SEX DIFFERENCES AND THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE
NEED FOR SOCIAL APPROVAL AND CONSERVATIVE-
LIBERAL SEXUAL ATTITUDES

APPROVED:

[Signatures]

Major Professor

Consulting Professor

Chairman of the Department of Psychology

Dean of the Graduate School

This study investigated sex differences and the relationship between need for approval and liberal-conservative attitudes regarding sex. The test measures used were the Marlowe-Crowne Social Desirability Scale (M-C SDS) and a questionnaire measuring liberal-conservative sexual attitudes taken from a research survey published in *Psychology Today*.

The hypotheses proffered were that 1) high-need-for-approval subjects would reveal a tendency toward more conservative sexual attitudes and low-need-for-approval subjects a tendency toward more liberal attitudes, and that 2) female subjects would show higher need for approval scores than male subjects, thereby revealing a tendency toward more conservative sexual attitudes.

One hundred and three subjects from four introductory psychology classes were given the test measures. The subjects were divided into high- and low-need-for-approval groups on the basis of the mean of the M-C SDS scores.

The findings revealed a significant over-all relationship between need for approval and attitudes toward sex. There was no significant support found for the prediction that females would produce higher scores on need for approval.
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Jacquelyn Vilet
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and, therefore, indicate a tendency toward more conservative sexual attitudes. However, there was a significant negative correlation for males between need for approval and sexual attitudes. This unexpected finding was discussed in terms of possible confounding factors and also in light of the recent increasing interest in women's liberation in which sexual attitudes play an important part. The research results of the study of sex as a significant variable in conformity behavior are ambiguous and demand further investigation.

The relationship between high and low scorers on need for approval and sexual attitudes was also found to be statistically non-significant. Suggestions were offered for future research techniques to more fully investigate this relationship.
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In recent years the problems of response distortion and
stereotypy on personality inventories have been subjected to
an analysis in terms of the motivation of the subject to
achieve a particular self-description. Basic to this con-
ception is the construct of need for social approval, by
which the goal-directed nature of test-taking behavior is
explained. The need for social approval, as seen from the
point of view of social learning theory, indicates that a
person's behavior in any situation is a function of the par-
ticular needs he expects may be fulfilled in that situation.
Which need the person will seek to gratify depends on the
value of the available reinforcements to him and the ex-
pectancy that his behavior will lead to preferred satis-
facions.

In a testing situation, highly socially desirable self-
evaluation can be understood as being influenced by the rein-
forcement the subject expects to follow this behavior, or the
punishment he anticipates from failure to comply with per-
ceived social and situational demands. Expectancies for the
positive reinforcement of socially desirable self-description
and, perhaps, for the punishment of unfavorable self-description
can undoubtedly be assumed to be relatively high for many individuals. Thus, persons with a high need for social approval and the expectancy that this need may be satisfied by presenting themselves in a favorable light would tend to evaluate themselves in a culturally sanctioned manner.

In an effort to construct a test that would effectively measure need for approval, Crowne and Marlowe (1960) developed the Marlowe-Crowne Social Desirability Scale (M-C SDS). Items were selected for the M-C SDS from a defined universe representing behaviors which are culturally sanctioned and approved but which are improbable of occurrence. A high need for approval is inferred when the subject attributes more socially approved behaviors to himself than is likely to occur or than is likely to be endorsed by most other persons in his peer group. An illustrative item is, "I have never intensely disliked anyone." For inclusion in the scale, an item was also required to have minimal pathological or abnormal implications if responded to in either the socially desirable or undesirable direction.

Crowne and Marlowe's initial interpretation of socially desirable responding on the new scale was that people conform to social stereotypes of what is good to acknowledge concerning oneself in order to achieve approval from others. The M-C SDS was, then, an indirect measure of a need for approval. The construct of need for approval implied that people differ in the strength of their need to be thought well of by others;
and for those whose need is higher, we could assume a generalized expectancy that approval satisfactions are attained by engaging in behaviors which are culturally sanctioned and approved.

The M-C SDS was constructed because of criticism of the Edwards Personal Preference Schedule (EPPS), an earlier social desirability scale, for its utilization of items which include psychopathological symptomatology. Crowne and Marlowe (1960) found that the EPPS correlated highly with seventeen Minnesota Multiphasic Personality Inventory (MMPI) subtests, whereas their scale appeared, by comparison, relatively independent of psychopathology. The implication was that a psychopathologically oriented social desirability scale reflects subject willingness to admit or deny psychological symptomatology rather than subject willingness to choose in terms of socially appropriate responses.

There followed, after Crowne and Marlowe's initial publication of the M-C SDS, a flurry of studies attempting to validate this supposed independence from psychopathology. Katkin (1964), in an experiment involving the M-C SDS and an abbreviated form of the MMPI, found significant negative correlations between this scale and eight of the ten MMPI indices of psychopathology employed. The results of a study by Stollak (1965) provided support for the validity of the M-C SDS as an indicator of need for social approval, and also found evidence that the EPPS does not fully control
for the social desirability factor. In other reports (Ismir and Kleban, 1962; Stone, 1965; and Stone, 1966), the M-C SDS and the MMPI were administered to hospitalized mental patients. Correlations between the M-C SDS and the MMPI scales were computed and were found to be generally higher than had been reported previously. These results support the contention that the M-C SDS shares a higher relationship with MMPI performance than previously suggested by Marlowe and Crowne whose scale was developed on and for university students in research settings. Thus, according to these studies, it is not as independent of psychopathology as previously believed.

Goldfried (1964) reported a cross-validation of the items on the M-C SDS against a new sample of subjects. He gave his subjects three instructional sets: 1. standard directions, 2. social desirability, and 3. social approval. Employing fifty male and fifty female subjects for an item analysis, he found that approximately half of the items in the original scale failed to discriminate beyond chance when cross-validated. He therefore developed separate versions of the scale for men and women. The significance of Goldfried's study may be in his hypothesis that social desirability may be separate from, and partially independent of, social approval. Fisher (1967) and Milburn (1968) used Goldfried's version of the scale in various experiments but found that the resulting correlations did not indicate that his subset of items added to the effectiveness of the original scale.
In spite of criticisms and repeated evaluations, the M-C SDS has become an accepted research measure in determining social desirability and need for social approval. It has been used with the Cattell Anxiety Scale (Fisher and Kramer, 1963), the Structured-Objective Rorschach Test (Langer and Hick, 1965), the Success-Failure Inventory (Mulligan, 1968), and the IPAT Self-analysis Scale (Schmidt, 1969) to determine the relationship between such variables as anxiety, success-failure motivation, and acquiescence to social desirability.

Since the M-C SDS was developed on and for student subjects for use in university research settings, the bulk of reports in recent years has been concerned with the relationship between need for approval and student problems such as academic achievement, depression, distortion in self-reports of grades and extracurricular activities, and drug usage. In a study by Matell and Smith (1970), college students were administered two course examinations under conditions differing in the degree to which performance was relevant to academic achievement goals. They found that in examinations administered under high-relevance conditions, scores on the M-C SDS were unrelated to test performance. Under low-relevance conditions, however, need for approval was highly related to test preparation and performance. Kasl (1972) discovered that the M-C SDS correlated positively with the amount of distortion (in a socially desirable direction) in self-reports
of grades and extracurricular activities. This relationship, however, held true only among those for whom these events were not so recent and who could reasonably believe that their reports' accuracy would not be checked. Kasl thus proposed that the approval motive has a modest influence on self-description when either memory processes allow motivated distortion and/or when the testing circumstances do not suggest that the report's accuracy will be checked.

In another study focusing on the need of subjects to avoid disapproval, Efran and Boylin (1967) conducted an experiment on students' willingness to participate in group discussions. The results indicated that students obtaining high scores on the M-C SDS presumably anticipated social rejection and therefore chose to avoid threats to their self-esteem by not volunteering for group discussion. When faced with a choice between taking an appropriate role involving a greater threat to self-esteem or a less prominent role offering little opportunity for rejection, these students chose the "safer" role. A report testing the hypothesis that depression is associated with belief in external control (Abramowitz, 1969) indicated that high scorers on the M-C SDS showed significantly greater depression than low scorers.

In a time when drug use has become of wide concern, there has been some attention given to the possibility of personality differences between drug takers and non-takers.
Scherer, Ettinger, and Mudrick (1972) investigated the relationships between drug use and need for social approval as measured by the M-C SDS and found that college drug users scored significantly higher than nonusers.

In the area of family relationships, there have been a couple of studies reported. Boor (1972) studied the relationship of birth order, sex, and family size to need for approval. The analysis of birth order and family size effects showed a nonsignificant tendency for firstborns to obtain higher M-C SDS scores than later borns. In a report by Doster and Strickland (1969), perceived child-rearing practices and self-disclosure were investigated. In testing the hypotheses that home environments seen as nurturant would yield greater self-disclosure than low-nurturant homes, and that parental nurturance would have greater influence on disclosure to parents than to friends, it was found that the social desirability response set did not appear to be operating.

Considerable evidence has been accumulated to support the contention that individuals from different sociocultural backgrounds agree as to what behavior or personality trait is socially desirable. On the other hand, it has also been suggested that since the M-C SDS was developed on and for university students, it is not an adequate measure of need for social approval with other samples of the population—in other words, older or younger samples, or for use with
groups from different subcultures. Crowne and Marlowe (1964), however, concluded that the social desirability phenomenon is remarkably stable and is relatively independent of such variables as socioeconomic status and cultural background. In support of this contention, Tsushima (1969) studied the responses of Irish and Italians of two social classes on the M-C SDS and found that there was marked and significant agreement as to what was considered socially desirable.

In a similar vein, several studies have been done involving the need for approval and prisoners, who may be roughly classified as a kind of subculture. Fisher (1967) and Fisher and Parsons (1962) found that the mean M-C SDS score for prisoners was significantly higher than that for the normative college group. Neither age nor social class was revealed to be significantly related to M-C SDS scores; however, intelligence was found to be negatively correlated. An analysis of the different crime categories indicated that the groups did not differ significantly in their scores. An analysis of variance of M-C SDS scores by race, however, indicated that of the three race groups studied, Whites had significantly lower scores than both the Mexican and Negro groups, and that the Mexicans and Negroes did not differ from each other significantly.

Although the initial studies on the M-C SDS focused on the subject's need for approval, recent studies have begun to link the approval motive to defensiveness (Boor and
Schill, 1968; Breger, 1966; Cosentino, 1969; Hoffmann, 1970; and Newberry, 1967). As a component of the approval motive, high scoring subjects on the M-C SDS are viewed as having vulnerable self-esteem. Furthermore, these subjects are viewed as relying on defensive behaviors to protect their vulnerable self-esteem. Approval-seeking is, of course, one means of bolstering self-esteem. In an interesting study by Strickland and Crowne (1963), it was found that patients with high M-C SDS scores tended to terminate psychotherapy prematurely and that therapists rated these patients as being more defensive and less improved than patients with lower M-C SDS scores.

The need for approval, however, may be assumed to affect behavior in many situations beyond those of a self-evaluative nature. Persons highly motivated to obtain approval can be expected to respond so as to maximize the satisfaction of this need in a variety of social contexts. Several studies suggest that social conformity constitutes a means of satisfying a need for approval from others. If a person is concerned about the consequences of his behavior in regard to obtaining the approval of others, it seems likely that yielding to the perceived demands of social situations becomes crucial for him. Such a person may develop the expectancy that "fitting in" with others leads to positive reinforcement and that, by not conforming, punishment or at least minimal need satisfaction ensues. Conversely, from
compliance and sensitivity to the evaluations of others may be inferred a disposition to seek approval and support from other people. A person so motivated is sensitive to the expectations of others regarding his behavior and seeks to respond according to their expectations as he perceives them.

To observe the different responses of persons with high and low need for approval to perceived situational demands requires a situation in which the demand for socially acceptable behavior is unambiguous and, in which, to comply with that demand, subjects' own views or attitudes must be suppressed. Suppose subjects were given a very boring, repetitive, dull task to perform for a long period of time. Hopefully, they would experience frustration if they were unable to leave the situation; as a result, they ought to develop negative attitudes toward the task and the experimenter responsible for their plight. If this boring task was presented by an experimenter who played to the hilt his role as an authority figure, the conflict between the subject's inescapably real attitudes and the implied demand of such an authoritative and important other would be an especially thorny one. Persons with a high need for approval should yield, molding their attitudes toward the task and the experimenter to conform with what he must want to hear.

To create this kind of situation, Marlowe and Crowne (1961) devised a task requiring subjects to pack and repack spools of thread in a small box for a long period of time.
Each subject completed the M-C SDS and also the Barron Independence of Judgment scale, which has previously been shown to be valid in the discrimination of conformers and nonconformers. The subjects were then instructed to place a number of spools in an empty box and upon finishing this part of the task were told to empty the box and refill it. They were instructed to fill and empty the box until told to stop. At the end of 25 minutes they were stopped and asked to fill out a brief questionnaire as to how enjoyable and interesting the task was. Marlowe and Crowne's major prediction was that individuals with a high need for approval would express more favorable attitudes toward the spool-packing task than subjects with a weaker approval need, and the results were in favor of this prediction. It was also found that the higher the score on the M-C SDS, the lower the independence of judgment on the Barron scale. In other words, the high-need-for-approval subjects were strongly motivated to yield to the demands of the situation and to tell the experimenter that his experiment was interesting, enjoyable, and worthy of their effort. In contrast, subjects less approval dependent were better able to resist stating what seemed socially appropriate and offered, instead, more realistic appraisals of the experiment. Presumably, the less favorable opinions of low-need-for-approval subjects reflect, in part, the greater freedom of this group from social pressures in the formation and expression of their beliefs. The significant correlation
between the M-C SDS and the Barron scale would seem to support this formulation.

The goal-oriented character of the behavior of persons described as approval motivated requires a critical demonstration though. As usually defined in personality theory, reinforcement acts in the service of needs. To put it another way, the stronger a given need, the more effective will be reinforcement appropriate to that need. Given approving social reinforcement in a learning task, then, acquisition of the behavior to be learned should be enhanced for approval-motivated persons.

The verbal-conditioning paradigm is particularly well suited to testing this proposition. The reinforcers typically used have obvious social-approval implications (such as, "Mm-hmmm," "Good," smiling, a head nod, etc.). Also, since subjects usually are unable to verbalize the relationships between response and reinforcement, the need for approval would therefore have to exert its influence without the mediation of a clear awareness of the correct response-reinforcement sequence.

In a verbal-conditioning experiment conducted by Crowne and Strickland (1961), it was hypothesized that in verbal operant conditioning, where critical responses are immediately followed by social reward from the experimenter, high-need-for-approval subjects would show an increase in response rate significantly greater than those
of low-need-for-approval subjects. Further, it was predicted that approval-motivated individuals would be more affected by negative reinforcement in interpersonal situations, since this connotes denial of approval or punishment. Thus, high-need-for-approval subjects would show an increase in response rate significantly greater than those of low-need-for-approval subjects. Further, it was predicted that approval-motivated individuals would be more affected by negative reinforcement in interpersonal situations, since this connotes denial of approval or punishment. Thus, high-need-for-approval individuals should avoid or inhibit behavior which elicits negative reinforcement. Therefore, an additional hypothesis was that subjects with a high need for approval would tend to show a greater decrease in the negatively reinforced or punished response class than would subjects to whom approval satisfactions were of less consequence.

The verbal-conditioning task employed in this experiment was Greenspoon's (1955) classic "plural nouns" procedure. The subjects were given the M-C SDS to obtain need-for-approval scores; however, the tests were not graded until after the experimental task so there was no possibility that the experimenter's knowledge of the approval score could influence the results.

The experimental task involved having the subjects say words—any words, without using sentences, phrases, or numbers. In the positive reinforcement condition, every plural
noun uttered was immediately followed by the experimenter's "Mm-hmm" and a head nod. Subjects in the negative reinforcement condition elicited an "Uh-uh" for each plural noun. A nonreinforced control group was employed to establish a base rate of plural nouns.

The task was divided into five-minute periods during which the experimenter kept a frequency count of responses, plural and nonplural. At the end of the experiment the subjects were questioned to determine their awareness of the response-reinforcement link.

As was predicted, subjects whose need for approval was high tended to increase the relative frequency of the reinforced response class of plural nouns under positive reinforcement and tended to inhibit plurals when they were followed by punishment. The low-need-for-approval groups failed to demonstrate consistent changes in rate of response under either positive or negative reinforcement compared with the base rate of plural nouns.

In another verbal conditioning experiment, Marlowe (1962) sought to condition meaningful verbal behavior in an interview situation and to further test the need-for-approval-conditioning hypothesis. The experimental task was an individual interview conducted immediately after completion of the M-C SDS. Each subject was asked to describe his personality characteristics and traits. For those subjects in the experimental group, every positive self-reference was reinforced by the
In the control group, the experimenter offered no reinforcement for positive self-references. Immediately after the interview, each subject was questioned to determine the extent of his awareness of the conditioning procedure.

The results paralleled those of the Crowne-Strickland experiment in that individuals with a high need for approval produced significantly more reinforced responses under positive reinforcement than persons less strongly motivated for approval. As in the other experiment, the behavior of high-need-for-approval subjects may be interpreted as reflecting greater sensitivity and responsiveness to social reinforcers than was shown by persons less strongly motivated to seek approval.

The need for approval exerts an influence in situations far removed from the typical self-evaluative setting. In a study by Strickland and Crowne (1962) the relationship between conformity and need for social approval was further tested. It was proposed that subjects faced with a conflict between perceived social demands and their own judgments and beliefs might be expected to yield at the expense of the latter in proportion to the strength of the motive for social approval. In the posing of a conflict for the subject between an objective fact and the opposing statements of a majority, an "Asch-type" (1951) conformity paradigm was employed.
In this study, subjects were given the M-C SDS and then were individually exposed to auditory stimuli which could be readily and accurately perceived. Immediately following each presentation were the judgments of preinstructed accomplices of the experimenter, who gave inaccurate judgments on twelve critical trials out of a total of eighteen.

The auditory stimuli consisted of "knocks" recorded on tape by rapping on a table. Following each series of knocks, three accomplices, one at a time, announced their judgments of the number of knocks by calling out a number previously given to them by the experimenter. The accomplices always gave the same answer as to the number of knocks they heard. The tape was played for each subject who was instructed to announce her answer into a microphone as soon as the third person had responded. Following completion of the conformity situation, each subject was interviewed to determine whether she should be excluded because of awareness of the deception.

The results provided strong support for the hypothesis that individuals with a high need for social approval would yield more readily to group pressure in a simulated group atmosphere in contrast to individuals less concerned with approval.

Although this experiment effectively linked need for approval to conformity by means of simulated group pressure,
there have been several experiments in which subjects were tested in a real group situation. In a study described by Crowne and Marlowe (1964) the task consisted of a "discrimination problem" in which the subject, after taking the M-C SDS, was required on each of twenty trials to identify the larger of two clusters of dots. The two groups of dots were presented tachistoscopically by means of a slide projector. Each subject, together with four accomplices, viewed the slides and responded as to which cluster of dots was larger. On sixteen of the twenty trials the accomplices gave an incorrect answer prior to the real subject's answer. It was expected that high-need-for-approval subjects would conform more than lows when exposed to group pressure of this sort. The findings confirmed this hypothesized relationship.

In another investigation, Marlowe, Stifler, and Davis (1962) sought to measure the relationship between the need for approval and suggestibility as measured by the heat illusion test. This technique asks subjects to indicate whether they detect heat in an element which, of course, never actually warms up. High-need-for-approval subjects reported heat significantly more often than lows. The highs then were viewed as being more suggestible, their report being influenced by the group pressure characteristics of the experiment.
The next few experiments worthy of note differ from the ones mentioned previously in that the intent was to test the generality of conventional, stereotyped behavior in approval-motivated persons and, hopefully, to show that in the absence of directly exerted influence, dependence on social sanctions remains. If this were found to be true, it would provide evidence quite suggestive of a long and strongly reinforced history of social dependence and "other-directedness" in persons motivated for approval. Two very different instances of social behavior were investigated—in the first experiment, language behavior; and in the second, goal setting in a situation in which a cultural norm is strongly implied.

As a technique to measure conventionality in language in the first experiment, the word association test was employed. The behavioral correlates of responses to the word-association test have been the subject of investigation for many years. Personality-oriented research in this area has focused on one particular aspect of free-association responses—commonality of word associations, the tendency of an individual to give popular or common associates. Jenkins (1960) suggested that the degree of commonality manifested by a person is related to the extent to which he is like the "standard" or "norm" of the culture on a variety of behavioral dimensions.

The hypothesis of the experiment by Horton, Marlowe, and Crowne (1963) was that high-need-for-approval subjects would obtain significantly higher commonality scores under
"relaxed" instructions and under "popular" instructions than would low-need-for-approval subjects. No difference between high- and low-need-for-approval subjects on commonality was expected under "speed" instructions where personality variables are less likely to be operative.

The subjects for the study were first given the M-C SDS and the Kent-Rosanoff word-association test. The association test was readministered at a later date, and the subjects at this time were divided into two groups. Group I took the Kent-Rosanoff word association test first under "relaxed," and then under "popular" set instructions. Group II took the association test under "speed" and then under "popular" set instructions. Commonality scores were obtained for each subject on both the first and second word-association tests. In addition, difference or gain scores between tests were computed for each subject.

The results indicated that high-need-for-approval subjects tended to obtain higher commonality scores than low-need-for-approval subjects under both the "relaxed" and "popular" conditions. As expected, commonality under "speed" instructions and gain scores for Group II subjects were unrelated to need-for-approval scores.

Thus, these data provide partial support for a relationship between commonality of word-association responses and the need for approval. The greater number of common responses given by high-need-for-approval subjects probably reflects a
combination of their defensiveness and reactivity to the language stereotypes of the culture. It seems reasonable to assume that language habits, which are primarily the products of social learning, would be more consistent with cultural stereotypes in individuals with a high need for approval. For persons strongly concerned with what the world thinks of them, language takes on a critical significance.

If approval-motivated persons tend to produce verbal associations anchored in conventional usage, perhaps their behavior in other situations similarly reflect responsiveness to perceived social norms. Barthel (1961) used a goal-setting situation to further test the cultural-anchoring hypothesis.

Consider the normative expectations in a dart-throwing game where one is free to choose his own distance from the target. To throw from a point very close to the target would make the achievement of a high score much easier—so easy, in fact, that one would open himself to criticism for setting his goal at such a low level of risk. On the other hand, there are norms regulating great degrees of risk as well. Should an individual stand at a great distance from the target, his level of aspiration becomes equivalent to boasting and he is likely to be accused of this by others. Therefore, two culturally originating forces operate to restrict the range of choice and, for the individual dependent on the favorable evaluations of others, to make it probable that
his level of aspiration will be limited to a range of intermediate risk. Conscious of himself and concerned with obtaining the positive regard of others, the approval-dependent person is more likely to set his goals in closer conformity to the norms of the culture as he perceives them.

In Barthel's experiment the normative anchoring of goals was defined by the variability of a subject's choices of distance from the target. Concern about the evaluations of others and reliance on external standards should lead to the restriction of behavioral choices to those most culturally acceptable. In the dart-throwing task of the experiment, the subject has to choose his own level of difficulty on the basis of prior knowledge of social norms and his own expectation of success. Barthel proposed that the effect of approval dependence would be to restrict the individual to a limited range of choices—in other words, limited variation around his own mean.

The results of this study indicated a highly significant tendency for approval-dependent subjects to restrict the range of their choices of distance from the target. In explaining these findings Barthel pointed out that a basic fact to be recognized is that in American culture there is an implicit norm that one should neither make a task too easy nor show off by making it too difficult. High-need-for-approval subjects seem to be more influenced by these implicit cultural standards of goal setting; among approval-dependent individuals,
level of aspiration is, as a result, more restricted and cautious.

The fact of normative anchoring seems clear. In these last two experiments, in two very different situations, individuals motivated to obtain the approval of others appear to rely on perceived cultural norms as behavioral models.

The greater dependence of approval-motivated individuals on social sanction for their behavior is associated with sensitivity to interpersonal cues in social situations—cues which mediate expectancies for those behaviors which will insure approval or yield disapproval and punishment. However, how would approval-dependent persons deal with the socially disapproved—with, for instance, obscenity? In an experimental setting in which the subject is asked to recognize and report obscene material, would concern for approval lead to inhibition or would the result be compliance with the apparent demands of the situation by an open and frank acknowledgement?

The procedure chosen for the Barthel and Crowne (1962) experiment was the "dirty word" perceptual-defense paradigm. The perceptual-defense situation can be seen as posing a conflict for the subject between the demands of the task for quick and accurate recognition versus a typically long history of inhibition associated with socially unacceptable words.

The cues in this experimental situation are likely to lead the subject to arrive at one or the other of two conclusions.
A subject might conclude, on the basis of the stress on speed and accuracy in the instructions, that rapid recognition is essential for favorable evaluation of his performance. On the other hand, discovery of the controversial nature of some of the words might lead the subject to wonder about the experimenter's interest in probing his reactions to such material.

How the subject categorizes the task assumes an even greater importance when the need for approval is taken into account. Because of his concern for a favorable evaluation, the approval-oriented individual is likely to be more affected by his interpretation of the purpose of the experiment and the criteria for the evaluation of his behavior. It follows, then, that a high-need-for-approval subject who categorizes the task on the basis of its socially disapproved aspect (the taboo words) should display the greatest discrepancy between the recognition thresholds for neutral and taboo words. At the other extreme, the approval-motivated subject for whom rapid recognition and achievement cues are pre-eminent should achieve the smallest discrepancy between taboo- and neutral-word recognition thresholds. Low-need-for-approval subjects should be less influenced by the conflict between task requirements and the inhibition associated with taboo words.

The subjects in this study (all females) were first given the M-C SDS. Then, individually, they were told to write down the words shown them by means of a tachistoscope.
Ten words were used in the experiment, four taboo and six neutral words in the following order: "apple," "dance," "ounce," "whore," "alert," "penis," "prize," "bitch," "yeast," and "screw." Correct recognition consisted of the exact recording in writing of the taboo and neutral words, and the task was continued to the trial at which this criterion was met for all words. At the conclusion of this task the subjects were questioned to determine the manner in which the subject categorized the task and to provide a basis for inferring the subject's beliefs about the criteria for evaluation of her behavior. The subjects' answers were classified into two categories: 1) responses indicating perceptual speed as the focus of the experiment, and 2) responses referring to the social disapproval associated with reporting taboo words.

The findings indicate the difference between high-need-for-approval subjects offering "perceptual" as opposed to "disapproval" categorizations was highly significant, with the "social disapproval" group showing higher recognition thresholds.

To sum up, the preceding experiments hypothesizing a relationship between need for social approval and conformity depict individuals who display a social-desirability response set on the M-C SDS to be more conforming, cautious, and suggestible, and their behavior to be more normatively anchored than persons who depict themselves more realistically. The
findings of these studies all converge on a single consistent conclusion: high-need-for-approval persons are more compliant and conventional and are more likely to respond affirmatively to social influence. This is true whether the influence attempts are obvious or relatively subtle and whether they emanate from an individual or from a group.

In a sense, high-need-for-approval individuals are more "normal" in that they exemplify many of the values of American middle-class culture. Approval-motivated individuals say the right things about themselves, appear to hold "proper" attitudes, and are dependent on external sanction in social attitudes.

Thus, over-compliance in social situations and submission to the beliefs and judgments of others and an oversensitiveness to the perceived expectations of others can be expected of persons having a high need for social approval. Persons with a relatively lower need for approval would appear to be more independent of such social pressures.

To define social desirability as behavior motivated by a need for approval and the expectancy that approval can be attained by behaving in culturally acceptable ways might seem to overlap with conformity. Certainly, a relationship between need for approval and conformity would be expected, but the two concepts can be differentiated by regarding the need for approval as a motivational variable, whereas conformity is best conceptualized as a description of a certain class of behaviors. Thus, predicting a relationship between socially
desirable test taking behavior and conformity assumes that conformity constitutes a behavioral category likely to be engaged in by persons seeking to gratify a need for approval (Crowne and Marlowe, 1964).

If one is strongly motivated to seek the approval of important others, it follows that not only should his public evaluation of himself be bent to serve this aim, but his attitudes and judgments should reflect it as well. In a situation confronting the approval-dependent individual with a clearly implied demand for conventional and culturally sanctioned attitudes in the face of a controversial issue such as questions regarding sexual attitudes and practices, our theory would predict compliance or conformity.

The relationship between conformity and the need for social approval is the major hypothesis of the present study. The purpose of this study was to investigate the relationship between need for social approval as measured by the M-C SDS and attitudes on a questionnaire concerning liberal and conservative sexual attitudes and practices. It was hypothesized that there would be a significant correlation between need for approval and attitudes regarding sex. High-need-for-approval subjects should indicate more conservative or conventional attitudes towards sex and conversely, low-need-for-approval subjects should disclose a more liberal stance since they should be governed less by cultural sanctions.
A second hypothesis proffered was that there would be a definite relationship between need for approval and sex of subject: specifically that female subjects would show higher scores on the M-C SDS than male subjects, and would therefore also reveal a tendency toward more conservative attitudes on the sex questionnaire.

In considering the question of the sex of the subject, we are focusing on the manner in which sociocultural norms dispose him to interpret evaluative situations. The typical feminine role tends to be defined as involving a declaration of the conventional values of the culture, dependence upon the group, submissiveness to the male, and avoidance of disagreement with others in the interests of group harmony. The typical masculine role tends to lay more stress on the ideals of self-sufficiency, self-assertion, and independence of thought. Thus, females might be predicted to conform more readily. There is considerable evidence to support this prediction. Most reported studies (Applezwieg and Moeller, 1958; Beloff, 1958; and Tuddenham, 1957) have found a sex difference in those behaviors related to conformity with the female subjects demonstrating greater tendencies toward conforming behavior than the male subjects.

In Crutchfield's (1955) studies females consistently earned higher conformity scores than did males. There was also evidence that high-conforming females tended to be generally characterized by easier acceptance of the conventional
feminine role. On the contrary, many of the females who independently resisted the group pressure tended to be characterized by marked signs of conflict in their feelings about the conventional feminine role, by rejection of a dependent relationship with parents and with others, and by hostile attitudes toward family.

In more recent studies, however, the findings have not been as conclusive. That is, in many reports (Dodge and Muench, 1969; Goldfried and McKenzie, 1962; and Gray and Gynther, 1970), the predicted relationship between M-C SDS test scores and experimental tasks apparently holds regardless of the sex of the subjects. Shemberg and Leventhal (1968) went a step further and found that the need for approval was unrelated to the sex role identification as well as to the biological sex of the subject. In other studies (Katkin, 1966; and Moran, 1967), however, results indicate a definite relationship between sex differences and need for approval, with females scoring higher on the M-C SDS.

The sex questionnaire employed in this study was taken from an issue of Psychology Today (1969). This research questionnaire was developed by Dr. Robert Athanasiou and Phillip Shaver of the Institute for Social Research at the University of Michigan, and was published for the expressed purpose of having readers reply giving their candid opinions toward such controversial topics as homosexuality, abortion, premarital and extramarital sex, birth control, pornography,
and sex education. The results of the questionnaire were published in a later issue (July, 1970) and prove to be interesting.

Although the findings indicate a slightly liberal bias of the sample, there was consistency between attitudes and activities. The large majority of the respondents thought that contraceptives should be made available to everyone, that abortions should be performed on demand by a woman, that anyone should be able to get manuals of sexual intercourse, that premarital sex is acceptable, that homosexuality and prostitution should not be considered criminal matters, and that religious groups should not impose their standards of sexual behavior on others. Sexual behavior, the respondents felt, should be left up to the participants and the quality of the relationship. As a result, unusual tolerance of most forms of sexual expression was revealed, including those considered deviant by cultural standards.

This study, then, attempts to relate need for social approval and conservatism-liberalism regarding sexual attitudes and activities. Hypotheses are 1) high scorers on the M-C SDS should reveal more conservative or conventional attitudes toward sex than low scorers (as shown by a negative correlation between the test measures), and 2) female subjects should show higher scores on the M-C SDS than males and therefore reveal more conservative attitudes on the sex questionnaire.
Method

Subjects
A total of 103 subjects (46 males and 57 females) from four introductory psychology classes served in this experiment. They participated in partial fulfillment of requirements for the course.

Response Measures
Two response measures were employed (see Appendix). The Crowne-Marlowe Social Desirability Scale (M-C SDS) is a thirty-three-item inventory which is reported to measure need for approval. Eighteen items are keyed true and fifteen are keyed false, which reduces the possible influence of an acquiescence response set.

The second measure involved items taken from a sex questionnaire published in the July, 1969, issue of Psychology Today. The questionnaire consists of forty-four items reported to measure the dimensions of sexual conservatism-liberalism. Twenty-two items are worded as liberal statements and twenty-two are worded in a conservative fashion in order to reduce the possibility of a response set. The key for answering the questions consists of five multiple-choice alternatives ranging in degree from strongly agree to strongly disagree. The alternatives for the liberal items are keyed one to five with five indicating strong agreement and one indicating strong disagreement. The conservative items are keyed in the reverse, with five indicating
strong disagreement and one representing strong agreement. Therefore, a higher score on the questionnaire represents a liberal leaning, and conversely, the lower scores indicate a more conservative attitude.

Procedure

The Marlow-Crowne Social Desirability Scale and the sex questionnaire were administered to the subjects in counterbalanced order—half were given the M-C SDS first and half the sex questionnaire.

Pearson product moment correlations were obtained to investigate the following relationships: 1) scores on the M-C SDS and sex questionnaire for the total sample in order to determine whether or not an over-all relationship exists between need for approval and conservative-liberal sexual attitudes, 2) scores on the M-C SDS and sex questionnaire for males and females separately, 3) responses on both measures separately for high and low scorers on the M-C SDS, 4) responses on both measures separately for high and low scorers on the sex questionnaire.

The 103 subjects were divided into high and low groups on the basis of the mean of their M-C SDS scores. Means and standard deviations were also obtained for the total sample on the M-C SDS and sex questionnaire and also for male and female scores separately on both measures for comparison.
Results and Discussion

Table 1 shows the means, standard deviations, and correlations for males and females on both test measures. As can be seen, there is a significant over-all relationship between the need for approval and liberal-conservative attitudes regarding sex at the .05 level of significance. Although there appears to be no correlation between need for approval and sex attitudes for females, there is significant correlation for males at the .01 level of significance. Thus, the second hypothesis, that females would score higher on the M-C SDS and more conservatively on the sex questionnaire than males, was not supported. T tests show no differences between male and female sex questionnaire scores ($t = 1.51$ N.S., $df = 101$).

### Table 1

MEANS, STANDARD DEVIATIONS, AND CORRELATIONS FOR MALES AND FEMALES ON BOTH TEST MEASURES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sex</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>Test</th>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>SD</th>
<th>Correlation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>M-C SDS</td>
<td>12.804</td>
<td>5.361</td>
<td>-0.4769**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>Sex Quest.</td>
<td>162.913</td>
<td>21.631</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>M-C SDS</td>
<td>14.491</td>
<td>5.834</td>
<td>-0.0591</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Sex Quest.</td>
<td>161.579</td>
<td>22.194</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>103</td>
<td>M-C SDS</td>
<td>13.738</td>
<td>5.664</td>
<td>-0.2357*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Sex Quest.</td>
<td>162.175</td>
<td>21.847</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* $p < .05$

** $p < .01$

Table 2 shows the correlations for high and low scorers on the M-C SDS. As can be seen, there are no correlations
that approach significance. $T$ tests show no differences between high and low M-C SDS on sex questionnaire scores ($t = 1.65$ N.S., $df = 101$). The small correlations within the high and low need-for-approval groups are mainly due to the restriction of range that was set in dividing the scores into high and low groups.

### TABLE 2

MEANS, STANDARD DEVIATIONS, AND CORRELATIONS FOR HIGH AND LOW SCORERS ON THE M-C SDS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>Test</th>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>SD</th>
<th>Correlation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>High on M-C SDS</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>M-C SDS</td>
<td>17.9107</td>
<td>3.5791</td>
<td>-0.1226</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Sex Quest.</td>
<td>158.5179</td>
<td>23.3004</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low on M-C SDS</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>M-C SDS</td>
<td>8.7660</td>
<td>3.0589</td>
<td>-0.1982</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Sex Quest.</td>
<td>166.5319</td>
<td>19.3277</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The finding that revealed a significant negative correlation for males between need for approval and sexual attitudes, but not for females, was an unexpected one. It was predicted that females would score higher on the M-C SDS and lower on the sex questionnaire, indicating more conservative sexual attitudes. However, the data did not support this prediction.

As was discussed previously, most earlier studies (Applezweig and Moeller, 1958; Beloff, 1958; and Tuddenham, 1957) have found female subjects demonstrating greater tendencies toward conforming attitudes and behavior than male
subjects. In more recent studies (Dodge and Muench, 1969; Goldfried and McKenzie, 1962; and Gray and Gynther, 1970), however, the results have not been so conclusive, leading to the current belief that need for approval is independent of the sex of the subject.

In the present study, therefore, it is difficult to explain why need for approval is significantly related to sexual attitudes for males and not for females. The results may indicate that the sex variable is being confounded with IQ, social class, age, economic level, opportunities for social and sexual experience, and other factors. Another possibility may be the recent interest in women's liberation, especially in the area of sexual freedom. Many of the female subjects may have endorsed more extreme liberal attitudes regarding sex while not changing in their social desirability responses, thus counterbalancing the more conventional attitudes sanctioned by the rest of the female subjects. Therefore, any chance of a significant relationship between the two test measures may have been eliminated.

With women, especially college women, becoming more liberal and aggressive in their sexual attitudes and behavior, college males with high social approval needs may feel threatened and may be becoming more conventional in their sexual attitudes in an attempt to quell the tide of liberalism that is placing more and more demand on them as sexual performers. The research results of the study of sex as a significant
variable in conformity behavior are ambiguous and demand further investigation.

The prediction that high need-for-approval subjects would reveal more conservative sex attitudes and low need-for-approval subjects more liberal attitudes was not supported statistically. This was mainly due to the lack of a significant correlation between M-C SDS and sex questionnaire scores for women. Perhaps a significant curvilinear relationship could have been found if the responses on the sex questionnaire had been grouped into liberal, neutral, and conservative categories based on the mean ratings by all subjects.

This type of technique was used in a study by Gray and Gynther (1970), in which they examined the influence of need for approval on the subjects' perception of the sex items of the MMPI. They found that low need-for-approval subjects showed a greater tendency to rate at the more extreme ends (liberal and conservative) of the scale thus revealing more independence of thought. High need-for-approval subjects tended to react to the ambiguity of the situation and, therefore, endorsed what seemed to be the "safer" or more neutral answer. The fact that subjects who were high on need for approval gave ratings which were closer to the neutral point indicated a certain caution in a situation in which the "right" answer was not obvious. The prediction that high need-for-approval subjects would rate the
items more conservatively assumes that subjects would respond to implicit societal norms present in the experimental situation. Actually, societal norms may not be at the conservative end of the scale, but in the middle or neutral zone.

In conclusion, the data presented here demonstrate a slight over-all relationship between need for approval and sexual attitudes. The unexpected findings regarding the sex differences in the relationship of sexual attitudes and need for approval indicate that further investigation needs to be done in this area, especially since attitudes toward sex by both males and females seem to be undergoing changes. The non-significant relationship between high and low groups on need for approval and sexual attitudes should also be studied more thoroughly. Perhaps if a more sensitive technique were employed to measure the differences, such as the one previously mentioned, a significant curvilinear relationship could be found.
APPENDIX
Listed below are a number of statements concerning personal attitudes and traits. Read each item and decide whether the statement is true or false as it pertains to you personally.

1) Before voting I thoroughly investigate the qualifications of all the candidates. (T)

2) I never hesitate to go out of my way to help someone in trouble. (T)

3) It is sometimes hard for me to go on with my work if I am not encouraged. (F)

4) I have never intensely disliked anyone. (T)

5) On occasion I have had doubts about my ability to succeed in life. (F)

6) I sometimes feel resentful when I don't get my way. (F)

7) I am always careful about my manner of dress. (T)

8) My table manners at home are as good as when I eat out in a restaurant. (T)

9) If I could get into a movie without paying and be sure I was not seen I would probably do it. (F)

10) On a few occasions, I have given up doing something because I thought too little of my ability. (F)

11) I like to gossip at times. (F)

12) There have been times when I felt like rebelling against people in authority even though I knew they were right. (F)

13) No matter who I'm talking to, I'm always a good listener. (T)

14) I can remember "playing sick" to get out of something. (F)

15) There have been occasions when I took advantage of someone. (F)
16) I'm always willing to admit it when I make a mistake. (T)

17) I always try to practice what I preach. (T)

18) I don't find it particularly difficult to get along with loud mouthed, obnoxious people. (T)

19) I sometimes try to get even rather than forgive and forget. (F)

20) When I don't know something I don't at all mind admitting it. (T)

21) I am always courteous, even to people who are disagreeable. (T)

22) At times I have really insisted on having things my own way. (F)

23) There have been occasions when I felt like smashing things. (F)

24) I would never think of letting someone else be punished for my wrong-doings. (T)

25) I never resent being asked to return a favor. (T)

26) I have never been irked when people expressed ideas very different from my own. (T)

27) I never make a long trip without checking the safety of my car. (T)

28) There have been times when I was quite jealous of the good fortune of others. (F)

29) I have almost never felt the urge to tell someone off. (T)

30) I am sometimes irritated by people who ask favors of me. (F)

31) I have never felt that I was punished without cause. (T)

32) I sometimes think when people have a misfortune they only got what they deserved. (F)

33) I have never deliberately said something that hurt someone's feelings. (T)
SEX QUESTIONNAIRE

Listed below are a number of statements concerning sexual attitudes and behavior. Read each item and decide how it should be answered using the key below each statement. Please answer each statement as it applies to your own personal attitudes and beliefs.

1) Effective contraception can increase sexual enjoyment. (L)
   - Strongly Agree: 5
   - Agree: 4
   - Neither agree or disagree: 3
   - Disagree: 2
   - Strongly Disagree: 1

2) Sex education in elementary and high schools is likely to encourage premarital sexual activities. (C)
   - Strongly Agree: 1
   - Agree: 2
   - Neither agree or disagree: 3
   - Disagree: 4
   - Strongly Disagree: 5

3) Premarital sex relations often equip persons for more stable and happier marriages. (L)
   - Strongly Agree: 5
   - Agree: 4
   - Neither agree or disagree: 3
   - Disagree: 2
   - Strongly Disagree: 1

4) Prostitutes should be subject to fines and imprisonment. (C)
   - Strongly Agree: 1
   - Agree: 2
   - Neither agree or disagree: 3
   - Disagree: 4
   - Strongly Disagree: 5

5) The law has no business regulating sexual relations between consenting adults. (L)
   - Strongly Agree: 5
   - Agree: 4
   - Neither agree or disagree: 3
   - Disagree: 2
   - Strongly Disagree: 1

6) Toplessness is indecent and should be outlawed. (C)
   - Strongly Agree: 1
   - Agree: 2
   - Neither agree or disagree: 3
   - Disagree: 4
   - Strongly Disagree: 5

7) Even if a girl has had sexual experience, she should pretend to be sexually naive at the time of marriage (C)
   - Strongly Agree: 1
   - Agree: 2
   - Neither agree or disagree: 3
   - Disagree: 4
   - Strongly Disagree: 5
8) Most of the time women would prefer a sex partner who is gentle and affectionate rather than forceful and aggressive. (L)
5 - Strongly Agree 4 - Agree 3 - Neither agree or disagree
2 - Disagree 1 - Strongly Disagree

9) Birth control should be a matter of individual conscience. (L)
5 - Strongly Agree 4 - Agree 3 - Neither agree or disagree
2 - Disagree 1 - Strongly Disagree

10) Women should feel free to initiate sexual activity. (L)
5 - Strongly Agree 4 - Agree 3 - Neither agree or disagree
2 - Disagree 1 - Strongly Disagree

11) Often couples who have sex together and then marry, wish that they had waited. (C)
1 - Strongly Agree 4 - Disagree 3 - Neither agree or disagree
2 - Agree 5 - Strongly Disagree

12) Easy access to birth control information and devices increases promiscuity. (C)
1 - Strongly Agree 4 - Disagree 3 - Neither agree or disagree
2 - Agree 5 - Strongly Disagree

13) Sexual behavior should be judged by the quality of the relationship between people and not by whether they are married. (L)
5 - Strongly Agree 2 - Disagree 3 - Neither agree or disagree
4 - Agree 1 - Strongly Disagree

14) Religious groups should not attempt to impose their standards of sexual behavior on others. (L)
5 - Strongly Agree 2 - Disagree 3 - Neither agree or disagree
4 - Agree 1 - Strongly Disagree

15) In general, women do not enjoy sex as much as men. (C)
1 - Strongly Agree 4 - Disagree 3 - Neither agree or disagree
2 - Agree 5 - Strongly Disagree
16) Homosexuals should be considered no better than criminals. (C)
1 - Strongly Agree  4 - Disagree
2 - Agree  5 - Strongly Disagree
3 - Neither agree or disagree

17) Sexual intercourse is sacred and should be reserved for the expression of serious love. (C)
1 - Strongly Agree  4 - Disagree
2 - Agree  5 - Strongly Disagree
3 - Neither agree or disagree

18) Love greatly enriches sexual relations but is not necessary for enjoyment. (L)
5 - Strongly Agree  2 - Disagree
4 - Agree  1 - Strongly Disagree
3 - Neither agree or disagree

19) Homosexual relationships should be a matter of individual choice. (L)
5 - Strongly Agree  2 - Disagree
4 - Agree  1 - Strongly Disagree
3 - Neither agree or disagree

20) Premarital sexual intercourse is wrong; couples should wait until they are married. (C)
1 - Strongly Agree  4 - Disagree
2 - Agree  5 - Strongly Disagree
3 - Neither agree or disagree

21) Extramarital sexual intercourse adds dimension to marriage, and there is nothing wrong with it. (L)
5 - Strongly Agree  2 - Disagree
4 - Agree  1 - Strongly Disagree
3 - Neither agree or disagree

22) Homosexuality is a perversion, a kind of mental illness and homosexuals need therapy. (C)
1 - Strongly Agree  4 - Disagree
2 - Agree  5 - Strongly Disagree
3 - Neither agree or disagree

23) Extramarital sexual intercourse is wrong whatever the reason; once married a couple should remain faithful to each other. (C)
1 - Strongly Agree  4 - Disagree
2 - Agree  5 - Strongly Disagree
3 - Neither agree or disagree

24) Oral and anal sex are dirty and a participant in these acts is usually perverted. (C)
1 - Strongly Agree  4 - Disagree
2 - Agree  5 - Strongly Disagree
3 - Neither agree or disagree
25) Extramarital sexual intercourse is permissible if both husband and wife agree. (L)
   5 - Strongly Agree  2 - Disagree
   4 - Agree  1 - Strongly Disagree
   3 - Neither agree or disagree

26) Sex education in elementary and high schools is greatly needed and would eliminate guilt, ignorance, and false myths about sexuality in both men and women. (L)
   5 - Strongly Agree  2 - Disagree
   4 - Agree  1 - Strongly Disagree
   3 - Neither agree or disagree

27) Abortion should be permitted upon demand by a woman. (L)
   5 - Strongly Agree  2 - Disagree
   4 - Agree  1 - Strongly Disagree
   3 - Neither agree or disagree

28) Group marriage is morally wrong and is a threat to the family unit as we know it today. (C)
   1 - Strongly Agree  4 - Disagree
   2 - Agree  5 - Strongly Disagree
   3 - Neither agree or disagree

29) Only married couples who are married or couples about to be married should have access to manuals of sexual intercourse. (C)
   1 - Strongly Agree  4 - Disagree
   2 - Agree  5 - Strongly Disagree
   3 - Neither agree or disagree

30) Group marriages—unions in which several couples share conjugal rights—have many advantages over the traditional, one couple marriages, and will eventually replace them. (L)
   5 - Strongly agree  2 - Disagree
   4 - Agree  1 - Strongly Disagree
   3 - Neither agree or disagree

31) Recent Supreme Court decisions about censorship and pornography have been too conservative and restrictive. (L)
   5 - Strongly Agree  2 - Disagree
   4 - Agree  1 - Strongly Disagree
   3 - Neither agree or disagree

32) Contraceptive devices should only be made available to married couples or couples about to be married. (C)
   1 - Strongly Agree  4 - Disagree
   2 - Agree  5 - Strongly Disagree
   3 - Neither agree or disagree
33) Pornography appeals only to mentally sick persons and if legalized would greatly increase the incidence of sex crimes. (C)
1 - Strongly Agree  
2 - Agree  
3 - Neither agree or disagree  
4 - Disagree  
5 - Strongly Disagree

34) Anyone should have access to manuals of sexual intercourse. (L)
5 - Strongly Agree  
4 - Agree  
3 - Neither agree or disagree  
2 - Disagree  
1 - Strongly Disagree

35) The law has no business regulating pornography and persons who feel they would enjoy it should have access to it. (L)
5 - Strongly Agree  
4 - Agree  
3 - Neither agree or disagree  
2 - Disagree  
1 - Strongly Disagree

36) Abortion should be permitted under very special or extreme circumstances only, such as when the pregnancy is the result of rape or incest, when the mother's life is endangered, or when the child might be retarded or deformed. (C)
1 - Strongly Agree  
2 - Agree  
3 - Neither agree or disagree  
4 - Disagree  
5 - Strongly Disagree

37) Wife-swapping and sex relations with more than one person at a time are morally wrong and are perversions of the normal sex act. (C)
1 - Strongly Agree  
2 - Agree  
3 - Neither agree or disagree  
4 - Disagree  
5 - Strongly Disagree

38) Contraceptive devices should be made available to anyone who wants them. (L)
5 - Strongly Agree  
4 - Agree  
3 - Neither agree or disagree  
2 - Disagree  
1 - Strongly Disagree

39) Oral and anal sex add variety to a person's sex life and can increase sexual enjoyment. (L)
5 - Strongly Agree  
4 - Agree  
3 - Neither agree or disagree  
2 - Disagree  
1 - Strongly Disagree

40) Abortion should not be permitted under any circumstance. (C)
1 - Strongly Agree  
2 - Agree  
3 - Neither agree or disagree  
4 - Disagree  
5 - Strongly Disagree
41) Recent Supreme Court decisions about censorship and pornography are too liberal and have seriously threatened moral standards. (C)
1 - Strongly Agree 4 - Disagree
2 - Agree 5 - Strongly Disagree
3 - Neither agree or disagree

42) Sex education in the schools would equip persons with a healthier attitude toward sex and would therefore create more stable and happier marriages. (L)
5 - Strongly Agree 2 - Disagree
4 - Agree 1 - Strongly Disagree
3 - Neither agree or disagree

43) Pornographic and erotic books, magazines or films should be outlawed and offenders prosecuted to the fullest. (C)
1 - Strongly Agree 4 - Disagree
2 - Agree 5 - Strongly Disagree
3 - Neither agree or disagree

44) Wife-swapping and group sex could add exciting variety to a person's sex life and should be a matter of individual conscience. (L)
5 - Strongly Agree 2 - Disagree
4 - Agree 1 - Strongly Disagree
3 - Neither agree or disagree
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