of achievement? Much research has addressed the issue of women's conflicts over achievement or fear of achievement (Davis, Ray & Burt, 1987; Horner, 1969, 1972; Peplau, 1976). Recent studies (Pollak & Gilligan, 1982; Benton et al., 1983; Helgeson & Sharpsteen, 1987; McAdams et al., 1988; and Sklover, 1989) have also addressed the issue of possible conflicts or fears of closeness in men. Differing methods, results, and interpretations leave the question unanswered. In particular, the problem of classification of the projective stimuli used in the studies has led to much disagreement and difficulty in the interpretation of results.

This study addresses the question stated above but with modifications in method. In an attempt to clarify results the ambiguity in the stimuli used has been decreased through the use of verbal leads, without associated pictures. The Myers-Briggs Type Indicator (MBTI) was utilized as a possible aid in explaining individual differences in the responses to the verbal leads. The purpose of this study is to clarify and add to the understanding gained in the previous studies.

This study tested the following hypotheses:

1. In story responses to verbal leads males will include more violent imagery in their responses than will females.
2. In story responses to verbal leads portraying achievement situations and affiliation situations, male subjects will include more violent imagery in their responses to affiliation situations than to achievement situations.

3. In story responses to verbal leads portraying achievement situations and affiliation situations, female subjects will include more violent imagery in their responses to achievement situations than to affiliation situations.

4. In story responses to verbal leads portraying achievement situations and affiliation situations, subjects with a thinking preference on the MBTI will include more violent imagery in their responses to affiliation situations than to achievement situations.

5. In story responses to verbal leads portraying achievement situations and affiliation situations, subjects with a feeling preference on the MBTI will include more violent imagery in their responses to achievement situations than to affiliation situations.

**Method**

This study may be considered an operational replication of the 1982 study done by Pollak and Gilligan. The methodology of the original study has been utilized, with some modification. The primary modification was the use of verbal leads as stimuli rather than the pictures used in the original study. The use of verbal leads permits significant reduction in the ambiguity of the stimuli. When using verbal leads, compared to pictures, it is possible to portray situations that are much more clearly situations of affiliation or situations of achievement. An additional benefit of using verbal
leads is that by simply substituting male or female names in the verbal leads, the problem of finding stimuli with the same stimulus value for males and females is solved.

A second modification was the administration of the Abbreviated Version of the Myers-Briggs Type Indicator to all subjects and an assessment of the relation between its Thinking-Feeling scale and the incidence of violent imagery in the participants' stories.

**Participants**

Following the format of the Pollak and Gilligan (1982) study, the participants were undergraduate college students enrolled in liberal arts courses. Participants were 49 male and 73 female students in sociology classes at Drake University. Participation was voluntary and without objective benefit to the subjects. Sex and age data were obtained from each subject.

**Measures**

**Projective Measure**

The first measure used was a projective measure consisting of four verbal leads selected from a pool of six leads developed by this investigator. Two of the leads represent situations of achievement and two portray situations of affiliation. The original six leads were submitted to a class of 21 graduate students in counseling. These students were asked to pick one of four descriptions that best characterized each of the leads. The four descriptions were the definitions of achievement and affiliation used by Pollak and Gilligan.
and Benton, et al. They are "people at work," "success and good performance," "people in close relationship," and "the establishment and maintenance of interpersonal relationships." The following four leads were selected as those most clearly representing situations of achievement and situations of affiliation:

1. James and Sara are sitting close together on a bench, looking out over the river and talking quietly.

2. The audience is applauding as Susan (Bob) walks toward the stage to receive the most prestigious award given in her (his) college.

3. Expecting to finally have some time alone together, Lisa and Mike stand on the deck of the cruise ship waving good-bye to their friends and family.

4. Ann (John) is reading the letter informing her (him) that, after one year of med school, she (he) is now at the top of her (his) class.

Both of the achievement leads (2 and 4) were described by 90.5% of the students as portraying "success and good performance." 9.5% of the students picked one of the affiliation descriptions for leads 2 and 4. Affiliation descriptions were selected by 100% of the students for each of the affiliation leads (1 and 3). These results indicate considerably more agreement about the nature of the situation depicted in the verbal leads than was found in any of the studies using pictures. When Benton et al. (1983) had raters classify the four pictures used in the Pollak and Gilligan (1982) study, two of the pictures were seen as portraying affiliation nearly as often as achievement, and one picture was seen as portraying achievement.
that had been classified as clearly portraying affiliation in the Poll and Gilligan study.

Prior to the presentation of the verbal leads the participants were instructed to read printed instructions to themselves as the experimenter read them aloud. The leads were then presented one at a time, each followed by a story sheet with questions to be used as a guide in writing a story. The story sheet uses the standard form described by Atkinson (1958) for picture cues. Modification for verbal leads is discussed by Horner (1972), along with a listing of researchers who have previously used verbal leads successfully. Instructions and a sample of the lead sheet and story sheet are included in Appendixes B, C, and D.

**Myers-Briggs Type Indicator**

The second measure used was The Abbreviated Version of the Myers-Briggs Type Indicator. The Myers-Briggs Type Indicator, or MBTI, is a personality inventory which yields scores on four dimensions of personality that are labeled extraversion-introversion, sensing-intuition, thinking-feeling and judgment-perception. The scores indicate a preference for one pole or the other of each dimension. The four preferences together indicate one of the sixteen possible personality types. An example would be the letters ENFP which would indicate that a person has a preference for extraversion, intuition, feeling and perception. ENFP would be that person's personality type according to the MBTI. This study focuses on the participants' preference on the thinking-feeling dimension.

Reliability data on the MBTI are provided in the test manual (Myers & McCaulley, 1985). The scores reported here are for Form
the most commonly used form. The split-half reliability scores for
the thinking-feeling or TF scale for traditional college students is .82
and for nontraditional age college students it is .85. Test-retest
correlation coefficients for various groups of college students range
from .86 to .60 for time periods ranging from one week to sixteen
months.

The validity of the MBTI is based on its ability to demonstrate
relationships which would be predicted by the Jungian theory on
which it is based. According to the theory, the basic preferences lead
to different ways of thinking, acting and feeling. "Motivation, values,
and behaviors are seen as surface indicators of the effects of the
basic preferences and attitudes" (Myers & McCaulley, 1985, p. 175).
To demonstrate construct validity the MBTI manual provides data on
correlations with scales of numerous other personality measures, a
comparison with self-estimates of type, studies of behavioral
differences among types and studies of creativity and type.
Occupational studies have also been cited as demonstrating the
validity of the constructs. Extensive research has been done using
the MBTI, much of it reported in the Journal of Psychological Type.

Feeling scores on the MBTI are shown to correlate significantly
and positively with intraception and affiliation scores on the
Adjective Check List; affiliation, succorance, abasement and
nurturance on the Edwards Personal Preference Survey; social and
religious scales on the Study of Values; trust and empathy on the
Comrey Personality Scales. MBTI Thinking scores are shown to
correlate positively and significantly with achievement and
dominance scores on the Adjective Check List; achievement and
dominance on the Edwards Personal Preference Survey; distrust on
the Emotions Profile Index; the theoretical scale on the Study of
Values; and masculine orientation on Opinion, Attitude and Interest
Scales (Myers & McCaulley, 1985).

The Abbreviated Version (Form AV) of the Myers-Briggs Type
Indicator was developed to shorten the amount of time required to
complete the instrument. Form AV consists of the first fifty items of
Form G. When Form G was developed the fifty items with the
highest predictive ability were placed at the beginning of the test.
Extensive data on the comparability of Form AV and Form G are
found in a 1984 article by Macdaid. Ninety-four percent of the over
11,000 subjects in his study showed the same preference for
thinking or feeling on Form AV and Form G. Continuous scores on
the thinking-feeling scale of the two forms correlate .98. Macdaid
(1984) concludes that the use of Form AV for research is warranted.

Procedure

Data were collected in group sessions. Each participant
received a folder containing a consent form, instructions sheet and
the measures described above. Men received verbal leads using
male names, and women received those with female names. After
participants completed the consent forms the verbal leads were
administered one at a time with four and a half minutes allotted for
participants to write a story for each lead. Four minutes had been
allotted in the studies by Pollak and Gilligan and Benton et al. Five
minutes were allotted for participants in the Helgeson and
Sharpsteen study. Four and a half minutes was selected as the time
allotment in the current study after a pilot group of 21 graduate students in counseling had difficulty completing their stories within four minutes. Following completion of the four stories the participants in the current study were asked to complete Form AV of the MBTI.

Participants' stories were read by two coders, this investigator and a clinical psychologist who was involved in this study only at the coding stage. The stories were coded for violent imagery using a simple present-absent coding system. When agreement was not found, the stories were read by a third coder, and the majority ruled. The third coder was an individual with graduate training in psychology who is currently functioning as a director of patient and family services at a metropolitan hospital. The coding was done using Pollak and Gilligan's (1982) system which specifies the mention of "homicide, suicide, death by accident, rape or forcible violation, physical assault, kidnapping, or fatal disease" (p. 160) for a positive score on violent imagery. In order to be scored the violence had to play an active part in the story. It was not scored when it was incidental or descriptive, as in the examples: "Joe is bored to death," and "Jane, a widow for many years...." The stories were also coded for themes of safety and intention to commit harm, two variables that approached significance in Helgeson and Sharpsteen's study (1987). Intercoder reliabilities were calculated. The scoring of Form AV of the MBTI classifies subjects as having either a thinking or feeling preference.
Limitations of the Study

Findings of this study are not necessarily applicable to people older or younger than the participant group or to people more or less well educated. It seems likely that age and life stage would have some impact on “fear of success” or “fear of intimacy.” Indeed, there are some indications that female subjects younger than college age do not show as much “fear of success imagery” as do female college students (Horner, 1972). Educational level, commonly related to socioeconomic level, is likely to have some impact on socialization practices that may influence fear of competitive achievement or fear of close relationships.

An additional limitation factor is that of generation. As in all research on human behavior, findings for one generation may not be true for previous or subsequent generations. That is an especially important consideration when dealing with issues such as sex differences where changes are taking place at a rapid rate.
Participants' stories were coded for violence by two coders. The intercoder reliability was .97. Disagreements were resolved by a third coder.

Participants received a score of one or zero for each of their four stories, indicating the presence or absence of violent imagery. Males wrote more stories that included violence. Of the 49 male participants 24, or 49%, included violent imagery in at least one story. Of the 73 females 20, or 27% made reference to violence in at least one story. These figures are similar to the Pollak and Gilligan study where 51% of the males and 22% of the females included some violence in their stories, and to the Benton et al. study where 45% of the males and 24% of the females responded with violence.

Males and females were compared on their total violence scores, the sum of their scores on all four stories. These scores range from zero to four. Comparisons were also made on their affiliation violence and achievement violence scores. Affiliation violence scores are the sums of the scores on stories one and three, those that were written in response to the affiliation leads. These scores range from 0 to 2. Achievement violence scores are the sums of the scores on stories two and four, those written in response to achievement leads. Table 1 shows the means and standard deviations for males and females for total violence, affiliation violence and achievement violence. Males scored significantly higher on total violence, t =
2.781, \( p < .01 \), on affiliation violence, \( t = 1.867, p < .05 \), and on achievement violence, \( t = 2.455, p < .01 \).

**TABLE I**

Mean Violent Imagery by Sex

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Total Violence</th>
<th>Affiliation Violence</th>
<th>Achievement Violence</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Females</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M</td>
<td>.342</td>
<td>.205</td>
<td>.137</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SD</td>
<td>.606</td>
<td>.47</td>
<td>.384</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Males</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M</td>
<td>.735</td>
<td>.388</td>
<td>.347</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SD</td>
<td>.953</td>
<td>.606</td>
<td>.561</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Note. For females N = 73; for males N = 49.*

The hypothesis that female participants would more often respond with violence to achievement leads and males more often to affiliation leads was not supported. Table 1 shows that both males and females responded with violence slightly more often to affiliation leads than to achievement leads, but the difference is not significant. Comparisons were made between affiliation violence and achievement violence scores for both females and males separately, and significant differences were not found.
The Myers-Briggs Type Indicators were scored, and subjects were divided into thinking types and feeling types. Of the 49 male subjects 30 had a thinking preference, and 19 preferred feeling. Among the 73 females 54 had a feeling preference and only 19 expressed a thinking preference. The distribution of thinking and feeling preferences in this group of male participants matches estimates of the distribution among males in American society. Feeling types are overrepresented in this group of female participants.

The pattern of violent responses was examined for thinking and feeling types. Of the 49 participants who have a thinking preference, 37% included violent imagery in at least one of their stories. Of the 73 participants who have a feeling preference 36% wrote a story with violence in it. These results do not suggest a difference between thinking and feeling types in the frequency with which they include violence in their stories. In addition, participants in both the thinking and the feeling groups used violent imagery slightly more often in response to affiliation leads than to achievement leads. Use of the dichotomous preferences on the T-F scale of the Myers-Briggs Type Indicator does not appear to be helpful in accounting for variance in the violence scores.

The dichotomous preference scores on the MBTI can be converted into continuous scores, and this was done with the scores on the T-F scale. The T-F continuous scores were compared with the total violence, achievement violence, and affiliation violence scores, and the following correlation coefficients were obtained: Total violence -.161, achievement violence -.173, affiliation violence -.083.
Higher scores indicate a stronger feeling preference so the correlations show that violence scores are negatively correlated with feeling preferences and positively correlated with thinking preferences. With 120 degrees of freedom correlations of ± .178 are significant at the .05 level. At -.173 the correlation between T-F scores and achievement violence approaches significance. The correlation between T-F and total violence is slightly lower but in the same direction. This suggests a tendency for participants who score higher on the thinking side to include violence in their responses, particularly to achievement leads. Since most of the thinking types in this sample are male, this result may be largely reflecting sex differences.

The mean age of the 122 participants in this study was 21.4 years. The age range was from 18 to 49. Tests of correlation showed no significant relationship between age and total violence, affiliation violence, or achievement violence.

The four verbal leads were compared in their elicitation of violent imagery. No differences were found.

In addition to the coding for violent imagery, the participants' stories were coded for "safety" and for "intention to commit harm." Out of the total of 488 stories only two included mention of safety. Twelve of the males, or 24%, wrote at least one story with intent to commit harm. Seven, or 10% of the females did so. Comparisons were made showing that males mentioned intent to commit harm significantly more often than females in the total of all four stories, \( t = 2.656, p < .01 \); in the affiliation stories, \( t = 1.988, p < .05 \); and in the achievement stories, \( t = 2.242, p < .05 \). Comparisons were made
between intent to commit harm in affiliation stories and in achievement stories for males and females, separately. Results indicated no differences. The results for intention to commit harm parallel those for violence.
CHAPTER 5
SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS, DISCUSSION, AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The results of this study support the conclusions of previous researchers, that men project more violence into their fantasies than do women. The results do not support the hypotheses that men tend to perceive danger in situations of affiliation or intimacy, while women tend to perceive danger in situations of achievement.

This study was designed to clarify results of the previous studies. The current findings are consistent with those of Benton et al. (1983) and Sklover (1989) but are not in agreement with those of Pollak and Gilligan (1982) or Helgeson and Sharpsteen (1987). All of those researchers utilized TAT cards as stimuli for subjects' stories. Benton et al. persuasively argued that the classification of the cards was inaccurate in Pollak and Gilligan's study, notably the card depicting a trapeze scene. Sklover used an empirical classification of the stimuli, resulting in a different categorization of the same cards used by Pollak and Gilligan. She also found that much of the variance in subjects' scores was explained by differences in the stimulus value of the cards. Helgeson and Sharpsteen, the only researchers finding support for Pollak and Gilligan's conclusions, utilized only one card, the trapeze card, in two forms, with two different accompanying instructions.

The trapeze card may have some unique, albeit undefined, properties as a projective stimulus. Although most subjects describe the card as representing an achievement situation, as opposed to an
affiliation situation, the card does portray a unique or unusual relationship between two people of the opposite sex. There is physical touch, and the sex differences between the two people may be accentuated or exaggerated by the emphasis on the body and on physical strength. In Bramante's (1970) study, watching a love story film appears to have heightened the sexual identity of the subjects, resulting in an intensification of the fantasy patterns typical of males and females. McAdams et al. (1988) found that the largest differences between males and females on intimacy motivation were found in response to the TAT pictures that are most suggestive of romantic heterosexual relationships. Although the trapeze card does not clearly portray a romantic situation, it does seem plausible that the particular characteristics of the card tend to heighten sex differences in the perceptions of the subjects. May (1980) found it to be one of the best TAT pictures in assessing sex differences. It may be that this particular stimulus brings out extremely subtle differences that are not replicated in other situations. The other TAT pictures used and the verbal leads used in this study may be more representative of the everyday situations encountered by most people.

Changes in our society, particularly those stimulated by the Women's Movement, may have eliminated or diminished some sex differences that were present a generation ago. Major changes in the number of women in the work force, work opportunities for women, and a host of other factors have resulted in very different experiences for both males and females today and changing conceptions of male and female roles. It would be surprising if
Horner's (1969) original fear of success study were repeated and the results were not quite different now that women are less confined to the traditional roles and have had many more female role models in nontraditional areas of achievement for women. This is not to suggest that problems or conflicts for women in the area of achievement are now non-existent, but that there have probably been some changes, perhaps both quantitatively and qualitatively. In the present study some of the women's achievement stories seem to suggest some conflict in relation to competitive achievement, but not necessarily fear. There were stories where the female character felt that someone else deserved the award more and stories where she acknowledges all the sacrifices she had to make in order to achieve, the sacrifices sometimes being personal relationships. Some of the men's stories suggest a rather cynical attitude about achievement in our society. McAdams et al. (1988) found differences between women and men in their "motivational disposition to prefer intimacy," but he did not find evidence that men fear intimacy. A case can be made for sex differences in the areas of competitive achievement and intimacy without demonstrating fear of success or fear of intimacy. Violence in projective fantasies may not be the best measure of sex differences in these areas.

The thinking-feeling scale of the Myers-Briggs Type Indicator was also not found to be helpful in explaining differences in the use of violent imagery in participants' stories. Although there is a slight tendency for thinking types to use violent imagery more often than feeling types, this can be accounted for in that a much higher proportion of males in the sample are thinking types, and the males
wrote more violent stories. Although there may be differences between the two types in the areas of achievement and intimacy, fear may not be a primary factor, and violence may not be a discriminating measure.

The hypothesis that men have a fear of intimacy that is the counterpart to women's fear of success has not been demonstrated. Although sex differences in fear of intimacy and achievement may exist, they may be so small or so subtle that they only play a significant part under exceptional circumstances. The measure of violent imagery in response to specified achievement and affiliation stimuli may be too global and unreliable a way to consistently measure what may be very subtle differences. A more productive avenue of explanation might be the measurement of conflict, as opposed to fear, about achievement and intimacy in a variety of circumstances. Study of sex differences in intimacy and achievement motivation have been informative (McAdams et al., 1988; Stewart, 1982) and could be extended to further define the variables that differentially affect motivation in females and males.
REFERENCES


Appendix A: Subjects' Consent Form

Consent to Participate in a Research Project

I, ______________________, agree to participate in a research project studying individual differences in responses to situations of achievement and situations of affiliation. These situations will be presented through brief verbal descriptions. Participation involves responding to paper and pencil instruments only. Time required should not exceed 45 minutes.

It is understood that:

My confidentiality will be maintained. The responses I provide during my participation will be seen only by the primary researcher and assistants, and subject names will be kept separate from the responses.

A more detailed explanation of the study and the results will be provided by mail following completion of the study.

My participation is voluntary, and I may withdraw at any time.

______________________________
Participant

________________________
Date
Appendix B: Instructions Sheet

Instructions

You are going to read descriptions of several scenes. Your task is to tell a story that is suggested to you by each of the descriptions. Try to imagine what is going on in each. Tell what the situation is, what led up to the situation, what the people are thinking and feeling, and what they will do. Make your stories interesting and dramatic.

In other words, write as complete and interesting a story as you can, a story with plot and characters.

You will have twenty seconds to read the scene description and four and one-half minutes to write your story about it. Write your first impressions and work rapidly. I will keep time and tell you when it is time to finish your story. Please do not go on to the next description until you are instructed to do so.

There are no right or wrong stories, so you may feel free to write whatever story is suggested to you when you read the description. Spelling, punctuation, and grammar are not important. What is important is to write out as fully and as quickly as possible the story that comes into your mind as you imagine what is going on in each description. Please make your stories interesting and dramatic.

There is one page for writing each story. If you need more space for writing any story, use the reverse side of the paper. Do not turn or go on to the next page until I tell you to do so.
James and Sara are sitting close together on a bench, looking out over the river and talking quietly.
Appendix D: Story Sheet

1. What is happening?  Who are the persons?

2. What has led up to this situation? That is, what has happened in the past?

3. What is being thought?  What is wanted?  By whom?

4. What will happen?  What will be done?