THE CONCEPT OF REBELLIOUSNESS OF NEGROES AND WHITES

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The problem investigated in this paper is the concept of rebelliousness, especially as it applies to two racial groups, Negroes and Whites. Rebelliousness implies determination, self-sufficiency, and individuality oriented towards mastery of the environment. The concept is expressed in needs of Autonomy, Dominance, and Aggression, all measured by the Edwards Personal Preference Schedule.

It is assumed that the American Negro's self-concept and formation of his identity, as well as his need formation under new social influences, have contributed to a need and value system different from that of the White society.

It is further assumed that Negroes are significantly less rebellious than Whites.

Rebelliousness of Negroes and Whites was tested by measuring and correlating the raw scores achieved on Autonomy, Dominance, and Aggression on the Edwards Personal Preference Schedule. There were four groups tested in the present study: Negro males, Negro females, White males, and White females; all students in colleges in Houston, Texas.

On the need of Autonomy, Negroes differed significantly from Whites at the .01 level. On the other two needs, Dominance and Aggression, the male groups, regardless of sex, differed from the female groups at the .05 level.

This report concludes that the evidence seems to partially support the theory that Negroes are less rebellious than whites. It is further concluded that although currently the Negro is oriented towards the mastery of environment, he still lacks in self-sufficiency and determination.

THE CONCEPT OF REBELLIOUSNESS OF NEGROES AND WHITES

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The Negro in America, more than any other cultural group, has been experiencing a variety of social reactions. The new social currents have conveyed numerous information on his destiny and identity (25, p. 120).

In one of his writings, Erik H. Erickson states:

"Identity formation is decisive for the integration of sexuality and for the constructive use of aggression" (10, pp. 226-253). Constructive use of aggression implies a pattern other than aggression in its pure form. It could be expressed in terms of determination, self-sufficiency, individuality oriented towards mastery of the environment — rebelliousness.

Two aspects of the Negro personality are considered in this paper: (1) Formation of his identity and self-concept, (2) Need formation under new and often contradictory social influences. Similar aspects of the personality development of white individuals are incidently introduced for comparison. It is based on these aspects that we determine that the American Negro operates under a different

system in terms of certain needs and values.

Autonomy, Dominance, and Aggression are the specific needs dealt with in this paper. Those are the needs that "behaviorly require an independent, extroversive, expressive, and forceful approach to persons and situations" (1, p. 127).

Statement of the Problem

The purpose of this study is to compare "rebelliousness" between Negroes and Whites. The concept of
rebelliousness has been defined by Marvin Zuckerman.

Several of the Edwards Personal Preference
Schedule variables seem to bear on a fundamental
concept in clinical work, "Dependency". Deference,
Succorance, and Abasement are characteristics of
a "Dependent Personality". As the opposite extreme of Dependency, we might expect to find "Rebelliousness" perhaps expressed in needs like
Autonomy, Dominance, and Aggression (27, p. 379).

Modal Personality Characteristics of Negroes

In assessing personality characteristics ascribed to racial groups, we are confronted by different schools of thought pertaining to the influence of that group on individual personality development.

On this topic Davis proposes that

It is evident that there are no racial types of personality because within each race there are several social strata, each of which has a different culture and each of which teaches different kinds of behavior and psychological goals to its members (7, p. 354).

Erich Fromm also states, "Different societies or classes within a society have a specific social character and on its basis different ideas develop and become powerful" (11, pp. 277-299).

The variance in the evaluation of Negro personality, as viewed over the past fifty years, presents an obstacle in determining those characteristics. This variance might be due in part to the vast number of types of instruments and methods employed. Another contributing factor may be the transitional period of the American Negro, in which he finds himself "being subjected to a multiplicity of new and often contradictory influences" (26, p. 123).

Originally the stereotype of the American Negro as being lazy, superstitious, musical, loud, and very religious, evolved based on predominately White subjective judgments (4, p. 251). Intelligence tests emphasizing levels of ability brought a new dimension in measuring "social" differences:

Dissatisfied with the subjective judgments based upon the alleged cultural contributions of different groups, psychologists welcomed the development of an instrument which presumably measured such differences more objectively (20, p. 25).

Unfortunately, as Klineberg states, American psychologists tended to interpret the intelligence test scores in much too rigid a way.

It should be pointed out that Binet was fully aware of at least some of the limitations of the testing methods. He pointed out that his tests could safely be used in order to arrive at individual differences only if the various individuals tested had the same, or approximately the same, environmental opportunities (20, p. 26).

With the advent of personality tests, the problem of the Negro personality was dealt with more effectively.

Early studies in this modality utilized adjective list procedures developed by Katz and Braly (19, pp. 280-290),

Bayton (3, pp. 97-102), and Meenes (21, pp. 327-336).

Negroes have often been stereotyped as being lazy, dirty, "smelly", naturally religious, and musical. These same negative stereotypes have also been applied by the Negro to himself. Sarnoff tried to explain this phenomenon through what he called the identification with the aggressor This concept suggests that there is one direction concept. of influence-incorporation on the part of the minority group members, in which they assimilate negative attitudes that the majority group holds towards their race. Bayton, however, went beyond this fundamental process of identification and suggested that another influence could be operating, namely, a tendency to idealize the aggressor. It was further concluded that the two influences in the identification with the aggressor theory could be operating simultaneously (4, p. 252). This lack of the Negro to arrive at his own personality characteristic may be partially explained by the fact that there is no culturally approved behavior pattern which would enable him to formulate

his own identity.

Living under a caste system with two sets of behavior expectations is descriptive to Negro identity. The "black caste" as sanctioned by the white social world has been expected to adhere to its segregated mode of living, yet to hold in high respect the "white caste" and its values. Vertical mobility is highly valued by Americans but the American ethos inhibits and retards inter-caste and intra-caste mobility (8, p. 64).

Throughout the evaluation of the Negro traits undertaken by many psychologists and sociologists, there are certain over-emphasized themes. Findings indicate that Negroes are low in self-confidence, confused concerning their self-identity, and have extensive personality problems (26, p. 124). Studies on self-concept of the Negro suggests the presence of a negative self-image, if not a self-hatred (18, p. 375).

Clemmont Vontress states:

Self-hatred is the major component of the Negro personality; others are, desire to escape self-aggression and masculine protest, which is defined as the over-playing of the self-perceived male role, a phenomenon viewed as reaction formation to the matriarchical climate in which young Negroes mature (25, p. 216).

Lack of masculine identity, however, is the most popular concept. It is viewed as a result of growing up in a matriarchical family within a caste that has had a subservient position (22, p. 323).

The matriarchical family, along with the entire history of the treatment of the Negro has been perceived as "travesty upon his masculinity" (10, pp. 225-253). Erik H. Erickson believes that the Negro male has been systematically exploited as a domestic animal and has been denied the status of responsible fatherhood. The Negro father appears only under the heading of "absence" and it is the "strong mother" who is the basic element in the formation of the traditional Negro identity. Unlike others, Erickson does not view the "strong mother" stereotype as a liability.

For a person's (and a people's) identity begins in the rituals of infancy, when mothers make it clear with many pre-literate means that to be born is good and that a child (let the bad world call it colored or list it as illegitimate) is deserving of warmth (10, p. 244).

Studies abound in the field of Negro personality characteristics. Most of them compare Negroes and Whites, and it is in the contest of these comparisons that certain Negro traits are defined. The scope of this work compared Negroes and Whites in terms of Rebelliousness. Review of the literature reveals but one similar study dealing with needs which are included in the concept of rebelliousness. This study was done by Martin Grossack (15, pp. 125-131), who attempted to determine the modal personality characteristics

of Southern Negroes, using the Edwards Personal Preference Schedule. Unlike his work, which incorporated all the values and needs expressed in the Edwards Personal Preference ence Schedule, this study emphasizes only the three values which define "rebelliousness".

The Concept of Rebelliousness and its Measurement

The concept of dependency, as defined by Bernardin, includes (a) reliance on others for approval or importance of approval from others, (b) reliance on others for help or assistance, (c) conformity to opinions and demands of others (5, p. 64). The concept of dependency was measured in Edwards' terms of Deference, Succorance, and Abasement. The instrument employed in Bernardin's research was the Edwards Personal Preference Schedule, an inventory purporting to measure fifteen personality needs.

Following the definition of Dependency, Zuckerman attempted to define and measure what he called the opposite extreme of Dependency, Rebelliousness. On a study that he conducted, he selected four groups on the basis of peer ratings. The four groups were labeled as the Submissive Group, the Conformist Group, the Dependent Group, and the Rebellious Group. The first three group traits were conceptualized as aspects of the general traits of Dependency; the

Preference Schedule was administered, and Zuckerman concluded that "The Edwards Personal Preference Schedule was fairly effective in distinguishing between Dependent and Rebellious subjects. A Dependency-Rebelliousness (D-R) ratio was suggested for the measurement of this personality dimension from the Edwards Personal Preference Schedule" (27, p. 382).

Perhaps the most effective method of dealing with the concept of rebelliousness would be a brief analysis of the three needs, Autonomu, Dominance, and Aggression, as they were introduced by H. A. Murray, and as they were conceptualized by Allen Edwards in his psychometric personality test (9). Of these three needs, H. A. Murray states:

The Dominance drive is manifested by a desire to control the sentiments and behavior of others. The Autonomy drive controls those who wish neither to lead not to be led, those who want to go their own way, uninfluenced and uncoerced by others. It appears as defiance or as an escape from restraint (for example, when a man moves to a more tolerant environment). The Aggression drive is accompanied by anger and operates to supplement Dominance where the latter is insufficient. It is aroused by opposition annoyance, attacks, and insults. Thus, it is opposed to Deference, but may fuse with Dominance or Autonomy (23, p. 82).

The needs measured by the <u>Edwards Personal Preference</u>
Schedules were drawn from the studies of H. A. Murray (23).

Edwards describes Autonomy, Dominance, and Aggression, as follows:

Autonomy: To be able to come and go as desired, to say what one thinks about things, to be independent of others in making decisions, to feel free to do what one wants, to do things that are unconventional, to avoid situations where one is expected to conform, to do things without regard to what others may think, to criticize those in positions of authority, to avoid responsibilities and obligations.

Dominance: To argue for one's point of view, to be a leader in groups to which one belongs, to be regarded by others as a leader, to be elected or appointed chairman of committees, to make group decisions, to settle arguments and disputes between others, to persuade and influence others to do what one wants, to supervise and direct the actions of others, to tell others how to do their jobs.

Aggression: To attack contrary points of view, to tell others what one thinks of them, to criticize others publicly, to make fun of others, to tell others off when disagreeing with them, to get revenge for insults, to become angry, to blame others when things go wrong, to read newspaper accounts of violence (9).

Many other authors interpreted these needs in their studies. Autonomy has been viewed as a need opposite to conformity (14, p. 300). It subsumes personal freedom and motility in action and interests (13, p. 446). The need for aggression indicates an involvement with people that is without warmth and understanding (24). Dominance has been associated with the drive to assent and control behavior (16, p. 218).

When these three needs are intercorrelated, a pattern develops which, according to Allen, assumes an "outgoing-ness" and social responsiveness. Autonomy, Dominance, and Aggression, also express independence and extroversiveness (5, p. 65). Behaviorly, they require an expressive, extroversive, and forceful approach to persons and situations (1, p. 126). Those concepts seem to be similar to the way the rebelliousness concept was formulated.

Basic Assumptions and Hypothesis

In view of the American Negro's unique social environment, family structure, self-concept, and confused selfidentity, it may be assumed that his values will differ
from those of the White culture. It is further assumed
that the trauma of present social changes, being experienced
by the Negro, will have an effect on his need formation and
gratification.

Based on the above assumptions, intra-racial differences of values and needs, it may also be assumed that a concept defined in terms of values and needs will also differ. Rebelliousness is such a concept.

The following hypothesis was investigated: Negroes are significantly less rebellious than Whites. The .05

level of confidence was accepted as being statistically significant for purposes of this study.

Description of the Edwards Personal Preference Schedule

The Edwards Personal Preference Schedule is designed to provide a quick and convenient measure of relatively independent normal personality variables. According to Edwards, the Edwards Personal Preference Schedule is a measure of needs or motives, which college students and adults seek to satisfy in their daily lives. The needs measured by the Edwards Personal Preference Schedule were drawn from the studies of Murray (23). The test consists of 210 pairs of items in a forced-choice format, to be answered in a yes or no matter. In addition to the fifteen needs measured, the test provides measures of test consistency and profile stability. The consistency is revealed through fifteen repeated pairs of items.

It is the forced-choice procedure that has made the Edwards Personal Preference Schedule an effective psychometric personality test. One study has lent support to the notion that this forced-choice procedure is highly effective in eliminating social desirability as a source of measurement error (17, p. 284). Another study further supports

was developed with the intention of minimizing a subject's natural tendency to endorse items of a socially desirable nature" (6, p. 158). The fact that the Edwards Personal Preference Schedule is founded in the so called normal personality rather than in the pathological personality has permitted a wider usage of the test. One author states:

Despite rather liberal usage of the Edwards
Personal Preference Schedule in college counseling
and with normal subjects in experimental techniques,
there exists a pausity of normative studies on the
usage of the test with psychiatric subjects (12,
p. 194).

Personal Preference Schedule and group studies that the basis of main criticism of the test lies. In a study undertaken by John Pietrofesa, the question was raised if the Edwards Personal Preference Schedule normative group was representative of any population. The author concluded that there is "some question about the representativeness of the test manual norm group of the Edwards Personal Preference Schedule, and also the sensitivity of several of its scales" (24).

However, in another study done by Allen and Dallek, the distribution of the mean scores for Autonomy, Dominance, and Aggression yielded no significant differences between

two populations. The comparative populations were students at the University of Miami and the standarization college group population from the Edwards Personal Preference Schedule (2, pp. 151-154). Therefore, the Edwards Personal Preference Schedule was deemed an appropriate instrument for use in the present study.

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CHAPTER II

METHOD

The two hundred twenty-five paired items in the Edwards Personal Preference Schedule were administered to Negro and White students and the raw scores of the fifteen variables measured in that test were calculated. The consistency variables were examined, and only those tests which had a consistency raw score of ten or above were accepted for this study. Three of the fifteen variables, (Autonomy, Dominance, and Aggression) were then selected and the raw scores attained on those variables by the two groups were correlated.

Subjects

Subjects were obtained from two colleges located in Houston, Texas: Texas Southern University and South Texas Junior College. The former is a predominantly Negro university, the latter predominantly White. Students attending them, although from different social groups, tend to come from similar sociceconomic levels. Negro subjects consisted

of fifty males and twenty-nine females; the White group was composed of forty-two males and thirty females. Both groups were randomly selected from freshmen English classes, a required course at both colleges. Their ages ranged from eighteen to twenty-three. It should be noted that the original number of subjects tested was larger than the one hundred fifty-one subjects mentioned above. A high inconsistency variable resulted in the rejection of many of the subjects.

Administration of the Test

Each subject was given an Edwards Personal Preference

Schedule packet containing a booklet and an answer sheet.

He was then instructed to follow the procedures outlined

on the first page of the test booklet. The role of the test

administrator was minimized due to the explicit instructions

outlined by the Edwards Personal Preference Schedule.

Statistical Treatment

A 2 x 2 analysis of variance (1. pp. 241-244) was used. The Negro male, White male, White female, and Negro female groups were the independent variables. The three measured needs -- Autonomy, Dominance, and Aggression -- were the dependent variables.

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CHAPTER III

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Results

Based on assumptions cited in Chapter I, the following hypothesis was posited: Negroes are significantly less
rebellious than Whites. Since Rebelliousness was defined
in terms of Autonomy, Dominance, and Aggression, each variable was treated separately.

On Autonomy, as indicated on Table I, the means and the standard deviations were calculated for Negro males and females. The hypothesis was then substantiated at the .01 level, as shown on Table II. It was found that Negro males and Negro females are less autonomous than White males and White females respectively.

TABLE I

MEANS, STANDARD DEVIATIONS FOR NEGRO MALES AND
FEMALES AND WHITE MALES AND FEMALES ON AUTONOMY

	Sex				
_Race	Males	Females			
	$\bar{x} = 12.70$	$\bar{\mathbf{x}} = 10.38$			
Negroes	$\sigma = 3.60$	☞ = 4.55			
	$\bar{x} = 14.86$	$\bar{x} = 12.47$			
Whites	$\sigma = 4.23$	o = 4.34			

SUMMARY OF ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE OF RACE
AND SEX ON AUTONOMY

TABLE II

Source of Variation	ss	đ£	MS	j.
Race (A)	161.5747	1	161.5747	9.47*
Sex (B)	199 . 05 27	1	199.0527	11.67*
АхВ	.0107	1	.0107	٥٥.
Within	2506.7905	147	17.0530	

*Significant at the .01 level

On the Dominance, the means and the standard deviations for the four groups were calculated, as indicated on Table III. As shown on Table IV, no significant difference was found between the racial groups. However, it was found that Negro and White males are more dominant than Negro and White females.

TABLE III

MEANS, STANDARD DEVIATIONS FOR NEGRO MALES AND FEMALES
AND WHITE MALES AND FEMALES ON DOMINANCE

	Sex			
Race	Males	Females		
	$\bar{x} = 13.14$	₹ = 11.76		
Negroes	o = 4.18	o = 4.80		
	$\bar{x} = 14.19$	$\bar{x} = 12.30$		
Whites	o = 4.86	o = 4.63		

SUMMARY OF ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE OF RACE AND SEX ON DOMINANCE

TABLE JV

Source of Variation	SS	đf	MS	F
Race (A)	25.1157	1	25.1157	1.22
Sex (B)	94.0507	1	94.0507	4.56**
АхВ	.0753	1	.0753	.00
Within	3030.1040	147	20.6136	

**Significant at the .05 level

Table V presents the means and standard deviations of four groups on Aggression. No significant difference was found between the racial groups as it is shown on Table VI. There was, however, a significant difference between males and females on the need of Aggression.

TABLE V

MEANS, STANDARD DEVIATIONS FOR NEGRO MALES AND FEMALES
AND WHITE MALES AND FEMALES ON AGGRESSION

jakkilikpunia wan upgenggapapa si wan sa ma pinyami quayba wa agama MATA kun anikun anikunan di nasa dikanan sa ma kun kun sa sa kun kun kun sa ma kun kun kun sa ma sa ma sa ma sa	Sex			
Race	Males	Females		
	$\bar{x} = 13.74$	$\bar{x} = 12.24$		
Negroes	of = '4.17	cr = 4.22		
	$\bar{x} = 13.79$	$\bar{x} = 11.57$		
Whites	o = 4.88	☞ = 5.26		

TABLE VI
SUMMARY OF ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE OF RACE
AND SEX ON AGGRESSION

Source of Variation	SS	df	MS	F
Race (A)	3.5480	1	3.5480	
Sex (B)	123.9532	1	123.9532	5.8226**
АхВ	4.9399	1	4.9399	
Within	3129.3549	147	21.2881	

**Significant at the .05 level

Discussion

On the whole, the hypothesis that Negroes are significantly less rebellious than Whites is accepted. This is in accord with assumptions made in Chapter I of the present study. However, further investigation of each of the three needs that have defined rebelliousness reveals numerous information which does not fully substantiate the accepted hypothesis. Discussion of the results on Autonomy, Dominance, and Aggression, as well as similar comparative studies on each of those three needs, might enhance further understanding of the hypothesized principle.

In terms of Autonomy, the present study agrees with a

that Negro males and females are less autonomous than White males and females respectively. Martin Grossack states:

. . . results on autonomy clearly indicate the lack of psychological freedom in the Negro group. The writer maintains that this finding would, on the basis of his observation, hold throughout the Negro group in the South, regardless of social class. This need is probably one of the most damagingly frustrated in Negro life. Autonomy is basic to psychological health. Without it, maturity, as this writer understands the term, is quite rare (4, p. 128).

In a more recent study, Russell Diener (1, p. 45) maintains that the low need for autonomy in Negroes could arise as a result of their historically limited access to possibilities for self-direction in the total American society.

The results on Dominance, however, clearly indicates that the differences are not racial but sexual. It was found, in the present study, that males regardless of race, were more dominant than females. In previous studies, dominance among Negroes and Whites presented a wide range and often contradictory findings. Eagleson (2, p. 273) found that Negro scores for dominance were higher. Grossack's results indicated that Negroes, regardless of sex, are less dominant than Whites. According to Grossack, this is due to the fact that "...our society is dominated by Whites" (4, p. 129).

Diener had hypothesized that Negroes would be dominant on the assumption that "...higher social positions offers more opportunities to direct others" (1, p. 56). Results on his study, however, rejected his hypothesis.

On Aggression, the present study maintains that Negro and White males are significantly more aggressive than Negro and White females. This finding is in complete disagreement with previous research.

Diener found that "Aggression for Negro subjects is a significant pervasive need, exceeding the mean score of Whites at the .01 level" (1, p. 42). He maintains that need for Aggression among the Negro is primarily due to the general need for Aggression toward the White society (1, p. 45). Similar findings have also been reported by Grossack, who found that on Aggression, "...both male and female Negroes tend to score higher than Whites" (4, p. 129).

Many questions could be asked about the contradictory results of the present study and those done by Grossack and Diener. Basically, all studies used as subjects college students, whose ages range from eighteen to twenty-five.

Regional reasons might account for some of the differences.

In a study on the Edwards Personal Preference Schedule, done

by Satz and Allen (5, p. 195), it was discovered that there were "...substantial sex variable differences in addition to population mean differences in the regional and normative groups". The present study is the only study in which both Negro and White students were from the same region of the United States.

Another reason for the difference might be due to the present social changes. Grossack's research was conducted in the mid '50's, and Diener tested his subjects ten years ago. The Negro in America, during the last decade, has been subjected to drastic social changes, which have probably altered his value and need formation. On this assumption, it would seem that the present study is more reflective of current Negro values and attitudes.

Research of the results might indicate that Negroes are moving away from the form of pure aggression: aggression that has been oriented against the White society and against the roles that have been imposed upon them by the Whites. This might be what Erickson (3, pp. 226-263) called the "...decisive step for constructive use of aggression". This notion is supported by the fact that the Negro male does not differ significantly from the White male in the need for dominance. Civil rights movements

have placed Negroes in higher positions, where they have more opportunities to direct others, a point which, according to Diener (1, p. 56), should cause higher need for dominance.

The Negro, however, according to this study, still lacks in the need for Autonomy. This might imply that currently the Negro is oriented towards mastery of the environment while he still lacks in self-sufficiency and determination.

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CHAPTER IV

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS, AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The hypothesis that Negroes are significantly less rebellious than Whites was accepted in the present study. The hypothesis was built on two aspects of the Negro personality as they have been previously viewed and researched:

(1) Formation of his identity and self-concept; (2) Need formation under new social influences. The hypothesis was accepted, although Negroes do not differ significantly from Whites in two of the three needs that define rebelliousness. Those two needs were those of Dominance and Aggression.

However, on the need of Autonomy, Negroes did differ significantly from Whites, which substantiated the acceptance of the hypothesis.

The Edwards Personal Preference Schedule was used and raw scores on the three needs of Autonomy, Dominance, and Aggression were collected. An analysis of variance for the four groups was calculated. The four groups were Negro males, Negro females, White males, and White females, all students at colleges in Houston, Texas. Similar research

studies were discussed and findings of the present study were defended. Certain thoughts about constructive use of aggression and a social move of the American Negro towards mastery of his environment was presented. Lack of his need for Autonomy was also discussed.

It would be a fallacy to generalize those findings to the Negro and White population on the whole. This research used college students who are not necessarily representative of the social groups to which they belong. Further studies should involve more of a cross section of those two racial groups. Also, findings should be correlated with the normative population established by the Edwards Personal Freference Schedule.

A new research should go beyond the point of determining rebelliousness. It should also investigate "Dependency" by measuring three more variables from the Edwards

Personal Preference Schedule: Deference, Succorance, and

Abasement. A negative correlation between those concepts

of Dependency and Rebelliousness should also be correlated

with other psychometric devices measuring "outgoingness",

such as Allport's A-S Reaction Study, or the yet unpublished

Social Reaction Inventory.

In conclusion, it is the concept of Rebelliousness which should probably be defined and be measured in terms other than those suggested by Zuckermann. It is a principle which could be easily misunderstood and it does not incorporate the broad spectrum that Zuckermann intended it to.

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