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SPECIAL OBJECTS: A STUDY OF THE MEANINGS OF THINGS

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SPECIAL OBJECTS: A STUDY OF THE MEANINGS OF THINGS

by

MARTHA ANNE OURY

A dissertation submitted to the Graduate Faculty in Psychology in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, The City University of New York.

1987

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This manuscript has been read and accepted for the Graduate Faculty in Psychology in satisfaction of the dissertation requirement for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

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Abstract

SPECIAL OBJECTS: A STUDY OF THE MEANINGS OF THINGS

by

Martha Anne Oury

Adviser: Professor Susan Saegert

In this exploratory study, subjects described objects that have been especially important to them at some time in their lives from childhood to the present. Responses were content analyzed, means compared for women and men in each category, and dominant themes developed.

Objects were grouped into cultural artifacts (personal objects, home environment objects, and wider world objects) and objects of the natural environment (living creatures and natural objects and phenomena).

Reasons for importance were grouped into those experienced through thinking (associations with people, experiences, ideas, and history), sensing (objective descriptors and personal interactions), feeling (affective and evaluative), and intuiting (anticipations and imaginations). Themes of transition and transformation of meaning were identified. Some objects continue to be special, others gradually lost meaning, still others were described in terms of wrenching losses.

A relationship was found between the qualities of objects and the meanings that they carry: objects representing nurturing and those representing achievement were coded as soft or hard; these proportions were significantly different. Sequences of objects experienced as having similar meanings were grouped and discussed.

In the first study, women used 34 categories significantly more often; men used only 2 categories more often: guns and sports. Women were more interested in personal objects; men were more interested in things of the wider world.

In the second study, women used 14 categories significantly more often; men only one category more often: achievement. Women were also more interested in personal objects; men were more interested in things of the wider world.

A linguistic model was used to look at the broader patterns of meaning within which objects signify; three sets of structural relations were discussed: relationships between signified and signifier that produce the structure of the symbolic object itself, the horizontal structures of relations that influence object selections over time, and the vertical structures of relations create the set out of which this particular object was chosen.

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I. DEVELOPMENT OF THE STUDY

This study of special objects represents one aspect of my continuing search to understand the experience of meaning. One form this search took was conceptual; I scanned any literature that seemed to bear on the phenomena of the meaning of things: philosophy, logic, semiotics, structural linguistics, structural anthropology, psychoanalytic psychology, analytic psychology, and religious, artistic and popular symbolism. Another form this search took was empirical; I did four preliminary pilot studies and many informal interviews. My search also had and continues to have an experiential aspect. Since childhood I have been curious about the variety of ways things were ordered and valued in my home and in the homes of my friends and relatives. I also continue to investigate the meaning of physical objects, both personally and as part of the Research Institute for Process Orientated Psychology in Zurich, Switzerland.

My search of the literature has been frustrating in two different ways. One, I was forced to scan for that which was not there; the inanimate object is almost invisible in the psychological literature. In many of the literatures scanned, I found conceptual systems that could have been used in an analysis

of the meaning of inanimate objects but this work was never adequately developed. The second frustration, then, was that I was continually stimulated to develop systems of analysis that are both far beyond the scope of this dissertation and inadequately grounded in basic research.

The aim of this study, therefore, is to contribute to that much needed basic research. The method is, of necessity, exploratory and descriptive. I provide an inventory of objects that have special meaning to the subjects of this study and an inventory of reasons why these objects are important. I also demonstrate and discuss other dominant themes from the data. This task has become so extensive that other possible approaches suggested by my reading of the literature must wait for future research; however, I do indicate the form such research might take.

I selected the significant object because it represents the smallest unit of the person-environment interactive system; I expected people to be more aware of and able to articulate their thoughts and feelings in relation to things at this more direct, tangible scale than at the more comprehensive environmental scale.

A. CONCEPTUAL DEVELOPMENT

The relationship between people and especially significant physical objects is an important aspect of everyday life that is well documented on the popular level. Linus' blanket (Schultz, 1975) and Winnie-the-Pooh (Milne, 1921) are central to the

literature of childhood. Response to Bull's discussion of teddy bears on English radio was such a massive, unsolicited outpouring of personal anecdotes and well-worn bears that he later published the popular *Teddy Bear Book* (Bull, 1969). Such objects represent important themes in people's experience and people are eager to share these experiences.

The richest source of information about the power and significance of physical objects in peoples lives is the great art and literature of the world, but here the discipline of controlled observation is lacking and the focus on the particular, the individual instance, may always keep this resource out of the domain of the generalizing abstractions of science.

From the diverse literature scanned, I gained an understanding of the historical and social context of the phenomena; however, in this next section, I refer only to those concepts from the scientific literature that I later use in the presentation and discussion of the data. I group these selections into five categories: logically developed meaning systems; psychologically based meaning systems; genetic predisposition to the experience of meaning; construction of meaning as a dialectical-developmental process; and other empirical studies of meaning.

1. LOGICALLY DEVELOPED MEANING SYSTEMS

Langer (1942 p. 56), drawing from Cassirer and Whitehead, distinguishes between logical and psychological meaning. Logical meaning is not a quality but the function of a term; the symbol

is the key; the focus is on the system of relations within which the symbol operates, on the form or pattern rather than the content. Psychological meaning, by contrast, is meaning to someone; the subject is the key; the focus is on individual experience of content rather than on logical form.

There are different patterns of logical meanings. Different authors use different terms to refer to these varying patterns of relationship between the subject, that which is meant (the signified) and that which carries the meaning (the signifier). These patterns of relationship differ according to the presence or absence of certain critical dimensions: mental representation, analogy, immediacy, adequacy, and an existential aspect. The terms most commonly used to represent these dimensions are some combination of signal, sign, index, symbol, icon, and analogy.

Langer (1942, p. 56) uses the terms sign and symbol: the sign is the basis of reflex action and the conditioned reflex; the symbol is the basis for conscious thought, the more complex cortical function of "thinking about". (In the introduction to the 1953 edition, however, she begins to substitute the term signal for sign.)

Piaget (1968, pp. 88-90) uses three of these terms: index, sign and symbol. In the index, the signifier is a part or aspect of the signified and is, therefore, undifferentiated from it; in the sign the signifier is completely differentiated from the signified and the basis for the relationship is arbitrarily

designated and maintained by social agreement; the symbol stands between the index and the sign and has some similarities to both, because, although the signifier is differentiated from the signified, it is related to it by physical or logical resemblance.

Tillich (1957, pp. 41-43) extends the definition of the symbol: it points beyond itself, it participates in that to which it points, it opens up levels of reality otherwise closed, it unlocks unknown dimensions of the psyche which correspond to dimensions of reality, it cannot be produced intentionally, it grows spontaneously and dies when it no longer produces a response.

Following Freud, psychoanalytic psychologists use a more static definition of the symbol; they assume that symbols refer to constant, universally valid relations between particular id contents and specific ideas or words or things.

The specific use of these terms varies according to the conceptual system of the author. I include these references as examples of the range of meaning of terms I use later in discussion of the data; however, I do not consider it useful to discuss this literature extensively at this level of analysis. Instead, I want to consider the larger systems of logical structures that have more specific implications for the study of physical object systems.

Analysis of structure has been developed by, and proved extremely useful in, linguistics. It was this approach to the linguistic symbol that enabled deSaussure (1959) to transform the

study of language from potentially infinite descriptions of individual instances to a set of predictable relations between terms. When we extend this method of analysis to physical object systems, we find that meaning is not an attribute of an individual object, but that the meaning of the symbolic object is the entire pattern created by the interaction of subject, signified, and signifier.

In addition to the combination of signified and signifier to form the linguistic symbol, deSaussure identified two other dimensions or axes of signification; these have to do with the relationships of symbols to each other. On the horizontal axis, each term signifies syntagmatically, by its place in the sequence of the sentence or discourse; on the vertical axis, each term also signifies systematically, in relation to the associative or paradigmatic field out of which it was chosen. This third dimension of meaning is differential; it represents a carving out; the signification operates by opposition to all those possibilities that form a set in memory but were not chosen.

DeSaussure also initiated the notion of the relative value of terms; a term can be simultaneously exchanged within a double system of related values. For example, a dime can be exchanged for something else from the same system: two nickles for a dime, twenty for a dollar; or it can be exchanged for something from another system: a dollar can be exchanged for bread.

This notion of relative value is also conceptualized and

used by Fernandez (1974, p.120) in his analysis of anthropological data. He suggests that both linguistic metaphors and ritual objects are used to promote self value by relative disparagement of the other and adornment of the self: "you are a rat, I am an angel".

The relationship between value and perception has been explored by Bruner (1947) on the individual scale; he found that coins appear larger to poor children. On the societal scale, Lee (1959) provides excellent examples of the complex relationships between cultural values, individual experience of objects and environments, and linguistic codification.

DeSaussure's approach to structures of meaning has been developed further by Levi-Strauss (1963a, 1963b, 1972) in his analysis of myth and kinship structures; by Barthes (1974) in his analysis of culturally defined physical object systems: highway signs, fashion, food, furniture; by Douglas (1970, 1971) in her analysis of the food system; by Goffman (1951) in his analysis of status symbols; and by Mauss (1925) in his analysis of gift giving in primitive societies.

Levi-Strauss (1962, p. 89) believes that "Structuralism ought to be able to rescue associational psychology from the discredit into whence it has fallen . . . it is this logic of opposition and correlation, exclusion and inclusion, compatibilities and incompatibilities that explain the laws of association, not the reverse".

He describes the four basic operations of a structural analysis (1963, p. 1-97): the first involves making a shift from

study of the conscious phenomena to looking at the unconscious infrastructure; the second involves looking for the relations between terms rather than seeing terms as individual entities; the third introduces the concept of system and structure; the fourth requires seeking general laws instead of describing individual instances.

Barthes (1974) summarizes the attempts to develop a science of semiology by applying linguistic methods of analysis to non-linguistic objects; most of these studies are brief, fragmented, and only intended to be suggestive. He does, however, describe how one would go about this process. The first job is to divide the field into minimal significant units, the next is to group these into paradigmatic classes. The final job would be to classify the syntagmatic relations which link these units together. However, he suggests that when confronted with an unknown system, it may be more convenient to start from a few paradigmatic elements, empirically derived, and study the system before the syntagm.

This approach is interesting and useful in that it not only lets us look at the structures of physical object systems, but it also ties these studies into an important body of social science literature. However, this method of analysis is only adequate to deal with those aspects of meaning that are arbitrarily designated and culturally learned. As soon as this analysis is applied to object systems in which a high proportion of the meaning is contributed by the individual structure of the person,

the object, or both, the study begins to appear trivial or irrelevant. Semiotics, because it is usually restricted to a synchronic method of analysis, is also inadequate to deal with the role of object attachments over a person's lifetime.

2. PSYCHOLOGICALLY BASED MEANING SYSTEMS

When we shift from analysis of logically derived systems of meaning to look at psychological meaning, we shift our focus from the abstract pattern of the whole to the individual, experiencing subject. Here the literatures of the psychoanalytic psychologies and the analytic psychology of C. G. Jung are the most applicable.

The object relations literature of psychoanalytic psychology is extensive; however, it deals almost exclusively with the human object; when one reads these case studies, the non-human environment remains almost completely invisible. In the few significant studies where the inanimate object is analyzed (Greenacre, 1969; Jacobson, 1954; Roiphe, 1968; Stevenson, 1954), it is hard to tell what is actually being observed; the object seems to be used mainly as a hook on which to hang predetermined theoretical interpretations.

The works of Winnicott, Spitz, Searles, and Bowlby are exceptions. Spitz (1965) describes the environment as providing the impetus for differentiating self from other. Winnicott (1965, 1971) explores the role of the "transitional object". He calls this first "not me" object "transitional" because it retains characteristics of the state of merging with the mother but also is experienced as something separate. These objects,

usually soft, flexible blankets and cuddly animals, are rubbed or stroked while sucking. Experience of these objects is usually lost from personal memory but, to the mother, these objects and associated behaviors are memorable and easily recalled. Winnicott also carefully observes a child's mode of interaction with inanimate objects in the clinical setting and uses these observations as a diagnostic technique. He also hypothesizes a primary tendency for girls to choose soft toys and boys to choose hard ones, but documented empirical support is lacking.

Winnicott sees these transitional objects as the infant's first symbols; they provide the transition from the global undifferentiated state of the newborn to the differentiated, symbolically mediated experience of adults; they link inner and outer, illusion and reality, and become the basis for the development of culture.

The essential role of meaningful objects in the lives of people diagnosed as schizophrenic has been sensitively explored by Searles in his book The Non-human Environment (1960); and Bowlby's three volume work on attachment, separation, and loss (1969, 1973, 1980) is a significant contribution.

But, in general, the literature of the psychoanalytic psychologies tends to ignore the non-human object; when they do mention such objects they tend to reduce personal meanings to a limited number of theoretically derived, causal interpretations. This interpretation by Lemaire (1970) of Freud's story of the child with the reel and the string is an example:

The child, whose favorite game is recounted by Freud, had a cotton-reel with a piece of string tied to it. Holding the string, he would throw the reel over the edge of his curtained cot. While doing so he uttered a prolonged "oooh", which was easily interpreted as being an attempt at the German "fort", meaning "gone" or "away". He would then pull the reel back into his field of vision, greeting its reappearance with a joyful "da" (there). It should be noted that the child's mother, busy outside, was in the habit of leaving her son alone for long periods.

The game thus has the signification of a renunciation. It allowed the 18-month-old child to bear without protest the painful lived experience of his mother's alternating disappearance and reappearance. By means of this game in which he repeated with an object--the reel and the string--the coming and going of his mother, the child assumed an active part in the event, thus ensuring his domination of it.

According to A. de Waelhens, this game with the reel and the string illustrates the birth of language in its autonomy from reality and allows a better understanding of how language distances us from the lived experience of the Real.

In a first act of symbolization, the child removes himself from the urgency of an event--his mother's disappearance and reappearance--by replacing it with a symbol--the disappearance and reappearance of the reel. . . . such an experience may be considered the inaugural moment of all future displacements (p. 52).

In contrast to this method, where the analyst reduces the subject's meanings to a limited number of predetermined, theoretically derived interpretations, the analytic psychology of C. G. Jung operates to amplify personal meanings until they are more fully experienced and understood by the subject.

This amplification of meaning takes place with objects of the physical environment, not just in the mind or psyche. Jung himself built an entire living area out of rock (Bolingin, on the shore of Lake Zurich, Switzerland) in order to amplify the meaning of his dreams. Clients are encouraged to give their especially significant dreams and powerful life experiences a physical form by the use of materials such as paint or clay or by acting them out with their bodies in order to more fully

experience the meaning. Amplification is also implemented by exploring other people's experience of similar themes by reading fairy tales and myths, looking at art, listening to music-- anything that focuses and amplifies the themes that the person wants to better understand.

This respect for the subject's own search for and awareness of personal meaning is central to Jung's work; he hypothesizes an authentic Self that is capable of expressing itself as the guiding center of the whole person just as the ego operates as the guiding center of consciousness. Jung (1951, 1952) also developed the notion of synchronicity by which chance encounters with physical objects and events in the world are understood to have special significance within the subject's own individual system of meaning.

Mindell (1982, 1985, 1985) is extending Jung's work by combining amplification of the client's personal meanings with accurate and precise observation of the non-verbal signals and chance events in the world that accompany expressions of these meanings. He makes a distinction between primary and secondary processes; primary processes are those that are part of the person's conscious identity, secondary processes are those that are more or less distant from the person's awareness but are apparent to the observer in non-verbal signals: body and facial gestures, verbal pitch and stress, color change, etc. The meaning of these signals is not interpreted by the analyst; instead, the analyst helps the client amplify the signals until the client understands their meaning. Amplification often

involves interaction with physical objects and materials as well as representations of such things. Video taped sessions are analyzed in second-by-second detail for correspondences between verbal expressions of meaning and non-verbal events.

Goodbread's study of process technique, the Dreambody Toolkit, (1986), records one such work dealing with the physical symptom of a toothache. The work begins with auditory, visual, and kinesthetic representations of the nature of the pain as a large drill and concludes with relief of the pain as the client takes on the action of being more "drilling" in her present life.

3. GENETIC PREDISPOSITION TO THE EXPERIENCE OF MEANING

Freud believed that experiences of meaning were rooted in neurobiological processes and assumed that his work and that of the neurologists would converge in the future. Jung (1954) developed the notion of the "psychoid archetype", the "bridge to matter":

The deeper layers of the psyche lose their individual uniqueness as they retreat farther and farther into the darkness. Lower down, that is to say as they approach the autonomous functional systems, they become increasingly collective until they are universalized and extinguished in the body's materiality, i.e., in chemical substances. The body's carbon is simply carbon. Hence at bottom, the psyche is simply world. (p. 173)

In these deeper collective levels of the psyche, he posited the existence of a limited number of genetically inherited formative structures through which experience is ordered. He calls these formative structure "archetypes". They have no content but function to order experience within a limited number

of themes or patterns. The experience of significance is the process of filling these empty archetypal forms with experiential content.

This unconscious psyche, common to all mankind, does not consist merely of contents capable of becoming conscious, but of latent dispositions toward identical reactions. Thus the fact of the collective unconscious is simply the psychic expression of the identity of brain-structure irrespective of all racial differences. This explains the analogy, sometimes even identity, between various myth motifs and symbols, and the possibility of human understanding in general. (p. 108)

Jung's notion of the archetype is similar to the concept of "neurognostic structures" developed by a multi-disciplinary group of physical and cultural anthropologists, ethologists, cognitive psychologists, and neurobiologists calling themselves the Biogenetic Structuralists. They have coordinated the neurobiologically based structuralist theories (Laughlin and d'Aquili, 1974) and from that point of view developed a biogenetic structuralist analysis of ritual (d'Aquili et al., 1979). Although not their intention, this work contains many references to the physical objects which operate as components of ritual.

They describe neurognostic structures:

The most fundamental (neurognostic) models are structured genetically and thus provide a biogenetic base for the organization of sensory input. Neurognosis is biogenetically given rudimentary information about the world, embedded in various association areas in the brain, either by the time of birth or at some later maturational stage . . . the more simple and obvious examples are the neurophysiological "latent processes" underlying the behaviors of sucking and grasping in the newborn, and of language acquisition. . . . certain structures underlying cognition, certain models of reality, are genetically determined, some of which are probably as universally human as the ability to "conceptualize" or "abstract". This is of major significance, if true, since it would provide an explanation

for the deep structural similarities in various human societies noted by Levi-Strauss, Piaget, Chomsky, Slobin, and others. (p. 82-83,103)

These neurognostic structures are similar to the concepts of innate action schemas described by Piaget (1971) which assimilate objects or information from the environment then accomodate or restructure themselves to adapt to the new object or information. Assimilation and accomodation are the two poles of the structured-structuring dialectic. Piaget assumes the existance of a limited number of innate structures and that assimilation into (and therefore accomodation of) these structures is the basis of the experience of meaning:

To say that all knowledge presupposes some assimilation and that it consists in conferring meaning amounts, in the final analysis, to the affirmation that to know an object implies incorporating it into action schemata. (p. 7-8)

Neisser (1976) also states that infants give no response to some stimuli, not because they are incapable of perceiving them, but because they have no meaning, the infant as yet has no schema available for assimilation.

The Biogenetic Structuralists also cite the work of Levi-Strauss, Chomsky, findings in ethology, and a body of research that has become known as the "prepared learning literature". Levi-Strauss (1963) has surveyed a vast array of cross-cultural myths and modes of social organization and has become convinced that the similarities he observes cannot be the result of chance or learning. He describes the vast array of cultural differences as surface transformations produced by the operation of a limited number of deep structures of the mind common to all people

everywhere.

Chomsky (1968), building on the Saussurian distinction between "langue" (the entire body of a cultural language, including the rules that operate without the conscious awareness of the users) and "parole" (the individual speech selection, vocabulary, or usage), developed similar concepts of deep and surface structures. Deep structures operate on the syntactic and semantic levels; surface structures operate on the phonic level. Surface structures of languages differ, but Chomsky maintains that the deep structures have such cross-cultural uniformity that linguistic universals are suggested.

Findings in ethology that suggest genetically derived neurognostic structures are usually discounted by students of human behavior, but they do demonstrate the existence of such genetically derived structures in insects and birds. For example, Emlen (1970) has shown the importance of celestial rotation in the development of migratory orientation and demonstrates the operation of this mechanism before it could possibly have been learned according to traditional learning theory.

The last body of research findings they present is the most extensive and they consider it the most compelling; this has become known as the prepared learning literature. In 1968, Brown and Jenkins demonstrated that pigeons learn to peck from a lighted key that is paired with grain even though the pecking has no effect on grain. This led to the publication of previously unreported work that did not support the traditional stimulus-

response learning theories. The following year, Williams and Williams (1969) published four studies that support Brown and Jenkins findings. They conclude:

The concept of "arbitrariness", which is so frequently claimed for operants, will require close attention: is the action of reinforcements--direct or contingent--different when a response is "naturally" in the organism's repertory or when it bears a special relationship to the reinforcer? More broadly, consideration should be given to ascertaining how frequently direct, as opposed to contingent, influences of reinforcers enter into the determination of "skeletal" or "voluntary" behavior in natural environments. . . . What has emerged is recognition that certain behaviors are learned easily by one species after only one trial but may be learned only after repeated trials or may never be learned by another species, and that the more easily learned behaviors have survival value for that species. (p. 520)

Seligman (1971) draws the following conclusion from the prepared, unprepared, and contraprepared learning studies:

So, for a biologically oriented learning theorist, to what can the notion of symbolism amount: A is symbolic of B, if and only if human beings are prepared, in the sense defined, to learn that A is associated with B after only minimal input, then it is meaningful to say that A is symbolic of B.

Even more speculatively, does preparedness range beyond simple symbolic associations? Are there ways of thinking in which humans are particularly prepared to engage, as Lennenberg has argued for language and cognition? If association, causal inference, and forms of cognition are prepared, are there stories that man is prepared to formulate and accept? If so, a meaningful version of the racial unconscious lurks close behind. (p. 317-318)

He also speculates:

A neglected fact about phobias is that, by and large, they comprise a relatively nonarbitrary and limited set of objects: agoraphobia, fear of specific animals, fear of heights, fear of the dark, etc. All these are fairly common phobias. And only rarely if ever do we have pajama phobias, grass phobias, electric outlet phobias, hammer phobias, even though these things are likely to be associated with trauma in our world. The set of potentially phobic events may be nonarbitrary: events related to the survival of the human

species through the long course of evolution. (p.312)

Bowlby's (1973) review of empirical studies of phobias since Freud's work supports the suggestion that the object is nonarbitrary and may serve an evolutionary advantage. He finds the objects feared by humans to be almost identical to those feared by non-human primates. (pp. 124-137)

Kohler (1925) describes not only fear but delight and comfort found in object attachments by the chimpanzees he observed:

. . . One day I entered their room with one of these toys under my arm. In a moment a black cluster, consisting of the whole group of chimpanzees, hung suspended from the farthest corner of the wire roofing; each individual tried to thrust the others aside and bury his head deep among them. . . . It is too facile an explanation to assume that everything new and unknown appears terrible to these creatures . . . new things are not necessarily frightful to a chimpanzee, any more than to a human child. . . .

. . . Not only fear but also delight and comfort may be inspired in these animals by objects . . . Gua, who was so attached to Mr. Kellog that she went into tantrums of grief and terror whenever he left the house, could be comforted by being given his pair of overalls. This she would drag around with her. . . . Occasionally if it was necessary for him to go away, the leavetaking could be accomplished without emotional display on the part of Gua, if the coveralls were given to her before the time of departure. (pp.333-334)

Kohler also describes how the chimpanzees will hoard perfectly useless objects and carry them for days in the skin fold between the abdomen and the upper thigh. Tschego, an adult female, treasured a stone that had been rounded and polished by the sea; "On no pretext could you get that stone away, and in the evening the animal took it with it to its room and its nest" (p.99).

In addition to the archetypes, or innate formative

structures of the mind, Jung (1921) sees another aspect of human orientation to objects as serving an adaptive function and having a genetically predetermined basis; this is the orientation of extroversion or introversion. He writes:

The relation between subject and object, biologically considered is always one of adaptation, since every relation between subject and object presupposes the modification of one by the other through reciprocal influence. . . . There are in nature two fundamentally different modes of adaptation. . . . the one consists in a high rate of fertility, with low powers of defense . . . the other consists in equipping the individual with numerous means of self preservation plus a low fertility rate. This biological difference, it seems to me, is not merely analogous to, but the actual foundation of, our two psychological modes of adaptation . . . the extrovert constantly urges, expends and propagates himself in every way, while the tendency of the introvert is to defend himself against all demands from the outside, to conserve his energy by withdrawing it from objects. (p.331-332)

Jung developed the concepts of extroversion and introversion to account for the extreme differences he found in his clients' attitudes toward objects, both human and non-human. The extrovert is continually open to and oriented by the object, he assumes that what he sees is all there is: objective reality. "If a man thinks, feels, acts, and actually lives in a way that is directly correlated with the objective conditions and their demands, he is extroverted . . . his inner life is subordinated to external necessity. The object can never have enough value to him, and its importance must always be increased" (p.330).

The introvert, on the other hand, sets up a barrier between himself and the object as though it were necessary to protect himself from it, to keep it from gaining power over him. This barrier is his own subjective point of view; he is more

interested in how he feels or thinks about the object than in openly accepting the experience. "The introvert relies principally on what the sense impression constellates in the subject" (p. 331).

To an extreme extrovert, meaning is assumed to be a quality given in the object; to an extreme introvert, meaning is assumed to be an aspect of subjective experience.

Jung (1921) also describes four functions through which people experience meaning: the rational modes of thinking and feeling and the irrational modes of sensation and intuition. He believes that people have a genetically based tendency toward the dominance of one of these functions but that actual development is strongly influenced by the personal and cultural environment. He describes how use of each of these functions is influenced by an introverted or extroverted orientation to objects.

4. CONSTRUCTION OF MEANING AS A DIALECTICAL-DEVELOPMENTAL PROCESS

Introversion and extroversion, subjective and objective, inner and outer, can be viewed as representing the two poles of the dialectical process through which we construct the experience of symbolic meaning. Winnicott (1971) sees the transitional object as the precursor of the symbol, encompassing both the subjective and objective poles; it is both inner, created by the infant, and outer, provided by the environment. It is the root of symbolism in time, "a paradox to be accepted and tolerated and respected . . . not to be resolved by flight to split off intellectual functioning. It is possible to resolve the paradox,

but the price is the loss of the value of the paradox itself" (p.xii).

Langer (1967) also attempts to avoid the intellectual split between objective and subjective:

. . . One does not find a class of objective things . . . and another class of subjective things . . . any felt process may be subjective at one time and objective at another, and contain shifting elements of both kinds at the same time. "Subjective" and "objective" denote functional properties. Since organic functions have organic forms, which build up and melt down constantly, their identifiable properties are transient. (p. 31)

Other writers deal with the paradox by describing the objective and subjective as two poles of experience and discussing the movement between the two. Turner (1967) calls these the ideological pole and the sensory pole and sees the function of ritual as effecting an interchange between these two poles; the essentially cognitive poles and values of social ideology become "saturated with emotions while the basic emotions become enobled through contact with social values thus making ideology desirable and sensual feeling socially acceptable" (p. 30).

This notion relates to the idea of affective-cognitive structuring used by Esser (1973) in understanding person-environment transactions. It is also related to Langer's (1953) concept of the role art objects play in people's lives:

A work of art can be truly said to 'do something to us'; what it does is to formulate our conception of feeling and our conception of visual, factual, and audible reality together. (p.397)

Literature relating this integration to activity of the nervous system is reviewed by Lex (1979). These writers see the

neurobiological function of ritual trance to include right-left hemispheric and central-autonomic nervous system tuning. The thesis is developed that these relatively autonomous brain functions become "out of tune" with each other and that ritual activity reestablishes intra-personal coordination.

This theme of a dynamic equilibrium between two phases of experience can be found in Piaget's (1971) concept of equilibration as produced by alternative movement between accomodation and assimilation, in Jung's (1868) concept of adaptation as the goal of the alternative processes of extroversion and introversion, in Schachtel's (1959) concepts of autocentric and allocentric perception, in Spitz' (1965) coenesthetic and diacritic perception, in the imaginal and verbal phases of parallel information processing described by Arnheim (1969), in Barfield's (1973) poetic and rational principles, and in Modell's (1968) environments created-by-need and those produced by autonomous neurological development.

Eastern writers provide an alternative approach to the subjective-objective dicotomy, an approach that is becoming increasingly popular in the Western world. An essential feature of this alternative mode of experience is the process of "seeing through" the duality of things. This is an experiential process developed through extended training in disciplined meditation; the outcome can be described conceptually, but cannot be adequately grasped in this form. This approach has much in common with descriptions of the aesthetic experience and with the

use of Jung's non-rational functions of intuition and sensation while suspending use of the rational functions of conceptualizing and evaluating. However, I use quotations from a Buddhist writer, Chogyam Trungpa (1973), to represent this process because I believe this alternative view of the world is essentially Eastern in origin. I quote at length because this way of seeing is so easily misunderstood by the conceptually trained Western mind; I hope to communicate a sense of the process as well as the content.

Form is that which is before we project our concepts onto it. It is the original state of "what is here," the colorful, vivid, impressive, dramatic, aesthetic qualities that exist in every situation. Form could be a maple leaf falling from a tree and landing on a mountain river; it could be full moonlight, a gutter in the street or a garbage pile. These things are "what is," and they are all in one sense the same: they are all forms, they are all objects, they are just what is. Evaluations regarding them are only created later in our minds. If we really look at these things as they are, they are just forms.

So form is empty. But empty of what? Form is empty of our presuppositions, empty of our judgements. If we do not evaluate and categorize the maple leaf falling and landing on the stream as opposed to the garbage heap in New York, then they are there, what is. They are empty of preconceptions. They are precisely what they are, of course! Garbage is garbage, a maple leaf is a maple leaf, "what is" is "what is." Form is empty if we see it in the absence of our own personal interpretations of it.

But emptiness is also form. That is a very outrageous remark. We thought we had managed to sort everything out, we thought we had managed to see that everything is the "same" if we take out our preconceptions. That made a beautiful picture: everything bad and everything good that we see are both good. Fine. Smooth. But the next point is that emptiness is also form; it is not really empty. The emptiness of the garbage heap is also form. To try to see these things as empty is also to clothe them in concept, Form comes back. It was too easy, taking away all concept, to conclude that everything simply is what it is. That could be another escape, another way of comforting ourselves. We have to actually feel things as they are, the qualities of the garbage heapness and the quality of the maple leafness, the isness of things. We have to feel them properly, not

just trying to put a veil of emptiness over them. That does not help at all. We have to see the "isness" of what is there, the raw and rugged qualities of things precisely as they are. This is a very accurate way of seeing the world. So first we wipe away all our heavy preconceptions, and then we even wipe away the subtleties of such words as "empty," leaving us nowhere, completely with what is.

Finally we come to the conclusion that form is just form and emptiness is just emptiness, which has been described in the sutra as seeing that form is no other than emptiness, emptiness is no other than form; they are indivisible. We see that looking for beauty or philosophical meaning to life is merely a way of justifying ourselves, saying that things are not as bad as we think. Things are as bad as we think! Form is form, emptiness is emptiness, things are just what they are and we do not have to try to see them in the light of some sort of profundity. Finally we come down to earth, we see things as they are. This does not mean having an inspired mystical vision with archangels, cherubs and sweet music playing. But things are seen as they are, in their own qualities. So shunyata in this case is the complete absence of concepts or filters of any kind. . . . It is a question of seeing the world in a direct way without desiring "higher consciousness" or significance or profundity. It is just directly perceiving things as they are in their own right. (pp. 188-190)

This view of "things as they are" leads to a different experience of symbolism:

As the yogi becomes more sensitive to the patterns and qualities of energy, he sees more clearly the meaning or symbolism in life experiences. . . . Symbol, in this sense, is not a "sign" representing some philosophical or religious principle; it is the demonstration of the living qualities of what is. For instance, in the direct perception of a flower, the perception of naked insight, unclothed and unmasked, the color of the flower conveys a message over and beyond the simple perception of color. There is great meaning in this color, which is communicated in a powerful, almost overwhelming way. Conceptualized mind is not involved in the perception and so we are able to see with great precision, as though a veil had been removed from before our eyes.

Or if we hold a piece of rock in our hands with that clarity of perception which is the direct contact of naked insight, we not only feel the solidity of that one rock, but we also begin to perceive the spiritual implications of it; we experience it as an absolute expression of the solidity and majesty of earth. In fact we could be holding Mount Everest in our hands, as far as the recognition of fundamental solidity is concerned. That small rock represents every aspect of solidness. I do not mean this in

the physical sense alone; but I am speaking of solidity in the spiritual sense, the solidity of peace and energy, indestructible energy. . . .

Every texture we perceive has some spiritual implication automatically, and we begin to realize the tremendous energy contained within this discovery and understanding. The meditator develops new depths of insight through direct communication with the reality of the phenomenal world. He is able to see not only the absence of complexity, the absence of duality, but the stoneness of stone and the wateriness of water. He sees things precisely as they are, not merely in the physical sense, but with awareness of their spiritual significance. Everything he sees is an expression of spiritual discovery. There is a vast understanding of symbolism and a vast understanding of energy. . . . The only way to experience things truly, fully, and properly is through the practice of meditation, creating a direct link with nature, with life, with all situations. When we speak of being highly developed spiritually, this does not mean we float in the air. In fact, the higher we go, the more we come down to earth. (p.222-224)

5. ADDITIONAL EMPIRICAL STUDIES

When I began this work, I found no studies on the meaning of specific objects to individual people. LeCompte (1976) reviews the limited research available about the role of physical objects in peoples lives and emphasizes the need for more such work. Since then, Sherman and Newman (1976) researched the significance to the elderly of certain cherished personal possessions, and Csikszentmihalyi (1982) made a basic contribution with his three generational study of the meanings of household articles. Since this study is the only major work similar to mine, I now review it extensively.

The stated purpose of their study is

. . . to understand how and why people in contemporary urbanized America relate to things in their environment. We wanted to examine the role of objects in people's definition of who they are, of who they have been, and who they wish to become. For despite the importance of objects, little is known about the reasons for attachments to them, about the ways they become incorporated in the goals and in the actual

experience of persons.

The stated aim of the study was to "understand" and "examine" but in the conclusion they state "It is now time to . . . evaluate the significance of symbolization and assess the various goals that men and women create to direct their lives".

This critical attitude of "evaluating" and "assessing" pervades the entire study -- coding, analysis, and presentation. For example, they use the term "pathology of privacy", contrast the perjorative goals of "escape" and "hedonistic pleasure" with the valued goals of "productive" and "enjoyment", talk about "healthy interactions with the inanimate environment", and state "the advantages of a warm, emotionally integrated family are clear" without ever establishing the criteria for these value judgements.

This work was published after I had completed the content analysis of my questionnaire data but before I had analyzed and organized the findings. I first considered organizing my presentation as an extension of their work, but both the development of their basic concepts and the definitions of the categories have such a contradictory, continually shifting quality that I found it impossible to relate my work directly to theirs. This shifting quality is so pervasive that it even makes coherent criticism extremely difficult. One gets the feeling that it was written by committee, a committee that never discussed their individual conflicting points of view.

One guiding concept of their running commentary is that of the "self":

. . . the self is the subject of thought . . . the object of reflection. . . . Self knowledge is . . . mediated by language and thought. . . . The meaning of psychic activity is to be found in . . . intentions. . . . The actualization of intentions is dependent on . . . attention. . . . People pay attention to what they want to. . . . The pattern of information that shapes the self is shaped by conscious goals (p.4-5).

Although I certainly see this as a very limited definition of the self, I would respect it if they were consistent in using it throughout their study. But then we suddenly find them saying:

How certain objects get to be carriers of repressed desire is essentially a simple one. An object whose shape, function, or name is similar to a bodily part of process that is the seat of a given desire will be unobtrusively substituted for the real thing in a person's preconscious. (p.22-23)

This self that has been defined exclusively by conscious thoughts and intentions now has a "preconscious" that acts as a "carrier of repressed desire".

Another reason I was unable to develop my work as an extension of theirs was the confused nature of their category definitions. They develop a useful category distinction between "objects of action" and "objects of contemplation". But the criteria for coding objects into these categories is apparently established a priori; they say, "The intrinsic quality of an object lends itself to either action or contemplation". They code data into these categories but they do not seem to allow the data to qualify their assumptions about the validity of these "intrinsic qualities". I prefer empirically derived category definitions.

These criticisms refer to the conceptual framework within which their data are analyzed and presented. My main criticism of the data is that they were treated as peripheral to the discussion. The authors seem to have started with a (rather confused) set of assumptions which were never allowed to be informed by the data.

B. PILOT STUDIES

In addition to many informal interviews and discussions with people, I completed four relevant pilot studies. In the first, I interviewed children in their own homes in the absence of their parents. Children from 6 to 12 years of age were selected as subjects because they were old enough to respond to the questions but young enough to be relatively unaware of or indifferent to the conventional responses. I asked them to show me through their homes and show me the things they thought were beautiful and to explain why they thought so. These children persistently substituted the word "special" for "beautiful", so that term was used in this study. Most of the reasons the children gave were used later by the adult subjects of this study.

In the second study, I asked people to compare, contrast and group small samples of 44 different types of materials and then explain to me the basis for their choices. I wanted to find out if people were aware of the particular qualities of things and if they were comfortable making discriminations on the basis of these perceptions. I found that when under five materials were being considered, the basis of comparison was the particular

quality of the material; however, the higher the number of materials being compared and grouped, the more frequent was the use of logical category and naming.

In the third study, I made a great supply of magazine pictures and other materials available and asked 75 non-artists to use these to represent their feelings of home. I also asked a number of these subjects to evaluate how successfully these images represented their feelings. I found the collages very expressive and experimented with different techniques for coding this non-verbal material. Even though such techniques are beyond the scope of this study, I am convinced that non-verbal methods must be developed to adequately understand the meanings of objects and environments.

The fourth pilot study was a lengthy questionnaire administered in individual interviews with 22 subjects. The process of writing the questions helped me articulate my assumptions about the meanings of things, but the subjects found the questions too tiring to complete in an interview format and I feared that the detailed nature of the questions was too leading. I wanted to know what people would say with the least possible intervention on my part; so, for the final form of the questionnaire, I chose to ask three simple sets of open-ended questions (see section II. Procedures and Subjects).

I also continued to conduct informal interviews with people who seemed to have extremely different attitudes toward inanimate objects. I use five of these to organize the presentation of the

findings in section IV. The Experience of Meaning.

C. EXPERIENTIAL BASIS

In addition to scanning diverse literatures and carrying out empirical studies, my third method of approach to the meaning of physical objects is experiential. My characteristic mode of exploring the world is to first get as clear as possible about the nature of my own experience, then use this as a basis for comparison with the experiences of other people. When I began this study my method for getting clear about my own experience was to write; I, therefore, include here a selection from my own writing about an object that was especially important to me in my childhood and early adolescence. I include this for three reasons: first, the questions arising out of this experience became the basis of this research; second, I want to encourage readers to recall their own personal histories of meaningful objects as a context for reading this study; and third, I want to place myself alongside the subjects who shared the intimate stories of their lives on which this study is based, researchers together in a quest to understand the experience of significance.

Sometimes I see my life like a net of nearly transparent filaments swinging about me, catching and holding bits and pieces of the world as I move through time and space: my mother's scarf, a crystal ball that spins rainbows, sagging tennis shoes left by my door to say that my sons have gone on to bed, balls of black dog hair in the corners of the kitchen. Some things I keep; others slip on through the net, forgotten; some remain, like the third grade pencil lead broken off in my elbow. I tried to remove it years later only to discover that, of the once solid lead, all that remained was a discoloration of tissue. Some things are kept, others forgotten, others are gone but leave the remnants of their past presence in the living flesh of memory. I feel that I am made up of all my experiences of

things: colors, textures, patterns, images, and forms, just as surely as I am composed of food molecules ingested.

I arrange my things about me and feel at home; when they no longer feel comfortable, I rearrange them. When my orientation to the world changes, I alter my selection of things to more closely approximate the form of my feelings. Sometimes this effort is conscious, more often it is felt as a vague discomfort that finds relief in a new ordering of things, a new juxtaposition alive with the resonance of the unique particular qualities of things themselves and their multi-memored histories. I have no expectation of any fixed or final ordering. There is a continual alternation from rich colors to pale, crowded pattern and texture to spare simplicity, a continual movement of things from focal point to context and return, table top to closet to desk. Inner feelings and outer forms repeatedly realigning, continually seeking an ever-elusive correspondence.

How am I to understand these experiences of significance? What is the relation between my feelings and the forms which I select? Why do some things stand out, others recede, and still others pass completely unnoticed? Why do some things matter so much that I actually mourn their loss? Do they provide some essential connection with myself, with others, with the past? Do they lead into the future in some way? Is their selection arbitrary; before their selection would anything have done as well as anything else to represent my feelings? Or is there some necessary relation between the qualities of the thing and my reason for selecting it? How unique is my experience? How many other people experience the world in a way that is similar to mine? How many alternative ways are there to experience significance in the world?

To focus these questions more precisely, I order them around the memory of a particularly significant object from my childhood: my mother's scarf.

I discovered the scarf in a box in the cedar chest in my father's room when I was seven years old. My mother had a recurrence of cancer and died four years before. My father, unable to speak of his loss, stored a few of her things in the cedar chest; other than pictures and a few enigmatic comments, these things were all that I knew of my mother.

Out of all her things, these were the ones selected and kept by my father; they must have represented his wife to him in some significant way. Among the things he saved were some jewelry, a blue "Evening-in-Paris" perfume bottle, pink lounging pajamas, heavy gray wool stockings, and a sheer silk chiffon scarf tinted in delicately blended rainbow colors. I don't think these things were ever important to my sister; she wanted the china. Of all these things, nothing was ever as important to me as the scarf.

I would take it out when no one was at home and look through its delicate wavy fibers at the moving light and shadow of the trees outside and watch in fascination as it

blurred the edges of inside objects. I discovered that the separate, apparently fragile fibers turned to a strong, shiny surface when I put it in water. Growing to maturity, I would wrap it lightly around myself and imagine I was adult and beautiful. The scarf became an object of significance; it became a focus in my expanding world. . .

Since writing that, my relationships with objects have changed radically; I reduced my possessions to the two bag minimum required for transatlantic flights, stashed a few small bundles of special objects with friends, and joined the research group gathering around Arnold Mindell in Zurich, Switzerland, to continue my quest into the experience of meaning. In small experiential seminars, I am watching people use remembered experiences of both inanimate and human objects as patterns to implement desired changes in their lives. I am observing how dream images of such objects and materials also provide models for change.

II. PROCEDURES AND SUBJECTS

This study had two distinct phases; in each a questionnaire was distributed and the responses analyzed. The first questionnaire contained these three sets of questions:

1. Please think for a few moments about objects or things in your environment that were special to you when you were a child. We would like you to describe these objects and explain why they were important to you in as much detail as possible. (Some questions that might help you think about this are: How old were you when this object first became important? What happened to it? How did you feel about its loss? Did you ever replace it? What was it like? What did it mean to you?)

2. Now think about objects that have been special to you during other times in your life. Please describe them. Try to include your thoughts and feelings about them, the situations in which they were important, what happened to them, how your feelings about them changed and any other related thoughts and memories.

3. Now think about your life today. What objects or things in your environment are especially important to you now? Please describe them and discuss your thoughts and feelings about them.

Subjects were allowed to answer these questions in their own homes and to take as much time as desired. They report taking anywhere from 20 minutes to 10 hours over a period of 1 day to 3 weeks. It is interesting to note that the questions raised in the pilot questionnaires were spontaneously addressed in response to this open ended format.

To provide as much uniformity of presentation as possible,

most instructions were given in a group setting. The setting selected for this first study was a suburban Chicago Community College. Three sections of an introductory composition class taught by the same instructor were read the same description of the study and request for participation. Students who chose to participate completed the questionnaire on their own time and returned it to the researcher according to a procedure that assured them that only the researcher would read their responses.

At this point I decided to sacrifice control of variables in order to explore range; older subjects living in the same geographic area but not attending the community college composition classes were asked, on an individual basis, to complete the same questionnaire. Altogether 79 subjects completed this questionnaire: 49 females (63%) and 30 males (37%). They range in age from 17 to 69; median age is 25.43.

This higher proportion of female subjects reflects choices made by potential subjects asked to participate in the study. In the composition classes, more women than men chose to participate; of the people who said they would like to participate, more women actually returned the completed questionnaires. When requesting participation from older people, it was easy to find female subjects but almost impossible to obtain completed questionnaires from men. No women actually refused; many men refused. One man stated "you'll have to ask my wife about that". Women of all ages seemed to be fascinated by the study. Older men seemed to consider it trivial and several suggested that the questions should be answered by women and

children, offering their wives and children as potential subjects. One man who did complete the questionnaire criticized the study as being "one of those misguided attempts to be scientific" and referred the researcher to several theoretical texts on semantics.

The responses were fascinating, but the difference in narrative styles between subjects made precise analysis time consuming and difficult. At this time another form of questionnaire that encouraged more specific organization of responses by the subject and, therefore, more reliable coding, was distributed as the basis of a second study. Subjects were asked to complete one sheet for each object; primary object selection was based on the same criteria as the choice of object in the first study, secondary object selection criteria are listed in detail in question 8. These questionnaire forms are quoted below.

PRIMARY OBJECT SHEET

Please fill in one of these sheets for each object that has been especially important to you some time during your life from earliest childhood to and including the present. Complete a blue sheet for especially liked objects and a yellow sheet for especially disliked or feared objects.

1. Name of object
2. How old were you when this object was important?
3. Where did you get it?
4. Why was it important?
5. What happened to it? How did you feel about this?
6. Please describe the object in as much detail as you can recall. (What did it look like? What was it made of? What color, size, shape, texture, sound, smell, taste, movement, etc.)
7. What feelings do you remember having about this object when it was important to you?
8. Has anything else in your life before or since made you feel this way? If so, please list. Consider people, places,

experiences, anything that made you feel in a way that is similar to the way you felt about the primary object. Now fill in an associated object sheet for each of these objects.

ASSOCIATED OBJECT SHEET

1. Name of associated object.
2. Your age when this was special to you.
3. Please describe this in as much detail as possible.
4. Please write how you felt or feel about this.
5. In what ways is you feeling about this similar to your feelings about the primary object?
6. In what ways are your feelings about this different from your feelings about the primary object?
7. Is there anything else you would like to add?

I also increased the range of objects by specifically asking for especially disliked or feared objects as well as those especially liked, and increased the range of subjects by including high school and college english composition students from a different geographical area: Boulder, Colorado. This second study was completed by 129 subjects: 75 females (58%) and 54 males (42%). They range in age from 15 to 27; median age is 19.05.

Out of this group of 129 subjects, 70 (54%) chose to describe feared objects in addition to liked objects. Of these, 42 (60%) were female and 28 (40%) were male. This sex difference is significant at the .05 level.

All significant sex differences are based on t tests of the differences between means. Other tests for significance are noted in the text where indicated.

The original intention was to investigate only inanimate physical objects; however, the first group insisted that they must be able to describe their pets in order to meet the goals of the study: "to help us understand more about the things that have

special importance in your lives." Therefore this inclusion was added for all subsequent groups. However, it was emphasized to all groups that the focus of the study was on inanimate objects and that people were not to be included as objects. In spite of these instructions, some people and some body parts were described as objects. The information about animals and people is included in the findings but in both data presentation and discussion attention is directed toward the non-living object.

Most subjects reported enjoying the project. One 18 year old male wrote "This is the first chance I have ever had to tell someone about what is really important to me. It makes me feel for the first time in my life that someone really cares about what matters to me." Others described it as an intense emotional experience: "I have never thought about these things before and it was very difficult to have all these feelings" and "I cried when I wrote this . . . my childhood had a lot of pain in those objects".

Three subjects raised outside the United States were dropped from the study because some of the vocabulary and the context of the stories was unclear. One subject was dropped because her handwriting was occasionally unintelligible.

The intention of this study is to investigate the range of objects and stories of their meanings described by these people as having special importance in their lives. Since there is no existing body of research out of which to derive hypotheses, age and sex were selected as descriptive variables only; there is no

intention to test hypotheses.

While these data were being coded, I felt a need to understand why certain subjects refused to complete the questionnaire or said they were interested and willing but unable to do so. I also felt that there were substantial qualitative differences in the questionnaire responses that I was unable to quantify reliably. In addition, my curiosity was not satisfied by the written questionnaire data. I continued to wonder if there were differences in individual attitudes and feelings toward objects that I was not tapping by my methods of subject selection and data collection. Therefore, I began informal interviewing of people who seemed to represent extreme differences in their relationships to non-living objects. Since it is more difficult to protect the anonymity of these personally selected subjects, I include demographics only when relevant and use this information selectively to introduce and order presentation of the questionnaire data.

III. OBJECTS

In the first study, 79 subjects listed 951 objects. The 49 females described 659 objects for a mean of 13.4. The 30 males described 292 objects for a mean of 9.7. The minimum number of objects described by women is 2, the maximum is 45; the minimum for males is 3, the maximum 38. See table 1.

TABLE 1

FREQUENCY OF OBJECTS BY SEX FIRST STUDY OBJECTS

SEX	NUMBER OF SUBJECTS	PERCENT OF SUBJECTS	NUMBER OF OBJECTS	PERCENT OF OBJECTS	MEAN
FEMALE	49	63%	659	69%	13.4
MALE	30	37%	292	31%	9.7
TOTAL	79	100%	951	100%	11.6

In the second study, 129 subjects described 187 especially liked objects. The 75 females described 111 objects for a mean of 1.50; the 54 males described 77 objects for a mean of 1.38. Both females and males described a minimum of 1 object and a maximum of 4. See table 2.

Of these 129 subjects, 70 chose to describe feared objects. Of the 75 women, 42 described feared objects; of the 54 men, 28

TABLE 2

FREQUENCY OF OBJECTS BY SEX
SECOND STUDY LIKED OBJECTS

SEX	NUMBER OF SUBJECTS	PERCENT OF SUBJECTS	NUMBER OF OBJECTS	PERCENT OF OBJECTS	MEAN
FEMALE	75	58%	111	59%	1.48
MALE	54	42%	76	41%	1.41
TOTAL	129	100%	187	100%	1.45

did so. Women described a minimum of 1 and a maximum of 4 objects; men described a minimum of 1 and a maximum of 3. Females described significantly more feared objects (.05). See table 3.

TABLE 3

FREQUENCY OF OBJECTS BY SEX
SECOND STUDY FEARED OBJECTS

SEX	NUMBER OF SUBJECTS	PERCENT OF SUBJECTS	NUMBER OF OBJECTS	PERCENT OF OBJECTS	MEAN
FEMALE	42	60%	64	65%	1.52*
MALE	28	40%	34	35%	1.21*
TOTAL	70	100%	98	100%	1.39

* Difference sig at the .05 level

In the first study questionnaire responses, names of objects were usually clearly designated; they were often set apart in a separate section or paragraph and were sometimes underlined. However, a few subjects embedded the name of the object in a long story of their lives. These questionnaires were much more difficult to code. Therefore, (as described in section II. Procedures and Subjects) second study subjects were asked to

make this distinction clear by completing a separate sheet for each object. In the first study, object category inter-coder reliability was 98.2%; in the second study it was 100%.

In the first study 79 subjects listed a total of 951 objects. These objects were grouped into 39 categories. In the second study, 129 subjects list a total of 187 liked objects. These were easily coded into the categories developed for the first study. When the 98 especially feared objects were coded, it was necessary to add 7 new categories to make a total of 46.

In order to have one comprehensive index of object categories, the 46 object categories identified in both studies are combined below. They are defined by a representative sample of objects and are listed in the order of frequency found in the first study. In the broader categories, significant sex differences are included in the tables; in the subcategories, significance is marked with a * for the .05 level and ** for the .01 level.

For conceptual interest, these objects are grouped into broader sets. The first two major categories are cultural artifacts and natural objects and phenomena. Since the purpose of this study is to document range and diversity, a third category was established to include the response of one woman who said that nothing was important to her for two entire periods of her life.

A. CULTURAL ARTIFACTS

This category contains all those things made or significantly processed by people, in opposition to those things

continuing in their natural state or form. Cultural artifacts are grouped to range in distance from the person: from personal objects to objects that are part of the home environment to those that are part of the wider world outside the home.

1. PERSONAL OBJECTS

Personal Objects are those things that are most intimately and directly related to the subject as an individual. Personal objects are of three types: things from childhood, objects of personal enhancement, and mementos. These personal objects are significantly more important to women of both studies when they describe liked objects. There are no significant sex differences in relation to feared personal objects. See table 4.

TABLE 4
PERSONAL OBJECTS
FREQUENCIES BY SEX BY STUDY

STUDY	FEMALE FREQUENCY	MALE FREQUENCY	TOTAL	SIG
First	335	70	405	.0001
Second, liked	72	28	100	.0005
Second, feared	6	6	12	NS

a. Things from Childhood

Personal objects that are especially important in childhood are dolls, toys, stuffed animals, blankets, and baby bottles. In both studies, women list significantly more of these especially liked objects of childhood; however, there is no significant sex difference in the number of feared childhood objects listed. See table 5.

1). Dolls

Many kinds of dolls are described: baby dolls, rag dolls, a Mary Poppins doll, dolls in foreign costumes. The one male listing a doll describes a male doll, a Johnnie Doll.

STUDY	FEMALES	MALES	TOTAL
First	33	0	33*
Second, liked	14	1	15
Second, feared	1	0	1

2). Toys

A wide range of toys are listed: cars, trucks, doll houses, kitchen sets, jack-in-the-box, balloons.

STUDY	FEMALES	MALES	TOTAL
First	17	16	33
Second, liked	6	8	14
Second, feared	2	4	6

3). Stuffed animals

These include bears, elephants, monkeys, rabbits, alligators, and many others.

STUDY	FEMALES	MALES	TOTAL
First	26	6	32
Second, liked	19	9	28
Second, feared	0	2	2

4). Blankets

Along with blankets are also included a few quilts and one pillow.

STUDY	FEMALES	MALES	TOTAL
First	12	2	14
Second, liked	11	3	14
Second, feared	0	0	0

5). Baby bottles

Here are listed two baby bottles and one pacifier.

STUDY	FEMALES	MALES	TOTAL
First	1	0	1
Second, liked	2	0	2
Second, feared	0	0	0

TABLE 5

PERSONAL OBJECTS: THINGS FROM CHILDHOOD
FREQUENCIES BY SEX BY STUDY

STUDY	FEMALE FREQUENCY	MALE FREQUENCY	TOTAL	SIG
First	89	24	113	.05
Second, liked	52	21	73	.005
Second, feared	3	6	9	NS

b. Personal Enhancement

Objects of personal enhancement include jewelry, clothing, corsages, costumes, prostheses, and cosmetics. In the first study, significantly more females than males describe these objects. There are no significant sex differences in the second study in relation to objects of personal enhancement either liked or feared. See table 6.

TABLE 6

PERSONAL OBJECTS: PERSONAL ENHANCEMENT
FREQUENCIES BY SEX BY STUDY

STUDY	FEMALE FREQUENCY	MALE FREQUENCY	TOTAL	SIG
First	124	23	147	.0001
Second, liked	15	6	21	NS
Second, feared	3	0	3	NS

1). Jewelry

Jewelry includes rings, necklaces, chains, school rings; rhinestone studded sun glasses are also included here.

STUDY	FEMALES	MALES	TOTAL
First	65	14	79*
Second, liked	8	3	11
Second, feared	0	0	0

2). Clothing

These include dresses, jackets, hats, shoes, robes, prom

dresses; the one feared piece of clothing was a purple dress.

STUDY	FEMALES	MALES	TOTAL
First	46	7	53*
Second, liked	7	3	10
Second, feared	1	0	1

3). Corsages

This category includes arranged, cut, or dried flowers; naturally growing flowers are placed in the natural environment under the plant category.

STUDY	FEMALES	MALES	TOTAL
First	8	1	9
Second, liked	0	0	0
Second, feared	0	0	0

4). Costumes

Liked costumes are uniforms and a concert gown of required design. The feared object is a rubber halloween mask.

STUDY	FEMALES	MALES	TOTAL
First	3	0	3
Second, liked	0	0	0
Second, feared	1	0	1

5). Prostheses

These are a dental retainer and contact lenses; the feared prosthesis is a leg brace.

STUDY	FEMALES	MALES	TOTAL
First	1	1	2
Second, liked	0	0	0
Second, feared	1	0	1

6). Cosmetics

One woman describes painting her face with her mother's cosmetics when she was 5 years old.

STUDY	FEMALES	MALES	TOTAL
First	1	0	1
Second, liked	0	0	0
Second, feared	0	0	0

c. Momentos

Momentos include personal printed material, souvenirs, photographs and special containers. These are significantly more important to women of the first study. See table 7.

TABLE 7

PERSONAL OBJECTS: MOMENTOS
FREQUENCIES BY SEX BY STUDY

STUDY	FEMALE FREQUENCY	MALE FREQUENCY	TOTAL	SIG
First	122	23	145	.005
Second, liked	5	1	6	NS
Second, feared	0	0	0	

1). Personal Printed Material

These are hand written material of a personal nature as opposed to printed material available to anyone; these are letters, notes passed in school, diaries, baby books.

STUDY	FEMALES	MALES	TOTAL
First	54	8	62*
Second, liked	3	1	4
Second, feared	0	0	0

2). Souvenirs

These include ticket stubs, matchbooks, restaurant menus, programs; also included are collections of china cats from various places and baseball cards.

STUDY	FEMALES	MALES	TOTAL
First	32	8	40*
Second, liked	0	0	0
Second, feared	0	0	0

3). Photographs

This category includes all photographs; portrait paintings are included in objects of the home environment under art.

STUDY	FEMALES	MALES	TOTAL
First	19	5	24
Second, liked	0	0	0
Second, feared	0	0	0

4). Containers

These are assorted bottles and boxes.

STUDY	FEMALES	MALES	TOTAL
First	17	2	19
Second, liked	2	0	2
Second, feared	0	0	0

2. HOME ENVIRONMENT OBJECTS

These home environment objects include furniture, art, interior places, stereos, furnishings, tools and appliances, kitchen utensils and foods, and T.V.s and radios.

There are no significant sex differences in relation to liked objects of the home in either study; however, men fear significantly more things in the home. See table 8.

TABLE 8

HOME ENVIRONMENT OBJECTS
FREQUENCIES BY SEX BY STUDY

STUDY	FEMALE FREQUENCY	MALE FREQUENCY	TOTAL	SIG
First	159	58	215	.0001
Second, liked	9	5	14	.0005
Second, feared	7	11	18	NS

a. Furniture

These are tables, desks, beds, mirrors, a drafting table, a rocking chair; smaller furnishings like lamps, drapes and rugs are included in the category by that name.

STUDY	FEMALES	MALES	TOTAL
First	44	7	51*
Second, liked	2	1	3
Second, feared	0	0	0

b. Art

Here are included sculpture, paintings, and drawings done by ordinary people as well as by recognized artists; also vases displayed as art rather than described as a container. The one feared art object is a painting.

STUDY	FEMALES	MALES	TOTAL
First	36	9	45
Second, liked	3	2	5
Second, feared	0	1	1

c. House interior

Here are described stairs, fireplaces, banisters, bedrooms, halls, attics.

STUDY	FEMALES	MALES	TOTAL
First	27	12	39
Second, liked	3	1	4
Second, feared	2	5	7

d. Stereo

Here are included stereos and record players; also included are albums and general descriptions of listening to music.

STUDY	FEMALES	MALES	TOTAL
First	19	11	30
Second, liked	1	0	1
Second, feared	0	0	0

e. Furnishings

Here are all furnishings like rugs, clocks, candleholders, and lamps.

STUDY	FEMALES	MALES	TOTAL
First	13	7	20
Second, liked	0	0	0
Second, feared	0	0	0

f. Tools and appliances

Here are wood working tools, a curling iron, a vacuum cleaner, the furnace.

STUDY	FEMALES	MALES	TOTAL
First	9	5	14
Second, liked	0	1	1
Second, feared	4	0	4

g. Kitchen utensils and foods

Here are grouped wooden spoons, knives, french toast, and food in general.

STUDY	FEMALES	MALES	TOTAL
First	6	3	9
Second, liked	0	0	0
Second, feared	1	5	5

h. T.V. and Radio

Here are T.V.s and radio adventure stories.

STUDY	FEMALES	MALES	TOTAL
First	3	4	7
Second, liked	0	0	0
Second, feared	0	0	0

3. WIDER WORLD OBJECTS

When we extend our range from the personal to the home environment to the cultural artifacts of the wider world, we find a reversal in the proportion of objects listed by men and women. Men list significantly more liked objects of the wider world environment. See table 9.

Included here are vehicles, cultural ideas, sports, outside places, trophies, musical instruments, socializing, guns, money and working for pay, alcohol and drugs, and cameras.

TABLE 9

WIDER WORLD OBJECTS
FREQUENCIES BY SEX BY STUDY

STUDY	FEMALE FREQUENCY	MALE FREQUENCY	TOTAL	SIG
First	115	128	243	.005
Second, liked	13	33	46	.0001
Second, feared	12	5	17	NS

a. Vehicles

Here are grouped all kinds of vehicles: cars, vans, bikes, motorcycles, wagons, a travel trailer.

STUDY	FEMALES	MALES	TOTAL
First	31	35	67
Second, liked	8	14	22
Second, feared	7	2	9

b. Cultural ideas

Here are all public printed materials: books, magazines, newspaper clippings; also included are learning and knowledge. Four feared object descriptions are designated as cultural beliefs and included here. One of these was a "Boogie Man", another was a "Witch . . . who was very small and dressed in black with a traditional witch costume and rode on a broom in the corner of my room. She would ride from corner to corner on my ceiling and would laugh a horrible laugh."

Two other descriptions that had to do with cultural expectations and social stigma were included here. One was listed as "Failure". That subject says he "was a loner never finding pleasure in doing what everyone else was doing just to be accepted" and that "people always put me down".

The last had to do with the "power of the landlord" that kept his parents from putting his new swimming pool on the grass

where the other children had theirs so that it "got torn by the roughness of the pavement".

STUDY	FEMALES	MALES	TOTAL
First	31	17	48
Second, liked	0	2	2
Second, feared	2	2	4

c. Sports

Here are included both the activity of playing the sport and the objects involved; baseball, golf, track, and football as well as the balls, bats, and gloves used in such play.

STUDY	FEMALES	MALES	TOTAL
First	8	29	37*
Second, liked	0	4	4
Second, feared	0	0	0

d. Outside places

Here are playgrounds, tunnels, viaducts, adjacent apartment buildings, yards, porches; also included here is the house described from the exterior view.

STUDY	FEMALES	MALES	TOTAL
First	11	13	24
Second, liked	1	5	6
Second, feared	2	1	3

e. Trophies

Here are grouped all three dimensional figures as well as other rewards for achievement such as high school letter jackets, diplomas and certificates.

STUDY	FEMALES	MALES	TOTAL
First	10	11	21
Second, liked	0	2	2
Second, feared	0	0	0

f. Musical instruments

Clarinet, trumpet, piano and other such instruments; they

are included in the wider world category because they were played in school bands and orchestras.

STUDY	FEMALES	MALES	TOTAL
First	12	3	15
Second, liked	2	0	2
Second, feared	0	0	0

g. Socializing

Here are grouped such social activities as dating, meeting with friends, and dancing.

STUDY	FEMALES	MALES	TOTAL
First	5	4	9
Second, liked	0	0	0
Second, feared	0	0	0

h. Guns

Here are BB guns, rifles, and shot guns; toy guns are grouped with toys.

STUDY	FEMALES	MALES	TOTAL
First	0	9	9
Second, liked	0	5	5
Second, feared	0	0	0

i. Money, working

Here are all references to money in general as well as working for pay.

STUDY	FEMALES	MALES	TOTAL
First	6	2	8
Second, liked	0	0	0
Second, feared	0	0	0

j. Alcohol and drugs

In the first study, pot, beer and wine are liked; in the second study, drugs are feared.

STUDY	FEMALES	MALES	TOTAL
First	0	3	3
Second, liked	0	0	0
Second, feared	1	0	1

k. Cameras, telescope

Here are all cameras and one telescope.

STUDY	FEMALES	MALES	TOTAL
First	1	2	3
Second, liked	2	1	3
Second, feared	0	0	0

B. NATURAL ENVIRONMENT OBJECTS

In contrast to these categories of cultural artifacts, subjects also described aspects of the natural environment. Especially liked objects of the natural environment show no significant sex differences; however, women fear significantly more of these objects. See table 10. The natural environment is grouped into two main categories: living creatures and natural objects and phenomena.

TABLE 10

NATURAL ENVIRONMENT OBJECTS
FREQUENCIES BY SEX BY STUDY

STUDY	FEMALE FREQUENCY	MALE FREQUENCY	TOTAL	SIG
First	48	36	84	NS
Second, liked	17	10	27	NS
Second, feared	39	12	51	.05

1. LIVING CREATURES

Living creatures group into 5 categories: animals, people, own body, insects and bees, and reptiles. See table 11.

a. Animals

Subjects insisted on including their pets as especially liked objects; they list dogs, cats, a rat, a rabbit, a horse, a bird, and a lamb. Animals feared are dogs, cats, rodents, and

TABLE 11

NATURAL ENVIRONMENT OBJECTS: LIVING CREATURES
 FREQUENCIES BY SEX BY STUDY

STUDY	FEMALE FREQUENCY	MALE FREQUENCY	TOTAL	SIG
First	30	19	49	NS
Second, liked	15	9	24	NS
Second, feared	23	8	31	NS

dead animals, either hung on the wall as a trophy or lying in the streets.

STUDY	FEMALES	MALES	TOTAL
First	26	11	37
Second, liked	15	8	23
Second, feared	9	3	12

b. People

All subjects were explicitly told not to include people as objects. In spite of this emphasis, 8 men in the first study listed women as liked objects; no women listed men.

In the second study one man listed a woman as an especially liked object. Eight people are listed as feared. People feared are fathers, an oral surgeon, boys in general and people in general. All of the people listed earlier as especially liked were women and they were listed by men. But here we find only one male listing a person as feared; this was a feared father. The other feared people were listed by females. They fear either males or people in general.

STUDY	FEMALES	MALES	TOTAL
First	0	8	8
Second, liked	0	1	1
Second, feared	7	1	8

c. Own Body

Four subjects of the first study listed parts of their own

bodies as objects: boobs, thumb, appearance, and looks. These were all women.

STUDY	FEMALES	MALES	TOTAL
First	4	0	4
Second, liked	0	0	0
Second, feared	0	0	0

d. Insects and Bees

No insects were liked in either study, but cockroaches, bees, wasps, and bugs were listed as feared.

STUDY	FEMALES	MALES	TOTAL
First	0	0	0
Second, liked	0	0	0
Second, feared	4	2	6

e. Reptiles and water creatures

Snakes, leeches, and lobster were listed as feared by subjects of the second study.

STUDY	FEMALES	MALES	TOTAL
First	0	0	0
Second, liked	0	0	0
Second, feared	3	2	5

2. NATURAL OBJECTS AND PHENOMENA

The natural phenomena group into 7 categories: plants, times and seasons, water, darkness, death, storms, and height. See table 12.

TABLE 12

NATURAL ENVIRONMENT OBJECTS: NATURAL OBJECTS AND PHENOMENA
FREQUENCIES BY SEX BY STUDY

STUDY	FEMALE FREQUENCY	MALE FREQUENCY	TOTAL	SIG
First	18	17	35	NS
Second, liked	2	1	3	NS
Second, feared	16	4	20	NS

a. Plants

In the first study, trees and growing plants are listed as especially liked. In the second study, a woman describes saving a branch of an evergreen tree and another woman tells how important her plants are to her; but two other women describe fearing tomato plants grown wild in the backyard and the botanial gardens.

STUDY	FEMALES	MALES	TOTAL
First	16	11	27
Second, liked	2	0	2
Second, feared	2	0	2

b. Times and seasons

In the first study, times of day and seasons of the year are described as special: night time, early morning, winter, spring, summer, fall. In the second study a man writes of the beauty of the night skies in winter.

STUDY	FEMALES	MALES	TOTAL
First	2	6	8
Second, liked	0	1	1
Second, feared	0	0	0

c. Water

Noone in either study lists bodies of water: lakes or the sea, as especially liked; but five people fear these bodies of water.

STUDY	FEMALES	MALES	TOTAL
First	0	0	0
Second, liked	0	0	0
Second, feared	3	2	5

d. Darkness

Four people fear darkness.

STUDY	FEMALES	MALES	TOTAL
First	0	0	0
Second, liked	0	0	0
Second, feared	3	1	4

e. Death

Four women describe fearing death and dead people as seen in funerals and wakes.

STUDY	FEMALES	MALES	TOTAL
First	0	0	0
Second, liked	0	0	0
Second, feared	4	0	4

f. Storms

Three women fear storms, thunder and wind.

STUDY	FEMALES	MALES	TOTAL
First	0	0	0
Second, liked	0	0	0
Second, feared	3	0	3

g. Height

Two people fear height, one woman and one man.

STUDY	FEMALES	MALES	TOTAL
First	0	0	0
Second, liked	0	0	0
Second, feared	1	1	2

To summarize these findings, I include the following comparison tables. We find women of the first study listing significantly more personal objects and men listing significantly more objects of the wider world. See table 13.

When we look at the rank ordering by sexes, we find women listing things in this order:

Personal Objects
 Home Environment Objects
 Wider World Objects
 Natural Environment Objects

Rank order for men is different:

Wider World Objects
 Personal Objects
 Home Environment Objects
 Natural Environment Objects

TABLE 13

FIRST STUDY OBJECTS
 RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN OBJECT CATEGORY AND SEX OF SUBJECT

OBJECT CATEGORY	FEMALE FREQUENCY	MEAN	MALE FREQUENCY	MEAN	TOTAL FREQUENCY	SIG
PERSONAL	335	6.84	70	2.33	405	.0001
HOME	159	3.24	58	1.93	217	NS
WORLD	115	2.34	128	4.27	243	.005
NATURE	48	.98	36	1.20	84	NS
TOTALS	659	13.40	292	9.73	951	NS

We find a similar pattern in the second study. Women list significantly more personal objects; men list significantly more objects of the wider world. See table 14.

In rank order, women list things in this order:

Personal Objects
 Natural Environment Objects
 Wider World Objects
 Home Environment Objects

This is the rank order for men:

Wider World Objects
 Personal Objects
 Natural Environment Objects
 Home Environment Objects

When we look at the feared objects, we find women fearing significantly more objects in the natural environment, and men fearing significantly more objects in the home. See table 15.

Women fear things in this order:

Natural Environment Objects
 Wider World Objects
 Home Environment Objects
 Personal Objects

Men fear things in this order:

Natural Environment Objects
 Home Environment Objects
 Personal Objects
 Wider World Objects

When we compare the object category frequencies for liked objects with those for feared objects in the second study, we find that personal objects are most frequently liked, while natural objects are most frequently feared. See table 16.

TABLE 14

SECOND STUDY LIKED OBJECTS
 RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN OBJECT CATEGORY AND SEX OF SUBJECT

OBJECT CATEGORY	FEMALE FREQUENCY	FEMALE MEAN	MALE FREQUENCY	MALE MEAN	TOTAL FREQUENCY	SIG
PERSONAL	72	.97	28	.51	100	.0005
HOME	9	.12	5	.09	14	NS
WORLD	13	.18	33	.60	46	.0001
NATURE	17	.23	10	.18	27	NS
TOTALS	111	1.50	76	1.38	187	NS

TABLE 15

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN OBJECT CATEGORY AND SEX OF SUBJECT
 THE SECOND STUDY: FEARED OBJECTS

OBJECT CATEGORY	FEMALE FREQUENCY	FEMALE MEAN	MALE FREQUENCY	MALE MEAN	TOTAL FREQUENCY	SIG
PERSONAL	6	.14	6	.21	12	NS
HOME	7	.17	11	.39	18	.05
WORLD	12	.29	5	.18	17	NS
NATURE	39	.93	12	.43	51	.05
TOTALS	64	1.53	34	1.21	98	.05

TABLE 16

OBJECT CATEGORY COMPARISONS BY PERCENT
SECOND STUDY LIKED AND FEARED OBJECTS

OBJECT CATEGORY	LIKED OBJECTS		FEARED OBJECTS	
	FREQUENCY	%	FREQUENCY	%
PERSONAL	100	53%	12	12%
HOME	14	8%	18	19%
WORLD	46	25%	17	17%
NATURE	27	14%	51	52%
TOTALS	187	100%	98	100%

When we group the three types of cultural artifacts together, we find that 86% of the liked objects are cultural artifacts and only 14% are natural objects. Of the feared objects, only 48% are cultural artifacts and 52% are natural objects. See table 17.

TABLE 17

CULTURAL AND NATURAL OBJECT CATEGORY COMPARISON BY PERCENT
SECOND STUDY LIKED AND FEARED OBJECTS

OBJECT CATEGORY	LIKED OBJECTS		FEARED OBJECTS	
	FREQUENCY	%	FREQUENCY	%
CULTURAL	160	86%	47	48%
NATURAL	27	14%	51	52%
TOTALS	187	100%	98	100%

C. NOTHING

The purpose of this study is to document range and diversity. One woman in the first study stated so explicitly that nothing was important to her for two entire period of her life, that I include it as a category. I quote her entire questionnaire:

(CHILDHOOD)

Thinking back as far as I can remember, I can't recall any object or thing in my environment that was special to me when I was a child. My child life was quite different when I really sit down and think about it or compare it to other people's child life. Everything I wished for I could never have and always had to settle for something else which didn't quite mean the same thing.

I didn't have a child life to remember. I regret the way it was, all I heard was, "Just be thankful you have a little food to eat, clothes to wear, and a place to lay your head."

Probably if I did get an object that I really wanted I would have cherished it, but a substitute is just not the same.

(SINCE CHILDHOOD)

This component set with amplifier, turn table, and dual speakers. This set meant a great deal to me because I worked hard to earn the money so that I could buy it. This may sound strange, but music takes its place in my heritage. I had all the latest records.

When I got married, I saw my set and records being abused and misused. I lost a great deal of interest in the set after that. I started noticing that the set wasn't working like it use to. I was disturbed no end because who was to blame. The dog messed up all my records. I hate to see anything messed up unnecessarily. I got an attitude about the set because it wouldn't have made sense to bitch about it because no one would have understood. Sometimes when I look at it--it seems to say, "Why did you let this happen to me, you use to take such good care of me."

I held it all in but really I hated it to no end. Deep down I was hurt, but didn't want to reveal my feelings because it would have been just hopeless. It was like being up against the wall.

My car, I lost meaning for it after I got married, (I have a very distruction husband) The old saying that women don't know anything about cars, but if cars could talk.

My relationship between the car, my husband and me is uncommunicable, because I don't know nothing about cars let him tell it. But there is one thing I know, when I was taking care of it the situation was handled quite differently (running very smooth) now it runs like a malnutrition person.

Money with a capital "M". I am no longer employed, leaving me with zero dollars. Need I say more? Money speaks for itself and in my life it hasn't been saying a word, not even making a whimper. It leaves me in silence.

(TODAY)

Today, I don't have nothing which is especially important to me. Everything that I have could go up in smoke and it wouldn't be nothing lost. That's because I have nothing that I want.

Dreams, I have dreams that are very special to me having a great deal of meaning. But I'm one to believe that the white man has taken everything we (Blacks) have or have had, and will steal our dreams. So I don't care to mention anymore about dreams.

IV. THE EXPERIENCE OF MEANING

The object categories presented in the last section were relatively easy to distinguish. However, the rest of the content of the questionnaires was much more difficult to understand. Three researchers started the content analysis. When two of these dropped out, six graduate students continued the task. For the final reliability coding, another researcher who had not seen the data during these transitional stages was trained. Overall agreement with this final coder was 88.8 %.

The assumption was made that these descriptions and stories about the objects contain the details of their meanings. There seemed to be no adequate basis for making a distinction between description, reason, and meaning since in some cases the description is clearly also the reason for its significance: "The sheen of the brass was beautiful", "I was fascinated by the bright red color." Therefore, the terms "descriptor", "reason", and "meaning" are used interchangeably. However, I do find it convenient to use "descriptor" for brief terms and "reason" or "meaning" for the longer stories.

The attempt to code the number of times a category was used was not successful. It was easy to code objective descriptors

like "big", "green", "wooden", but when the meanings were told in the form of personal experiences it was impossible to distinguish reliably where one story ended and another began. Therefore, the use of a reason category means only that that category was used at least once. There are no frequency counts of the number of times a single reason category was used in reference to the one particular object being described. Nor were these reason categories mutually exclusive; an object may be special for any number of reasons.

Other information was provided that lent emphasis to the reasons stated but proved impossible to code within the scale of this study. This included the use of repetition, spacing, blank space, punctuation, contrast in size and type of writing, and drawings.

In the first stage of analysis, we established over a hundred separate meaning categories; these were gradually collapsed into 56 categories. As the data were being coded, I had the increasing sense that some significant discriminations were being eliminated in order to achieve reliability. For this reason, I continued to investigate the same general questions in a different form and with a different set of subjects. I decided to focus, not on average people, but on extreme cases. First, I selected artists because I expected them to be especially aware of the meanings of objects and materials since they manipulate these in their work. I also talked extensively with other people who appeared to have extreme attitudes toward non-living objects.

The first of these informal interviews was with a collage

artist who said that he was interested in the study but was unable to answer the questionnaire; he said that no objects were special to him, that nothing was more important to him than anything else. He seemed to be quite sensitive to the qualities and features of things: light, color, texture, shape; but instead of being able to put these meanings into words, he appeared to reflect on them deeply and then manipulate the things themselves in his work.

Sharing informal walks through town and hikes in the country made communication easier, more dependent on observations and on non-verbal cues than on words. Through our extreme differences, I became increasingly aware of the subjective nature of my own experience of things. I discovered that I carry with me an inner image, an expectation into which I continually attempted to fit my perceptions. I found that this took energy and that I was irritated by the things that didn't fit. Broken glass, candy wrappers, and aluminum pull-tabs on the trail annoyed me; he was fascinated by the colors, shapes, and reflected light. I mentally removed the things I didn't like seeing: garbage dumps, power lines, and "trashy" signs; he enjoyed any unusual juxtaposition of forms. I internally "redesigned" the environment, trying to bring it into closer correspondence to my pre-existent inner image; he seemed to simply accept, absorb, and delight in whatever was.

What I learned in these dialogues, I used in developing an interview form that focused on the qualities of things rather

than on the meaning of the object as a whole. I used these questions to interview another artist, a painter. This time the form of the questions fit the experience of the subject; she seemed delighted to talk for hours and added rich detail to all my questions.

I then used the same format to interview the man she lives with and drew a blank. He was unable to answer one of the questions but for reasons completely different from those of the collage artist. At this time, I decided to continue informal interviews with people indicating extreme attitudes toward non-living objects, but to make no attempt to develop a uniform set of questions nor to quantify the responses.

At this point I also searched the literature for theoretical explanations to account for the extreme differences that I found between these interview subjects and between the responses of these subjects and my own subjective experience. I found comments from artists, critics, psychologists and philosophers about the meaning of objects and materials but each wrote only from his own personal perspective assuming that this was the reality of the phenomena. Only in the work of C. G. Jung did I find a theory comprehensive enough to include each of the extremely different perspectives represented by these interview subjects as well as a framework within which to examine the assumption that each one's own point of view represents reality.

Jung's concepts that I find the most useful are the attitude types of extroversion and introversion, the four functions of thinking, sensing, feeling and intuiting, and the

notion of compensation. See section I. Development of the Study.

Jung identifies two radically different attitudes toward objects that he calls introversion and extroversion: to the extreme introvert, meaning is assumed to be an aspect of subjective experience; to the extreme extrovert meaning is assumed to be a quality given in the object. The meaning of things includes both subjective and objective aspects, and to people in the mid-range of an introversion-extroversion continuum, meaning is experienced as an integration of the two attitudes. Examples of extreme introversion and extroversion are demonstrated by brief characterizations of representative interview subjects and by quotations from the data when apparent. However, most questionnaire responses fall in the mid-range of this continuum.

The second set of categories developed by Jung that are especially useful for this study are the four functions through which people process experience: thinking, sensing, feeling, and intuiting. Thinking involves the abstraction of concepts from individual instances and the organization of these abstract concepts into systems of relations. Sensing involves the perception of signals through the visual, auditory, olfactory/taste, kinesthetic and proprioceptive channels. Feeling involves the differentiation of sensations and affects and organization of these into hierarchies of value. Intuiting involves the construction of wholes out of incomplete parts.

Jung describes thinking and feeling as rational functions

since they involve differentiation and ordering. He sees these two functions as mutually exclusive in-the-moment because one must rule out hierarchies of value to consider abstract systems of relations.

He describes sensing and intuiting as irrational functions since they involve perception and construction rather than differentiation and ordering. These two functions he also sees as mutually exclusive, as alternative modes of experience. One must dismiss the specific sensation of the moment in order to focus attention on that which is not now present to sensation, to intuit that which is absent.

People differ in which one of these functions is dominant and the dominant function can be introverted or extroverted. Usually the dominant mode is apparent at an early age and some people maintain this dominance throughout their lives; other people feel a need to progressively develop and integrate their other functions as well.

Jung believes that people can integrate three functions while maintaining their habitual adaptation, but that the integration of the fourth is qualitatively different and requires a radical alteration of these habitual patterns. The first three functions can be developed on a continuum but integration of the fourth, the inferior function, involves radical transformation.

The 56 meaning categories derived from content analysis were first grouped into logical sets: associative, objective, interactive, affective, evaluative, anticipations, and imaginations. I then realized that these consisted of four

broader groups each of which is experienced through one of the four functions: thinking, sensing, feeling, and intuiting. Associative meanings are experienced through thinking. Objective qualities of things and our bodily interactions with them are perceived through the senses. Affective attachments to things and the evaluation of these attachments into hierarchies of importance are discriminations of meaning facilitated through the feeling function. Anticipations of future meanings and imaginations of potential meanings are experienced through the function of intuition. I use these four functions to organize the reason category findings.

Jung also believes that when a person excludes a significant proportion of potential experience from awareness, an unconscious compensation becomes operative as part of the self regulating system of the psyche. One's conscious attitude is apparent in what one chooses to do, think, feel, etc.; unconscious compensation is what happens to one without conscious intention as demonstrated in dreams, slips of the tongue, fantasies, accidents, etc. These compensations usually operate outside of the conscious awareness of the subject and therefore are not part of the intentional data of this study. However, they may appear in the data as incongruent, apparently irrelevant or contradictory material. I include quotations that suggest some of these varying levels of awareness.

I use these concepts of Jung's for several reasons: they help systematize diverse findings into a framework that not only

covers the full range of data contained in the questionnaire responses but also includes dimensions found in the informal interviews with people unable to complete the questionnaire. Because Jung's typology is more comprehensive than any one subjective point of view, organization of the findings in this form encourages research into as yet undocumented dimensions of experience.

I prefer his concepts to a logically derived category system of my own because they have been empirically developed out of his lifetime of observations and investigations of differences between people. He observed these differences in individual clients and also investigated evidence of these differences in artifacts of the physical environment: art, architecture, and historical documents. I find it satisfying that he demonstrates his concepts in observed human experience, thus anchoring them in physical objects and bodies as well as in minds.

I present characterizations from the informal interviews because they represent extreme cases of trends already present in the questionnaire data but difficult to reliably quantify and because the format of the questionnaire tends to eliminate all but mid-range responses. For ease in referring to these people, I give them names that are not their own; to protect their anonymity, I provide demographic information only when relevant. Next, I briefly introduce five interview subjects; later, I use them to illustrate differences in the meaning category findings.

A. EXTREME DIFFERENCES IN EXPERIENCE
OF MEANING: INFORMAL INTERVIEWS

1. COLLAGE ARTIST

When I asked an artist, Perry, to complete the original questionnaire form, he said he was unable to answer the questions but was willing to try to tell me why. To Perry nothing was special, nothing was more important to him than anything else, nothing stood out. He recalled a childhood awareness of everything around him: mountains, trees, houses, people, cars, as variously colored shapes on a flat surface. He described experiencing the choice of focusing on the form, on the edges between the forms, or on the pattern of the whole.

When pressed for more details, he recalled as a child of about 7 years of age being so fascinated with the shiny black surface of his father's shoes that he did could not hear what he was being told.

His live-in studio seemed to correspond to his view of the world. There were no apparent conventional distinctions between things. Fragments of colored glass, dirty dishes, melted wax, books, socks, tree branches, buttons, tools, and other objects, both recognizable and unrecognizable, were randomly distributed over all available surfaces. Seashells, bits of colored glass, and beads were glued to areas of the window panes and also adhered to the sills and shelves where glue had dripped.

When asked if there was a meaningful order to this collection, he replied that a home should look like the inside of a boy's pockets. I later watched him pack to move to a new place

and the boxes were packed according to an order that I could only call spatial contiguity rather than the more conventional categories of things like clothing, cooking utensils, or books. Apparently random collections of things from one corner of the floor, things from the table, things from the shelves were packed in separate boxes.

His art at that time consisted of unusual juxtapositions of materials and fragments of objects set into shallow, meticulously constructed wooden boxes. Out of conversations with Perry and observations of his work, I developed an interview form that focused on the qualities of things rather than on the meaning of the object as a whole.

2. PAINTER OF ABSTRACT FORMS

My first interview to test the interview form was with Dorothy, a painter who works on large canvases in abstract, multi-colored shapes; she has also done weaving, wall hangings and various other crafts.

The interview form worked beautifully. Dorothy responded by showing me through her home and studio describing everything in terms of light, color, form and material. She described her daily life in terms of the sensations experienced--her place at the breakfast table where the morning sun warmed her back, the changing patterns of the shadows cast by foliage and flowers as the light shifted from east to west across the skylight, the intense spray of color as the sunset glowed through stained glass, the texture of the hooked rug under the coffee table, the surfaces painted in muted blues and greens and grays, the natural

wood finishes. Her entire home was orderly and harmonious. Her unique and functional art surrounded and supported her daily life.

3. PHILOSOPHER

Ownership and responsibility for this home was shared with a man I call Paul. They have lived here for 6 years while she makes her art and he teaches Philosophy in the University. He returned at the end of my interview with Dorothy and expressed an intellectual interest in the study but said that he had no objects that were important to him now and could remember none in his childhood.

Since this was a familiar response from potential male subjects, I asked if he would be willing to talk more about this and we scheduled an interview for a time when he would be there alone so that Dorothy's exuberance would not influence his response.

Paul could not respond to any of the detailed questions about the material qualities of things. I asked him to show me through their home thinking I might pick up cues indicating things that are important to him even though he might not think to mention them, but he gave no signs of noticing the textures, colors and patterns described in such detail by Dorothy.

I asked where he spent his time and he indicated a black leather chair. I then commented on his library and extensive record collection and discovered that music is very important to him. Talk about music led into discussion of books and ideas; he told me that reading was all he could remember doing as a

child. Finally he recalled maps and toy soldiers which he set up and shifted to represent alternative battle strategies. He could not describe the soldiers in terms of color or material but recalled the hours spent thinking out various strategic maneuvers.

4. PAINTER OF THE FANTASTIC

I interviewed another artist whose work intrigued me. Although Louise occasionally did extremely realistic pencil drawings for commissions, most of her work contained an element of the uncanny, the fantastic. Chair arms clutched, tables grew feet, and windows sucked objects into space. The juxtaposition of the realistic and the bizarre in her paintings was fascinating and I hoped to learn more about her fantastic imaginations.

The interview, however, was disappointing; I could find no differences between her responses and those of many of the female subjects who answered the two questionnaires. She described dolls, things her grandmother gave her, things her husband gave her, things associated with her children, and a rather conventional range of household objects.

She showed me the studio she had established in an alcove off the living room, but only talked about her work in terms of the difficulty of getting time for it in the midst of the demands of her husband and children. I saw no sign of the part of her that sees and paints the wierd and the uncanny. There seemed to be no relationship between the unusual imagination apparent in her art and her everyday life. However, it is perhaps relevant

that she was divorced soon after the interview and radically changed her life style.

5. HOME DECORATOR

Another woman stood out as representing an extreme case of another trend apparent in the data. Holly had a perfect American dream home as pictured in home decorating magazines; she represented one ideal of conventional upper-middle-class taste.

Even though she was a single parent, worked full time and spent her money very carefully, a photographer could have illustrated a magazine with pictures taken in her home at any hour of the day or night. Curtained canopy bed, unused silver tea service beside it, dried flowers and clusters of colorful candles hanging from the ceiling beams, wall paper color coordinated with wall-to-wall carpet--from intimate detail to grand plan, her home appeared to be a series of illustrations for a home decorating magazine. Her home was a show piece.

This home and the things in it were of supreme importance to her. An ex-alcoholic, she says that caring for these things held her together during the blackest period of her life. Friday night was the most difficult time of her week; for years now she survived this time by cleaning and reordering the things in her home.

When she ventured out of her house to travel, she brought her home a gift on her return. Holly always spoke of herself in the third person, using her name "Holly" instead of "I" when referring to herself. One got the feeling that she, too, was a special object among the other special objects in her home.

The intensity of her feelings about her possessions made her guarded and defensive until she accepted that I appreciated their value to her. She agreed to complete my questionnaire if I really needed her to, but then begged off because she feared she would never be able to stop. Every object was dense with meaning, every arrangement of things was embedded in lengthy stories of significance.

She said that she knew her attachment to her house had "scared men away" and that she hoped this would change in the future. She talked of the courage it took to let her present lover see her home and said how important it was to her that he accept its value to her and value it as well. Many objects were described in terms of relative value, emphasizing what shops she bought them in, how long it took her to save for them, and how other people could have them, too, if they would just save like she did.

B. ORIENTATION TO OBJECTS: INTROVERTED OR EXTROVERTED

As I described earlier, the experience of meaning is fed from inner subjective factors as well as from sources present in the outer world. Objects can be experienced from a predominantly subjective or introverted point of view; they can also be experienced from a predominantly objective or extroverted perspective. From the subjective perspective, meaning is constructed according to the inner dictates of the experiencing subject; the internal determinants are the decisive ones. From the objective perspective, meaning is assumed to be given in the

world and is attributed to the object.

These distinctions provide insight into some of the extreme differences apparent in the interviews and in the questionnaire data. Both Perry and Dorothy were acutely sensitive to the sensual qualities of things. Perry collected things for the sole purpose of experiencing their qualities and manipulating them in his collages. He glued bits of colored glass on his windows and hung a prism in the sun because watching the play of multicolored light was important to him; he said that no objects were special to him because it was not the object, as such, that was important. Perry is introverted. It is his own internal subjective experience of the qualities of the things that is of supreme importance.

Dorothy also delights in the qualities of things, but Dorothy is extroverted, to her the object itself contains the meaning so she responds easily to questions about objects.

Introverts and extroverts differ in two other ways: use of language and adaptation to the dominant cultural values. Perry is introverted. He speaks very little. He says that people lie with words and that he only trusts his own experience. He finds that the experiences he values are not valued by the majority of people around him. He follows a different drummer: his own subjective experiences and values. He makes art but rarely shows or sells his work because he does not value the marketing skills required to accomplish this.

In contrast, Dorothy is extroverted. She speaks easily and

makes a comfortable living showing and selling her work. Because she is extroverted she accepts the meanings presented to her by the culture and adapts easily to the values of the collective.

American culture values extroversion; introversion is suspect. In a culture that valued unique, individual perception, Perry's contribution to art might be better received. But in the present extroverted, mass-marketing, American society, Perry works as a carpenter, makes his art in his spare time and lives like a hermit.

Examples of introverted and extroverted questionnaire responses similar to those of Perry and Dorothy, but not so extreme, are presented in the reason category findings as ranges of meaning within a single category.

C. RANGES IN LEVELS OF AWARENESS: PERSONAL AND COLLECTIVE

Awareness of awareness is a shifting phenomenon that operates within two distinct ranges, the personal and the collective. These levels of awareness are best demonstrated by examples from the questionnaire data.

1. LEVELS OF PERSONAL AWARENESS

The questionnaire data include some statements of direct personal awareness: "The car is important because my father gave it to me", and other statements that indicate less awareness: "I don't know why I have kept them all this time . . . but I just can't seem to throw the old things out" and "I have boxes and boxes of clothes saving them for what reason I don't know".

This next man's conscious awareness seems to be unaware of

the things that some other part of himself already valued and put into a special box: "I thought about this (the questionnaire) for five days and couldn't think of anything then I looked in front of me on my desk and saw my keepsake box."

In some stories there is a vague sense of contradiction as though two conflicting parts of the person that are unaware of each other are trying to tell the same story:

My mother gave me a doll for Christmas . . . I named her Erma, that's my mother's name. I remember Erma being blonde hair, pink body and blue eyes. I guess I loved her more than my other dolls and things because she was pale, and I thought she was not lucky or blessed in being brown. So since my mother gave me her, I thought it was my responsibility to love her more instead of rejecting her . . . Erma became my favorite doll. . . . As the years went by Erma's body got darker . . . I didn't love her less.

This man was aware of the contradiction but did not know the reason for it:

I must have some built up anger and took it out on the monkey. I had no real problems at home though . . . it was so cute and cuddly that I can't see why I hated it so much.

Notice the peculiar phrase "I can't still remember perfectly" in this next quotation:

Neither Sam nor Bozo liked strangers on the block with us children while we were playing. One day this black kid from a couple of blocks away come on our block on his bike. I can't still remember perfectly jumping rope in the middle of the street, and seeing Bozo chasing this black kid down the block and the kid was laughing all the way. Then the kid lead Bozo into the middle of the street where a car ran him over . . . maybe that's why I hate all black or foreign people.

This next woman writes 3,389 words of detailed description of 45 objects, all the while insisting that she can think of no objects that are important to her. Here is an excerpt from that writing:

(CHILDHOOD)

This section of the questionnaire may be answered easily by most people but it proves difficult for me. At first reading I could not think of any object to which I have been attached as a child. . . . one would think there must have been a doll, a pet,--something--Well, we had no pets--I had 5 brothers and 5 sisters! quite all that my mother could cope with, I imagine, plus the fact that she had a sizeable city brownstone and a goodly bit of household help to manage. I say "my mother" because my most vivid recollection of my father is of his sitting in the library in an armchair automatically reserved for him, a standing lamp beside him, reading, reading. He could seem to insulate himself completely from the noise and confusion caused by his numerous progeny, and even from the sounds coming from the old standing victrola which was happily located in the library, the room much preferred by all the family since "the parlor" was a room fashionably and stiffly done by Marshall Field and Co. in what I suppose was the formal, accepted decor of the period.

. . . . objects seem to elude me My parents had a large bedroom . . . Miss Flannigan . . . sitting in front of the gas fireplace daily rubbing warm, melted cocoa butter into the naked baby on her lap. I can still smell the cocoa butter . . . I liked the fireplaces . . . My parents had tall fourposter beds in their room . . . and a sort of couch or daybed, covered in brown upholstery . . . a goosenecked lamp . . . books . . . bookcase.

(SINCE CHILDHOOD)

. . . . apartment . . . living room . . . the pair of heavy, wrought silver candlesticks . . . much too heavy for the dining room table and anyway we have others for there, so we have them in the living room . . .

I'm sorry I cannot come up with any objects . . . couch . . . desk . . . bed . . . armchair . . . china . . . books . . . a bunch of fresh huckleberry leaves to fill the two vases on the mantel . . .

But again as to particular objects, I cannot remember any . . .

This curious juxtaposition of detailed description of objects and repeated statements that she can think of no objects is a theme that would require further interviewing to begin to understand. It is interesting to compare this response with the one of the woman who said that nothing was important to her. From the information available, we would assume that the subjects

grew up at opposite ends of the socioeconomic ladder. The woman who had "nothing" knows clearly how important things are to her but seems to feel powerless to get what she wants. In contrast, this woman is surrounded by objects but does not see them as such. We do not know how she actually does see them, but she goes on to deny that material things are of value to her and insists that only the spiritual has meaning.

This denial of interest in material things and emphasis on the spiritual while describing objects in great detail is a relatively frequent theme among the older subjects of the first study. A man tells in detail how important his car, van, and house are to him, then concludes: "but all that really matters to me is getting tight with God".

2. LEVELS OF COLLECTIVE AWARENESS

The data also include indications of varying levels of awareness of the impact of the collective culture on the experience of meaning. This woman is influenced by and aware of cultural expectations: "It [stuffed snake] made me uneasy, frightened. I hated it but couldn't say so and hurt my aunt's feelings. Even at 5 years old I knew these things."

The woman who describes her toy kitchen set as "having a lot to do with the life I have now" indicates an awareness of the impact that her childhood toys have had in preparing her for her present role in life.

Another woman says, "my drivers license . . . was special and important to me. I had to fight my parents because at the

time they had the absurd idea that "girls don't need to drive." She seems to attribute this expectation to her parents without giving any indication that she is aware of the larger cultural pattern within which this expectation is embedded.

Within these cultural patterns of behavior we find boys playing with toy vehicles and guns and girls playing with dolls. One woman has become aware of this pattern and criticizes it:

I think the role my dolls played was a waste of time. The male dolls had more excitement such as G.I. Joe doll while women dolls were just showy and lived to dress up. I think today women are still stuck in a similar role. It was probably men who designed the things too!

No men criticized the role pattern established by their toys; they may be less aware of it or they may not be critical.

D. MEANING CATEGORY FINDINGS

Following an organization similar to that followed in the presentation of object category findings, the inventory of reasons is given in the order of the frequencies found in the first study. To provide one comprehensive index of reasons, data from both studies are presented within each of these meaning categories. Full quotations are occasionally used to provide the feeling tone and a broader sense of the response even though this may mean including data coded in other categories as well as the one being demonstrated. Frequencies and means for women and men are listed and significant differences between means are indicated. Objects described in terms of the reason category being presented are listed by sex for each study.

Some objects are simply listed with few or no reasons given for their importance. Overall mean number of reasons per object

is 3.01 in the first study, 9.72 for liked objects of the second study, and 4.55 for feared objects. Overall mean number of reasons per subject is 36.27 in the first study, 14.09 for liked objects of the second study, and 6.37 for feared objects.

Some objects are embedded in richly detailed stories of significance. A rough index of this density of meaning is the mean number of reason categories coded for each object. In the first study, the three categories of objects with the highest means are all childhood objects: blankets (5.2), dolls (4.6) and stuffed animals (4.2).

Of the liked objects of the second study, outside places are the most dense with meaning (14.3); containers (11.5) and dolls (11.4) are next. Of the feared objects, stuffed animals carry the most types of meanings (9.5), dolls are next (9.0), and masks are third (8.0).

Objects are experienced through four distinct modalities: thinking, sensing, feeling and intuiting. Meaning experienced through thinking accounts for 38% of the reasons given in the first study, 21% of those given in relation to liked objects of the second study and 30% of those given in relation to feared objects.

Meaning experienced through sensing accounts for 37% of the reasons given in the first study, but jumps to 55% of the reasons given in relation to liked objects of the second study and 52% of those reasons given in relation to feared objects. This high proportion of sensory descriptors is probably an artifact of the questionnaire. As the questions were stated more explicitly for

ease in quantification, more emphasis was inadvertently placed on sensory descriptors. Probes that were apparently only taken as suggestive in the first study were taken as direct questions in the second and answered even when experienced as inappropriate: "shaped like any other car", "never tasted it".

Meaning experienced through feeling comprised 18% of the reasons given in the first study, 16% of those given in relation to liked objects of the second study, and 13% of the reasons given for fearing objects.

Meaning experienced through intuition comprises 7% of the reasons given in the first study, 7% of the reasons given for liking objects in the second study, and 5% of the reasons given for fearing objects. See table 18. See tables 19-21 for the frequencies and means with which each of these four categories are used in relation to each of the four major object categories: personal, home, world, and nature.

TABLE 18

THE FOUR FUNCTIONS
PERCENT OF TOTAL REASONS

STUDY	THINKING	SENSING	FEELING	INTUITING
First	38%	37%	18%	7%
Second, liked	21%	55%	16%	7%
Second, feared	30%	52%	13%	5%

TABLE 19

THE FOUR FUNCTIONS
SUBCATEGORY FREQUENCIES AND MEANS
FIRST STUDY OBJECTS

OBJECT CATEGORY	THINKING		SENSING		FEELING		INTUITING	
	FREQ	MEAN	FREQ	MEAN	FREQ	MEAN	FREQ	MEAN
PERSONAL n=405	488	1.20	470	2.40	174	.43	74	.18
HOME n=215	243	1.13	225	1.05	102	.47	37	.17
WORLD n=243	270	1.11	275	1.13	190	.78	41	.17
NATURE n=84	90	1.07	101	1.20	47	.56	39	.46
TOTALS	1091	1.15	1071	1.13	513	.54	191	.20

Object n=949; Reason n=2866

TABLE 20

THE FOUR FUNCTIONS
SUBCATEGORY FREQUENCIES AND MEANS
SECOND STUDY LIKED OBJECTS

OBJECT CATEGORY	THINKING		SENSING		FEELING		INTUITING	
	FREQ	MEAN	FREQ	MEAN	FREQ	MEAN	FREQ	MEAN
PERSONAL n=100	198	1.98	557	5.57	146	1.49	79	.80
HOME n=14	32	2.29	68	4.86	26	1.86	2	.14
WORLD n=46	105	2.28	252	5.48	70	1.52	22	.22
NATURE n=27	54	2.0	128	4.74	50	1.85	22	.85
TOTALS	389	2.08	1005	5.37	292	1.56	125	.67

Object n=187; Reason n=1811

TABLE 21

THE FOUR FUNCTIONS
SUBCATEGORY FREQUENCIES AND MEANS
SECOND STUDY FEARED OBJECTS

OBJECT CATEGORY	THINKING FREQ MEAN	SENSING FREQ MEAN	FEELING FREQ MEAN	INTUITING FREQ MEAN
PERSONAL n=12	24 2.0	32 2.67	5 .42	3 .25
HOME n=18	21 1.17	56 3.11	9 .50	5 .28
WORLD n=17	23 1.36	36 2.12	9 .53	3 .18
NATURE n=51	65 1.27	108 2.12	35 .69	12 .24
TOTALS	133 1.36	232 2.37	58 .59	23 .23

Object n=98; Reason n=446

1. MEANING EXPERIENCED THROUGH THINKING

Paul, the philosopher of the earlier example could not respond to a questionnaire about objects because the object itself was not important to him. He experiences meaning through his thinking function and his thought processes are introverted. Meaning is, to Paul, an inner subjective experience and is not experienced as attached to the object. I assume that there are other people whose response is similar to Paul's and that these responses are not represented in the data.

In contrast, one characteristic of the extroverted thinking function is that it attributes a unique importance, not only to the object but to the word itself, to the name of the thing. One older man in the first study contributed a response that, on first glance, looks like he names the objects but gives no reasons why they are important. However, it is interesting to consider the possibility that he is so extroverted in his

thinking that he assumes that the name of the thing is, in fact, its meaning; that the word represents a concrete fact. This is the entire contents of his questionnaire:

(CHILDHOOD)

Bike Age 10

(SINCE CHILDHOOD)

Car
House
Good memories

(TODAY)

House
Summer Home
Icemaker
Spotlight
Shaver
Bank Accounts
1 child

This list is especially enigmatic because the subject states elsewhere that he has three children. We must remain curious; we will never know why the icemaker and the spotlight are more important than the other two children, or why the one child is mentioned as part of a list of non-human objects.

In all of the thinking type responses found in the data, there is a conceptual distance in the relationship between the object and the meaning. Descriptions frequently include the phrases "reminds me of", "represents the time", "makes me think of" Another person perceiving the same object could not possibly experience the same meaning.

Thinking type reasons for the significance of objects comprise 38% of the total reasons given in the first study; 75% of these are given by women, 25% by men. This sex difference is

significant at the .005 level.

In the second study, thinking type reasons comprise 21% of the total reasons given for liked objects, 63% of these are given by women, 37% are given by men. This sex difference is significant at the .05 level.

There is no significant sex difference in the proportion of thinking type reasons given in relation to feared objects. In relation to these feared objects, 30% of the total reasons given were of the thinking type, 67% of these were given by women, 33% by men. See table 22 for these frequencies and means.

TABLE 22
THINKING TYPE REASONS
FREQUENCIES AND MEANS BY SEX BY STUDY

STUDY	FEMALES		MALES		TOTALS	
	FREQUENCY	MEAN	FREQUENCY	MEAN	FREQUENCY	SIG
First	819	16.72	272	9.06	1091	.005
Second, liked	246	3.33	143	2.60	389	.05
Second, feared	89	2.12	44	1.57	133	NS

Thinking type reasons are of four types: those where the object is associated with people, those where the object is associated with experiences, those where the object is associated with ideas and the process of thinking itself, and those where the object is associated with the idea of its history.

Women describe significantly more thinking type meanings in both studies of liked objects. In the first study, women associate more objects with people and experiences, and also make more references to the histories of objects. In the second

study, women describe significantly more associations with people. Feared objects show no significant sex differences in any thinking type category. See tables 23-25 for these frequencies and means.

When we look at the rank order of means for men and women, we find, in the first study, that people carry the highest number of mean associations for women. For men, experiences carry the highest mean number of associations. In the second study the same pattern continues; people carry the highest mean number of associations for women and experiences carry the highest mean number of associations for men. But when we consider the feared object, experiences carry the highest mean number of associations for both women and men.

TABLE 23

THINKING TYPE REASONS
SUBCATEGORY FREQUENCIES AND MEANS BY SEX
FIRST STUDY OBJECTS

REASON CATEGORY	FEMALE FREQUENCY	MEAN	MALE FREQUENCY	MEAN	TOTAL FREQUENCY	SIG
People	418	8.53	111	3.70	529	.0005
Experience	333	6.80	128	4.26	461	.05
Ideas	43	.88	31	1.03	74	NS
History	25	.51	2	.07	27	.05
TOTALS	819	16.72	272	9.06	1091	.005

a. People

This category of association with people as a basis for the experience of significance is the most frequent thinking type reason given for both studies of liked objects. Most of these

TABLE 24

THINKING TYPE REASONS
SUBCATEGORY FREQUENCIES AND MEANS BY SEX
SECOND STUDY LIKED OBJECTS

REASON CATEGORY	FEMALE FREQUENCY	FEMALE MEAN	MALE FREQUENCY	MALE MEAN	TOTAL FREQUENCY	SIG
People	130	1.76	68	1.24	198	.05
Experience	107	1.45	70	1.27	177	NS
Ideas	6	.08	5	.09	11	NS
History	3	.04	0		3	NS
TOTALS	246	3.33	143	2.60	389	.05

TABLE 25

THINKING TYPE REASONS
SUBCATEGORY FREQUENCIES AND MEANS BY SEX
SECOND STUDY FEARED OBJECTS

REASON CATEGORY	FEMALE FREQUENCY	FEMALE MEAN	MALE FREQUENCY	MALE MEAN	TOTAL FREQUENCY	SIG
People	32	.76	17	.60	49	NS
Experience	46	1.10	22	.79	68	NS
Ideas	11	.26	5	.18	16	NS
History	0		0		0	
TOTALS	89	2.12	44	1.57	133	NS

people are family and friends. See table 26 for these frequencies and means.

My mother gave me a ruby ring.

My grandgather bought it for me.

. . . all the things my boyfriend sent me.

I'm really attached to things people give me.

It was special because my girlfriend brought it to me.

A few objects are associated with public figures; 12 in the first study and 2 liked objects of the second study.

Pictures . . . taken from the fight of the century . . . they

show Ali fighting Frazier.

I had all the records . . . by Danny Osmond.

I used to pretend that . . . her daddy was someone famous like Elvis Presley or Paul McCarthy.

TABLE 26

THINKING TYPE REASONS: ASSOCIATIONS WITH PEOPLE
FREQUENCIES AND MEANS BY SEX BY STUDY

STUDY	FEMALES		MALES		TOTAL	
	FREQUENCY	MEAN	FREQUENCY	MEAN	FREQUENCY	SIG
First	418	8.53	111	3.70	529	.0005
Second, liked	130	1.76	68	1.24	198	.05
Second, feared	32	.76	17	.60	49	NS

Liked objects most often associated with females by females of the first study are dolls (18), jewelry (15), and house interiors (11). Objects most often associated with females by males are jewelry (8), furniture (4), and personal printed material (3). Objects most often associated with males by females are jewelry (34), stuffed animals (12), and art (9). Those most often associated with males by males are sports (9), bikes (5), and toys (5).

Of the liked objects of the second study, females associate with females stuffed animals (14), dolls (11), and bedding (6); they associate with males stuffed animals (11) and cars (5). Males associate with females outside places (5) and stuffed animals (4); they associate with other males guns (5), outside places (5), and cars (4).

Of the feared objects, females associate cars (2) and toys (2) with females and cars (3) and tools (2) with males. Males

associate toys (2) and Paddles (2) with females and stuffed animals (3) and cars (2) with other males.

In the first study, women mention significantly more associated fathers (.005), mothers (.0001), grandmothers (.05), sisters (.05), females in general (.005), and males in general (.0005). In relation to liked objects of the second study, women mention significantly more mothers (.005), grandmothers (.05), and females in general (.005).

Women of the first study describe significantly more associations with people than men do; they list these associations in relation to these objects:

Jewelry	53	Momentos	8
Personal print	37	Sports	7
Furniture	30	Toys	7
House interior	26	Corsages	6
Art	26	Stereos	6
Dolls	25	Cultural beliefs	6
Clothing	20	Trophies	5
Animals	19	Food	5
Photos	19	Tools	4
Stuffed animals	18	Candleholders	3
Public print	18	Blankets	3
Bikes	15	Knives	3
Cars	15	Clocks	2
Musical instruments	10	Outside places	2
Plants	9	Lamps	2
Containers	8	Baby bottles	1

Males of the first study describe these objects in terms of associations with people:

Sports	12	Photos	3
Jewelry	11	Blankets	2
Plants	9	Containers	2
Personal print	7	Clock	2
Cars	7	Collections	2
People	6	Clothing	2
Art	6	Stereos	2
Bikes	6	Animals	2
Toys	6	Rug	1

Outside places	6	Stuffed Animal	1
Mementos	5	Trophy	1
Furniture	4	Corsage	1
Guns	4		

Women of the second study describe significantly more associations with people than men do; they list these in relation to these objects:

Stuffed animals	27	Musical instruments	4
Animals	19	Containers	4
Dolls	17	House interior	3
Blankets	9	Cameras	3
Toys	7	Jewelry	3
Cars	7	Plants	3
Furniture	6	Baby bottles	2
Clothing	5	Personal print	2
Art	4	Outside places	1
Bikes	4		

Second study males describe these liked objects in terms of associations with people:

Outside places	11	Dolls	2
Stuffed animals	9	Trophies	2
Cars	8	Clothing	2
Guns	6	Tools	1
Toys	6	Art	1
Sports	6	Furniture	1
Animals	5	Blanket	1
Bikes	4	Jewelry	1
House interior	2		

Second study females describe these feared objects in terms of associations with people:

Cars	5	Bike	1
Death	4	Doll	1
Reptiles	4	Mask	1
Animals	3	Drugs	1
Appliances	3	Insects	1
House interior	2	Wind	1
Toys	2	Height	1
Plants	2		

Second study males describe these feared objects in terms of associations with people:

Stuffed animals	6	Cars	2
Animals	3	Paddles	2
Toys	3	Reptile	1

b. Experiences

Second in frequency for both studies of liked objects and first in relation to feared objects are references to associated experiences. We found it impossible to distinguish reliably between important times and important places. Subjects seem to use these two types of references almost interchangeably. The object seems to operate as a cue to locate an important memory in time and place. Women of the first study describe significantly more objects in terms of associations with experiences. see table 27 for these frequencies and means.

I still think of the good times I had whenever that snowman was out.

I don't know why I keep them but I won't ever throw them away. Maybe because they remind me of the good times that came along with them.

The bouquet . . . that I caught at the wedding.

I got the dress . . . when I was in kindergarten.

Associated experiences are the most frequent reasons given for fearig objects. There are many detailed descriptions of particularly painful experiences: the bee sting that led to shock and hospitalization, the fall off the swing or off the bunk bed or out of a tree. Here are two experiences recalled:

I remember my brother putting a big long red balloon under my covers. when I went to bed I put my hand on it and it made that squeaching sound. I got so scared . . . I was afraid to even touch them . . . I'm afraid of them popping.

When I was 3 or 4 my parents left me in a baby sitting place . . . workmen from the other side of the building started drilling inward. They poked their drills through the bricks.

A man recalls the experience of not being "given a knife at the dinner table because it was dangerous and I might hurt myself"; he tells the following story:

It was one of the tabooed items in the house. I was always warned of the danger of a knife and I always wondered about this.

The knives are always there and always will be. The interesting thing about knives is that they are very deadly instruments. In fact, if used to kill a person, they are more gruesome and messy than are guns. Yet, they are very accessible. We use them to cut our food with, butter our bread with, and spread jelly with. Imagine being killed at night by a utensil that just recently you ate your last meal with. Interesting. Sick, yes, but interesting just the same. Feelings of interest, fear, wonder, repulsion, all wrapped up in one. I knew that they shouldn't be played with and that they were dangerous, but what if.

Fear of people was described in terms of associated experiences. One 21 year old woman describes an experience of rape when she was 13 years old:

Fear and disgust flushed through my whole body. I felt like I was being punished for something that I haven't done wrong. It hurt . . . and I felt embarrassed.

Another woman tells of an experience of being frightened by a group of boys:

A bunch of boys lined up along the doors blocking me from going in . . . then my mom came . . . and we were on the phone and they stood outside and kept making noises.

One man who was afraid of his father describes him as "5'9" 225 pounds of mean muscle" and says he felt "fear and pain when I got clobbered . . . busted in the chops"; but he adds "We get along great now. I got too strong and big for him to beat on me."

Two women tell of fear of their fathers based on experiences. One of these women is 30 years of age, has been

afraid since she was 5 years old, and says she is still afraid in the present:

He was unpredictable and very violent . . . I was threatened . . . I always felt like I was about to take my last breath and drown.

The other woman is 22 and says she

grew up in absolute terror of my father . . . He was a terribly angry person . . . the slightest thing would arouse his anger.

It is interesting to note that the male describes other experiences that helped him get over his fear: "I got too strong and big for him to beat on me"; the women continue to be afraid.

TABLE 27

THINKING TYPE REASONS: EXPERIENCE
FREQUENCIES AND MEANS BY SEX BY STUDY

STUDY	FEMALES		MALES		TOTALS	
	FREQUENCY	MEAN	FREQUENCY	MEAN	FREQUENCY	SIG
First	333	6.80	128	4.26	461	.05
Second, liked	107	1.45	70	1.27	177	NS
Second, feared	46	1.10	22	.79	68	NS

First study females mention significantly more associated experiences; they mention these in relation to these objects:

Jewelry	40	Toys	7
Personal print	27	Corsages	7
Clothing	23	Blankets	6
Mementos	23	Trophies	6
Furniture	18	Sports	6
Art	18	Stereos	5
Animals	15	Candleholders	3
House interior	15	Outside places	3
Stuffed animals	15	Lamps	3
Public print	14	Money	3
Dolls	13	Masks	3
Photos	11	Tools	2
Cars	10	Food	2
Plants	9	Baby bottle	1
Containers	8	Knife	1

Bikes	8	T.V.	1
Musical instruments	7		

First study males mention associated experiences in relation to these objects:

Sports	21	Momentos	4
Toys	11	Public print	3
Bikes	8	Personal print	3
Cars	7	Clothing	2
Outside places	6	T.V.	2
Plants	6	Animals	2
Trophies	6	People	1
Stereos	6	Alcohol	1
Photos	5	Furniture	1
Jewelry	5	Musical instrument	1
House interior	5	Container	1
Art	5	Rug	1
Stuffed animals	5	Clock	1
Times and seasons	4	Blanket	1
Guns	4		

Second study females mention associated experiences in relation to these liked objects:

Stuffed animals	18	Art	3
Animals	15	Furniture	3
Dolls	14	Bikes	2
Blankets	11	Cameras	2
Jewelry	8	Containers	2
Clothing	7	Musical instruments	2
Cars	5	Baby bottles	2
Toys	4	Plants	2
House interior	3	Outside places	1
Personal print	3		

Second study males mention associated experiences in relation to these liked objects:

Cars	9	Art	2
Stuffed animals	8	Trophies	2
Toys	8	Blanket	1
Animals	6	Furniture	1
Outside places	5	House interior	1
Guns	5	Personal print	1
Bikes	4	Stereo	1
Sports	4	Tool	1
Clothing	3	Doll	1
Jewelry	3	Times and seasons	1
Public print	2	People	1

Second study females mention associated experiences in relation to these feared objects:

People	7	Bike	1
Animals	7	House interior	1
Cars	4	Outside place	1
Insects	3	Doll	1
Wind	3	Mask	1
Toys	2	Prosthesis	1
Tools	2	Drugs	1
Public print	2	Paddle	1
Plants	2	Height	1
Reptiles	2	Death	1
Water	2		

Second study males mention associated experiences in relation to these feared objects:

Paddles	3	Car	1
Stuffed animals	2	House interior	1
Toys	2	Outside place	1
Insects	2	Knife	1
Reptiles	2	Art	1
Water	2	Height	1
Animals	2	People	1

c. Ideas

Paul, the philosopher of our example, experienced meaning as an attribute of his own internal thinking process. These meanings were too loosely associated with the object to allow him to answer a questionnaire about the meaning of objects. However, there are some people who do describe objects in terms of associated thoughts and ideas. These range from introverted responses similar to Paul's, though not so extreme, to more extroverted descriptions which assume that the meaning is given in the object itself. See table 29 for these frequencies and means.

One woman keeps a branch from an evergreen tree that was

felled in a storm on the Christmas day when her aunt died unexpectedly. She describes its meaning as

Reflectiveness. When I look at that branch I get a feeling of calmness. I start thinking of things (not necessarily related to the branch) I become very quiet and thoughtful.

Other objects are described in a similar contemplative manner:

A whole oyster shell, not a half, but a whole one . . . the reason this is so important to me is the remarkable idea that so many things exist in this world.

Trophy . . . makes me solemn with enormous peace of mind when I am relaxing in my living room and staring up at it.

Whenever I'm feeling down I go in and turn it on and it just kind of directs my mind to better thoughts. My stereo is even great at night . . . it eases my mind."

Although each of these people mention objects, the emphasis is on their inner subjective experience. These people focus on the contemplative dimension of the thinking process. In contrast, these next examples focus on the more objective cognitive dimension.

Books are very important to me. I go to the library, belong to a book club, and even occasionally read my encyclopedia for information.

For me books are knowledge . . . so I keep my books around.

The telescope opened up a whole new world for me to learn.

Thinking associated with feared objects seems to represent an attempt to control or limit the pain or fear through cognitive understanding:

I hated it . . . leg brace . . . because I couldn't understand why I had it and why it hurt.

I couldn't understand. All I could do was cry.

It was important because I could not understand . . . i

gradually accepted those . . . toys in geometric shapes . . .
because I knew

If I had known a little more about this . . . rape . . . when
I was 13 . . . I probably would have handled it differently.

I felt mad. WHY did . . . the cat . . . scratch me?

I had a feeling of perplexity because I couldn't understand
why it was only me . . . the cat . . . attacked. I came to
the conclusion (years later) that it was because I was the
most vulnerable, the only one who wouldn't retaliate.

TABLE 28

THINKING TYPE REASONS: IDEAS
FREQUENCIES AND MEANS BY SEX BY STUDY

STUDY	FEMALES		MALES		TOTALS	
	FREQUENCY	MEAN	FREQUENCY	MEAN	FREQUENCY	SIG
First	43	.88	31	1.03	74	NS
Second, liked	6	.08	5	.09	11	NS
Second, feared	11	.26	5	.18	16	NS

First study females associate ideas with these objects:

Public print	7	Corsage	1
Personal print	5	Car	1
Plants	4	House interior	1
Sports	3	Outside place	1
Containers	2	Lamp	1
Mementos	2	Photo	1
Furniture	2	Stereo	1
Jewelry	2	Stuffed animal	1
Musical instruments	2	Toy	1
Art	2	Trophy	1
Blanket	1		
Clothing	1		

First study males associate ideas with these objects:

Sports	8	Musical instrument	1
Cars	3	Personal print	1
Public print	3	T.V.	1
Photos	3	Stereo	1
Alcohol	2	Art	1
Plants	2	Tool	1
Bike	1	Times and seasons	1
House interior	1	Gun	1

Second study females associated ideas with these liked objects:

Camera	1	Personal print	1
Clothing	1	Plant	1
Jewelry	1	Toy	1

Second study males associated ideas with these liked objects:

Car	1	Sports	1
Gun	1	Times and seasons	1
Personal print	1		

Second study females associated ideas with these feared objects:

Animals	2	Doll	1
People	2	Paddle	1
Toys	2	Dark	1
Outside place	1		

Second study males associated ideas with these feared objects:

Toy	1	Dark	1
House interior	1	Water	1
Knife	1		

d. History

The fourth and smallest category using the thinking function as a cognitive link between subject and object is that which includes stories of the history of the object before the time it was acquired by or became special to the subject. These imply knowledge about the object not present to sensory perception, feeling values, or intuition. See table 29 for these frequencies and means.

. . . an early Philadelphia tip top table.

. . . diamond . . . that was in my mother's engagement ring.

. . . rubies that belonged to my grandmother.

. . . a desk of my great-grandfather . . . purchased in Brussels in the 1870's."

TABLE 29

THINKING TYPE REASONS: HISTORY
FREQUENCIES AND MEANS BY SEX BY STUDY

STUDY	FEMALES		MALES		TOTALS	
	FREQUENCY	MEAN	FREQUENCY	MEAN	FREQUENCY	SIG
First	25	.51	2	.07	27	.05
Second, liked	3	.04	0		3	NS
Second, feared	0		0		0	

History is more important to females of the first study than to males; they mention histories of these objects:

Furniture	11	Food	1
Jewelry	4	Outside place	1
Public print	2	Musical instrument	1
Clock	1	Doll	1
Container	1	Animal	1
House interior	1		

First study males mention histories of these objects:

Clock	1
Toy	1

Second study females mention histories of these liked objects:

Jewelry	1
Furniture	1

No males of the second study mention histories of liked objects and no one mentions a history of a feared object.

2. MEANING EXPERIENCED THROUGH SENSING

In contrast to meanings experienced through the thinking function that assume a conceptual link between subject and object, are the meanings experienced through sensation. These

meanings could, in principle, be experienced by any other observer, they are directly related to perceivable qualities of the object.

In our earlier example, both Perry and Dorothy experience the meaning of things predominantly through their senses. Perry is introverted; the qualities of things penetrate deeply and he dwells in the internal, subjective experience of these perceptions. He then expresses these meanings through direct manipulations of the materials and objects themselves, combining and contrasting them in his work.

Perry is almost inarticulate in his expression of meaning in words. He does not trust words; he trusts only his senses. He says people lie with words. This may have something to do with his unwillingness to complete a questionnaire. I found no questionnaire data that was similar to his responses. I assume that if there are people similar to Perry in the way they experience the meaning of things they would also not respond to the questionnaire.

Dorothy, on the other hand, is extroverted and talks easily. She represents an extreme case in her awareness and use of her own sensitivity to the sensual qualities of things, but similar descriptions of the objective qualities of things are frequent responses in the data.

Reasons derived from the sensory experience of objects comprise 37% of the total reasons given in the first study; 72% of these are given by women, 28% by men. This sex difference is significant at the .005 level.

In the second study, sensory reasons comprise 55% of the total reasons given for liked objects; 62% of these are given by women, 38% by men. This difference is significant at the .05 level.

There is no significant sex difference in the proportion of sensory reasons given in relation to feared objects. In relation to these feared objects, 52% of the total reasons given were of a sensory type; 60% of these were given by women and 40% by men. See table 30 for these frequencies and means.

TABLE 30
SENSING TYPE REASONS
FREQUENCIES AND MEANS BY SEX BY STUDY

STUDY	FEMALES		MALES		TOTALS	
	FREQUENCY	MEAN	FREQUENCY	MEAN	FREQUENCY	SIG
First	775	15.81	296	9.87	1071	.005
Second, liked	628	8.49	377	6.85	1005	.05
Second, feared	139	3.31	93	3.32	232	NS

Sensory descriptors are of two main types: objective descriptors and those derived through kinesthetic or physiological interaction with the object. See tables 31-33 for these frequencies and means.

a. Objective

Objective descriptors are those in which the object is described in terms of qualities that could, in principle, be experienced by any observer.

I was fascinated by the bright red color.

You know how crystal has a myriad of colors glowing within it? Well I was fascinated by it.

The bear . . . has a bell in its ear that jingles.

TABLE 31

SENSING TYPE REASONS
SUBCATEGORY FREQUENCIES AND MEANS BY SEX
FIRST STUDY OBJECTS

REASON CATEGORY	FEMALES		MALES		TOTALS	
	FREQUENCY	MEAN	FREQUENCY	MEAN	FREQUENCY	SIG
Objective	619	12.63	207	6.90	826	.005
Interactive	156	3.18	89	2.97	245	NS
TOTALS	775	15.81	296	9.87	1071	.005

TABLE 32

SENSING TYPE REASONS
SUBCATEGORY FREQUENCIES AND MEANS BY SEX
SECOND STUDY LIKED OBJECTS

REASON CATEGORY	FEMALES		MALES		TOTALS	
	FREQUENCY	MEAN	FREQUENCY	MEAN	FREQUENCY	SIG
Objective	558	7.54	328	5.96	886	NS
Interactive	70	.95	49	.89	119	NS
TOTALS	628	8.49	377	6.85	1005	.05

TABLE 33

SENSING TYPE REASONS
SUBCATEGORY FREQUENCIES AND MEANS BY SEX
SECOND STUDY FEARED OBJECTS

REASON CATEGORY	FEMALES		MALES		TOTALS	
	FREQUENCY	MEAN	FREQUENCY	MEAN	FREQUENCY	SIG
Objective	120	2.86	84	3.00	204	NS
Interactive	19	.45	9	.32	28	NS
TOTALS	139	3.31	93	3.32	232	NS

The garage had an odor which may not have smelled great then but if I smelled it now it would make me feel great. It was the smell of garden tools and freshly cut grass.

Some questionnaire responses contain a high proportion of objective descriptors. This is the complete response of a man

from the first study; blue, fast, yellow, tiny, Browning Hi Power, large, heavy are all objective descriptors.

(CHILDHOOD)

toy tractor - grew up on a farm
boat - liked playing in water
teddy bear - still have it

(SINCE CHILDHOOD)

bicycle - blue, fast, friendly, enjoy
car - yellow, tiny, reliable, cheap
pistol - must have, Browning Hi Power
Backpack - large, heavy

(TODAY)

Books - I like to read
Camera - enjoyed artistic endeavor
Pocket knife - feeling of independence, self reliance

Objective descriptors comprise 29% of the total reasons given in the first study; 75% of these are given by women, 25% by men. This sex difference is significant at the .005 level.

In the second study, objective descriptors comprise 49% of the total reasons given for liked objects; 63% of these are given by women, 37% by men. This sex difference is significant at the .05 level. Objective descriptions of feared objects comprise 46% of the total reasons given; 59% of these are given by women, 41% by men.

There are 17 types of objective descriptors identified: feature, type, color, size, material, handmade, shape, age, visual texture, tactile texture, light, movement, sound, temperature, weight, smell, fragility. See tables 34-36 for these frequencies and means.

TABLE 34

SENSING TYPE REASONS: OBJECTIVE
SUBCATEGORY FREQUENCIES AND MEANS BY SEX
FIRST STUDY OBJECTS

REASON CATEGORY	FEMALES		MALES		TOTALS	
	FREQUENCY	MEAN	FREQUENCY	MEAN	FREQUENCY	SIG
Feature	142	2.90	52	1.73	194	.05
Type	122	2.49	52	1.73	174	NS
Color	77	1.57	17	.57	94	.0001
Size	66	1.35	25	.83	91	NS
Material	67	1.37	16	.53	83	.005
Handmade	28	.57	9	.30	37	NS
Shape	32	.65	5	.17	37	.05
Age	29	.59	4	.13	32	.005
Visual texture	21	.43	5	.17	26	.05
Tactile texture	13	.27	1	.03	14	.01
Light	4	.08	5	.17	9	NS
Movement	5	.10	4	.13	9	NS
Sound	3	.06	5	.17	8	NS
Temperature	2	.04	4	.13	6	NS
Weight	4	.08	2	.07	6	NS
Smell	3	.06	1	.03	4	NS
Fragility	1	.02	0		1	NS
TOTALS	619	12.63	207	6.90	826	.005

1). Feature is some part or aspect of the object. See table 37 for these frequencies and means.

training wheels of the bike

ears of the dog

the barn with its loft

2). Type refers to the general category to which the whole object belongs. See table 38 for these frequencies and means.

My BB gun

drafting table

cowboy boots

3). Color includes any reference to color. See table 39 for frequencies and means.

TABLE 35

SENSING TYPE REASONS: OBJECTIVE
SUBCATEGORY FREQUENCIES AND MEANS BY SEX
SECOND STUDY LIKED OBJECTS

REASON CATEGORY	FEMALES		MALES		TOTALS	
	FREQUENCY	MEAN	FREQUENCY	MEAN	FREQUENCY	SIG
Feature	90	1.22	49	.89	139	.05
Type	58	.78	38	.69	96	NS
Color	89	1.20	59	1.07	148	NS
Size	79	1.07	46	.84	125	.05
Material	64	.86	40	.73	104	NS
Handmade	12	.16	3	.05	15	.05
Shape	31	.42	16	.29	47	NS
Age	7	.10	4	.07	11	NS
Visual texture	29	.39	13	.24	42	NS
Tactile texture	37	.50	18	.33	55	NS
Light	3	.04	7	.13	10	NS
Movement	18	.24	14	.25	32	NS
Sound	17	.23	12	.22	29	NS
Temperature	2	.03	2	.04	4	NS
Weight	2	.03	1	.02	3	NS
Smell	17	.23	5	.09	22	.05
Fragility	3	.04	1	.02	4	NS
TOTALS	558	7.54	328	5.96	886	NS

I was fascinated by the bright red color.

I love anything pink.

It was . . . green.

I hated it . . . because it was purple.

4). Size includes any reference to size. See table 40 for frequencies and means.

large

tiny

miniture

huge

5). Material includes all referances to the composition of the

object. See table 41 for frequencies and means.

gold

metal

wooden

made of wool

TABLE 36

SENSING TYPE REASONS: OBJECTIVE
SUBCATEGORY FREQUENCIES AND MEANS BY SEX
SECOND STUDY FEARED OBJECTS

REASON CATEGORY	FEMALES FREQUENCY	FEMALES MEAN	MALES FREQUENCY	MALES MEAN	TOTALS FREQUENCY	SIG
Feature	17	.40	13	.46	30	NS
Type	8	.19	7	.25	15	NS
Color	22	.52	11	.39	33	NS
Size	19	.45	14	.50	33	NS
Material	4	.09	7	.25	11	NS
Handmade	0		0		0	
Shape	6	.14	7	.25	13	NS
Age	1	.02	2	.07	3	NS
Visual texture	7	.17	0		7	NS
Tactile texture	2	.05	1	.04	3	NS
Light	4	.09	5	.17	9	NS
Movement	8	.19	7	.25	15	NS
Sound	14	.33	2	.07	16	.05
Temperature	2	.05	3	.11	5	NS
Weight	1	.02	1	.04	2	NS
Smell	5	.11	4	.14	9	NS
Fragility	0		0		0	
TOTALS	120	2.86	84	3.00	204	NS

TABLE 37

SENSING TYPE REASONS: OBJECTIVE-FEATURE
FREQUENCIES AND MEANS BY SEX BY STUDY

STUDY	FEMALES FREQUENCY	FEMALES MEAN	MALES FREQUENCY	MALES MEAN	TOTAL FREQUENCY	SIG
First	142	2.90	52	1.73	194	.05
Second, liked	90	1.22	49	.89	139	.05
Second, feared	17	.40	13	.46	30	NS

TABLE 38

SENSING TYPE REASONS: OBJECTIVE-TYPE
FREQUENCIES AND MEANS BY SEX BY STUDY

STUDY	FEMALES		MALES		TOTAL	
	FREQUENCY	MEAN	FREQUENCY	MEAN	FREQUENCY	SIG
First	122	2.49	52	1.73	174	NS
Second, liked	58	.78	38	.69	96	NS
Second, feared	8	.19	7	.25	15	NS

TABLE 39

SENSING TYPE REASONS: OBJECTIVE-COLOR
FREQUENCIES AND MEANS BY SEX BY STUDY

STUDY	FEMALES		MALES		TOTAL	
	FREQUENCY	MEAN	FREQUENCY	MEAN	FREQUENCY	SIG
First	77	1.57	17	.57	94	.0001
Second, liked	89	1.20	59	1.07	148	NS
Second, feared	22	.52	11	.39	33	NS

TABLE 40

SENSING TYPE REASONS: OBJECTIVE-SIZE
FREQUENCIES AND MEANS BY SEX BY STUDY

STUDY	FEMALES		MALES		TOTAL	
	FREQUENCY	MEAN	FREQUENCY	MEAN	FREQUENCY	SIG
First	66	1.35	25	.83	91	NS
Second, liked	79	1.07	46	.84	125	.05
Second, feared	19	.45	14	.50	33	NS

TABLE 41

SENSING TYPE REASONS: OBJECTIVE-MATERIAL
FREQUENCIES AND MEANS BY SEX BY STUDY

STUDY	FEMALES		MALES		TOTAL	
	FREQUENCY	MEAN	FREQUENCY	MEAN	FREQUENCY	SIG
First	67	1.37	16	.53	83	.005
Second, liked	64	.86	40	.73	104	NS
Second, feared	4	.10	7	.25	11	NS

6). Handmade includes all references to things completely handmade or substantially altered by hand. See table 42 for frequencies and means.

a pillow . . . because it was made, not bought, and when a person makes something they usually put a lot of love into it.

My first really important joy was a sled my father made for me.

The things she has made with her own hands . . . I treasure most.

The table . . . that we spent three weeks refinishing.

7). Shape includes references to the outline or form of the whole thing. See table 43 for frequencies and means.

I collect anything . . . heart shaped.

It was . . . round.

The shape was . . . always changing.

TABLE 42

SENSING TYPE REASONS: OBJECTIVE-HANDMADE
FREQUENCIES AND MEANS BY SEX BY STUDY

STUDY	FEMALES		MALES		TOTAL FREQUENCY	SIG
	FREQUENCY	MEAN	FREQUENCY	MEAN		
First	28	.57	9	.30	37	NS
Second, liked	12	.16	3	.05	15	.05
Second, feared	0		0		0	

8). Age includes all references to age. See table 44 for frequencies and means.

old

the bike . . . was brand new

ancient

It is . . . as old as I am.

TABLE 43

SENSING TYPE REASONS: OBJECTIVE-SHAPE
FREQUENCIES AND MEANS BY SEX BY STUDY

STUDY	FEMALES		MALES		TOTAL	
	FREQUENCY	MEAN	FREQUENCY	MEAN	FREQUENCY	SIG
First	32	.65	5	.17	37	.05
Second, liked	31	.42	16	.29	47	NS
Second, feared	6	.14	7	.25	13	NS

TABLE 44

SENSING TYPE REASONS: OBJECTIVE-AGE
FREQUENCIES AND MEANS BY SEX BY STUDY

STUDY	FEMALES		MALES		TOTAL	
	FREQUENCY	MEAN	FREQUENCY	MEAN	FREQUENCY	SIG
First	29	.59	4	.13	33	.005
Second, liked	7	.08	4	.07	11	NS
Second, feared	1	.02	2	.07	3	NS

9). Visual texture refers to pattern and surface qualities that can be identified by visual observation. See table 45 for frequencies and means.

He was . . . spotted.

The box had flowers painted all over the top.

My . . . plaid skirt . . .

The paint was all . . . chipped and rusted.

10). Tactile texture refers to surface qualities that must be perceived by touch. See table 46 for frequencies and means.

soft

rough

smooth

sticky

TABLE 45

SENSING TYPE REASONS: OBJECTIVE-VISUAL TEXTURE
FREQUENCIES AND MEANS BY SEX BY STUDY

STUDY	FEMALES		MALES		TOTAL	
	FREQUENCY	MEAN	FREQUENCY	MEAN	FREQUENCY	SIG
First	21	.43	5	.17	26	.05
Second, liked	29	.39	13	.24	42	NS
Second, feared	7	.16	0		7	NS

TABLE 46

SENSING TYPE REASONS: OBJECTIVE-TACTILE TEXTURE
FREQUENCIES AND MEANS BY SEX BY STUDY

STUDY	FEMALES		MALES		TOTAL	
	FREQUENCY	MEAN	FREQUENCY	MEAN	FREQUENCY	SIG
First	13	.27	1	.03	14	.01
Second, liked	37	.50	18	.33	55	NS
Second, feared	2	.05	1	.04	3	NS

11). Light includes all references to light coming from the object or reflected by it. See table 47 for frequencies and means.

sparkling

You know how crystal has a myriad of colors glowing within it? Well I was fascinated by it.

reflected the light

mirrored

12). Movement includes all references to movement. See table 48 for frequencies and means.

It would waddle around when you pulled it.

It's head shook back and forth.

The stars at night . . . move from east to west.

TABLE 47

SENSING TYPE REASONS: OBJECTIVE-LIGHT
FREQUENCIES AND MEANS BY SEX BY STUDY

STUDY	FEMALES		MALES		TOTAL	
	FREQUENCY	MEAN	FREQUENCY	MEAN	FREQUENCY	SIG
First	4	.08	5	.17	9	NS
Second, liked	3	.04	7	.13	10	NS
Second, feared	4	.10	5	.18	9	NS

TABLE 48

SENSING TYPE REASONS: OBJECTIVE-MOVEMENT
FREQUENCIES AND MEANS BY SEX BY STUDY

STUDY	FEMALES		MALES		TOTAL	
	FREQUENCY	MEAN	FREQUENCY	MEAN	FREQUENCY	SIG
First	5	.10	4	.13	9	NS
Second, liked	18	.24	14	.25	32	NS
Second, feared	8	.19	7	.25	15	NS

13). Sound includes all references to noise made by the object.

See table 49 for frequencies and means.

That wheel . . . went clang, clang, clang.

It has a bell . . . that jingles.

It makes an awful noise when it is moving because of the way it is mounted.

14). Weight includes all references to weight. See table 50 for frequencies and means.

heavy

light

15). Temperature includes all references to the temperature of the object (as opposed to explicit references to how the object made the subject feel). See table 51 for frequencies and means.

Inside the viaduct the air was cool.

The back house . . . was always cool, especially in the summer.

The gun . . . metal was cold to the touch.

TABLE 49

SENSING TYPE REASONS: OBJECTIVE-SOUND
FREQUENCIES AND MEANS BY SEX BY STUDY

STUDY	FEMALES		MALES		TOTAL	
	FREQUENCY	MEAN	FREQUENCY	MEAN	FREQUENCY	SIG
First	3	.06	5	.17	8	NS
Second, liked	17	.23	12	.22	29	NS
Second, feared	14	.33	2	.07	16	.05

TABLE 50

SENSING TYPE REASONS: OBJECTIVE-WEIGHT
FREQUENCIES AND MEANS BY SEX BY STUDY

STUDY	FEMALES		MALES		TOTAL	
	FREQUENCY	MEAN	FREQUENCY	MEAN	FREQUENCY	SIG
First	4	.08	2	.07	6	NS
Second, liked	2	.03	1	.02	3	NS
Second, feared	1	.02	1	.04	2	NS

TABLE 51

SENSING TYPE REASONS: OBJECTIVE-TEMPERATURE
FREQUENCIES AND MEANS BY SEX BY STUDY

STUDY	FEMALES		MALES		TOTAL	
	FREQUENCY	MEAN	FREQUENCY	MEAN	FREQUENCY	SIG
First	2	.04	4	.13	6	NS
Second, liked	2	.03	2	.04	4	NS
Second, feared	2	.05	3	.11	5	NS

16). Smell includes all references to smell. See table 52 for frequencies and means.

I loved the smell of the blossoms.

It smelled musty in the rain and dry in summer.

The garage had an odor which may not have smelled great then

but if I smelled it now it would make me feel great. It was the smell of garden tools and freshly cut grass.

TABLE 52

SENSING TYPE REASONS: OBJECTIVE-SMELL
FREQUENCIES AND MEANS BY SEX BY STUDY

STUDY	FEMALES		MALES		TOTAL	
	FREQUENCY	MEAN	FREQUENCY	MEAN	FREQUENCY	SIG
First	3	.06	1	.03	4	NS
Second, liked	17	.23	5	.09	22	.05
Second, feared	5	.12	4	.14	9	NS

17). Fragility includes all references to fragility. See table 53 for frequencies and means.

It is sort of fragile looking.

My drivers license is . . . becoming frail now.

TABLE 53

SENSING TYPE REASONS: OBJECTIVE-FRAGILITY
FREQUENCIES AND MEANS BY SEX BY STUDY

STUDY	FEMALES		MALES		TOTAL	
	FREQUENCY	MEAN	FREQUENCY	MEAN	FREQUENCY	SIG
First	1	.02	0		1	NS
Second, liked	3	.04	1	.02	4	NS
Second, feared	0		0		0	

For ease in comparing the type of objective descriptors used by men and women in relation to specific objects, these have been combined in composite tables. See tables 54-55 for first study objects, tables 56-57 for second study liked objects, and tables 58-59 for second study feared objects.

TABLE 54

FIRST STUDY OBJECTS: OBJECTIVE DESCRIPTORS USED BY FEMALES

	F	T	O	S	M	H	S	A	V
	E	Y	L	I	A	A	A	A	I
	A	P	R	Z	E	D	P	G	S
	T	O	E	E	L	E	E	E	U
	U	R	R	L	E	E	E	E	A
	R	E	E	E	L	E	E	E	L
Jewelry	8	6	2	4	26	1	13		2
Dolls	17	15	7	8	6	2	1		1
Stuffed animals	7	17	11	9	3			1	2
Clothing	6	8	8	4	6	4	2	1	3
Art	11	6	4	5	4	5	2		1
Animals	7	9	7	7					1
Blankets	3	2	6	2	2	2	2	2	5
Furniture	4	12	1	4	4	4	4	4	
Toys	7	1	4	4	4	4			1
Bikes	5	9	9						2
House interior	10	3	2	2		1		1	
Containers	3	4	3	1	4			4	1
Public print	11	1	1	2	1	1			
Cars	5	5	4	1					1
Musical instruments		3	1	4	1		1	1	1
Outside places	7	1	1	2		1		1	1
Plants	3	2	1				3	1	1
Corsages	1	2		3			1	2	
Personal print	4						1	4	
Stereos	5	3							
Souvenirs	6		2	1				1	
Lamps		3			1	1			1
Sports	2	1	1	1		1			
Trophies	3	2			2				
Photos	3				1			1	1
Clocks		1	1		1	1	1		
Tools		1	1	1					
Candleholders		2			1				
Cultural ideas									
Food		1					1		
Knives	1	1							
Money	2								
Own body	1			1					1
Costumes		1							
Times, seasons									
T.V.								1	
TOTALS	142	122	77	66	67	28	32	29	21

TABLE 54--Continued

	T	M								TOTALS
	A	O								
	C	V	S		W	S				
	T	E	O	T	E	M				
	I	E	U	E	G	E				
	L	N	N	M	H	L				
	E	T	D	P	T	L				
Jewelry-----	2									64
Dolls-----	3	1	1							62
Stuffed animals-----	4		1							55
Clothing-----										42
Art-----	1	1								40
Furniture-----			1							38
Animals-----					1					32
Blankets-----	5				1					32
Toys-----		1	2							28
Bikes-----										25
House interior-----				1		1				21
Containers-----										20
Public print-----										17
Cars-----										16
Musical instruments-----			1			1				15
Outside places-----										14
Plants-----						1				12
Souvenirs-----										10
Corsages-----										9
Personal print-----										9
Stereos-----										8
Trophies-----							1			8
Lamps-----		1								7
Sports-----					1					7
Photos-----										6
Clocks-----										5
Candleholders-----					1					4
Tools-----										3
Food-----										2
Knives-----										2
Money-----										2
Own body-----										2
Costumes-----										1
Times, seasons-----				1						1
T.V.-----										1
TOTALS-----	13	4	5	3	2	4	3	1		619

TABLE 55

FIRST STUDY OBJECTS: OBJECTIVE DESCRIPTORS USED BY MALES

	F	T	C	S	M	H	S	A	V
	A	T	O	I	A	A	H	A	I
	U	Y	L	Z	I	A	A	A	U
	R	P	O	E	A	D	P	G	A
	E	E	R	E	L	E	E	E	L
Bikes	6	5	6	1	2	1			1
House interior	7	2		1	1				
Toys	2	3	3	7	1				
Cars	2	5	2	2			1	1	1
Jewelry	1	3	2		7		1		
Guns	3	7		3					
Sports	5	1		1	1	1	1		
Plants	4	3		2					
Animals		5	1	3					1
Clocks	3	1		1				1	1
Art	2			2	2	2			
Outside places	4	1					1		
Stuffed animals		4		1				1	
Times, seasons	2		2						
Trophies		4		1					
Clothing		2	1						1
Furniture		2				2			
Tools	1	1					1		
Public print	2	1							
Stereos	3								
Alcohol, drugs	1				1				
Photos	1	1							
People	1							1	
Blanket							1		
Container					1				
Knife		1							
Musical instruments									
Personal print	1								
Rug						1			
Souvenirs						1			
T.V.	1								
TOTALS	52	52	17	25	16	9	5	4	5

TABLE 55--Continued

	T	A	C	T	I	I	L	E	M	O	S	T	E	U	N	N	M	H	P	W	E	S	F	R	A	G	I	L	E	TOTALS
Bikes-----									2		1																			25
House interior-----									2		1		2																	16
Toys-----																														16
Cars-----																														14
Jewelry-----																														14
Guns-----																														13
Sports-----													2																	12
Plants-----				1		1																					1			12
Animals-----											1																			11
Clocks-----																2														9
Art-----																														8
Outside places-----													1																	7
Stuffed animals-----																														6
Times, seasons-----						1							1																	6
Trophies-----						1																								6
Clothing-----																														4
Furniture-----																														4
Tools-----														1																4
Public print-----																														3
Stereos-----																														3
Alcohol, drugs-----																														2
Photos-----																														2
People-----																														2
Blanket-----																														1
Container-----																														1
Knife-----																														1
Musical instruments-----											1																			1
Personal print-----																														1
Rug-----																														1
Souvenirs-----																														1
T.V.-----																														1
TOTALS-----				1		5		4		5		4		2		1														207

TABLE 56

OBJECTS WITH OBJECTIVE DESCRIPTORS USED BY FEMALES
SECOND STUDY LIKED OBJECTS

	F				M	H			
	E				A	A			V
	A	C			T	N			I
	T	T	O	S	R	M	H		S
	U	Y	L	I	I	A	A	A	U
	R	P	O	Z	A	D	P	G	A
	E	E	R	E	L	E	E	E	L
Stuffed animals	17	11	18	17	10	3	4		8
Dolls	13	7	13	11	10	1	1	1	2
Animals	11	10	13	10			3		4
Blankets	7	2	9	8	9		6	1	4
Toys	5	1	6	5	5		3		2
Clothing	4	4	7	2	6	2	3	1	3
Jewelry	6	3	1	5	8		3	1	1
Cars	5	6	6	3	4				1
Furniture	2		3	3	3	2	1	1	1
House interior	2	2	3	2	1	2	1		
Art	3	2	1	1	2	1			1
Containers	2	2	1	2	2		2		1
Musical instrument	2	1		2	2		1		1
Baby bottles	2	2	1	2	1		1		1
Personal print	3	1	2	1		1	1		
Bikes	2	1	2	1					1
Cameras	2	2	1	1					1
Plants	1	1	1	2			1		
Outside places	1		1	1	1				
TOTALS	90	58	89	79	64	12	31	7	29

TABLE 56--Continued

	T	A	C	T	I	G	L	H	N	M	O	S	T	O	U	E	G	E	I	W	S	E	F	R	A	TOTALS	
	E	T	L	E	T	I	N	N	N	P	D	S	P	T	N	G	L	L	T	L	S	L	A	G	I	E	
Stuffed animals-----	10	1	4	1																						108	
Dolls-----	8		4	3																							73
Animals-----	7		5	4	1	1																					72
Blankets-----	7			1	1																						59
Toys-----	2		1	4																							35
Clothing-----																											34
Jewelry-----				1																							31
Cars-----	1		1	2																							29
Furniture-----				1	1																						18
House interior-----	1																										15
Art-----				1																							14
Containers-----					1																						14
Musical instrument-----			1																								11
Baby bottles-----			1																								10
Personal print-----																											9
Bikes-----																											7
Cameras-----																											7
Plants-----																											6
Outside places-----	1																										5
TOTALS-----	37	3	18	17	2	2	17	3																			558

TABLE 57

OBJECTS WITH OBJECTIVE DESCRIPTORS USED BY MALES
SECOND STUDY LIKED OBJECTS

	F	T	C	O	S	M	H	A	A	S	V
	E	T	O	L	I	R	I	E	N	H	I
	A	Y	R	Z	A	M	A	D	A	A	U
	E	P	E	E	L	D	A	P	P	G	A
	E	R	R	E	L	E	E	E	E	E	L
Cars	8	7	9	6	5	4	1	2			
Toys	7	4	7	7	6	1	3				
Stuffed animals	5	5	6	5	2	1					4
Outside places	5	3	5	5	4		2	1			
Animals	4	2	6	6	1						2
Guns	2	4	4	3	4						
Sports	2	2	3	2	2		2				1
Bikes	3	4	4	3	2						
Blankets	2	1	3		3		2				1
Jewelry	2		2	2	3		1				
Clothing	1	2	3	2	2						1
Public print	1	1	1		2		1	1			
Trophies	2	1	1	1	2		1				
Dolls	1	1		1	1						
House interiors			1	1	1						1
People	1		1								
Tools	1	1	1	1							1
Art	1		1	1							
Times, seasons			1								
Furniture							1				
Personal print	1									1	
TOTALS	49	38	59	46	40	3	16	4	13		

TABLE 57--Continued

	T A C T I L E		M O V E M E N T	S O U N D		W E I G H T	S M E L L	F R A G I L E	TOTALS
Cars	1	2	2	2					49
Toys	1	2	3	2					43
Stuffed animals	3	1	1	1			1		35
Outside places	1			1	1		2		30
Animals	2		3	2			1		29
Guns	1		1	1	1	1			22
Sports	1		1	2					18
Bikes			1						17
Blankets	3								15
Clothing	1								12
Jewelry	1	1							12
Public print	1						1		9
Trophies									8
Dolls	1								5
House interiors	1								5
People			1	1			1		5
Tools									5
Art									3
Times, seasons		1	1						3
Personal print									2
Furniture									1
TOTAL	18	7	14	12	2	1	5	1	328

TABLE 58

OBJECTS WITH OBJECTIVE DESCRIPTORS USED BY FEMALES
SECOND STUDY FEARED OBJECTS

	F	T	C	S	M	H	S	A	V
	E	T	O	I	A	A	H	A	I
	A	Y	L	Z	R	M	A	A	S
	U	P	R	E	I	A	D	P	G
	R	E	E	L	E	E	E	E	L
Animals	4	2	6	6			1		
Cars	3	1	1	1	1				
Insects			2	2			1		
Reptiles	1		2	2			1		1
Appliances	1	1	1						
Costumes	1	1		1					1
House interior		1			1		2		1
Tools				1					
Outside place	1	1	1	1					1
Paddles			1	1	1				1
Public print	1		1	1					
Toys	1		2						
Water			2	1					
Dark			1	1					
Dolls	1		1					1	1
People									
Plants	2			1					
Clothing		1	1						1
Prosthesis					1		1		
Wind	1								
TOTALS	17	8	22	19	4	0	6	1	7

TABLE 58--Continued

	T	A	C	T	I	L	E	M	O	S	T	W	E	S	F	TOTALS
	A	L	E	I	G	H	N	N	D	P	T	L	E			
Animals				1				1								21
Cars								2								9
Insects			1	1				1								8
Reptiles													1			8
Appliances			1					2								6
Costumes				1									1			6
House interior													1			6
Tools		1		1				1	1				1			6
Outside place																5
Paddles								1								5
Public print				1				1								5
Toys		1		1												5
Water										1			1			5
Dark						2										4
Dolls																4
People				1				3								4
Plants				1												4
Clothing																3
Prosthesis													1			3
Wind								2								3
TOTALS	2	4	8	14	2	1	5	0								120

TABLE 59

OBJECTS WITH OBJECTIVE DESCRIPTORS USED BY MALES
SECOND STUDY FEARED OBJECTS

	F	T	C	O	S	M	H	S	V
	A	T	O	S	R	A	A	H	I
	U	Y	L	I	I	A	A	A	U
	R	P	O	Z	A	D	P	G	A
	E	E	R	E	L	E	E	E	L
House interior	4			1					1
Water	1	1	1	1	1		1		
Paddles			1	2	3		1	1	
Toys	1		1	1			1		
Insects	1	2	2						
Stuffed animals	1	1	2	2					
Reptiles	1		1	1	1		1		
Animals					1				
Art	1	1	1	1					
Cars	1	1	1				1		
Knives	1	1		1	1		1		
Outside place	1		1	1					
Dark				1	1				
People				1					
Public print							1		
TOTALS	13	7	11	14	7	0	7	2	0

TABLE 59--Continued

	T	A	C	T	I	I	L	E	M	O	S	T	M	H	P	W	E	S	F	TOTALS	
	A	L	E	M	O	U	N	N	V	D	E	E	M	H	T	E	S	R			
House interior-----	3																			10	
Water-----			1						1												9
Paddles-----																					8
Toys-----	1			1								1			1						8
Insects-----				1		1															7
Stuffed animals-----				1																	7
Reptiles-----				1																	6
Animals-----				1		1												2			5
Art-----		1																			5
Cars-----				1																	5
Knives-----																					5
Outside place-----																					3
Dark-----																					2
People-----												1									2
Public print-----			1																		2
TOTALS-----	1	5	7	2	3	1	4	0													84

b. Interactive

The experience of meaning through the senses comes from the distance of visual perception and hearing; it comes from the closer distance of smelling and touching; it also comes through direct kinesthetic and physiological interaction between the person and the object.

Reasons based on interaction with the object comprise 9% of the total reasons given in the first study; 64% of these were given by women, 36% by men.

In the second study, interactions with objects comprise 7% of the total reasons given for liked objects; 59% of these were given by women and 41% by men. Interactions comprise 6% of the total reasons given in relation to feared objects; 68% of these were given by women, 32% by men.

These interactive modes of experience group into three main sets: those that stress actual physical activity involving both the subject and the object, those that stress the presence and participation of the object in the activities of daily life, and those that emphasize simple usefulness and utility. See tables 60-62 for these frequencies and means.

1). Actual Activity

In these descriptions of objects there is actual involvement on the part of the subject that is in some specific way channeled by the qualities of the object. Or, to state the inverse, the object has certain qualities that allow for a range

TABLE 60

SENSING TYPE REAONS: INTERACTIVE
SUBCATEGORY FREQUENCIES AND MEANS BY SEX
FIRST STUDY OBJECTS

REASON CATEGORY	FEMALES		MALES		TOTALS	
	FREQUENCY	MEAN	FREQUENCY	MEAN	FREQUENCY	SIG
Activity	113	2.31	70	2.33	183	NS
Possession	21	.43	9	.30	30	NS
Utility	22	.45	10	.33	32	NS
TOTALS	156	3.19	89	2.96	245	NS

TABLE 61

SENSING TYPE REAONS: INTERACTIVE
SUBCATEGORY FREQUENCIES AND MEANS BY SEX
SECOND STUDY LIKED OBJECTS:

REASON CATEGORY	FEMALES		MALES		TOTALS	
	FREQUENCY	MEAN	FREQUENCY	MEAN	FREQUENCY	SIG
Activity	44	.59	30	.55	74	NS
Possession	22	.31	17	.30	39	NS
Utility	4	.05	2	.04	6	NS
TOTALS	70	.95	49	.89	119	NS

TABLE 62

SENSING TYPE REAONS: INTERACTIVE
SUBCATEGORY FREQUENCIES AND MEANS BY SEX
SECOND STUDY FEARED OBJECTS

REASON CATEGORY	FEMALES		MALES		TOTALS	
	FREQUENCY	MEAN	FREQUENCY	MEAN	FREQUENCY	SIG
Activity	19	.45	9	.32	28	NS
Possession	0		0		0	
Utility	0		0		0	
TOTALS	19	.45	9	.32	28	NS

It was larger than me with striped dangling long legs . . .
It was special because I could hold someone in my arms that
was longer than myself . . . I guess it had a lot of arms to
put around me too.

I would rub his ear between my thumb and fore finger. I would suck my tongue and make a sound like 'goi-goi-goi' (sounds wierd?) I would also take my hair and twirl it in my ear. I would do this with dog tails or cat tails or anything furry or soft.

It felt good to rub the satin between my fingers. I remember distinctly that I needed it when I went to bed.

I always sucked my thumb while tickling my nose with its fuzzes.

My mom would let me sit on her lap and we would 'la-la' just rock back and forth and sing 'la-la' no special tune just sing 'la-la'.

I can remember I was able to walk around the house with it and whenever I would play . . . on the floor the blanket was always underneath me.

It had endless possibilities for acting out every television show that had action.

Wine . . . that I spomped with my very own toesies!

TABLE 63

SENSING TYPE REASONS: ACTUAL ACTIVITY
FREQUENCIES AND MEANS BY SEX BY STUDY

STUDY	FEMALES		MALES		TOTALS	
	FREQUENCY	MEAN	FREQUENCY	MEAN	FREQUENCY	SIG
First	113	2.31	70	2.33	183	NS
Second, liked	44	.59	30	.55	74	NS
Second, feared	19	.45	9	.32	28	NS

Women of the first study describe actual interactions with these things:

Dolls	11	Furniture	3
Jewelry	9	Musical instruments	3
Personal printed material	9	Sports	3
Blanket	8	Bikes	2
Clothing	8	Times and seasons	2
Public printed material	7	Art	1
Toy	7	Container	1
House interior	6	Corsage	1
Stuffed animals	6	Cosmetics	1
Stereo	5	Lamps	1

Cars	4	Money	1
Plants	4	Outside places	1
Souveniers	4	Own body	1
Animals	3	Photo	1

Men of the first study mention interactions with these things:

Sports	16	Times and seasons	2
Bikes	7	Tools	2
Plants	7	T.V.s	2
Outside places	6	Blanket	1
Public printed material	5	Camera	1
Stereos	4	Car	1
Toys	4	Jewelry	1
Animals	2	Musical instruments	1
Alcohol and drugs	2	Stuffed animals	1
Clothing	2	Souveniers	1
Guns	2		

Women of the second study describe interactions with these liked things:

Stuffed animals	8	House interior	2
Dolls	7	Musical instruments	2
Animals	6	Baby bottles	1
Blankets	6	Bikes	1
Toys	5	Cameras	1
Clothing	2	Personal printed material	1
Furniture	2		

Men of the second study mention interection with these liked objects:

Toys	6	Guns	2
Cars	5	Bike	1
Animals	3	Blanket	1
Outside places	3	Doll	1
Sports	3	Outside places	1
Stuffed animals	3	Times and seasons	1

Females of the second study stress interaction with these feared things:

Animals	6	Paddle	1
Insects	3	Prosthesis	1
People	3	Reptiles	1
Water	2	Tool	1
Bike	1		

Men of the second study describe interactions with these feared things:

Paddles	3	Reptiles	1
Animals	1	Stuffed animals	1
Insects	1	Water	1
People	1		

2). Possession

Object descriptions categorized here emphasize two dimensions of possession. Some stress the familiarity of daily involvement with the object; others stress, in addition to the simple fact of its presence, the fact that it is there for the subject, that "It is MINE:" See table 64 for these frequencies and means.

Clothes . . . I'm so used to them.

I've used it every day for so long now.

It's so familiar . . . I use it every morning.

Anything I can call my own.

It was mine, only mine, . . . it was always there for me.

TABLE 64

SENSING TYPE REASONS: INTERACTIVE-POSSESSION
FREQUENCIES AND MEANS BY SEX BY STUDY

STUDY	FEMALES		MALES		TOTALS	
	FREQUENCY	MEAN	FREQUENCY	MEAN	FREQUENCY	SIG
First	21	.43	9	.30	30	NS
Second, liked	22	.30	17	.31	39	NS
Second, feared	0		0		0	

Women of the first study mention actual possession of these things:

Jewelry	4	Clock	1
House interior	3	Clothing	1

Bike	2	Container	1
Car	2	Lamp	1
Furniture	2	Sports	1
Animal	1	Stuffed animals	1
Art	1		

Men of the first study mention possession of these things:

Jewelry	3	Furniture	1
Bike	2	Stereo	1
Car	1	T.V.	1

Women of the second study mention possession of these liked

things:

Stuffed animals		Blanket	
Cars		Camera	
Dolls		Furniture	
Animals		House interior	
Clothing		Jewelry	
Art			

Men of the second study mention possession of these liked

things:

Cars	4	Art	1
Bikes	3	Furniture	1
Stuffed animals	2	Jewelry	1
Toys	2	Stereo	1
Animal	1		

Possession is not mentioned in relation to feared things.

3). Utility

Here are objects described in terms of their functional utility. (Objects experienced as essential for the subjects emotional life are included in the next category to be presented, Section 3. Meaning Experienced Through Feeling.) See table 65 for utility frequencies and means.

My glasses . . . without them I couldn't see.

Bike . . . I need it for exercise.

I could get by with just . . . clothes . . . stereo . . .
T.V.

Car . . . it's more like a necessity for transportation.
 All I would really need to survive are clothes and food.

TABLE 65

SENSING TYPE REASONS: INTERACTIVE-UTILITY
 FREQUENCIES AND MEANS BY SEX BY STUDY

STUDY	FEMALES		MALES		TOTALS	
	FREQUENCY	MEAN	FREQUENCY	MEAN	FREQUENCY	SIG
First	22	.45	10	.33	32	NS
Second, liked	4	.05	2	.04	6	NS
Second, feared	0		0		0	

Females of the first study describe these objects in terms of utility:

Furniture	7	Container	1
Clothing	4	Money	1
Car	3	Rug	1
Food	2	Stereo	1
Bike	1	Tool	1

Men of the first study describe these objects in terms of utility:

Cars	5	Prosthesis	1
Bike	1	Public printed material	1
Outside place	1	Trophy	1

Females of the second study describe these liked things in terms of their utility:

Cars	2
Art	1
Blanket	1

Males of the second study describe liked cars in terms of their utility:

Cars	2
------	---

No feared objects were described in terms of utility.

3. MEANING EXPERIENCED BY FEELING

Holly, the homemaker of our previous example, experiences meaning predominantly through her feelings. Having feelings is extremely important to Holly; she had strong feelings about everything in her life: her house, her furniture, her carpet, her silver, her piano, etc.

Meanings derived from the feeling function comprise 18% of the total reasons given in the first study; 68% of these are given by women, 32% by men. This difference is not statistically significant since a few women whose responses are similar to Holly's in their exuberance account for a high proportion of these descriptions.

In the second study, feeling type descriptors comprise 16% of the total reasons given for liking objects; 66% of these are given by women, 34% by men. This difference is significant at the .05 level.

There are no significant sex differences in the use of feeling type reasons in relation to feared objects. In relation to these feared objects, 13% of the total reasons given are of a feeling type, 66% of these are given by women, 34% by men. See table 66 for these frequencies and means.

Holly has strong affective attachments to things; she also has strong feelings about the relative value of things and states these values as though they are given in the object and, therefore, apparent to everyone else. These values sound like objective matters-of-fact but they actually assume some standard of reference. To Holly, this standard is extroverted; she

TABLE 66

FEELING TYPE REASONS
FREQUENCIES AND MEANS BY SEX BY STUDY

STUDY	FEMALES		MALES		TOTALS	
	FREQUENCY	MEAN	FREQUENCY	MEAN	FREQUENCY	SIG
First	349	7.13	164	5.47	513	NS
Second, liked	193	2.63	99	1.81	292	.05
Second, feared	38	.91	20	.72	58	NS

accepts the values established by collective opinion. She assumes these values are her own, but, in fact what is valuable to her is what is pictured in the magazines and showrooms. To a more introverted person, the standard of reference is internal and subjectively experienced and may be quite different from the dominant cultural values.

These two characteristics of Holly's experience of meaning demonstrate the two types of meaning experienced through the feeling function coded from the questionnaire data: affective descriptors and evaluative statements. Women of the first study use significantly more evaluative descriptors; women of the second study use significantly more affective descriptors. See tables 67-69 for these frequencies and means.

TABLE 67

FEELING TYPE REASONS
SUBCATEGORY FREQUENCIES AND MEANS BY SEX
FIRST STUDY OBJECTS

REASON CATEGORY	FEMALES		MALES		TOTALS	
	FREQUENCY	MEAN	FREQUENCY	MEAN	FREQUENCY	SIG
Affective	233	4.76	126	4.20	359	NS
Evaluative	116	2.37	38	1.27	154	.05
TOTALS	349	7.13	164	5.27	513	NS

TABLE 68

FEELING TYPE REASONS
SUBCATEGORY FREQUENCIES AND MEANS BY SEX
SECOND STUDY LIKED OBJECTS

REASON CATEGORY	FEMALES		MALES		TOTALS	
	FREQUENCY	MEAN	FREQUENCY	MEAN	FREQUENCY	SIG
Affective	149	2.04	74	1.36	223	.05
Evaluative	44	.59	25	.45	69	NS
TOTALS	193	2.63	99	1.81	292	.05

TABLE 69

FEELING TYPE REASONS
SUBCATEGORY FREQUENCIES AND MEANS BY SEX
SECOND STUDY FEARED OBJECTS

REASON CATEGORY	FEMALES		MALES		TOTALS	
	FREQUENCY	MEAN	FREQUENCY	MEAN	FREQUENCY	SIG
Affective	26	.62	12	.43	38	NS
Evaluative	12	.29	8	.29	20	NS
TOTALS	38	.91	20	.72	58	NS

a. Affective

Twelve categories of affective reasons were identified in the data; they are listed here in the order of the frequencies found in the first study: identification with the self, achievement, feeling nurtured, being nurturing, feeling unique, freedom, belonging, essential to affective life, growth, sex appeal, privacy, and pain.

Affective descriptors comprise 12% of the total reasons given in the first study; 65% of these were given by women, 35% by men.

In the second study, affective descriptors again comprise 12% of the total reasons given in relation to liked objects; 67%

of these were given by women, 33% by men. This sex difference is significant at the .05 level. In relation to feared objects, affective descriptors comprise 9% of the total reasons given; 68% of these were given by women, 32% by men. This sex difference is not significant.

Attempts to code degree of affective attachment were not successful; these presented a coding difficulty because these were usually represented non-verbally by size of print, underlining, punctuation, etc.; for example, "It was special because . . ." and "It was special!" This problem is even more pronounced in the coding of feared objects. Some subjects simply answered "I don't remember" to all questions but keep repeating their feelings of fear or using synonyms: "I was terrified", "I was scared", "extreme fear!"

There were also feelings associated with the feelings of fear; these are not coded here because they are feelings about feelings, not feelings about the object, but they are interesting to note:

I didn't like being afraid.

I was upset that something could unnerve me so.

I hated myself . . . I hated my parents . . . because they didn't teach me to swim.

I remember feeling embarrassed . . . dumb.

I felt stupid that everyone else would get on except me.

There are no significant sex differences in the use of affective descriptors in the first study. However, in the second study, women like significantly more things identified with the

self and things that make them feel nurtured; men like significantly more objects that represent achievement. There are no significant sex differences in relation to feared objects. See tables 70-72 for these frequencies and means.

TABLE 70

FEELING TYPE REASONS: AFFECTIVE
SUBCATEGORY FREQUENCIES AND MEANS BY SEX
FIRST STUDY OBJECTS

REASON CATEGORY	FEMALES FREQUENCY	FEMALES MEAN	MALES FREQUENCY	MALES MEAN	TOTALS FREQUENCY	SIG
Self identity	56	1.14	36	1.20	92	NS
Achievement	44	.89	36	1.20	80	NS
Nurtured	34	.69	9	.30	43	NS
Nurturing	34	.69	12	.40	46	NS
Unique subject	13	.27	8	.27	21	NS
Freedom	13	.27	9	.30	22	NS
Belonging	13	.27	4	.13	17	NS
Essential	10	.20	8	.27	18	NS
Growth	11	.22	1	.03	12	.05
Sex appeal	1	.02	3	.10	4	NS
Privacy	4	.08	0		4	NS
Pain	0		0		0	
TOTALS	233	4.76	126	4.20	359	NS

TABLE 71

FEELING TYPE REASONS: AFFECTIVE
 SUBCATEGORY FREQUENCIES AND MEANS BY SEX
 SECOND STUDY LIKED OBJECTS

REASON CATEGORY	FEMALES		MALES		TOTALS	
	FREQUENCY	MEAN	FREQUENCY	MEAN	FREQUENCY	SIG
Self identity	23	.31	8	.15	31	.05
Achievement	17	.23	23	.42	40	.05
Nurtured	20	.27	10	.18	30	NS
Nurturing	67	.91	15	.27	82	.001
Uniqueness	8	.11	6	.11	14	NS
Freedom	6	.08	4	.07	10	NS
Belonging	1	.01	3	.05	4	NS
Essential	2	.03	2	.04	4	NS
Growth	5	.07	3	.05	8	NS
Sex appeal	0		0		0	
Privacy	0		0		0	
Pain	0		0		0	
TOTALS	149	2.04	74	1.36	223	.05

TABLE 72

FEELING TYPE REASONS: AFFECTIVE
 SUBCATEGORY FREQUENCIES AND MEANS BY SEX
 SECOND STUDY FEARED OBJECTS

REASON CATEGORY	FEMALES		MALES		TOTALS	
	FREQUENCY	MEAN	FREQUENCY	MEAN	FREQUENCY	SIG
Self identity	0		0		0	
Achievement	0		1	.01	1	NS
Nurtured	0		0		0	
Nurturing	1	.02	0		1	NS
Uniqueness	0		0		0	
Freedom	1	.02	1	.04	2	NS
Belonging	4	.10	1	.04	5	NS
Essential	0		0		0	
Growth	0		0		0	
Sex appeal	0		0		0	
Privacy	0		0		0	
Pain	20		9		29	NS
TOTALS	26	.62	12	.43	38	NS

1). Identification with self

Here are included all objects described as representing or being identified with the self. See table 73 for these frequencies and means.

Holly always referred to herself by her first name; she seemed to simultaneously objectify herself and identify herself with her possessions. These questionnaire subjects seem to describe a similar feeling identification with the object.

A dress . . . graduating was traumatic. I hate the feeling of things ending that I enjoyed. . . . My mother always wants me to give it away but I won't let her. I would rather throw it away than have someone else wearing my life.

I don't want to get rid of my childhood.

A clock . . . I can't put it away . . . it feels like it is part of my makeup."

TABLE 73

FEELING TYPE REASONS: AFFECTIVE-IDENTIFIED WITH SELF
FREQUENCIES AND MEANS BY SEX BY STUDY

STUDY	FEMALES		MALES		TOTALS	
	FREQUENCY	MEAN	FREQUENCY	MEAN	FREQUENCY	SIG
First	56	1.14	36	1.20	92	NS
Second, liked	23	.31	8	.15	31	NS
Second, feared	0		0		0	

Women of the first study identified themselves with these things:

Souvenirs	9	Jewelry	2
Photographs	6	Plants	2
Art	4	Camera	1
Clothing	4	Clock	1
Dolls	4	Corsage	1
Furniture	4	Money	1
Stuffed animals	4	Musical instrument	1
Personal printed material	3	Public printed material	1
Blankets	2	Sports	1

Cars	2	Trophy	1
House interior	2		

Men of the first study identified themselves with these things:

Sports	10	Blanket	1
Cars	4	Clothing	1
Jewelry	4	Outside places	1
Photos	3	Personal printed material	1
Stereos	3	Plant	1
Musical instruments	2	Tool	1
Animal	1	Trophy	1
Art	1	T.V.	1

Second study females describe these liked things as being identified with themselves:

Blanket	4	Art	1
Dolls	4	Baby bottle	1
Clothing	3	Camera	1
Animals	2	Furniture	1
House interior	2	Musical instrument	1
Personal printed material	2	Plant	1

Second study males describe these liked things as being identified with themselves:

Art	1	Furniture	1
Blanket	1	Sports	1
Car	1	Stuffed animals	1
Clothing	1		

2). Achievement

Here we include all references to accomplishment, achievement, competence, and pride, with and without the element of risk. See table 74 for these frequencies and means.

I won it at a carnival . . . all my friends were trying to win a prize . . . when I asked to play they all laughed at me . . . I played and won. I was so proud of myself.

It reminds me that I have achieved a goal.

Cars . . . shiny symbols of arrogance.

TABLE 74

FEELING TYPE REASONS: AFFECTIVE-ACHIEVEMENT
 FREQUENCIES AND MEANS BY SEX BY STUDY

STUDY	FEMALES		MALES		TOTALS FREQUENCY	SIG
	FREQUENCY	MEAN	FREQUENCY	MEAN		
First	44	.89	36	1.20	80	NS
Second, liked	17	.23	23	.42	40	.05
Second, feared	0		1	.04	1	NS

First study females describe these objects in terms of feelings of achievement:

Clothing	6	Camera	1
Jewelry	4	Car	1
Trophies	4	Doll	1
House interior	3	Furniture	1
Money	3	Knife	1
Art	2	Musical instrument	1
Bike	2	Outside place	1
Costume	2	Personal printed material	1
Sports	2	Prosthesis	1
Stereo	2	Tool	1
Stuffed animals	2	Toy	1

First study males describe these things in terms of achievement:

Sports	15	Jewelry	1
Trophies	8	Knife	1
Bikes	3	Musical instrument	1
Art	1	Outside place	1
Car	1	Tool	1
Clothing	1	Toy	1
Gun	1		

Second study females describe these liked things in terms of feelings of achievement:

Jewelry	3	Animal	1
Toys	3	Art	1
Car	2	Doll	1
Camera	2	Musical instrument	1
House interior	2	Stuffed animal	1

Second study males describe these liked things in terms of

feelings of achievement:

Cars	5	Trophies	2
Bike	3	House interior	1
Guns	3	Jewelry	1
Public printed material	2	Outside place	1
Sports	2	Tool	1
Toys	2		

A second study male describes his feelings of achievement in mastering his fear of water:

Water 1

3.) Nurtured

Included here are all references where the object was nurtured by the subject. See table 75 for these frequencies and means.

I treated her like I would have treated a baby. She was my responsibility.

My doll . . . made me feel good to take care of it.

I tried to care for it like it was real. I would talk to it, tried to feed it once and had it in the bathtub once too."

My dog . . . something to take care of..."

TABLE 75

FEELING TYPE REASONS: AFFECTIVE-NURTURED FREQUENCIES AND MEANS BY SEX BY STUDY

STUDY	FEMALES		MALES		TOTALS	
	FREQUENCY	MEAN	FREQUENCY	MEAN	FREQUENCY	SIG
First	34	.69	9	.30	43	NS
Second, liked	20	.27	10	.18	30	NS
Second, feared	0		0		0	

First study females describe nurturing these things:

Animals	6	Stuffed	2
Bikes	4	Toys	2
Dolls	4	Container	1
Art	3	Corsage	1

Cars	3	Knife	1
Jewelry	3	Money	1
Plants	2	Trophy	1

First study males describe nurturing these things:

Personal printed material	3	Plant	1
Animals	2	People	1
Bike	1	Souveniers	1

Second study females describe nurturing these liked things:

Animals	9	Toys	2
Dolls	5	Art	1
Stuffed animals	3		

Second study males describe nurturing these liked things:

Animals	4	Public printed material	1
Car	1	Sports	1
Doll	1	Stuffed animal	1

4). Nurturing

Here are included all references to the experience of feeling taken care of, loved, or cared for by the object. See table 76 for these frequencies and means.

The ring is a reassurance of being cared for . . . a confidence builder.

My quilt . . . I did feel its comfort in my mind.

It gave me security . . . it was always there to play with or talk to.

It was always there when I needed it.

It gave me . . . a feeling of protection.

My dog . . . she would consol me.

TABLE 76

FEELING TYPE REASONS: AFFECTIVE-NURTURING
FREQUENCIES AND MEANS BY SEX BY STUDY

STUDY	FEMALES		MALES		TOTALS	
	FREQUENCY	MEAN	FREQUENCY	MEAN	FREQUENCY	SIG
First	34	.69	12	.40	46	NS
Second, liked	67	.91	15	.27	82	.0001
Second, feared	1	.02	0		1	NS

First study females describe these things as nurturing:

Blankets	7	Car	1
Animals	5	Clothes	1
Jewelry	4	Doll	1
Stuffed animals	4	Furniture	1
House interior	2	Lamp	1
Personal printed material	2	Outside place	1
Art	1	Own body	1
Bike	1	Tool	1

First study males describe these nurturing things:

Blankets	2	Animal	1
Cars	2	Clothing	1
People	2	Personal printed material	1
Sports	2	Trophy	1

Second study females describe these liked nurturing things:

Stuffed animals	18	Baby bottle	2
Animals	14	Furniture	2
Blankets	11	Container	1
Dolls	8	House interior	1
Clothing	3	Personal printed material	1
Jewelry	3	Plant	1
Art	2		

Second study males describe these liked nurturing things:

Stuffed animals	6	Clothing	1
Blankets	3	Doll	1
Animal	1	Jewelry	1
Art	1	Public printed material	1

A second study female feared one nurturing person:

People	1
--------	---

5). Uniqueness of Subject

Here the object makes the subject feel unique, as distinct from those references which describe the object itself as unique.

See table 77 for these frequencies and means.

I was the only person on my block to have a ten speed.

I wanted every one to notice me.

The clothes . . . gave me a pleasant difference.

The ring . . . makes me feel like an individual.

I was the first one to have one.

TABLE 77

FEELING TYPE REASONS: AFFECTIVE-UNIQUENESS OF SUBJECT
FREQUENCIES AND MEANS BY SEX BY STUDY

STUDY	FEMALES		MALES		TOTALS	
	FREQUENCY	MEAN	FREQUENCY	MEAN	FREQUENCY	SIG
First	13	.27	8	.27	21	NS
Second, liked	8	.11	6	.11	14	NS
Second, feared	0		0		0	

First study females experience these things as making them feel unique:

Clothing	3	House interior	1
Stuffed animals	2	Jewelry	1
Doll	1		

First study males experience these things as making them feel unique:

Toys	2	Clothes	1
Bike	1	Tool	1
Car	1		

Second study females experience these liked things as making them feel unique:

Jewelry	3	Doll	1
Clothing	2	Knife	1
Art	1	Sports	1
Bike	1	Toy	1
Car	1	Times and seasons	1

Second study males describe these liked things as making them feel unique:

Jewelry	3	Clothing	1
Bike	1	Gun	1
Car	1	Trophy	1

6). Freedom

Here are all references to freedom and independence. See table 78 for these frequencies and means.

The room was a type of freedom from my mom.

I always felt free when I was on...my rocking horse.

The play house . . . ear shouts distance away from our mothers.

I felt free . . .when I rode . . . my jumping horse.

TABLE 78

FEELING TYPE REASONS: AFFECTIVE-FREEDOM
FREQUENCIES AND MEANS BY SEX BY STUDY

STUDY	FEMALES		MALES		TOTALS	
	FREQUENCY	MEAN	FREQUENCY	MEAN	FREQUENCY	SIG
First	13	.27	9	.30	22	NS
Second, liked	6	.08	4	.07	10	NS
Second, feared	1	.02	1	.04	2	NS

First study women experience these things as making them feel free:

Cars	5	Money	1
House interior	2	Photos	1
Bike	1	Public printed material	1
Clothing	1	Souvenirs	1

First study males experience these things as making them

feel free:

Cars	4	Outside places	2
Bikes	2	Knife	1

Second study females experience these liked things in terms of freedom:

Cars	3	Blanket	1
Bike	1	House interior	1

Second study males experience these liked things in terms of freedom:

Bike	1	Clothing	1
Car	1	Public printed material	1

A second study woman experiences one feared thing as restricting her freedom:

Dark	1
------	---

A second study male also experiences a feared thing in terms of its restricting his freedom:

Car	1
-----	---

7). Belonging

Here are all references to being part of and accepted by some important human group. See table 79 for these frequencies and means.

It was more a symbol of belonging to the group.

Go Go Boots . . . you couldn't be one of the crowd without them.

It was . . . a way of . . . being with people.

. . . made me feel with everyone else.

It gave me a group of people to belong to.

In relation to feared objects, this feeling is experienced

in terms of its opposite: rejection and isolation.

Drugs . . . I had very strong feelings of rejection . . . I got a very tight trapped feeling. I became very withdrawn from these friends . . . I couldn't talk to them.

Attic bedroom . . . took away my sense of being safe with my family . . . I felt isolated.

TABLE 79

FEELING TYPE REASONS: AFFECTIVE-BELONGING
FREQUENCIES AND MEANS BY SEX BY STUDY

STUDY	FEMALES		MALES		TOTALS	
	FREQUENCY	MEAN	FREQUENCY	MEAN	FREQUENCY	SIG
First	13	.27	4	.13	17	NS
Second, liked	1	.01	3	.05	4	NS
Second, feared	4	.10	1	.04	5	NS

First study females say that these things make them feel like they belong to a group of people that are important to them:

Clothing	2	House interior	1
Jewelry	2	Personal printed material	1
Money	2	Toy	1
Car	1	Trophy	1
Costume	1		

First study males describe these things as helping them feel as though they belong:

Bike	1	People	1
Gun	1	Sports	1

A second study female describes this liked thing in terms of belonging:

Musical instrument	1
--------------------	---

Second study males describe these liked things in terms of belonging:

Gun	1
Jewelry	1
Sports	1

Second study females describe these feared things as making them feel rejected and isolated, the opposite of belonging.

Alcohol and drugs	1	Cultural idea	1
House interior	1	Toy	1

A second study male experiences this feared thing as making him feel rejected:

Cultural idea	1
---------------	---

8). Essential to life

These are references to objects experienced as essential for life or emotional well being. See table 80 for these frequencies and means.

I'd go nuts without...my stereo.

I wouldn't last a week without music.

TABLE 80

FEELING TYPE REASONS: AFFECTIVE-ESSENTIAL TO LIFE
FREQUENCIES AND MEANS BY SEX BY STUDY

STUDY	FEMALES		MALES		TOTALS	
	FREQUENCY	MEAN	FREQUENCY	MEAN	FREQUENCY	SIG
First	10	.20	8	.27	18	NS
Second, liked	2	.03	2	.04	4	NS
Second, feared	0		0		0	

First study females describe these things as essential to their lives:

Food	2	Jewelry	1
Animal	1	Lamp	1
Car	1	Stereo	1
Doll	1	Tool	1
Public printed material	1		

First study males describe these things as essential to their lives:

Food	2	Gun	1
------	---	-----	---

Stereo	2	Prosthesis	1
Clothing	1	Public printed material	1

Second study females describe these liked things as essential to their lives:

Blanket	1
Doll	1

Second study males describe these liked objects as essential to their lives:

Stuffed animal	1
Toy	1

9). Growth

Any reference to growth or maturity. See table 81 for these frequencies and means.

It meant I was getting older.

The room was like I was a big girl.

When I wore them I felt so grown up.

. . . seemed to make me feel older.

. . . made me feel very old and womanlike.

TABLE 81

FEELING TYPE REASONS: AFFECTIVE-GROWTH
FREQUENCIES AND MEANS BY SEX BY STUDY

STUDY	FEMALES		MALES		TOTALS	
	FREQUENCY	MEAN	FREQUENCY	MEAN	FREQUENCY	SIG
First	11	.23	1	.03	12	NS
Second, liked	5	.07	3	.05	8	NS
Second, feared	0		0		0	

First study females describe these things in terms of growth:

Jewelry	3	Money	1
House interior	2	Personal printed material	1

Bike	1	Toy	1
Clothing	1	Trophy	1

A first study male describes one thing in terms of growth:

Bike	1
------	---

Second study females describe these liked things in terms of growth:

Jewelry	2	House interior	1
Furniture	1	Musical instrument	1

Second study males describe these liked things in terms of growth:

Cars	1
Public printed material	1
Sports	1

10). Sex Appeal

These are references to objects that are important because they enhance the subjects appeal to the opposite sex. See table 82 for these frequencies and means.

. . . the reason was that girls loved them.

There is something magnetic about a sharp car . . . almost charismatic--throws off vibrations of sexual appeal perhaps erotic is the word. I want it will attract women for no apparent reason.

TABLE 82

FEELING TYPE REASONS: AFFECTIVE-SEX APPEAL
FREQUENCIES AND MEANS BY SEX BY STUDY

STUDY	FEMALES		MALES		TOTALS	
	FREQUENCY	MEAN	FREQUENCY	MEAN	FREQUENCY	SIG
First	1	.02	3	.10	4	NS
Second, liked	0		0		0	
Second, feared	0		0		0	

A first study female describes one thing in terms of

sex appeal:

Sports 1

First study males describe these things in terms of sex

appeal:

Cars 2
Sports 1

11). Privacy

Here are all references to privacy and control of space.

See table 83 for these frequencies and means.

If I didn't want someone there I could just say so and they had to exit! or else I told my dad.

I can tell people to stay out whenever I want.

TABLE 83

FEELING TYPE REASONS: AFFECTIVE-PRIVACY
FREQUENCIES AND MEANS BY SEX BY STUDY

STUDY	FEMALES		MALES		TOTALS	
	FREQUENCY	MEAN	FREQUENCY	MEAN	FREQUENCY	SIG
First	4	.08	0		4	NS
Second, liked	2	.03	1	.02	3	NS
Second, feared	0		0		0	

First study females describe these things in terms of privacy:

House interior 3
Personal printed material 1

Second study females describe two liked things in terms of privacy:

Container 1
House interior 1

A second study male describes one liked place in terms of privacy:

Outside place 1

12). Pain

Any reference to pain. See table 84 for these frequencies and means.

It symbolized all the pain I went through.

It hurt so bad I thought I was going to die . . . I almost died.

TABLE 84

FEELING TYPE REASONS: AFFECTIVE-PAIN
FREQUENCIES AND MEANS BY SEX BY STUDY

STUDY	FEMALES		MALES		TOTALS	
	FREQUENCY	MEAN	FREQUENCY	MEAN	FREQUENCY	SIG
First	0		0		0	
Second, liked	0		0		0	
Second, feared	20	.48	9	.32	29	NS

Second study females describe pain associated with these feared things:

People	3	Animal	1
Water	3	Bike	1
Cars	2	Dark	1
Death	2	Paddle	1
Insects	2	Prosthesis	1
Tools	2	Reptiles	1

Second study males describe pain associated with these feared things:

Animals	2	Outside place	1
Art	1	People	1
Height	1	Water	1
Insects	1	Reptiles	1

b. Evaluative

Evaluative statements sound like objective facts but are

actually subjective statements of value; they imply some standard or basis of comparison either internal or external.

Evaluative descriptors comprise 5% of the total reasons given in the first study; 75% of these were given by women, 25% by men. This sex difference is significant at the .005 level.

In the second study, evaluative reasons comprise 4% of the total reasons given; 64% of these were given by women, 36% by men. In relation to feared things, evaluative reasons again comprise 4% of the total reasons given; 60% of these were given by women, 40% by men. These sex differences are not significant.

Five types of evaluative descriptors are identified in the data: positive evaluation, value, uniqueness of the object, negative evaluation, and authenticity. See tables 85-87 for these frequencies and means.

TABLE 85

FEELING TYPE REASONS: EVALUATIVE
SUBCATEGORY FREQUENCIES AND MEANS
FIRST STUDY OBJECTS

REASON CATEGORY	FEMALES FREQUENCY	MEAN	MALES FREQUENCY	MEAN	TOTALS FREQUENCY	SIG
Positive	50	1.02	10	.33	60	.005
Value	29	.59	16	.53	45	NS
Unique object	31	.63	11	.37	42	NS
Negative	5	.10	1	.03	6	NS
Authentic	1	.02	0		1	NS
TOTALS	116	2.37	38	1.27	154	.05

TABLE 86

FEELING TYPE REASONS: EVALUATIVE
SUBCATEGORY FREQUENCIES AND MEANS
SECOND STUDY LIKED OBJECTS

REASON CATEGORY	FEMALES FREQUENCY	FEMALES MEAN	MALES FREQUENCY	MALES MEAN	TOTALS FREQUENCY	SIG
Positive	26	.35	8	.15	34	.05
Value	5	.07	6	.11	11	NS
Unique object	12	.16	10	.18	22	NS
Negative	0		0		0	
Authentic	1	.01	1	.02	2	NS
TOTALS	44	.59	25	.45	69	NS

TABLE 87

FEELING TYPE REASONS: EVALUATIVE
SUBCATEGORY FREQUENCIES AND MEANS
SECOND STUDY FEARED OBJECTS

REASON CATEGORY	FEMALES FREQUENCY	FEMALES MEAN	MALES FREQUENCY	MALES MEAN	TOTALS FREQUENCY	SIG
Positive	1	.02	1	.04	2	NS
Value	0		0		0	
Unique object	1	.02	0		1	NS
Negative	10	.24	7	.25	17	NS
Authentic	0		0		0	
TOTALS	12	.29	8	.29	20	NS

1.) Positive evaluation

Here are grouped all positive value judgements. See table 88 for these frequencies and means.

. . . pretty nice looking.

. . . beautiful . . .

It was the most beautiful looking bowling ball I had ever seen!

It was the best glove in the universe.

Strange as it may sound, even though I feared this cat, I still kind of liked him.

TABLE 88

FEELING TYPE REASONS: EVALUATIVE-POSITIVE
FREQUENCIES AND MEANS BY SEX BY STUDY

STUDY	FEMALES		MALES		TOTALS	
	FREQUENCY	MEAN	FREQUENCY	MEAN	FREQUENCY	SIG
First	50	1.02	10	.33	60	.005
Second, liked	26	.35	8	.15	34	.05
Second, feared	1	.02	1	.04	2	NS

First study females give positive evaluations to these things:

Animals	7	Container	1
Art	6	Corsage	1
Jewelry	6	Food	1
Dolls	4	Musical instrument	1
Clothing	3	Own body	1
Furniture	3	Outside places	1
Blankets	2	Plant	1
Bikes	2	Public printed material	1
Cars	2	Stereo	1
House interiors	2	Stuffed animal	1
Candleholder	1	Times and seasons	1

First study males give positive evaluations to these things:

Animals	2	Clothing	1
Bikes	2	Gun	1
Sports	2	Times and seasons	1
Clock	1		

Second study females give positive evaluations to these liked things:

Animals	7	Furniture	2
Stuffed animals	5	Jewelry	2
Cars	3	Baby bottle	1
Clothing	3	Bike	1
Dolls	2		

Second study males give positive evaluations to these liked things:

Animals	3	People	1
---------	---	--------	---

Car	1	Stuffed animals	1
Gun	1	Toy	1

A second study female gives a positive evaluation to one thing even though it is feared:

Animal	1
--------	---

A second study male also gives a positive evaluation to one thing even though it is feared:

Stuffed animal	1
----------------	---

2.) Value

Here are all statements of economic value. See table 89 for these frequencies and means.

It wasn't cheap.

. . . priceless.

. . . very expensive.

. . . worth \$1300.

TABLE 89

FEELING TYPE REASONS: EVALUATIVE-VALUE
FREQUENCIES AND MEANS BY SEX BY STUDY

STUDY	FEMALES		MALES		TOTALS	
	FREQUENCY	MEAN	FREQUENCY	MEAN	FREQUENCY	SIG
First	29	.59	16	.53	45	NS
Second, liked	5	.07	6	.11	11	NS
Second, feared	0		0		0	

First study females mention the value of these things:

Stereos	5	Art	1
Cars	4	Doll	1
House interiors	4	Furniture	1
Bike	3	Personal printed material	1
Jewelry	3	Public printed material	1
Clothing	2	Trophy	1
Money	2		

First study males mention the value of these things:

Bike	4	Furniture	1
Car	4	Jewelry	1
Sports	3	Stereo	1
Container	1	Toy	1

Second study females mention the value of these liked things:

Camera	1	Personal printed material	1
Furniture	1	Stuffed animals	1
Jewelry	1		

Second study males mention the value of these liked things:

Cars	2	Tool	1
Sports	1	Toy	1
Stereo	1		

3.) Uniqueness of object

Here are all references to the uniqueness of the object, as differentiated from the objects that make the subject feel unique. See table 90 for these frequencies and means.

The dress was . . . one of a kind.

Those clothes were unique.

They were nicer than anyone elses.

It was . . . the only one like it.

It was the first one . . . no other bike I've had could ever be like that first one.

TABLE 90

FEELING TYPE REASONS: EVALUATIVE-UNIQUENESS OF OBJECT FREQUENCIES AND MEANS BY SEX BY STUDY

STUDY	FEMALES		MALES		TOTALS	
	FREQUENCY	MEAN	FREQUENCY	MEAN	FREQUENCY	SIG
First	31	.63	11	.37	42	NS
Second, liked	12	.16	10	.18	22	NS
Second, feared	1	.02	0		1	NS

First study females describe these things as unique:

Furniture	5	Candleholder	1
Jewelry	5	Clock	1
Cars	3	Doll	1
Art	2	Outside place	1
Bikes	2	Money	1
Clothing	2	Public printed material	1
Musical instruments	2	Souvenir	1
Plants	2	Stuffed animal	1

First study males describe these things as unique:

Art	2	Car	1
Bike	2	Plant	1
Sports	2	Tool	1
Animal	1	Trophy	1

Second study females describe these liked things as unique:

Animals	3	Camera	1
Dolls	3	Clothing	1
Stuffed animals	2	Toy	1
Bike	1		

Second study males describe these liked objects as unique:

Bikes	4	Stuffed	1
Animals	3	Tool	1
Car	1		

Second study females describe one feared thing as unique:

Animals	1
---------	---

4.) Negative evaluation

This category includes all negative references. See table 91 for these frequencies and means.

It was the ugliest one.

It looks terrible.

Cats . . . are pests.

TABLE 91

FEELING TYPE REASONS: EVALUATIVE-NEGATIVE
FREQUENCIES AND MEANS BY SEX BY STUDY

STUDY	FEMALES		MALES		TOTALS	
	FREQUENCY	MEAN	FREQUENCY	MEAN	FREQUENCY	SIG
First	5	.10	1	.03	6	NS
Second, liked	0		0		0	
Second, feared	10	.24	7	.25	17	NS

First study females give these things negative evaluations:

Animal	1	Doll	1
Art	1	Stuffed animal	1
Clothing	1		

First study males give one thing a negative evaluation:

Jewelry	1
---------	---

Second study females describe these feared objects with negative evaluations:

People	3	Insects	1
Animals	2	Public printed material	1
Appliances	1	Reptiles	1
Doll	1		

Second study males describe these feared things with negative evaluations:

Animals	2	Paddle	1
House interior	1	People	1
Knife	1	Stuffed animal	1

5.) Authentic

All references to authenticity. See table 92 for frequencies and means.

The fur was fake to the touch, but real to the eye.

The ruby was real.

When I got it I thought it was a real gem but now when I look at it it doesn't look real at all.

TABLE 92

FEELING TYPE REASONS: EVALUATIVE-AUTHENTIC
 FREQUENCIES AND MEANS BY SEX BY STUDY

STUDY	FEMALES		MALES		TOTALS	
	FREQUENCY	MEAN	FREQUENCY	MEAN	FREQUENCY	SIG
First	1	.02	0		1	NS
Second, liked	1	.01	1	.02	2	NS
Second, feared	0		0		0	

First study females describe one object as authentic:

clothing 1

Second study females describe one liked object as authentic:

Jewelry 1

Second study males also describe only one object as authentic:

Jewelry 1

4. MEANING EXPERIENCED THROUGH INTUITION

Jung's fourth function, in addition to thinking, sensing, and feeling, is intuition. The intuitive sees that which is not apparent; the key words here are potential and imagination. An extroverted intuitive makes an excellent entrepreneur; he sees business possibilities and anticipates market trends; he sees possibilities and actualizes potential. An introverted intuitive, on the other hand, looks inside instead of at the objective possibilities in the world; he becomes the mystic, the psychic, the seer.

Louise's art work seems to represent a view of intuitively derived realities but the interview was unsuccessful at capturing

any impact of this view on the objects she listed as important to her or on the aspects of her every day life that she described. It may be that she is only a relatively passive instrument for these fantastic images and is unable to articulate these experiences in words; they may not be part of her every day experience of life.

As I shared walks in the city and hikes in the country with Perry, the collage artist, I learned that I was experiencing the environment predominantly through my introverted intuition. I attempted to conform everything I saw to my pre-existing internal image. Quite without intention or awareness of alternatives, I was continually imposing my preferred subjective ideal on the objective world. I was seeing what wasn't there; I was mentally reconstructing my environment according to some internal criteria.

It was through sharing Perry's experience that I became aware of the subjective nature of my own perception and learned to focus more on my sensations in the moment than on my preconceptions of ideal form. Perry experienced the world through his sensations; he imposed no preconceived imaginations on his perception but seemed to simply allow these sensations to penetrate deeply as though embedding them in some continually sensitive internal photographic plate: his own subjective sensory experience.

Reasons derived from the intuitive function comprise 7% of the total reasons given in the first study; 69% of these are

given by women, 31% by men. This difference is not significant.

In the second study, intuitively derived reasons also comprise 7% of the total reasons given for liking objects.; 70% of these are given by women, 30% by men. This sex difference is significant at the .01 level. Intuitively derived reasons for fearing objects make up 5% of the total reasons given; 43% of these are given by women, 57% by men. See table 93 for these frequencies and means.

TABLE 93

INTUITIVE TYPE REASONS
FREQUENCIES AND MEANS BY SEX BY STUDY

STUDY	FEMALES		MALES		TOTALS	
	FREQUENCY	MEAN	FREQUENCY	MEAN	FREQUENCY	SIG
First	132	2.67	59	1.97	191	NS
Second, liked	86	1.16	39	.71	125	.01
Second, feared	10	.24	13	.46	23	NS

In the data there are two types of findings that are experienced through the intuitive function: anticipations and imaginations. See tables 94-96 for these frequencies and means.

Anticipations project some future expectations onto the object now, in the present, and are of 4 types: anticipated possession, role models, references to future children, and general references to the future. See tables 97-98 for these frequencies and means.

Imaginations are of 6 types: fantasy, names given to non-human objects, personifications of non-human objects, mystery, magic, and dreams. See tables 103-105 for these frequencies and means.

TABLE 94

INTUITIVE TYPE REASONS
SUBCATEGORY FREQUENCIES AND MEANS BY SEX
FIRST STUDY OBJECTS

REASON CATEGORY	FEMALES		MALES		TOTALS	
	FREQUENCY	MEAN	FREQUENCY	MEAN	FREQUENCY	SIG
Anticipations	53	1.06	20	.67	73	NS
Imaginations	79	1.61	39	1.30	118	NS
TOTALS	132	2.67	59	1.97	191	NS

TABLE 95

INTUITIVE TYPE REASONS
SUBCATEGORY FREQUENCIES AND MEANS BY SEX
SECOND STUDY LIKED OBJECTS

REASON CATEGORY	FEMALES		MALES		TOTALS	
	FREQUENCY	MEAN	FREQUENCY	MEAN	FREQUENCY	SIG
Anticipations	15	.20	10	.18	25	NS
Imaginations	71	.96	29	.71	100	.005
TOTALS	86	1.16	39	.71	125	.01

TABLE 96

INTUITIVE TYPE REASONS
SUBCATEGORY FREQUENCIES AND MEANS BY SEX
SECOND STUDY FEARED OBJECTS

REASON CATEGORY	FEMALES		MALES		TOTALS	
	FREQUENCY	MEAN	FREQUENCY	MEAN	FREQUENCY	SIG
Anticipations	0		0		0	
Imaginations	10	.24	13	.46	23	NS
TOTALS	10	.24	13	.46	23	NS

a. Anticipations

Anticipations comprise 3% of the total reasons given in the first study; 73% of these are given by women, 27% by men. In the second study anticipations comprise only 1% of the total reasons

given; 60% of these were given by women, 40% by men. This sex difference is significant at the .005 level. No anticipations of feared objects are described.

Anticipations are of four types: anticipated possession, role model, future children, and other future references. There are no anticipations of feared objects. See tables 97-98 for frequencies and means.

1). Anticipated possession

These are references to the experience of the time before the object was acquired by the subject, references to waiting, saving and wanting. Most of these feelings of anticipation are favorable; however, four women list objects that they despair of ever acquiring. See table 99 for frequencies and means.

The funny thing is I don't own the camera yet. I'm still waiting for it.

. . . you always want something more when you wait to get it.

. . . since I always wanted one so bad.

TABLE 97

INTUITING TYPE REASONS: ANTICIPATIONS
SUBCATEGORY FREQUENCIES AND MEANS BY SEX
FIRST STUDY OBJECTS

REASON CATEGORY	FEMALES		MALES		TOTALS	
	FREQUENCY	MEAN	FREQUENCY	MEAN	FREQUENCY	SIG
Possession	28	.49	5	.17	33	NS
Role model	7	.14	12	.40	19	NS
Future child	13	.33	2	.07	15	.05
Future	5	.10	1	.03	6	NS
TOTALS	53	1.06	20	.67	73	NS

TABLE 98

INTUITING TYPE REASONS: ANTICIPATIONS
SUBCATEGORY FREQUENCIES AND MEANS BY SEX
SECOND STUDY LIKED OBJECTS

REASON CATEGORY	FEMALES		MALES		TOTALS	
	FREQUENCY	MEAN	FREQUENCY	MEAN	FREQUENCY	SIG
Possession	4	.05	4	.07	8	NS
Role model	6	.08	4	.07	10	NS
Future child	2	.03	0		2	NS
Future	3	.04	2	.04	5	NS
TOTALS	15	.20	10	.18	25	NS

TABLE 99

INTUITING TYPE REASON: ANTICIPATIONS-POSSESSION
FREQUENCIES AND MEANS BY SEX BY STUDY

STUDY	FEMALES		MALES		TOTALS	
	FREQUENCY	MEAN	FREQUENCY	MEAN	FREQUENCY	SIG
First	28	.49	5	.17	33	NS
Second, liked	4	.05	4	.07	8	NS
Second, feared	0		0		0	

In the first study, females anticipated possession of these objects:

Jewelry	6	Bike	1
Clothing	5	Camera	1
Personal printed material	3	Costume	1
Animals	2	Furniture	1
Cars	2	House interior	1
Containers	2	Money	1
Dolls	2	Toy	1
Stereos	2		

In the first study, males anticipated anticipation of these objects:

Bikes	2
Furniture	1
Gun	1

In the second study, females anticipated possession of

these objects:

Camera	1	Jewelry	1
Doll	1	Stuffed animal	1

In the second study, males anticipated possession of these objects:

Car	1	Tool	1
Jewelry	1	Toy	1

There are no anticipations of possession of feared objects by either men or women.

2). Role model

Here the object is described as providing a guide or basis for future behavior. See table 100 for frequencies and means.

I wanted to be a fireman when I grew up. I often thought about it and wondered what it would be like.

I think we are living out our own personal version of the Box Car Children [book] with all out rebuilding.

That started my interest in what will hopefully be my career.

TABLE 100

INTUITING TYPE REASON: ANTICIPATIONS-ROLE MODEL
FREQUENCIES AND MEANS BY SEX BY STUDY

STUDY	FEMALES		MALES		TOTALS	
	FREQUENCY	MEAN	FREQUENCY	MEAN	FREQUENCY	SIG
First	7	.14	12	.40	19	NS
Second, liked	6	.08	4	.07	10	NS
Second, feared	0		0		0	

In the first study, females experienced these objects as role models:

Dolls	2	Own body	1
Toys	2	Public printed material	1
Furniture	1		

In the first study, males experienced these objects as role models:

House interior	3	Tool	1
Musical instruments	2	Plant	1
Sports	2	Public printed material	1
Toys	2		

In the second study, females experienced these liked objects as role models:

Dolls	4
Clothing	1
Musical instruments	1

In the second study, males experienced these liked objects as role models:

Cars	1	Stuffed animal	1
Sports	1	Toy	1

No feared objects were described as role models by men or women.

3). Future Child

All references to children in the future. See table 101 for frequencies and means.

I will keep them to show them to my kids and grandkids.

Maybe someday my children will use it.

If I ever have children I want to give it to them.

I will hand it on to my daughter.

I plan to use it for my daughter.

TABLE 101

INTUITING TYPE REASON: ANTICIPATIONS-FUTURE CHILD
 FREQUENCIES AND MEANS BY SEX BY STUDY

STUDY	FEMALES		MALES		TOTALS	
	FREQUENCY	MEAN	FREQUENCY	MEAN	FREQUENCY	SIG
First	13	.33	2	.07	15	.05
Second, liked	2	.03	0		2	NS
Second, feared	0		0		0	

In the first study, females describe these objects in terms of anticipated future children:

Toys	3	Furniture	1
Dolls	2	House interior	1
Public printed material	2	Musical instrument	1
Sports	2	Stuffed animal	1

In the first study males describe two objects in terms of future children:

Public printed material	1
Trophy	1

In the second study, females describe two liked objects in terms of future children:

Container	1
Stuffed animal	1

No men of the second study describe any liked objects in terms of future children; no men or women describe feared objects in terms of future children.

4). Future

Any reference to the future. See table 102 for frequencies and means.

. . . making a quilt for my future home.

I guess I am more involved in the future now than the past.

I'm involved in collecting and saving objects for my hope chest.

TABLE 102

INTUITING TYPE REASON: ANTICIPATIONS-FUTURE REFERENCES
 FREQUENCIES AND MEANS BY SEX BY STUDY

STUDY	FEMALES		MALES		TOTALS	
	FREQUENCY	MEAN	FREQUENCY	MEAN	FREQUENCY	SIG
First	5	.10	1	.03	6	NS
Second, liked	3	.04	2	.04	5	NS
Second, feared	0		0		0	

In the first study, females make future references in relation to these objects:

Art	1	Musical instruments	1
House interior	1	Public printed material	1
Jewelry	1		

Men of the first study make future statements in relation to only one object:

Trophy	1
--------	---

Women of the second study make future references to three objects:

Camera	1
Doll	1
Stuffed animal	1

Men of the second study make a reference to the future in relation to two objects:

Cars	2
------	---

b. Imaginations

Imaginations comprise 4% of the total reasons given in the first study; 67% of these were given by women, 33% by men. In the second study, imaginations comprise 6% of the total reasons

given in relation to liked objects; 71% of these were given by women, 29% by men. This sex difference is significant at the .005 level. In relation to feared objects, imaginations comprise 5% of the total reasons given; 43% of these are given by women, 57% by men.

Imaginations are of 6 types: fantasy, names given to non-human objects, personifications of non-human objects, mystery, magic, and dreams. See tables 103-105 for frequencies and means.

TABLE 103

INTUITING TYPE REASONS: IMAGINATIONS
SUBCATEGORY FREQUENCIES AND MEANS BY SEX
FIRST STUDY OBJECTS

REASON CATEGORY	FEMALES		MALES		TOTALS	
	FREQUENCY	MEAN	FREQUENCY	MEAN	FREQUENCY	SIG
Fantasy	17	.35	21	.70	38	NS
Name	29	.59	6	.20	35	.05
Personification	25	.51	8	.26	33	NS
Magic	7	.14	2	.07	9	NS
Mystery	1	.02	1	.03	2	NS
Dream	0		1	.03	1	NS
TOTALS	79	1.61	39	1.29	118	NS

TABLE 104

INTUITING TYPE REASONS: IMAGINATIONS
SUBCATEGORY FREQUENCIES AND MEANS BY SEX
SECOND STUDY LIKED OBJECTS

REASON CATEGORY	FEMALES		MALES		TOTALS	
	FREQUENCY	MEAN	FREQUENCY	MEAN	FREQUENCY	SIG
Fantasy	15	.20	6	.11	21	NS
Name	20	.27	9	.16	29	NS
Personification	36	.49	12	.22	48	.005
Magic	0		2	.04	2	NS
Mystery	0		0		0	
Dream	0		0		0	
TOTALS	71	.96	29	.53	100	.005

TABLE 105

INTUITING TYPE REASONS: IMAGINATIONS
SUBCATEGORY FREQUENCIES AND MEANS BY SEX
SECOND STUDY FEARED OBJECTS

REASON CATEGORY	FEMALES		MALES		TOTALS	
	FREQUENCY	MEAN	FREQUENCY	MEAN	FREQUENCY	SIG
Fantasy	8	.19	9	.32	17	NS
Name	0		0		0	
Personification	0		0		0	
Magic	0		2	.07	2	NS
Mystery	0		0		0	
Dream	2	.05	2	.07	4	NS
TOTALS	10	.24	13	.46	23	NS

1). Fantasy

All references to conscious imaginations, waking fantasies.

See table 106 for frequencies and means.

I would look into it and see things noone else could see. I would sit in front of it for hours. It was like I could see through into another world. I always saw things noone else ever saw. It wasn't my imagination either. What I saw was real.

My bedroom . . . was a giant playground and I was God.

I used to day dream about how rich and famous people lived. . . an escape from reality.

My horse-rock was . . . a doorway to another world . . . my pretend world . . . where I played most of the time.

. . . it helped me . . . leave the world.

It made me dream that I could be like Mary Poppins and fly.

Fantasy was a strong reason for fearing objects. Of the 17 fantasies described, 14 involved the fantasy of things moving to harm the subject in some way. Only 4 of these are capable of autonomous movement: rats, snakes, bugs and bees; the other 14 were inanimate objects.

. . . the tomato plants had gone wild and grew 6 feet tall all over the yard. When I went outside, it was as if they were going to grab me.

I was controlled by fear . . . I really felt I could be swept away out of the window, thrown on the pavement and runned over.

It was a green frog that actually hopped around by batteries in the stomach. You would flip a switch on the bottom and it would hop all over the place. I thought it was going to "Get Me!"

. . . a stuffed fly . . . my brother and sister used to tell me it was alive and move it without my knowing, even when I was in the room, and I would believe it was alive . . . that it would fly over and get me.

. . . Halloween masks . . . I thought if I was alone, They would attack me.

I thought the rubber snakes would come alive.

I used to see things move . . . little things like spots in the ceiling and my door moving back and forth. When the door was open I was always afraid something would come out.

There is the suggestion that not looking at things and things that are only partially seen are especially frightening, perhaps because they provide a basis for fantasy:

She was always in the dark, so you could never really see her.

I was frightened to go in it, but most of all near it.

The hopping frog was put in the closet for about 2 years then I finally looked at it."

The power of fantasy to fill in the details of one's perceptions is illustrated by this young man. The magical nature of protection against fantasy is also demonstrated here, so I quote at length.

The rats were first sighted on the corner house's back yard. I never saw the rats, but I feared the thought of them. They are medium sized rodents about a foot long. Each one was dark black but had dust and dirt particles on its

body to give it a gray hue. They were fat, almost looking like an overstuffed purse. The rats had beady eyes and long fangs sticking out of their mouth. When their mouths were open in order to bite, each tooth was sharply pointed. Those rats had long thick tails and seemed to dart about slyly to get around.

When I first began thinking about these rats, I was terribly afraid that they would sneak up and bite me in the legs. I was sure that a rat bite would hurt and possibly poison me. I was so frightened that I would get bit that for about a week I would very rarely walk on the ground. I used to ride on my bike from my own doorstep to my girlfriend's stairs without ever touching the ground. . . I believed I was safe if my feet never touched the outdoor ground.

TABLE 106

INTUITING TYPE REASON: IMAGINATIONS-FANTASY
FREQUENCIES AND MEANS BY SEX BY STUDY

STUDY	FEMALES		MALES		TOTALS	
	FREQUENCY	MEAN	FREQUENCY	MEAN	FREQUENCY	SIG
First	17	.35	21	.70	38	NS
Second, liked	15	.20	6	.11	21	NS
Second, feared	8	.19	9	.32	17	NS

These objects were used as a basis of fantasy for women of the first study:

Public printed material	4	Cosmetics	1
Dolls	3	Food	1
Art	2	House interior	1
Furniture	2	Jewelry	1
Stereos	2		

These objects were used as a basis of fantasy for males of the first study:

House interior	3	Jewelry	1
Public printed material	3	Outside place	1
Clocks	2	Personal printed material	1
Souveniers	2	Sports	1
Plants	2	Stereo	1
T.V.	2	Toys	1
Guns	1		

These objects were used as a basis for fantasy for females

of the second study:

Toys	4	Stuffed animals	2
Animals	2	Camera	1
Dolls	2	Furniture	1
Personal printed material	2	House interior	1

These objects were used as a basis for fantasy for males of the second study:

Outside places	2	Stuffed Animal	1
Toys	2	Trophy	1

These feared objects were the basis for fantasy for women of the second study:

Wind	2	Insects	1
Dark	1	Public printed material	1
Doll	1	Reptiles	1
House interior	1		

These feared objects were the basis for fantasy for men of the second study:

House interior	2	Insects	1
Animal	1	Reptiles	1
Art	1	Stuffed animals	1
Car	1		

2). Name

All non-human objects given a name. See table 107 for frequencies and means.

. . . '55 Chrysler . . . I named him Sherman.

Taffy

Waldo

White Cloud

Rose-a-Bell

TABLE 107

INTUITING TYPE REASON: IMAGINATIONS-NAME
 FREQUENCIES AND MEANS BY SEX BY STUDY

STUDY	FEMALES		MALES		TOTALS	
	FREQUENCY	MEAN	FREQUENCY	MEAN	FREQUENCY	SIG
First	29	.59	6	.20	35	.05
Second, liked	20	.27	9	.16	29	NS
Second, feared	0		0		0	

These things were given names by women of the first study:

Animals	16	Blankets	3
Dolls	5	Bike	1
Stuffed animals	4		

These things were given names by men of the first study:

Animals	3
Stuffed animals	2
People	1

These things were given names by women of the second study:

Animals	9	Blankets	2
Dolls	4	Car	1
Stuffed animals	4		

These things were given names by males of the second study:

Animals	3	Blankets	2
Stuffed animals	3	People	1

No feared things were given names by men or women.

3). Personification

All non-human objects treated like another person in a relationship. See table 108 for frequencies and means.

New Years was my next best friend . . . being a bike for a girl I knew she was a girl too . . . I used to talk to her a lot . . . New Years and I would go all over Statian Island.

The marbles . . . sorting them out, pretending they were people, the clear ones were good, the multi were bad.

The only thing that really made me happy as a child were those buildings and the adventures that they had.

I ran into another car . . . I apologized to the car asking it to forgive me.

I could always talk to my blanket . . . it was my shoulder to cry on.

It almost felt like I was killing someone or throwing away a real live person. That's probably because she was a real live person to me for so many years.

One reference to a personified car is especially interesting:

My car has a lot of emotional value to me . . . I treat it like a girlfriend and often talk to it in a sweet and loving tone.

The man who treats his car like a girlfriend was among the 8 men who listed women as objects in spite of repeated, explicit instructions not to include people:

The most important thing in my life today is my girlfriend Karen.

TABLE 108

INTUITING TYPE REASON: IMAGINATIONS-PERSONIFICATION
FREQUENCIES AND MEANS BY SEX BY STUDY

STUDY	FEMALES		MALES		TOTALS	
	FREQUENCY	MEAN	FREQUENCY	MEAN	FREQUENCY	SIG
First	25	.51	8	.26	33	NS
Second, liked	36	.49	12	.22	48	.005
Second, feared	0		0		0	

These things were personified by women of the first study:

Animals	8	Car	1
Dolls	5	Jewelry	1
Bikes	2	Musical instrument	1
Stereos	2	Plant	1
Stuffed animals	2	Toy	1
Blanket	1		

These things were personified by males of the first study:

Animals	4	Bike	1
Stuffed animals	2	Car	1

These liked things were personified by females of the second study:

Stuffed animals	13	Blankets	7
Dolls	8	Baby bottle	1
Animals	7		

These liked things were personified by males of the second study:

Stuffed animals	3	Animal	1
Cars	2	Blanket	1
Sports	2	Outside place	1
Toys	2		

No feared things were personified by men or women.

4). Mystery

References to the unknown or hidden. See table 109 for frequencies and means.

Although I could not see or feel the currant . . . it could make things happen. I could sit . . . wondering what made it keep turning so fast without tiring (now that I know all the principles behind it has lost special meaning).

I always thought there was something mysterious to find out and I always had to do it in secret.

TABLE 109

INTUITING TYPE REASON: IMAGINATIONS-MYSTERY FREQUENCIES AND MEANS BY SEX BY STUDY

STUDY	FEMALES		MALES		TOTALS	
	FREQUENCY	MEAN	FREQUENCY	MEAN	FREQUENCY	SIG
First	1	.02	1	.03	2	NS
Seconds, liked	0		0		0	
Second, feared	0		0		0	

One woman of the first study found something mysterious about reading other people's diaries:

Personal printed material 1

One man of the first study found mystery in a toy electrical generator:

Toy 1

5). Magic

References to either personal ideocyncratic magic or conventional religious magical beliefs. See table 110 for frequencies and means.

She brought good luck to her owners.

Everyone had to have their ring twisted 100 times by 100 people to get good luck.

It protected me . . . because it was blessed.

TABLE 110

INTUITING TYPE REASON: IMAGINATIONS-MAGIC
FREQUENCIES AND MEANS BY SEX BY STUDY

STUDY	FEMALES		MALES		TOTALS	
	FREQUENCY	MEAN	FREQUENCY	MEAN	FREQUENCY	SIG
First	7	.14	2	.07	9	NS
Second, liked	0		2	.04	2	NS
Second, feared	0		2	.07	2	NS

Women of the first study found magic in these objects:

Jewelry	3	Doll	1
Art	1	Trophy	1
Clothing	1		

Men of the first study found magic in these objects:

Jewelry 2

Men of the second study found magic in these two liked objects:

Jewelry 1
Sports 1

Men describe two feared objects in terms of magic:

Insects	1
Reptiles	1

No women of the second study describe things in terms of magic.

6). Dream

Reference to a night time dream. See table 111 for frequencies and means.

The time 5:55 was special. It was my favorite time because in a dream I had long ago it marked the arrival of Santa Claus . . . I have never forgotten that dream or the time 5:55.

. . . dog . . . I used to have dreams of killing it.

TABLE 111

INTUITING TYPE REASON: IMAGINATIONS-DREAM
FREQUENCIES AND MEANS BY SEX BY STUDY

STUDY	FEMALES		MALES		TOTALS	
	FREQUENCY	MEAN	FREQUENCY	MEAN	FREQUENCY	SIG
First	0		1	.03	1	NS
Second, liked	0		0		0	
Second, feared	2	.05	2	.07	4	NS

One man of the first study describes a dream:

Time	1
------	---

Two females of the second study describe dreams about feared things:

Animals	1
Plants	1

Two males of the second study describe dreams about feared things:

House interior	1
Public printed material	1

V. CHANGING MEANINGS

Meanings change. Descriptions of objects and their meanings are often embedded in stories about these changes. In opposition to these stories of change are emphatic statements that some things will never change, that the object is still special and will always continue to be special in the future. These stories cluster into three sets: descriptions of things that are still special, stories of wrenching losses and stories of transitions and transformations of meaning. Here we move from statistical descriptions of objects and reasons as though they were static states to thematic description of process and change.

A. OBJECTS THAT ARE STILL SPECIAL

Many subjects state emphatically that the object listed is still special; most of these assume that these objects will always continue to be important:

Any time I had or have a special feeling about some object, that object always remains special to me. Everything that I've described to you maybe once in my life had a lot of special meaning, that object is still special, because everything I've described as being part of my life are parts of different experiences I've had growing up. Forgetting one of those objects is like forgetting part of my life. I'll always remember the special meanings behind everything I own, because the objects have some part in the way my life is now.

I still have it and it is still special.

My bear . . . was ruined but I still keep it on my bed every night.

I will keep it always.

When things are still special they are experienced as irreplaceable:

When I was about 13 I started wearing a Levi Jacket. Anytime I would go out that levi jacket would always be with me, I remember some times in preticluar when it was really hot out, I would come strolling out of my house with the jacket and my friends would laugh and told me the reason I wore it was because I couldn't take it off. As the years pasted and I grew taller, the jacket began to get a bit tight, but I never went out and bought another one, no way !! I don't think a person could have got that jacket away from me if he gave me a million dollars! It got to a point were I almost felt naked without it, and when I wore it I thought I was tougher and stronger, It even gave me a sense of pride. I still have that levi jacket . . .

. . . antique furniture left by my mother from the family in Indiana: 2 cherry dressers, a night table, three quarter-sized bed, small round table. All Quaker furniture. All of these are irreplaceable!

I attempted to count the number of times that objects were described as still special but concluded that the figures are meaningless since it was impossible to capture the difference between "I still have it" as an implicit answer to the probe "What happened to it?" and "I still have it!" as an indication of how special it is. In this case the only indicator of the difference is an exclamation point, and I had made the decision earlier that it was impossible to accurately code punctuation.

B. WRENCHING LOSSES

Some subjects say they have never lost anything that was important to them:

As long as I can remember I've always had the things that were important to me, close or at least, I've known where

they were at. I've never experienced loss of something that was important to me.

I would have to say that I never really had an inanimate object that meant enough to me to cause any hurt at its loss.

I'm not really the type of person who keeps things around. I don't usually get that attached to objects. I have a hard time thinking and remembering. I throw everything away.

But most people describe experiences of loss. Some of these statements sound relatively unemotional and matter of fact:

I feel let down when it breaks. I relate to it but it doesn't relate to me. You shouldn't have a dependence on such an object.

My dolls got blown up by my brother and his friends before I could really become attached to them.

Interestingly enough, this last woman makes no other references to her dolls or other physical objects, but goes on to describe her school work and social activities as being especially important to her.

Most stories of loss are accompanied by expressions of sadness, pain, and anger. Even fear of loss is a powerful feeling:

As the months past I put her aside and when I looked for her later, I couldn't find her anywhere -- I was terribly upset -- but wouldn't ask my mother to help me find her -- because if we didn't find her -- that meant she was gone forever and I couldn't have taken that.

Women of the first study describe significantly more wrenching losses than men (.005).

When the losses are experienced and expressed they are attributed to three different causes. Some things are lost due to circumstances beyond human control: things fall apart, are destroyed by fires and floods, or inexplicably disappear. These

I call existential wrenchings. Some things are wrenched out of the subject's life by other people, usually parents or brothers. These I call social wrenchings. Some things are gotten rid of by the subject; these are classified as self wrenchings.

1. EXISTENTIAL WRENCHINGS

The expression of emotion does not always seem to the outside observer to be in proportion to the degree of loss. This subject only says "I felt sad" in the face of what would appear to be a devastating series of losses:

A Tedi Bare that I used to toss around and Beat on. This was when I was 3. I got rid of it when I finally tore it apart. I Didn't really care much because I always had my brother.

I had a big German Shepperd that used to toss me around. He went mad and my parents put him away. I was sad because he was more than just a dog I guess.

Baseball always seemed to be a big part of my younger day. At least while my brother was living. We used to sort of compeet with each other.

He has lost the only three objects listed: his teddy bear, his dog and playing baseball with his brother; when he is asked to tell about objects that are special to him in the present, he writes:

There are no things that I would actually say no I can't give that up, except for food and water.

We get the sense of passive acceptance from this report; these things were wrenched out of his life by circumstances totally out of his control. The bear fell apart, the german Shepherd was "put away" by his parents and the brother died. Subjects vary in their degree and type of emotional response to loss:

We had a flood in the basement and my . . . pink

cardboard kitchen set . . . was ruined. I was sick in bed with a fever, because I was so upset.

. . . a fire . . . no one was injured, but I hadn't realized how much of my SELF was wrapped up in that house. That house was everything we had built, labored over, put together, saved for, cried over, over the years -- IT WAS OUR LIVES! . . . I shall never forget that helpless sense of loss.

My skates and the bear and the rest of my items from childhood were all lost . . . our house caught fire and everything we owned was lost in the fire. It's a strange thing to stand there and watch the flames shooting out of the windows and knowing that there goes everything you own and all the things that meant so much to you. It was an awful feeling to just stand there and be so helpless. . . . everything was gone. You have no roots left when this happens, there's nothing to look back on, everything you cherished is gone forever. All my friends had things from their childhood . . . I had absolutely nothing . . . that's what I really missed, my link with the past.

One day last year when I was coming home from school, the car started acting strange and as I pulled over somebody yelled 'Get away from the car it's on fire!' Sure enough! Well there was so much burnt in the engine . . . there was no point fixing it. I felt miserable.

Females of the first study describe significantly more existential wrenching losses than males (.01).

2. SOCIAL WRENCHINGS

Some things are wrenched away by other people, usually mothers and brothers:

No matter where I went I would drag this blanket with me. My mother didn't seem to mind at first but when I was about 5 she threatened to take it away from me. I couldn't believe how cruel she was being and became frightened that she was actually going to take it away from me FOREVER. When the day finally came that she took it away from me (I wasn't around at the time), I became hysterical. I cried for at least three days.

My uncle who I was always afraid of took my bottle and through it down the stairs into the basement which was very dark. I was too afraid to go and get it.

My doll was ripped to shreds by my brother. He got mad at me . . . he took my doll and kept hitting it against the

bedboard till all the stuffing was out . . . even tho he was one year younger I couldn't stop him. I needed that doll.

I discovered that my parents had dumped my precious dollhouse in front of the house with the garbage . . . they were actually throwing it away . . . they never told me . . . I cried for days.

My brother didn't know Muggsy couldn't swim and he threw him in the pool. Muggsy got soaked and drowned. I didn't like my brother in the first place and now he make it worse. My pet monkey Muggsy ended up in the garbage. I've never found one like him. It was a sad day.

One day while at the park playing ball some older guys pulled my bike up a flagpole on a rope and dropped it. The bike became all bent and misformed. . . . I often think about that bike.

My stuffed animals were special to me when I was little . . . but most of them were battered up because since I'm the oldest of 5 children, there was no way for me to keep my toys nice when my brothers and sisters would play with them and ruin them!

I remember clearly it was a Saturday, about 12 noon my brother was across the street playing with [my gun] when he tripped and fell breaking the muzzle off. Just then my mom pulled up with her Saturday morning grocery shopping. I ran crying to her and told her the story, she said it was stupid for me to cry over a dumb toy and ordered me to my room for the rest of the day. I spent the day crying at the window watching the boys play guns outside. I don't believe I ever pick up another toy gun again.

I value all my snapshots taken through the years. My mother was always distructive with pictures, cutting them up or giving them away. I regret the fact that she is responsible for the lost of most of my high school/college days photos.

Although many objects belonging to girls are destroyed by brothers, this sister had a helpful brother who altered the outcome of the story:

I remember a gray and white teddy bear which I carried around with me all the time. My brothers and I decided one day that the bear was very dirty, so we washed it. My mom said afterwards that the bear smelled so bad so she threw it out in the garbage. I was heartbroken at the thought of losing my bear and I cried for a long time. That evening my

oldest brother had to take the garbage out, when he did he looked thru the garbage can and found my bear and hid it until the next day. When he brought it back into the house, we hid the bear until my mom was out and then washed and dried it in front of the stove. I kept the bear hidden in the closet for a long time. After a couple of months my mom found the bear. By then he didn't smell and she let me keep him.

A few mothers are experienced as supportive rather than destructive:

At first I was afraid that the cat would go to shreds, but it never did. When the cloth covering on her became thin, my mother would cut and sew on a new piece of material over her body. One time she sewed on a piece for the face with crossed eyes. We noticed soon enough and another face was put on.

3. SELF WRENCHINGS

People sometimes get rid of things themselves and then regret it deeply:

I had a favorite doll . . . when I was 11 . . . I decided I was too old for the doll and gave it to one of the little girls I babysat for. There were some pangs of regret when I gave it away . . . I missed it . . . I missed it for quite awhile. When I would babysit for the little girl, I would hold the doll after she had gone to sleep and wish I had never given the doll away. I guess it took six months before I finally got over it.

One stuffed animal I had - Waldo - a green dog I won at Adventureland. I gave away when I was in third grade to the poor. Our school was collecting things to give to the poor for Christmas and I gave him. I hated to give him away - it hurt so much. I chose to give him away because there was this guy on our block who is 4 or 5 yrs older than I and his name is Aldo. Everyone would tease me about liking Aldo (though I didn't at all) by naming a stuffed animal after him. After I gave Waldo away everyone stopped teasing.

C. TRANSITIONS AND TRANSFORMATIONS

In these stories of transition and transformation we only catch a glimpse of the surface pattern of what I assume to be a deeper, more complex process. The focus of the questionnaire was the object, so even these glimpses are gratuitous and unexpected.

In this section, I quote fragments of these changing surface patterns.

1. NATURAL RESOLUTION

Some objects just seemed to have gradually lost meaning and were forgotten or lost to awareness with no associated feelings of loss, sadness or pain. This gradual fading of importance I call natural resolution:

. . . I don't remember being particularly interested in what happened to it [the doll] after I started school.

. . . I just stopped bowling and misplaced it [bowling ball].

I don't remember what eventually happened to it [sled]. I think I just outgrew it and it was given away.

. . . I grew out of my childhood things, including Erma [doll].

. . . it was a phase . . .

I never play it now. After all those years of playing and studying the clarinet I have no interest because I don't feel it is part of my life now. My husband will ask every now and then why I don't play it but I have different goals now.

I slowly grew out of all this. . . . I never thought I'd feel the way I do now. I just could care less about Donny Osmond.

It was not a great loss for me -- I think I was growing out of that stage (sandbox) at the time.

I don't remember feeling anything about its loss because I don't remember when I stopped using it [pedal car].

Sometimes the importance of the object in the past is recalled with humor:

I still have them but now they are more of a joke to me than something special.

Later on when I looked at pictures of me in that dress I couldn't stop laughing. What I thought was beautiful at the ages of 14 and 17 seemed really laughable at the age of 25.

Now I would never buy such a busy dress. I looked like a horse in it!

Sometimes the acquisition of the object was only anticipated but the wanting itself seems to have undergone a natural resolution:

I never did get big boobs, so I guess the getting over it was mentally.

2. SATISFYING TRANSITIONS

Some people describe a sequence of objects; the feeling of importance seems to be transferred from one object to the next in the sequence in a way that is experienced as satisfactory.

The bike was just replaced by another thing which seemed to be more popular at the time.

I don't miss my drum set because I have the metals I won.

When I no longer possess an object - loose, sell, give away, stolen, etc. -- I usually replace its place in my world with an object of another appeal which I think I would like. I like experiencing different worlds (imagination worlds). If for instance I lived in a high rise, I would enjoy it if I had a sort of rustic interior - to replace the sence of a lost outdoor life . . .

Nothing to me - material - would cause me to be regretful for more than a few months in the back of my mind. An almost stoic viewpoint I guess even though I know I am more feeling than stoic inside. . . . after all objects are just nature in an altered form. They can be replaced with feeling for something else.

This man describes a satisfying transition from value attributed to the external object to the more subjective value of his own internal experience:

. . . cards, letters, gifts . . . lost their value because I found deeper value in life and found security of the mind.

Through loss, this man discovers the distinction between meaning attributed to the object and his own internal experience

of meaning and values this discovery:

I seem to be changing all the time. I lost things I really liked but found out that the only loss was the thing, what I did not lose was me. I was a better person for the grief.

This woman carries the experience of the object "in the back of my mind" and transfers her affective attachment to objects in the present that have similar qualities.

One day my mother had to take it away from me without me knowing. She put it in a bag and threw it out in the garbage one afternoon while I was taking a nap. I really missed it for days but I finally got over it. It was a square quilted nylon blanket all of patchwork, each patch of a different color. It was so soft and warm and cuddly. That was my security. I think that today, I still have it in the back of my mind because I love quilted blankets.

In contrast, this woman carries the object itself with her, but in an altered form.

I could always wrap up in it and feel safe -- fall asleep. It has now become batting for another comforter.

3. UNSATISFYING TRANSITIONS

Satisfying transitions tend to sound like rational explanations or descriptions; in contrast, those experienced as unsatisfactory have a more emotional, irrational quality to them:

. . . my pink ball . . . went into the street and was smashed by a car I was completely crushed by this. My Dad felt sorry for me and bought me a new one just like it but it was never the same.

This phrase "but it was never the same" frequently follows stories of unsatisfactory replacement or attempted repair. Perhaps a clue to why the replacement was not experienced as satisfactory is found in the use of verbs here: the ball was "smashed" and the little girl was "completely crushed". An identical new ball could not repair such damage.

These attempted repairs were also unsatisfactory:

One day a girl down the block pulled it off the banister on my porch and broke the beak off. I really felt like the duck was real, so I really felt bad that it had to suffer so. My father put a clothespin in the place where the beak had been, but I never felt the same way about my duck again.

Civil War rifle . . . was beautiful. One of my friends broke the rifle on me. I tried to fix it but the beauty was gone so I threw it away. I learned that beauty can be destroyed . . . at about six years old.

Once something really important is lost it can never really be replaced so that that object means the same thing to you.

Here an inadvertent replacement, visually identical, was definitely not satisfactory:

My own bed was also very special. It is just a double bed -- old and rocky, with the ends about to fall off. When we moved I knew the bed given to me was not MY bed -- even though the set looks exactly alike, I didn't sleep but cried until my parents had to change the room around and I finally got it.

Replacements sometimes arouse conflicting feelings:

. . . my bike was stolen . . . when I got a new one, it just wasn't the same, I didn't treat it with care and often abused it.

. . . tape recorder . . . it broke . . . I began to feel like it was my fault for breaking and that my parents thought I couldn't take care of it.

. . . my bike was stolen . . . I just didn't feel right riding a bike that I bought myself after the one my parents gave me got stolen.

4. ROLE OF SIBLINGS IN CHANGING MEANINGS

Younger siblings often had a place in the process of transition:

. . . my dolls . . . were broken or discarded and replaced with babies my mother started having after W.W.II.

. . . dresses that I loved . . . were passed down to my younger sisters.

My stuffed animals were special to me when I was little. I had all kinds --but most of them were battered up because I'm the oldest of 5 children, there was no way for me to keep my toys nice when my brothers and sisters would play with them and ruin them! But as I grew older and gained responsibilities I learned how to share and see the happiness my brothers and sisters gained by playing in their own way.

I can't think of any other object from my childhood. When I was a kid I had three older brothers and was dominated by them pretty much. It wasn't until later in life when I became bigger than them that things began to change.

5. LONG RANGE EFFECTS

Sometimes the importance of the object fades but the experience of importance continues to have an effect:

After a while the trend in the object seemed to fade but for some reason I still wanted to be a fireman when I grew up. During my childhood years I often thought of it and wondered what it would be like.

This woman attributes a long term attitude to this memory of a childhood loss; notice the peculiar phrase "I can't still remember perfectly":

Neither Sam nor Bozo liked strangers on the block with us children while we were playing. One day this black kid from a couple of blocks away came on our block on his bike. I can't still remember perfectly jumping rope in the middle of the street, and seeing Bozo chasing this black kid down the block and the kid was laughing all the way. Then the kid lead Bozo into the middle of the street where a car ran him over . . . maybe that is why I hate all black or foreign people.

6. ATTITUDES TOWARD GROWING UP

Conflicting feelings about growing up and the passing of time is a recurrent theme:

Another object that's important is a watch. I wear one constantly. . . . I like to know what time it is - time is very important to me. I get scared when it goes by too fast, but many times I get bored when it goes by too slow. I was afraid to grow up but now that I almost am, I'm enjoying it. I wish I didn't have to grow up anymore - I guess I'm still afraid of time; but I have to and there's no stopping it.

The motion pictures my dad took of me when I was a child seem to show us that time is aging us all. It's a shame because if I was my parents and was looking back on those movies I'd like to have those years back. When you're reviewing your life like this you really start to feel the cold worlds problems. It would be nice to pick a certain age and just stay young.

. . . my lilac gown. It signified my youth, a time when I didn't have a care in the world and was not aware of the realities of life.

This woman describes a comfortable transition from free outdoor play to playing with dolls:

When I was five years old, I had a swing set which was one of the things I loved. I used to play on it every day with my friends. . . . one day while I was crossing my swing set I fell and broke my arm. I had to stay overnight in the hospital. While I was in the hospital my father brought me my first Barbie doll and a few outfits to go along with it. . . . that started my collection of Barbie dolls. . . . I still have all of them and I will save them for my children.

However, several women resist leaving the aspect of childhood symbolized by dressing and playing like boys:

This may sound strange, also, but another thing I missed when I got rid of it was my undershirts. I started not wearing one before a couple of my younger friends and I hated bras. It meant that I was growing up and I didn't want that. I wanted to stay a child and always be one. Many times I wish it now, but wearing an undershirt wouldn't bring it back!!

The most important objects to me from the time I was 8 years old until I was 13 was my baseball glove and a baseball. I used to be so proud of myself every summer because I was the only girl what could ever play with the boys. I played whatever position I wanted and I was a very good hitter. When the other girls came to play, they couldn't or else they could just play catcher. Sometimes I was even a captain and got to be the one to choose my team, and if I wasn't captain, I would be one of the first ones picked. I think this was the time of my life when I had the most confidence in myself, much more so than now . . .

Then, in eighth grade one day, I was with some of my girlfriends from school and we were watching the guys play baseball. My little brother came up to me and asked me if he could use my baseball mitt. I kind of shrunk in front of the

other girls, praying that they didn't hear him, and said -- yes, and you can have it too -- What I used to be so proud of, I became embarrassed about. As I got older I realized that girls weren't supposed to play baseball with boys. There went a lot of my security and confidence...

Several women expressed dissatisfaction with the cultural role they were growing into; no men made such statements. In fact, this man expresses satisfaction with the role he dreamed of as a child.

When I enlisted I requested to be a firefighter. I got to be something I dreamed of as a kid.

Contrast his attitude with the dissatisfaction expressed by this woman.

I think the role my dolls played was a waste of time. The male dolls had much more excitement such as G.I. Joe dolls while woman dolls were just showy and lived to dress up. I think today women are still stuck in a similar role. It was probably men who designed the things too!

VI. RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE MEANING AND THE QUALITIES OF THE OBJECT

What is the relationship between the qualities of the object and the particular meanings that it carries? Is there some necessary connection between the quality and the meaning or is the relationship quite arbitrary? Some object descriptions suggest an essential connection. In the following case the relationship is a conceptual one. The story of Mary Poppins is the story of a woman who could fly; the thought of flying was the connection between the subject and the object.

. . . doll . . . most of all it made me dream that one day I could be like Mary Poppins and fly, better yet be able to travel to different parts of the world.

The woman who wrote this then went on to describe her trip to Greece and the objects that she brought back with her. There was not only a necessary relationship between a feature of the object and the meaning it carried for the subject, but the meaningful object actually operated as a model or pattern for future behaviors.

In this next example, there is a feeling-type correspondence between the flame of the candle and the warmth it provided. But this warmth is more complex than a direct physical

interaction; she "looks into the flame" and it is this looking that generates the warmth.

The flame of candles is important to me now. I like to look into the flame and feel the warmth it generates.

In this next quotation, a young man uses a particular feature of the object to focus and communicate his feelings of attachment.

I wear a gold chain and Italian horn around my neck. It was given to me by someone I use to love very deeply. . . . it is attached to me like I use to be attached to the girl that gave it to me.

This sense of an essential relationship between the meaning and some particular quality or feature of the object is especially pronounced in the descriptions of nurturing and achievement objects. The naive assumption is that soft things are more likely to be experienced as nurturing and hard things are more likely to represent achievement. To investigate this assumption, all nurturing and achievement objects were reexamined and coded as predominantly hard or soft. Nurturing objects in the first study are found to be 67% soft and 33% hard (see table 112). Achievement objects are 80% hard and 20% soft (see table 113). These proportions are significantly different (.00001).

To investigate this issue further, a question was added to the second study to focus on this sense of connection between the meaning and a quality or feature of the object. This question asked subjects to name other objects that they experienced as similar in feeling to the primary object and to complete an additional form for each of these secondary objects explaining why it was important, how it was similar, and how it was

TABLE 112

FIRST STUDY NURTURING OBJECTS: SOFT OR HARD

OBJECT	FREQUENCY	SOFT	HARD
Blankets	9	9	0
Animals	6	6	0
Jewelry	4	0	4
Stuffed animals	4	4	0
Cars	3	0	3
Personal printed material	3	3	0
Clothing	2	2	0
House interior	2	1	1
People	2	2	0
Sports	2	0	2
Art	1	0	1
Bike	1	0	1
Doll	1	1	0
Furniture	1	1	0
Lamp*	1	1	0
Outside place	1	0	1
Own body	1	1	0
Trophy	1	0	1
TOTALS	46	31	15
PERCENT	100%	67%	33%

* When the lamp was warm it melted a material that "flowed" in "soft shapes".

different from the primary object. (See section II. Procedures and subjects.) Subjects were told that these associated objects could be anything: other objects, people, pets, activities,-- anything similar in feeling to the original object.

This gave a set of things that have similar meanings: physical object metaphors; it also gave a sequence of things over time that related to each other by similarity and difference: physical object metonymy.

One hundred and sixteen of the 187 liked objects described in the second study include descriptions of secondary objects.

TABLE 113

FIRST STUDY ACHIEVEMENT OBJECTS: SOFT OR HARD

OBJECT	FREQUENCY	SOFT	HARD
Sports	17	0	17
Trophies	12	2	10
Clothing	7	5	2
Bikes	5	0	5
Jewelry	5	0	5
Art	3	0	3
House interior	3	0	3
Money	3	3	0
Cars	2	0	2
Costumes	2	1	1
Knives	2	0	2
Musical instruments	2	0	2
Outside places	2	0	2
Stereos	2	0	2
Stuffed animals	2	2	0
Tools	2	0	2
Toys	2	0	2
Camera	1	0	1
Doll	1	1	0
Furniture	1	0	1
Gun	1	0	1
Personal printed material	1	1	0
Prosthesis	1	0	1
Public printed material	1	1	0
TOTALS	80	16	64
PERCENT	100%	20%	80%

Of the 71 that listed no associated objects, 14 responded with an emphatic "no!" to that question as though the primary object was, perhaps, so important, so unique, that nothing else could possibly be like it. A few subjects wrote things then scratched them out or wrote names of things but never described them. Several subjects started to complete associated object description forms for feared objects but then changed their minds and wrote "Primary Object" on top of the form. So there are no associated object descriptions for feared primary objects.

The 116 sets of object descriptions include 62 where all primary and secondary objects are nurturing, 29 where all primary and secondary objects represent achievement, 12 where the nurturing primary object is contrasted with at least one secondary object representing achievement, 5 where the primary object itself is described as representing both nurturing and achievement, and 8 object sets with other meanings.

A. NURTURING OBJECT SEQUENCES

Sequences where all objects are experienced as nurturing are grouped into 5 sets: blankets, dolls, stuffed animals, animals, and miscellaneous.

1. BLANKETS

The 8 nurturing blankets are experienced as similar to 6 other soft objects, 6 people, 3 pets, 2 places, and one hard object: a ring representing a relationship. Of these 8 nurturing blankets, 7 were selected by women; the one blanket remembered by a man is associated now with his girlfriend.

Primary objects are listed in upper case, secondary in lower case. The order of the sequence is chronological by age when the object was experienced as special.

BLANKET -- cat

BLANKET -- stuffed animal

BLANKET -- dog

BLANKET -- mom -- stuffed animal -- ring -- boyfriend -- beach

BLANKET --stuffed animal -- rabbit -- parents -- aunt

BLANKET -- girlfriend

BLANKET -- boyfriend -- bedroom

BLANKET -- jacket -- nightgown -- bed sheets

I will quote this entire last sequence. Notice that the "smooth texture" of the satin is associated with the "secure and satisfied feeling" and that this provides the continuity of meaning. Notice also the phrase in the description of the last associated object, "they have a false, untrue feel to them". Apparently the truth of the feeling is the feel of the original satin; 26 years later this woman still makes this discrimination. The issue of the truth value of a sensual feeling would be an interesting subject for further research.

PRIMARY LIKED OBJECT: TICKLISH BLANKET
(young childhood to teens)

. . . it felt good to rub the satin between my fingers. I remember distinctly that I needed it when I went to bed because I felt secure and satisfied holding the blanket. It eventually got too old and torn, therefore had to be thrown out. I missed having my old blanket, but my mother immediately got a replacement so the loss wasn't tragic.

Associated object: Jacket with satin lining (25--)

I like the jacket primarily because it was a gift from my husband. I like to feel the satin lining because I can relate it with my ticklish blanket. I get a soothing and satisfied feeling when making contact with the fabric.

Associated object: Nightgown with satin ribbon tie (28)

The nightgown is comfortable to wear and looks good. I feel a bit childish sometimes to grasp the satin ribbon and feel its smooth texture, but it still gives me a satisfying feeling to be associated with it.

Associated object: Satin sheets (27--)

I've always wanted satin sheets probably because I like the texture and feel of silky/satin. However the sheets are not totally to my satisfaction because they have a false, untrue feel to them. Another drawback is that we only use them in the summer because they are cool to sleep on and in the winter it's uncomfortably cold.

2. DOLLS

The eleven dolls are experienced as similar to relationships with 12 people, 7 pets, and one hard object: a charm bracelet representing relationships. Ten women list dolls; one man describes a doll which is associated with his mother.

DOLL -- boyfriend

DOLL -- dog -- boyfriend

DOLL -- parents -- dog -- boyfriend -- friends

DOLL -- mom

DOLL -- husband

DOLL -- parents -- sisters -- friends

DOLL -- dog

DOLL -- dog -- kitten

DOLL -- mom -- friend

DOLL -- kitten -- rabbit

DOLL -- charm bracelet

A typical sequence of doll to human relationships is quoted below:

PRIMARY OBJECT: "MOLLY" RAGDOLL (when I was very young)

I use to pretend that she talked to me. She was always my friend. No one else had one like her. I loved her and she loved me. I never felt alone when she was with me. She use to protect me at night. She use to keep me company.

Associated object: my parents (0 to 19 years)

(similar) They both protected me at important times in my life. They both were always there when I needed them.

(different) My parents are real and they are still around, the doll isn't.

Associated object: my sisters (since I was very young)

(similar) My sisters cared for me in much of the same way that the doll did.

Associated object: my friends (around 8,9,10 years)

My doll never told anyone my secrets and neither did my friends. Sometimes I would turn to my doll before I would turn to my friends.

3. STUFFED ANIMALS

The eighteen stuffed animals are experienced as similar to relationships with 12 people, 10 pets, 7 soft objects, 3 hard objects, and 2 places. The hard objects are a piano which is identified with the subject herself, and two musical instruments important for sharing music with friends. Of the 18 special stuffed animals, 14 were described by women; the 3 listed by men are associated with girlfriends (2), a car and a dog.

STUFFED ANIMAL -- boyfriend

STUFFED ANIMAL -- dog

STUFFED ANIMAL -- piano

STUFFED ANIMAL -- boyfriend

STUFFED ANIMAL -- stuffed animal -- boyfriend

STUFFED ANIMAL -- girlfriend

STUFFED ANIMAL -- dog -- boyfriend's pillow -- boyfriend

STUFFED ANIMAL -- bird -- dog

STUFFED ANIMAL -- friend -- flute -- dog -- guitar -- lake

STUFFED ANIMAL -- dogs

STUFFED ANIMAL -- family -- dog -- friend

STUFFED ANIMAL -- parents -- bedroom

STUFFED ANIMAL -- sweater -- dress -- doll -- doll

STUFFED ANIMAL -- pets -- lovers

STUFFED ANIMAL -- girlfriend

STUFFED ANIMAL -- brother

STUFFED ANIMAL -- stuffed animal

STUFFED ANIMAL -- dog -- car

This last sequence is interesting because it contains a nurtured car. Apparently washing and being washed is a nurturing experience that has been transferred from object to object in this young man's life.

PRIMARY OBJECT: STUFFED LION (5 or 6)

The lion made me feel good, I would take it everywhere that I went. I tried to care for it like it was real. I would talk to it, tried to feed it, and had it in the tub once also.

Associated object: my dog (9)

I care for her very much. I am always playing with her, taking her for walks and giving her baths.

Associated object: car (20)

It was my first new car and I felt great about it. I would wash it once a week, and wax it every 2 weeks.

In this case, the nurturing activity was carried over to the care of a non-living object; in most other cases, the nurturing sequence is continued into the experience of human relationships. This pattern is illustrated below.

PRIMARY OBJECT: STUFFED OCTOPUS (1-2 years)

. . . it was larger than me, with striped dangling, long legs. . . could hold someone in my arms that was longer than myself. Dad tossed it out. Decided he thought it was too encumbering. Unfair wrenching of my companion.

Associated object: dogs (15-25 years)

. . . need to nurture and take care of something/someone.

Associated object: lovers (15-25)

(similar) . . . need to hold and show affection to someone "larger" perhaps stronger or having more dexterity than myself. . . .

(different) . . . expect some functional reciprocation -- although I still find a basic need to "tend to" others needs (mothering, perhaps)

4. ANIMALS

The 12 nurturing animals that are of primary importance are experienced as similar to relationships with 11 people and 9 other animals; the only non-living object described as feeling similar to the nurturing animal is a stuffed dog which was described as a substitute for the live dog that was poisoned by the neighbors.

DOG -- cat

DOG -- girlfriend -- dog

DOG -- dog

DOG -- boyfriend -- boyfriend -- boyfriend

CAT -- friend -- friend

DOG -- chickens

DOG -- dog

CAT -- dog -- cat

DOG -- stuffed dog

KITTEN -- animals -- elderly people -- husband -- children

PUPPY -- cousin

LAMB -- cat -- husband

I will quote this last sequence because it illustrates the sequence from animal to animal to human relationship.

PRIMARY OBJECT: BABY LAMB (before 4 years)

I loved the lamb, I felt like a mother taking care of her baby. I fell in love with this baby lamb. I would pick it up and squeeze it tight, bring it food. It was soft white, with a pink nose, brown eyes.

Associated object: Thor (16 years)

(similar) Thor was a black Persian cat with a white dot on his neck and lower part of his belly. His eyes were large and green. He purred all the time. I loved it! Thor was a good friend also. He was an animal too -- maybe that's

significant. I brought him with me lots of places.
(different) My relationship with Thor was much more mature. Thor was almost a male symbol to me. An almost sexual quality.

Associated object: my husband (21 - 24)

(similar) My husband is the most supportive, caring man I know . . . a tremendous source of security.

(different) It is much more intense! This is also a friendship relationship. He is a confidante. This relationship is also more fragile. Most of all I get back what I give.

5. OTHER NURTURING OBJECTS

Of these final 13 nurturing primary objects, 8 are hard, 3 are soft, and 3 are of ambiguous materials (a live tree and paper). These object sequences are similar in pattern to the other nurturing primary objects; they are associated with 10 people, 7 hard objects, 4 soft objects, and 3 ambiguous materials (paper). Although the sample here is too small to draw any conclusions, there is the suggestion that the material of the primary object may influence the choice of the secondary associated object more than the meaning. All of the previously described primary nurturing objects are soft. This means that when 100% of the primary objects are soft, 76% of the associated secondary objects are soft. When only 61% of the primary nurturing objects are soft, only 50% of the associated secondary objects are soft.

BABY BOTTLE -- drawings -- guitar -- violin

BLOUSE -- dress -- boyfriend

BASEBALL CAP -- friends

TOY DISHES -- stuffed animal

BOX -- portfolio -- journal

MIRROR -- window -- boyfriend -- stuffed animal

ROCKING CHAIR -- thumb

CAR -- grandfather -- grandmother -- grandfather

LOCKET -- clock

NECKLACE -- boyfriend -- mother

WATCH -- box

TREE -- me -- cars -- buildings

VALENTINE -- roses

Several of these object sequences are especially interesting because of the increased range they add to the notion of nurturing. In addition to softness and companionship, the rhythm of sucking and rocking is an essential aspect of being nurtured. Rhythm is not just described in this next quotation, but is actually present in the phrasing.

PRIMARY LIKED OBJECT: ROCKING CHAIR (3-4)

It was always a secure place to be if I couldn't sit on someone's lap, I would curl up in the rocker. But most often, when I was sick my mom would let me sit on her lap, and we would 'La-La' just rock back and sing La-La no special tune, just sing-song, 'La-La'. That was only when I was sick . . . Security it made me feel warm and cozy, I could easily curl up and sleep in it.

Associated object: My thumb (6-9)

I would suck my tongue and make a noise like goi-goi-goi (sounds wierd?) and I would take my hair and twirl it in my ear. I would do this with dog tails, cat tails, anything furry or soft. It felt good. I did it all the time, it would make me feel real good, comfortable. It occupied my time. It was really habit forming, now I bite my nails.

The relationship between the object and the meaning in this next series is so complex and so appropriate that I quote the entire questionnaire response.

PRIMARY LIKED OBJECT: MY MIRROR (4 on up)

My mirror was not part of my dresser set. It was all

hand carved. It was an antique and it's really beautiful. I would look into it and see things no one else could see. I would sit in front of it for hours. It was like I could see through it into another world. I always saw things no one else ever saw. It wasn't my imagination either. What I saw was real.

My mirror, I still have it and I still look but the only thing I see, is a beautiful young lady that grew up and went through a lot of hell and bullshit all my life. After all I was the little girl who had epilepsy, and to think my mom would hit me because I would have a seizure, and she thought I was being a brat. That's why my mirror was so special to me. All I had to do was look in it for the last 18 years and I've realized why I've grown up the way I have and that I'm not such a bad person. I'm sensitive, secure (to some point), loving, but I also have a lot of confidence.

It's huge, made of oak and is hand carved it's now painted white, because my bedroom is blue and white. It's a beautiful mirror. It was my mom's, come to think of it. She gave it to me when she got her new dresser set. (Here she includes a drawing of it.)

It was really weird because all I remember was that I would sit in front of it and have a pleasant feeling but I would stare into it as if I were in a trance because it seemed as if I lost all sense of time, direction, everything but that pleasing feeling when I walked away from it. It also made me feel safe and secure. But I also would constantly stare into the mirror at ballet practice. I loved to watch myself perform, conseeded Ugh?

In the mirror she reflected on herself. In the next object we see a transition from the mirror where she reflected only on herself to the window where she could see out during the day but which became a reflecting surface at night.

Associated object: The living room window (17)

The window is covered with a film paper, for the reason of keeping the hot sun out and keeping the house cool in the summer and warm in the winter. In the evening the window creates a mirror image and this allows me to look at it with the same feelings I did when I looked in the mirror.

When I look at the window I feel so relaxed and have such a pleasing feelings. I can think about what ever I wish and I never let anything bother me while I look at the window. I'm just so at ease that I'm truly relaxed.

When I looked in the mirror I was younger, and was confused about many of the things I thought about and wasn't really sure of how to solve some of the questions, emotions and feelings I had. Now that I'm older I have found that when I look into the window I am able to solve these

questions emotions and feelings that I have. Because I've been raised the way I have, I've accomplished many new responsibilities and have grown to truly appreciate myself.

In her next association, we see a further transition from the reflections in the mirror, which she now describes as "imaginary", to a "real" relationship with a person who tells her the same things she used to tell herself while looking in the mirror:

Associated object: Gregg (18)

Greg has changed my life a great deal, I should say he has helped me for me to change my own life. I've learned to understand myself. He has also taught me that people need one another. Such in our case. He likes when I'm dependent on him because he feels as though he is helping me by giving me the secure feeling that I needed and still need that I never got from a real person. This is what is so important to me.

I feel secure, and confident in myself. Gregg helps me because he encourages me by telling me that I'm not stupid. I'm intelligent, a good student, I'm one of the brightest girls he knows, and this makes me feel so special and important. I was never given any praise when I was small. I need someone to tell me those things, everyone does, and he's given them to me.

When I was looking through the mirror, the things I saw were imaginary, he's real and he's there when I need him. Gregg has made a tremendous change in my life. He's helped and loved me a lot. I in return....I love Him!

Now she jumps from the present to the memory of a wrenching loss of early childhood:

Associated object: Jo Jo: my stuffed monkey! (birth to 2)

Jo Jo was given to me by my Grandma Ann Yan. Jo Jo was white with flesh rubber colored face and hands. They were really soft. He had black shoes and a ribbon around his neck. I loved Jo Jo he was my best friend.

Jo Jo always made me feel good. I loved him. I would talk to him and he would talk to me. I carried him around with me everywhere. He was my best friend. I used to pull him in my red wagon. He also used to sit and eat with me at the dinner table.

My feelings were strong for Jo Jo but he didn't last very long. My Dad through Jo Jo out. He felt that a little girl is supposed to have dolls not monkeys. I hated my father for this. He took away the most important thing to me. I often

wish I still had Jo Jo. He was my security blanket.
I wish I had my Jo Jo back!!

The thing she remembers providing security and companionship when she was 2 years old was wrenched out of her life by her father. She describes no resolution to this loss but continues to wish for it now in the present. During the year between this loss at 2 years of age and the importance of the mirror at 4 years of age, she remembers one feared object:

PRIMARY FEARED OBJECT: MY MOM AND DADDY'S BEDROOM CEILING
(since I was old enough to relate what it was, my small childhood, maybe 3 years old.)

It was in the house when we bought it. It was important because it was the only true thing when I was a child that really terrified me. It scared me so bad I hated to go up stairs by myself.

We moved and sold the house because my parents got divorced. They've been divorced for nearly 14 years.

I hated that room. I'd lay in the bed and stare at the ceiling it was dark wood and the grain made weird, scary faces. It truly scared the crape out of me.

Dark grained wood, it was mahogany. The grain in the wood created frightening images, of course thats probably because of me only I could dream up something to scare me. (Here she sketches two drawings of vague figures.)

In this whole sequence, the appropriateness of the object to represent the meanings that she describes is striking. It is hard to imagine another set of objects that would do as well as these to carry this particular sequence of meanings. We also get a strong sense of actual interaction between this woman and these things, the sense that these meanings have built up gradually out of actual exchanges of daily life rather than being used in the moment as abstract, conceptual symbols to tell a story about the past.

Contrast that sense of conscious interaction between the subject and object with the feeling tone of the following

description. Both the mirror and the tree in the next example seem to serve one similar function in these women's lives; they are sources of personal strength. But in this next description the subjective view point becomes so extreme that it seems to almost turn back on itself and become objective by recapturing the archaic identity of subject and object. The sense of separateness that is a necessary aspect of conscious interaction is almost gone; the subject almost becomes the object:

PRIMARY OBJECT: TREE IN BACK YARD (always)

My parents planted it when I was little (2 or 3). We grew up together. I hate when father cuts off branches, even when it is necessary to walk around. It's huge now -- always changing -- Norway Maple. I feel close to it - I can hear it move and the birds and squirrels that come to visit - It is right outside my window - It's like we share secrets and when it is windy or raining I can almost feel how the tree must feel (trying to hang on despite everything)

Associated object: me (12 till now)

I am like the tree. I hang onto life even though I've felt some pain. I bend, but I still haven't broken. I've considered suicide, but like my tree, I just can't do it. I don't have to stay outside - I can get away from my inner storms. I didn't realize till now just how close that tree and my life have been.

We have three themes here: strength, secrets and pain. But in the next two associated objects: cars and buildings, reference to strength drops out; only references to pain and secrets remain. We also notice that all these objects are non-human where the sequence in the last example went from non-human to human.

Associated object: cars (mostly grade school but also now)

Cars sometimes make me feel that they know what happens to them - they cry out from the heat, cold, and other mistreatments (including dents and accidents) I used to walk by a parking lot on my way to grade school and it was as if the cars talked to me - I could feel how they felt.

(similar) I have felt close to both - putting myself in their place.

(different) Cars are controlled by people - trees are mostly controlled by nature. I hope this doesn't sound too crazy.

Associated object: buildings (always)

I can imagine how my house and the school buildings I've attended feel. I often think of the many secrets and stories they could tell - if only they could talk. How they see and hear everything, but never tell!

(similar) Both hold secrets.

(different) Buildings are more durable than trees.

These descriptions sound similar to the stories of primitive "participation mystique" repeated by anthropologists.

Returning to the final nurturing object sequence, we find that the last hard object described as nurturing is a box "that protects a lot of sensitivities". This woman's first two nurturing objects were painfully wrenched from her by her father. It is perhaps a wise choice to protect her "most tender reflections" inside a wooden box with a mirror inside the lid. This sequence is quoted below:

PRIMARY OBJECT: BABY BOTTLE (1 1/2)
. . . security, suckling need . . . companionship. . . Dad threw it away. TOTALLY unfair.--powerless. he tossed it out while I slept, the coward.

PRIMARY OBJECT: STUFFED OCTOPUS (1-2)
. . . Dad tossed it out, Decided he thought it was too encumbering. Unfair wrenching of my companion . . . needed to fondle it. I guess it had a lot of arms to put around me too.

PRIMARY OBJECT: SMALL WOODEN CEDAR BOX WITH MIRROR INSIDE
(18)

It contains all my memory tokens, shells, small pieces of wonderment and love sonnets . . . it protects a lot of sensitivities . . . it makes me feel secure. it's my private container for my most tender reflections.

She now describes two objects associated with this wooden box: her portfolio and her journal. She moves from "the secrecy

of the box" to "a selective audience" and from there to "an extension". She moves from the hardness of the wooden box to her drawings "in soft pencils" and then on to her journal as "a private womb in which to reflect". This recalls the box with the mirror in the lid, but doesn't stop there; she then returns to her image of extension: "NOT just a collection, but also a moving continuum, an extension."

Associated object: portfolio (20-25 yrs)
. . . naturalism in soft pencils . . . need for sensual intimacy and some tenderness . . . don't need to keep the secrecy of the box. must express the portfolio to a very selective audience . . . rearrange and change the sequence of memories.

Associated object: journal/journals of past (23-25)
. . . -- private space to record and extrapolate. a private "womb" in which to reflect and record my history . . . NOT just a collection, but also a moving continuum, an extension

B. ACHIEVEMENT OBJECT SEQUENCES

Nurturing object sequences predominantly represent a movement from the comfort and security of non-living objects into human relationships; with the achievement object sequences we now find a movement out into the wider world of hard objects, activities, and places.

Of the 49 non-living nurturing primary objects, 46 are personal objects, 2 are part of the home environment, and only 1 belongs in the wider world category: a car that represents relationships with three different people. When we look at the 29 achievement-adventure objects these proportions reverse: 7 are personal objects, 4 are in the Home, and 18 are in the World. Of the 7 personal objects, 5 are toys that are minitures of objects

in the world and 2 are class rings that represent achievement in the world.

These 29 primary objects are all hard; there are no soft primary objects described as representing achievement-adventure. Of the 45 associated secondary objects, 22 are of hard materials, none are soft. Instead we find an increasing emphasis on activities and places out in the world.

Seven associated activities or events in the world are described: a job, a first airplane ride, graduating from high school, being accepted in college, getting good grades, being honored in a secret society, and being in the navy.

The living creatures listed as representing achievement and adventure are now, not nurturing household pets, but "riding a bucking horse", another horse, and a strange tale of cutting off the leg of a dog. The only person mentioned is masculine, a father who makes things more exciting.

Places described as nurturing are bedrooms and bodies of water: a lake and a beach by the ocean. In contrast to these, we now have an emphasis on places of risk and adventure. Female subjects relate these feelings to interior places: 2 apartments, the interior of a house, the hallway stairs, 2 bedrooms, a playhouse, and only one outdoor place: the big hill. Men list large outside places: the new town of Columbia, Md.; Adventureland; Hawaii; Las Vegas; the firestation at the South Pole; Tyler, Texas; a farm; a hospital; a mountain; and the mines. Only one man describes an indoor place; he lists playing on the hall stairs when he was 3 years old.

CAR -- car
CAR -- bike -- car -- car
CAR -- apartment
CAR -- sipit glass
BIKE -- motorcycle -- car
BIKE -- bike
BIKE -- ring
BIKE -- dog
BIKEHORN -- shoes -- big hill
H.S.RING -- j.h.ring -- car
H.S.RING -- good grades
FIRE ENGINE -- columbia, maryland
RIFLE -- riding a bucking horse
TOY TRUCK -- dad -- adventureland
SOFTBALL -- farm -- hawaii -- Las Vegas
FIRE ENGINES -- navy -- firestation, south pole
CIGARET LIGHTER -- miniture knife
TRUMPET -- being honored
CAMERA -- camera -- camera
TEXACO TRUCK -- tyler, texas
TROPHY -- h.s. graduation -- acceptance at college
BASEBALL GLOVE -- football -- basketball
TELESCOPE -- airplane ride -- hispital
BEDROOM -- playhouse -- job -- horse
STAIRS -- scooter
HALLWAY STAIRS -- bedroom

APARTMENT -- house

MOUNTAIN -- mines

ROCKING HORSE -- bike -- motorcycle

This man describes an apparently smooth sequence from the fire engines that were exciting to him as a child to a trip to the South Pole to his present profession as a fireman.

FIRE ENGINES (6 or 7)

I was fascinated by the size and bright red color . . . steel painted shiny red. The chrome bell . . . that rang . . . sounded powerful and loud . . . so exciting . . . The pump panel looked complicated, all the dials, guages, valves, and hose connections. Fire engines were always clean. . . . I always wanted to see where the firemen slept and ate. The big thing about the fire station was the pole. I always wanted to slide down the brass pole.

Navy (18-22)

When I enlisted I requested to be a firefighter. I got to be something I dreamed of as a kid.

Firestation, South Pole (22-23)

. . . I got to be around fire engines.

The different experience of males and females is described indirectly in this last series:

PRIMARY OBJECT: ROCKING HORSE (4-7 years)

Something I could play with and enjoy. My sister liked it and my friend liked it. It was about four feet long, and four feet tall at the head. It was black and white in the hooves and mane, the tail was large. As it rocked back and forth the springs would creak. It could also talk. Well I would dress up like a cowboy and fantasy about the west. It made me feel adventorous.

Associated object: first bicycle (6-9)

It was small with 16" solid rubber wheels. The chrome handle bars and hand grips and the rest of the bike was red and white. On the left side of the handbar was a horn and on the right was a pistol. My friend and I would ride down hills no hands. I used to tow my sister in the wagon with a rope.

(similar) It made me feel free, and I could feel adventerous.

(different) I could take more chances on my bicycle. I had to do a lot more work but felt a lot more free.

Associated object: motorcycle (17)

My motorcycle is a 1976 Honda 550-four super sport. It has a tachometer, dual front disk brakes, chrome all around and orange paint job. Made me feel free and very adventurous. It made me feel proud. It's so fast and so nice looking people envy me. Sometimes I have trouble going slow.

(different) I have more control, felt superior riding it and proud.

The importance of vehicles for males is a familiar theme; but notice the role of the sister here. She also likes the rocking horse, but when he moves on to riding the bicycle she is being pulled in the wagon. No women describe motorcycles as especially liked, however, one woman describes her boyfriend's motorcycle as the thing she fears the most.

C. TRANSITION FROM NURTURING OBJECTS TO OBJECTS OF ACHIEVEMENT

Twelve people list sequences of objects that make a transition from nurturing to achievement and adventure:

NURTURING	ACHIEVEMENT
BLANKET -----	bike
BLANKET -----	merry-go-round -- sailboat
DOLL -- dog -- kitten -----	swing set -- oak tree -- pool
STUFFED ANIMAL -- cat -----	being on my own in florida
STUFFED ANIMAL -----	fire truck
stuffed animal -- dogs -----	HALLWAY -- swing set
DOG -- boyfriend -----	clock radio
LAMB -----	prom
CAT -----	car
rings -----	CAR'
girlfriend -----	DRIVERS LICENSE -- car

DOLL -- babysitting -- dog ----- work

In this last sequence the first three objects follow the same pattern we observed in the sets of nurturing objects; the nurtured/nurturing doll was replaced by real babies and a dog.

PRIMARY OBJECT: BABY DOLL (very young)

I spent many hours playing and growing with her. Ma gave me some of Lloyd's baby clothes which made me feel good. for awhile I was running my own household. . . . happiness contentment. Helped fill a kind of rejection . . . I didn't have much time with ma. Made me feel important. I had someone to care for. I made the decisions concerning someone else.

Associated object: Baby sitting (13)

(similar) The children I imagine took the place of my baby doll. They gave me a challenge yet have a minute amount of responsibility. I could get up and leave after a couple of hours. I had something that I could be in control of and dominate over. To have the sayso in certain situations.

(different) . . . these people were living beings. With there own minds, feelings. They have a mind of their own. Make's playing house a challege. These baby's cried when I didn't want them to.

Associated object: German Shepherd dog (14 and up)

. . . She was something I could care for. I was in command of all aspects of her life. She filled a gap that no one or thing else could fill. To her I was not just another person in the family. I was the one she really cared for. In some ways she replaced ma.

But with this last object, "work", we have an interesting transition from the "feelings" described in relation to the nurturing objects to "multiple ideas, concepts".

Associated object: Work (16)

I worked for a Veterinarian. I did everything from changing light bulbs to assisting in surgery. I had my own time could come and go as I please. In . . . half a year I was doing the same thing as the veterinarian. I was pretty much my own person.

(different) I get different feedback than what I would have gotten from the doll. The doll was just my own feelings. Here I had multiple ideas, concepts.

This suggests a difference in the function through which

the object is experienced. Nurturing objects are experienced predominantly through the sensing and feeling functions; and there is also the implicit assumption that not only are they experienced through this function but that these feeling relationships actually lead into increased differentiation of the function itself.

Objects associated with achievement in the world often have a much stronger emphasis on thinking and abstract representation. This next sequence describes such a series:

PRIMARY OBJECT: TROPHY (12)

I recieved my award from my grammar school. I was a member of the school football team. This was the third trophy I had received but the first in an undefeated season. The trophy is important for the fact that it was a symbol of great accomplishment. As a player you spend at least four months a year with the same people everyday in order to reach a goal. If you fail to reach your goal (championship) you feel the four months had been waisted. For the first time I had reached a fulfilling goal with many of my friends. The trophy now has a significant place with my other awards at home. When I do not think of the award (witch is often) it just stands there as an object but when I think of it (as I am now) it is now a symbol. The trophy now stands with many other awards but I have placed this one were everyone can see. I am proud of this award and wish all to see. It is a symbol of my accomplishment.

Associated object: High school graduation (18)

Graduation was the first step in higher education. My whole education seemed wrapped up in one day. . . . I had reached a goal.

Associated object: Acceptance at college (19)

Being accepted at _____ College . . . was an extremely high goal. A few weeks ago I received a letter of acceptance from the university. I found myself continually looking at the letter throughout the day. . . I had finally done it . . . I had put a set time as a goal . . . I am furthering my education and I am strengthing my thoughts . . . a hold that will be part of me for the rest of my life. I can grow from this more than any other thing.

The whole tone of this description contrasts with the tone

of the nurturing object descriptions. There is a sense of conceptual distance between the person and the object. The trophy is an abstract "symbol", it represents the meaning in contrast to the descriptions where the feeling is described as an essential part of the interaction with the object itself. This next subject articulates this contrast. The nurturing object was something she could "hold" and "squeeze"; the achievement object was different in that it was not something "I could hold in my arms and squeeze".

PRIMARY OBJECT: STUFFED ANIMAL (3 OR 4)

I loved it, carried it everywhere, could hold it, squeeze it. . . . I felt like a mother. It made me feel good. It made me feel important . . . special.

Associated object: Senior prom (18)

I was wearing an off white dress with a lavender trimming on the middle of the sleeve, and on the bottom of my dress. Steve was wearing a brown suit with an off white shirt. My flowers were white carnations with lavender tips, and four yellow tea roses and all around filled with baby breath.

(different) I felt proud because he was better than my girlfriend's boyfriend. This was not something I could hold in my arm and squeeze.

Two other object sequences contrast aspects of a nurturing object with aspects of an object of adventure:

PRIMARY OBJECT: BLANKET (1 year on)

I was my baby blanket that was given me before I was born. It was important because I always needed it when I was sick. I was a sickly kid. It made me think that I'd be feeling better soon. I clung to it because it made me feel more secure. I still have it and my dog sleeps on it.

Associated object: My bike (8 -?)

I liked the bike because it was my only form of transportation. I was able to go to the store or on long bike rides. It allowed me to get around quicker. My blanket gave me a secure and safe feeling . . . but I liked the bike because I was able to get out and around and not so confined.

Here we have the nurturing qualities of the blanket as an

object of feeling defined in opposition to the bike as an object for getting out and around in the world, not being so confined. This next woman contrasts a nurturing blanket with a sailboat, another object for moving out into the world.

PRIMARY OBJECT: BLANKET (about 4 or 5)

. . . I felt secure with this blanket. I always was able to cry my eyes out on it and talk to my blankie without anyone listening. It was a part of me. I felt very secure when my blanket was around, very happy and comfortable.

Associated object: Kiakay -- sailboat (12-17)

I would feel like a new person when I sailed with my Kiayka. I had a sense of freedom and individuality. Somehow I felt I could be better identified by others. Since it was something unique I choose to do. . . . I guess I related to my blanket when I was sad, scolded, felt down on myself, sorry for myself. And my boat was like opening a new chapter in my life...establishing priorities.

In this example, "establishing priorities" is a thinking function; here again we have a contrast between an inner world of feelings and an outer world characterized as "opening a new chapter", a thinking-type metaphor.

D. OBJECTS REPRESENTING BOTH NURTURING AND ACHIEVEMENT

Five subjects describe primary objects as simultaneously nurturing and associated with pride and achievement.

MAP -- girlfriend

MEDALION -- stuffed animal

BASEBALL BAT -- mitt

BACKHOUSE -- sports -- bedroom -- friends

HORSE -- horse -- boyfriend

In these sequences the 5 objects that carry both nurturing and achievement meanings are followed by 8 objects representing a

similar mix of meanings: 4 nurturing objects, 1 achievement object and 3 objects that also represent both nurturing and achievement.

E. OTHER OBJECT SEQUENCES

In addition to the 108 nurturing and achievement/adventure object sequences, there are 8 other sequences described. Two of these are based on primary objects of feeling (the cross and the heavy bag), 3 on primary objects of imagination (the toy, the drawings and the marbles) and 3 primary objects of representational thought (the rifle, the picture and the tree branch).

1. OBJECTS OF FEELING

CROSS -- pocket knife -- belt buckle

duffle bag -- HEAVY BAG

The object as an outlet for anger is described below. Both of these objects have a form and a weight that make them appropriate for this function.

PRIMARY LIKED OBJECT: EVERLAST HEAVY BAG (16)

It is important because it is an outlet for all of my anger and frustration. It is a way for me to relax. This is like my scapegoat for all my problems. It can be one of my enemies or frustrations. It makes me feel relaxed.

Duffle bag (14)

I had an old duffle bag that I stuffed with rags and towels. It was like my make shift heavy bag. It was an outlet for my anger, but at a younger age. But wasn't the "real thing."

2. OBJECTS OF IMAGINATION

TOY -- rocking horse

MARBLES -- camping in arkansas -- girlfriend

DRAWINGS -- playing roles -- leaving myself

Rhymical movement of both toy and rocking horse provided a basis for imagination and hypnotic escape for this woman:

PRIMARY OBJECT: TOY (??)

. . . it absolutely intrigued me! It almost hypnotized me! I seemed like some sort of escape, especially since it put me in a daze. The noise it made was repetitious and this was also pleasant.

Associated object: Red rocking horse (6-11)

It was something that let me escape. I would climb on the horse and rock away the [the word "others" was scratched out here] hours. (others) maybe that's what I really meant to say. It also made a rhythmic squeek when I rocked.

(different) I was older and sometimes felt silly about riding a rocking horse. The escape was more intense. I vividly remember my mind wandering while riding. Did lots of traveling.

3. OBJECTS OF THOUGHT

In the objects of feeling and those of fantasy there is an obvious connection between some feature or quality of the object and the meaning described. However, in the relationship between objects of thought and their meaning, the relationship is less direct.

RIFLE -- friend

PICTURE -- trip

TREE BRANCH -- nature

The rifle is simply associated in his mind with the friend who gave it to him:

PRIMARY OBJECT: RIFLE (14)

. . . because he was a very close friend that shared the same hobbies as I do and he gave it to me before he moved. It's a marlin 22 rifle that is light brown made from maple that was very smooth.

Associated object: G----- B----- (14)

He was a hunting guide around 35 years old. I was going to work with him but couldn't. I spent all my free time at his house.

(different) He was a close friend.

There are no feelings mentioned here. The rifle is described, but there is no apparent relationship between the gun and the friend except the idea that the friend was a hunting guide. The connection between object and meaning is one of mental association; there is no essential connection between some feature and quality of the object and the friend.

In this next sequence, the verbs are "reminded . . . could always remember . . . represented . . . represent . . . represented"; here again we find the relationship between object and meaning to be one of mental association.

PRIMARY OBJECT: A BIG PICTURE OF TWO BOYS (6-8)

It was so important because it reminded me of my brother and I. I could always remember it . . . I felt that it represented my childhood.

Associated object: Trip to California (7)

I felt that this was one thing I would always remember. These are similar because they kind of represent my childhood. The first object represented my internal world. The second represented my external world.

There are strong feelings described in this next sequence, but these feelings are part of an associated experience, they are distant from the qualities and features of the object itself. Notice the words "remember", "reminded me", "start thinking of things not necessarily directly related to the branch", "then I start thinking about things":

PRIMARY OBJECT: BRANCH FROM A CHRISTMAS TREE (15)

When I was a sophomore in high school, we had a tornado in Schiller Park. My aunt also died the same day. We had a

giant christmas tree in our back yard that stood about 15 feet tall. It was blown down during the tornado. That night, I went outside to be alone. I was sad for the Christmas tree and my aunt. I tore a small branch off the tree to remember that day. The reason I was so moved into saving the branch was because the mightiest thing I've ever known was taken down in one gust of wind. Probably also because my aunt died the same day as 'the mightiest tree in the forest.'

I still have the branch. Sometimes when I clean my room I feel like throwing it away, but I never do. Once I had the bare branch in the garbage can. When I saw it in there, I felt empty. I picked it up, and held it in my hand. I started to cry. Somehow this branch reminded me of things I loved and are now gone. I couldn't throw it away . . . I still have it in my room.

Reflectiveness!

When I look at the branch I get a feeling of calmness. I started thinking of things. (not necessarily directly related to the branch) I become very quiet and thoughtful.

Associated object: Nature (always)

Out of doors! Anywhere. As long as it's quiet. There is usually a place just for me. Where I feel comfortable, and I sit and stand there and just stay quiet for a minute. Then I start thinking about things, experiences, etc.

(similar) They both take me into myself. I think the branch allowed me to do it indoors, though. Usually I can't have quiet time to think in the house, since theres always someone around.

(different) I guess its just on a larger scale. When I'm outside, I'm part of it. It closes in around me and protects me from everything. The branch is more like an object that I must close in on.

VII. DISCUSSION

When I began this work, my intention was to do an exploratory descriptive study. I had many assumptions about the meanings of things, but I wanted to verify these assumptions at the most basic level. This basic data is found in the development of the categories themselves.

One of my basic assumptions was that being raised male or female makes a difference in what objects are experienced as important and the reasons for this importance. I, therefore, looked for sex differences within each of the categories identified. As I considered the importance of especially liked objects, I began to wonder if there might be important differences between things that are especially liked and those that are especially disliked or feared, so this variable was added to the second phase of the study.

Descriptive statistics were used to represent these findings. To use a term developed within the structural linguistic model, this stage of analysis describes the "surface structure" of the phenomenon. Objects and their meanings are described at a single point in time, as though they were static states in time and space.

This level of analysis yielded a great deal of interesting information, but it did not adequately represent the content of the questionnaires. Transitions and transformations of meaning operated as the thematic context within which references to objects and their meanings were embedded. Narrative description was used to present these themes, but again I felt that I was only describing surface structure. I felt that there were possibly a set of "deep structures" within which these stories of significant objects were embedded and which operated to influence the meanings described by the subjects.

These concepts of deep and surface structure were developed in structural linguistics so I looked to that model to inform my continuing analysis. Using this model, I identified three sets of structural relations: first, the relationships between the object (the signifier) and the meaning (the signified) that produce the structure of the symbolic object itself; second, the horizontal structures of relations that influence the sequence of object selections over time; and, third, the vertical structures of relations that create the set out of which this particular object was chosen.

The three levels of analysis--statistical, thematic, and structural--produced three characteristic kinds of data. The statistical descriptions list frequency counts and means for men and women in each of the categories identified by content analysis. The thematic descriptions introduce narrative accounts of process and change over time. The structural analysis sets the objects and reasons identified by the first level of analysis

into the context of process introduced in the second level of analysis and provides a broad, comprehensive pattern or structure of meaning within which both categories and themes can be analyzed as content.

A. DESCRIPTION OF CATEGORIES

Although there are no significant differences in the mean number of objects described as especially liked by men and woman in either the first or the second studies; significantly more women (.05) describe significantly more feared objects (.05). Significant sex differences found in each study are summarized here by describing a representative man and woman from each study.

The female of the first study is significantly more interested in personal objects (.0001) than the male is; she describes more childhood objects (.05), more objects of personal enhancement (.0001), and more mementos (.0005).

She experiences more of these things through her thinking function (.005) than he does. She experiences more associations with people (.0005): mothers (.0001), fathers (.005), sisters (.05), grandmothers (.05), males in general (.0005), and females in general (.0005). She also lists more associations with experiences (.05) and describes more things in terms of their histories (.05)

She describes more things in terms of sensing their qualities (.005). Most of this difference is accounted for by her use of objective descriptors (.005): age (.005), color

(.0001), feature (.05), material (.0005), shape (.05), tactile texture (.01), and visual texture (.05).

She makes more evaluative statements in general (.05) and more positive value judgements in particular (.0005). She makes more references to future children (.05) and gives more names to non-human objects (.05).

Significantly more things are wrenched out of her life when they are still special (.005); she describes significantly more existential wrenchings (.05).

In contrast to her interest in personal objects, the man of the first study is significantly more interested in things in the wider world (.0005). Where she is more interested in stuffed animals (.05), dolls (.05), jewelry (.05), clothes (.05), personal printed material (.05) souvenirs (.05), and furniture (.05), he is interested in guns (.05) and sports (.05).

These subjects live in a metropolitan area and are about 25 years of age. In contrast, the men and women of the second study are younger, about 19 years of age, and live in a smaller city close to the mountains where there is an emphasis on outdoor activities. This difference is reflected in the finding that childhood objects are most dense with meaning for subjects of the first study and outside places are most dense with meaning for subjects of the second study. The statistical female subject of the second study is, however, more similar to her sister in the city than to the male of the same study.

She, too, is significantly more interested in personal objects (.0005); of these she is significantly more interested in

things of childhood (.005). This significance is experienced more often through her sensation function (.05); in contrast to her male counterpart she describes significantly more things in terms of their features (.05), size (.05), and smell (.05); she also is more interested in handmade things (.05).

She experiences more meanings through her thinking function, as well (.05). She describes more affective meanings (.05); she experiences more things as identified with the self (.05) and describes more nurturing things (.0001). She also makes more statements of positive evaluation (.05).

She uses her intuitive function significantly more often in relation to objects than he does (.01) and describes significantly more imaginations (.005).

She fears more things (.05). She fears more things in the natural environment (.05). She fears more things because of their sounds (.05).

In contrast to her interest in personal objects and similar to his male counterpart in the city, he is interested in things of the wider world (.0001). The only reason category in which he places more importance than she does is in relation to objects of achievement (.05).

For the women of the first study, the world of special objects is an interior world of concentric circles extending outward from the intense core of meaning attached to personal things (mean 6.84), to things of the home (3.24), to things of the wider world (2.34), to nature (.98). For the men of the

first study, the center of meaning is outside in the world (4.27), personal meanings are next (2.33), the home is third (1.93), and nature is last (1.20).

The contrast is not so extreme for the younger man and woman of the second study. Although her center of value is in personal things (.97) and his is in the wider world (.60), nature has a more important place for both of them (.23 for her and .18 for him). Objects of the home are last in importance for both (.12 for her and .09 for him).

The Csikszentmihalyi (1982) study focused on generational rather than sex differences, but the findings that seem to be comparable are similar. Men in their study mention significantly more T.V.'s, stereos, sports equipment, vehicles, and trophies. Females in their study mention significantly more photographs, sculpture, plants, plates, glass, and textiles. No men in their study list any meaning significantly more often; women list the meaning categories of memories, associations, and immediate family significantly more often.

The Csikszentmihalyi (1982) study was based on the assumption that

The home contains the most special objects: those that were selected by the person to attend to regularly or to have close at hand, that create permanence in the intimate life of a person, and therefore that are most involved in making up his identity.

By treating the assumption that "the home contains the most special objects" as a research question, I found that it was not the case; the home contains the most special objects for women only. For men, the most special objects are in the wider world

outside the home.

They also make the following statement:

Although one has little control over the things encountered outside the home, household objects are chosen and could be freely discarded.

The assumption that "household objects are chosen and could be freely discarded" seems to attribute to the "household" the characteristics of a single person having control over things in the home. This does not make common sense--all people living in the home do not have equal control--nor do I find it to be the case in my data; subjects who recall fearing and hating things in the home certainly would have gotten rid of these if they had had the power to do so. I also found that, in contrast to women who feared more things in the natural environment, men actually feared significantly more things in the home.

Many of our coding categories are similar; however, of the 41 object categories of things they describe as part of the home environment, I place 5 in the wider world category: musical instruments (because they are played in school bands and orchestras), sports equipment, trophies (because they represent achievement outside the home), and vehicles.

When women list places of risk and adventure, they list interior places: 2 bedrooms, 2 apartment interiors, 2 house interiors, a playhouse, and one outside place: a hill. When men list places of risk and adventure they list 1 interior place: the hall stairs at the age of three; all the rest are large outdoor places: the new town of Columbia, Md.; Adventureland; Hawaii; Las

Vegas; the firestation at the South Pole; Tyler, Texas; a farm; a hospital; a mountain; and the mines. These findings recall Hart's (1974) observations of children building outdoor play environments; the girls tended to build or furnish interior spaces on the ground while the boys built larger, more adventurous structures in the trees.

The sex differences found in my study are extreme but they raise more questions than they answer. It is clear that men do not experience the meaning of things the way women do; but, the data only demonstrate this, they do not give us the reasons for these differences. It is possible that, simply by asking for verbal descriptions of meaningful objects, we are asking for information already stereotyped in the culture. I suspect that, until we develop research methods that tap a wider range of experience and expression, we will not be able to learn much more about the differences between men and women that I assume lie behind these stereotyped responses.

To get beyond the stereotypes, I suggest that we enter the phenomena at a different scale. Implementation of two of my pilot studies might be useful here. Response of subjects to samples of various materials in an identical form (irregular 2" squares or cubes were used in the pilot study) might separate out the meaning of the quality from the meaning of the object as a whole. This might identify some sex differences while avoiding, to some extent, the more stereotyped responses.

To the extent that the sex differences are a product of differential facility with language, the use of images rather

than words might be useful. In the pilot study where subjects used pictures cut from magazines and other miscellaneous materials to represent their feelings of home, sex differences were pronounced; but the differences were in the content of the representations rather than in the frequency of response.

Although I introduce the notion that there are genetically derived formative structures that act to structure the experience of meaning, I want to clearly state that I am not implying that the sex differences found in this study are genetically predetermined. The linguistic model is a useful one here. The deep structures of the mind give us the ability to learn language but the particular language learned is given by the culture. According to this model, then, nurturing, for example, is a formative psychic structure (the great mother archetype) but the opportunity to live out this experience and the particular sex role and objects designated as appropriate to that role are provided by the culture. Genetic predisposition and cultural influence are so progressively interactive that all I would expect more discriminating research on sex differences to contribute is a finer tuned analysis of differences.

The experience of the five interview subjects represents another apparent difference: two subjects were unable to complete the questionnaire, two others were willing and able to do so, and the third was willing and able but afraid that she could never stop. After interviewing the painter and the philosopher in their home, I left with the strange feeling that

these two people do not live in the same world, certainly not in the same house; the things enjoyed by one person seemed to be invisible to the other.

When I interviewed people who were unable or unwilling to respond to the questionnaire I found differences that seemed to cut across the sex differences; when I researched the literature I found that Jung's typology most accurately described these observations. To demonstrate these differences, I used the four personality types to organize the empirically derived category findings. For research interest and future reference, I looked at sex differences within each of these categories; but, since these were not research variables but were developed by post hoc grouping of the empirically derived categories, these figures should be viewed with caution. However, I do think that the relationship between gender and personality type needs to be pulled apart by future research in order to better understand the contribution of each.

The Meyers-Briggs Typology test would provide a useful first approach to identifying personality type; but supplementary testing with actual objects and materials would give a broader base to the conceptualization of this variable.

In addition to the relationships between personality type and gender, another aspect of the typology invites further research. This is the similarity in the proportion of use of the four functions in relation to the three sets of objects (first study liked, second study liked, and second study feared). Thinking and sensing were used the most frequently, feeling was

third, and intuiting was least frequently used in all three sets.

I know of no theoretical basis for this similarity in distribution. It may be related to the verbal response format of the questionnaire; feeling and intuiting may need non-verbal methods for their expression. Or it may be the case that in our culture, with its emphasis on thinking and objective validity, feeling and intuiting are less well developed in the population as a whole.

Studies comparing sub-groups representative of each of the types might yield useful information here. It is often protested that subjects for psychological studies are too frequently drawn from the student population and, therefore, are not representative of the population as a whole. I found that extremely introverted subjects were unable or unwilling to complete the questionnaire. I expect that most academic research represents thinking type analysis of data derived from thinking type subjects from the mid-range of the introversion-extroversion continuum. Generalization of findings to the population as a whole suggests more careful attention to the possible effects of this variable.

Another finding that invites further research is the reversal in proportion of cultural to natural objects in relation to whether things are liked or feared. Of the liked objects, 84% are cultural artifacts and only 14% are things from the natural environment. When feared objects are described, the proportions reverse; the larger proportion are natural objects and phenomena,

51%, and the smaller porportion are things made by the culture, 49%.

These feared things from the natural environment are 12 animals, 8 people (all men or people in general), 2 plants, 6 insects or bees, 5 reptiles, 5 bodies of water, 4 dark, 4 death, 3 storms, and 2 height. These are almost identical to things feared by non-human primates as identified by Bowlby (). These choices certainly lend support to the theory that phobias have a genetic predisposition and evolutionary advantage as suggested by Laughlin and d'Aquili (1974) and d"Aquili (1979).

I would suppose that if one compared a modern population with one that lived off the earth at a subsistence level one might find more especially liked natural objects listed--rain water, food crops, etc.--but I doubt that any North American population would differ significantly at this level. I would expect ethnicity and income level to influence object choice within the liked and feared categories, but I doubt that there is enough difference in the experience of Americans today to produce demonstrable differences between these basic attitudes toward objects.

B. OBJECTS AS REPRESENTATIONS OF PERSONAL PROCESSES

With the shift in focus from statistical description of objects and reasons as though they were static states to narrative description of transitions and transformations of meaning, the concept of process emerged. This view of object attachments as representing personal processes is similar in a

general way to the dynamic theories of the depth psychologies. I agree with Searles (1960) that these attachments can be life saving for a person deprived of human relationships, but I also see these attachments as essential life processes that contribute to human creativity in a positive way, as conceptualized by Cobb (1972).

All three of these perspectives are represented in the data. Psychoanalytic theories of phobias as personal trauma from childhood experiences find support in the description of the feared red balloons under the bed covers and the feared high pressure air drill penetrating the foundation walls of the day care center.

Searles (1960) describes the relationships of some of his schizophrenic patients with the trees outside their windows:

They seemed to be experiencing a longing to become at one with the trees outside their windows, trees which, quite literally, for hours at time provided them with a companionship which they were not getting from other human beings. In such cases, it seems as if the loneliness is even more bearable than the threat of losing their human identity. (p. 247)

This recalls the woman's object description of trees quoted in detail in the last chapter:

We grew up together . . . I feel close to it . . . we share secrets . . . I can almost feel how the tree must feel (trying to hang on despite everything) . . . I bend but I still haven't broken. I've considered suicide, but like my tree, I just can't do it.

The psychoanalysts see pathology in such object attachments because they are observing people in situations defined as pathological. However, I believe that these object attachments represent processes of natural adaptation that can operate

without analytic interpretation. In fact, I believe that interpretation itself, with the associated normative judgements of "normal" and "pathological", can actually distort this natural adaptive process.

The woman in my study who described the tree goes on to say,

Cars . . . cry out from heat and cold and other mistreatments
. . . Buildings . . . the many secrets and stories they
could tell . . . if only they could talk.

If this woman considered these object descriptions as processes that are "trying to happen" in her own experience, she might find useful patterns to explore. "Crying out" and "telling secrets" can be viewed as processes seeking to be lived out in this woman's conscious experience.

I make the assumption that object descriptions represent processes that are seeking representation in people's conscious awareness, and that once this process completes itself, once it becomes part of a person's conscious identity, the object gradually loses its associated feeling of significance (it undergoes natural resolution) and is replaced by another object representing some new process seeking expression.

From this perspective, consider the sequence "mirror" to "living room window" to "Gregg" to "JoJo" to "my mom and daddy's bedroom ceiling":

Mirror . . . I would look into it and see . . . things no one else ever saw . . . I would stare into it . . . in a trance . . . lost all sense of time, direction, everything but that pleasing feeling when I walked away . . . it also made me feel safe and secure.

Withdrawal from the trauma of her daily life into this trance state was apparently a process essential for this child's development.

In the next object this pattern continues in a more limited form and a new process starts to emerge:

The living room window . . . is covered with a film paper, for the purpose of keeping the hot sun out . . . in the evening the window creates a mirror.

The safety of the mirror is still available to her, but she is now able to see outside in a semi-protected manner.

The process represented by the next object in this sequence: "Gregg", brings her out of reflected reality into human relationship:

When I was looking in the mirror, the things I saw were imaginary, he's real and he's there when I need him.

The next object described was "JoJo, my stuffed monkey". This object was wrenched away by her father when she was 2 years old:

I hated my father for this. He took away the most important thing to me. I wish I had my JoJo back.

I make the assumption that objects that are described as having been wrenched out of people's lives represent incomplete processes and that it is this cutting off of an essential life process that causes the associated feelings of pain, anger, and loss.

This woman then goes on to describe a feared object, her parents bedroom ceiling. She said how she hated and feared it, told the story of her parents divorce, described seeing "wierd, scary faces" in the wood-grained ceiling, and concluded "The

grain in the wood created frightening images, of course that's probably because of me only I could dream up something to scare me."

From this description, I assume that she is partially aware of projecting the scary experience of her parents divorce onto the the vague forms of the wood-grain in the ceiling. As a child I doubt that she was aware of these connections; they are made now as she recalls the experience of the object. But I see these projections as useful in her personal development. The secondary process of fear came closer to awareness when she was a child through its projections onto the ceiling. By reflection, she now becomes aware of the relationship between the divorce, the feelings of fear, and the memory of the feared object.

I believe that all of these object relationships serve a function of natural adaptation; no one instructed these young women to experience these things in this way. The woman who described the tree was even afraid I would think she was crazy for describing these experiences; yet, it is probably these very experiences that will keep her from experiencing the craziness she fears.

It might help this woman feel less isolated to know that the tree as a source of strength (the tree of life, the world tree) is a theme dating back to earliest recorded history. Such knowledge might help her experience the strength of her tree more fully, but she does not need it as abstract intellectual information because she has the daily experience of the actual tree to guide her process.

Most people seem to experience these processes without personal awareness and conscious participation; the natural process alone seems to bring itself to completion, as in the life of the young woman with the mirror. However, if increased consciousness is a personal goal or if a life process is experienced as blocked, analysis of one's own significant objects can reveal new patterns for potential growth.

Mindell's work is instructive here. Although he does not focus on the relationship between process and object attachment, as such, his whole development of the concepts of primary and secondary processes and the progressive integration of secondary processes into one's conscious identity provides a well developed context for understanding these sequences of significant object attachments.

C. PATTERNS OF MEANING

Data identified by each of these previously described levels of analysis provides content for the next higher level of analysis. Content analysis and statistical description identified the objects and reasons which are, in turn, embedded in the more complex stories of transition and transformation of meaning. Now we consider both the specific information about the objects and reasons and the processes of changing meanings as content for the more complex structural analysis.

From the first level of analysis, we have a lot of information about the object and its specific meanings. We have identified sex differences, we have information about differences

between liked and feared objects, and we have suggestions about the impact of differences in personality type on the experience of meaning.

From the second level of analysis we have information about transitions and transformations of meaning. We have identified processes of natural resolution and wrenching losses.

However, as we identified the relationships between the qualities and the meanings of the object, we entered the third level of analysis: the structure of relations that go to make up the symbolic object itself. This is one aspect of a broader, more comprehensive pattern of meaning which I describe in terms of three sets of structural relations: first, relationships between signified and signifier produce the structure of the symbolic object itself; second, horizontal structures of relations influence the sequence of object selections over time; and, third, vertical structures of relations create the set out of which this particular object was chosen.

These three dimensions of meaning are derived from the linguistic model: words represent predominantly arbitrary relations between signified (concept) and signifier (sound image); words relate diachronically in the sequence of a sentence; any one word is chosen out of the set of available terms and signifies synchronically by opposition to the rest of the set.

1. RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN
SIGNIFIED AND SIGNIFIER

To adapt this linguistic model for analysis of physical

object systems, we must layer on to it additional levels of meaning. To the idea signified, we must add all the other aspects of the person seeking expression; in addition to concepts, these are sensations, feelings, and intuitions. To the signifier, we must add all those other features of things appropriate to represent these signifieds; in addition to words, these include the material qualities of things, value choices, and forms. See Table 114.

The assumption of arbitrariness is essential to the linguistic model. To explore relationships between the experiencing subject and objects in the world, we must extend the model to include analysis of necessary relationships between signified and signifier.

When meaning is experienced through the abstract, conceptual distance of the thinking function, object quality is not necessarily a relevant dimension. The relationship between signified and signifier may be completely detached as in conceptual associations or there may be a relationship of logical resemblance. The relationship between the Mary Poppins doll and flying to other parts of the world is one of logical resemblance. The doll itself does not fly; the notion of flying is in the story about the doll.

The ring that makes the wife "feel one together with my husband" is an interesting example. On one hand, the relationship between signified and signifier, ring and relationship, is arbitrary. By cultural agreement, a ring on the third finger of the left hand signifies marriage. From this

point of view, the ring signifies in much the same way language does. However, from earliest history, in art and myth, the circle has represented unity and oneness. This form may be more appropriate to represent this meaning than any other; there may be an archetypal basis for this particular signification. Since archetypes are assumed to be innate predispositions to think in a certain way, we can consider this type of relationship one of logical resemblance.

In contrast to the representational distance that is a characteristic of the thinking function, meaning experienced through the senses represents an opposite extreme in the relationship between signified and signifier. Sometimes there is an actual identity; the quality becomes the meaning; there is no differentiation between the two. The smoothness of satin is a feature undifferentiated from the sensation of stroking that smoothness; the signifier is an aspect of the signified.

When meaning is experienced through the feeling function, we find that when the signified represents an affective feeling, the relationship between signified and signifier seems to be a necessary one. Soft, warming things are appropriate to signify nurturing; hard things are appropriate to signify achievement. However, when the feeling-type signified is a value judgement, the relationship may be quite arbitrary; there may be no necessary relationship between a feature of an object and its value. The whole question of aesthetic value becomes an issue here. The 6 year old boy who discovered that "beauty can be

destroyed" when his toy gun was broken found no agreement from

TABLE 114

THE SYMBOLIC OBJECT
RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN SIGNIFIED AND SIGNIFIER

---INFORMATION AVAILABLE TO THE PERSON IN THE ENVIRONMENT---

{THINGS FELT BUT GIVEN NO REPRESENTATION}

CONTEXT

OBJECT

S I G N I F I E R	Name:	Material:	Value:	Image:
	vocabulary, speech	sensual qualities, interactive capabilities	rank order importance	information holes, lack, absence, potential
	WORDS	QUALITIES	CHOICES	FORMS
	-----	-----	-----	-----
	CONCEPTS	SENSATIONS	FEELINGS	INTUITIONS
	S I G N I F I E D	(CONSCIOUS IDENTITY SEEKING SUPPORT)		
		(INCOMPLETE PROCESSES SEEKING EXPRESSION)		
		{ARCHETYPAL FORMS SEEKING ENVIRONMENTAL CONTENT}		
		-----ENERGY MOVING FROM PERSON TO ENVIRONMENT-----		

his mother that this object represented beauty.

Meaning experienced through intuition indicates an interesting relationship between object and meaning; the meaning seems to overrun the qualities of the object. Stated conversly, the object seems to have an absence or lack about it that it

allows the meaning to fill. These absences or lacks may be perceptual and filled in by imaginations or they may be temporal and completed in time by anticipations of future experience.

Experiences of meaning are dialectical-developmental processes. Thinking finds expression in reading books for information; feeling finds expression in the simple fact of the choice itself; sensation expresses itself in contact with the softness of the blanket; intuition finds incomplete forms on the ceiling to fill with significance. Each of these functions are, in turn, developed through this process of interaction with the environment. Reading books feeds and extends the thinking function; making choices differentiates and clarifies awareness of feeling values; experiencing softness and hardness enriches sensation; completion of indefinite forms strengthens the ability to intuit wholes out of fragmented experience.

The next issue to consider is the source of the energy to fuel these transactions. I suggest three sources: one, the conscious identity of the person needs support and representation; two, incomplete processes are seeking expression in the world; and, three, empty archetypal forms are seeking to fill themselves with environmental content.

The mother hangs portraits of her children on the wall; she likes to say "those are my children"; this supports her role as mother. The 26 old bartender who keeps Tiger and Cheeta, two stuffed animals, by his bed but says "I don't know why I keep them . . . I just can't seem to throw the old things out". may

have a nurturing process operating outside the range of his awareness and only evidenced by the fact that Tiger and Cheetah remain by his bed. This incomplete nurturing process might have two sources; it may have been partially experienced in childhood, then pushed out of awareness by the cultural or personal injunction: boys don't do that; or it may have never been part of his conscious experience. There may be an inchoate longing to nurture and be nurtured that is an essential aspect of the genetic equipment of humanness that is seeking outward expression in his life.

The man who sets his bowling trophy on the shelf in the living room is saying, "I achieved something of value"; the trophy is part of his conscious identity. The woman who excelled at baseball but gave her baseball glove to her little brother because "girls don't play baseball" feels a sense of loss because that process of striving toward excellence has been blocked. This striving toward excellence has been a conscious experience for this woman, but it may operate on the archetypal level as well. Just as the desire to nurture and be nurtured may be an innate aspect of humanness, so the desire to achieve, to be a hero, may be a potential aspect of humanness seeking to be lived out in experience.

Relationships between signified and signifier are strongly gender related in our culture and these differences are represented in the data. For example, women use clothing and jewelry to represent achievement, while men use sports and

trophies. Winnicott's observation that girls prefer soft toys and boys prefer hard ones has been used to suggest that these sex differences are the result of genetic predisposition but the research suggesting that girls and boys are treated differentially from birth calls this into question.

Some relationships between signified and signifier are part of the subjects conscious awareness, others are relatively distant from awareness. Signifieds viewed as positive values in our culture--feelings of nurturing and achievement, for example--are likely to be part of one's conscious identity; meanings designated as negative--rage and fear, for example--seem further away from awareness; but these feelings, also, become attached to objects as they seek expression in the world. For example, the woman described the mirror as important explicitly because it made her feel safe; but when she describes her fear of her parents bedroom ceiling she makes no explicit causal connection but describes the two events--her fear of the ceiling and her parents divorce--as related in time. The fear is apparently further away from her awareness than the feeling of being safe.

The selection of soft things to represent nurturing and hard things to represent achievement is another type of relationship between signified and signifier that operates outside of awareness. These relationships were not stated by the subjects, but only became apparent in the process of analysis.

Type differences also influence the selection of signifier to represent a particular signified. Perry, the introverted

collage artist refused to use words to represent his feelings; he preferred to manipulate the qualities of physical objects instead. The extroverted home decorator, Holly, used both words and things to express her socially appropriate values. Of the two painters, Dorothy uses qualities--mainly color and form--to express her feelings and Louise uses fantastic images to represent her imaginations.

To use the linguistic model for analysis of physical object systems, we must extend the dimension of the signifier as well as the signified. Information from the environment has many features; things have linguistic labels, sensual qualities, interactive capabilities, definite and indefinite forms, etc. Of these, only some aspects are given representation in the culture. It is clear from cross cultural linguistic studies that those aspects of the environment given linguistic representation and conceptual form differ according to the value system of the culture. Words and values are arbitrarily designated and learned in the process of acculturation. However, there are also aspects of the environment which are not named; these are present to experience and can be brought to awareness without linguistic mediation. Rembrandt's paintings probably transformed Western experience of light; when those juxtapositions of light and dark became overly familiar, the Impressionists pulled other aspects of light into our awareness. In a similar manner, darkness and chaos found expression in Picasso's Guernica. One characteristic of artistic expression is this continual seeking of fresh modes of expression.

2. RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN SEQUENTIAL OBJECT ATTACHMENTS

In addition to the set of relations between the signified and signifier that operate to form the symbolic object, there is the set of relations that join these object sequences over time. In the linguistic model, this is the syntagm, the sequence of words in the sentence or the dialogue of a lifetime. In language, these sets of relations are culturally learned but are also assumed to operate according to certain genetically programmed rules of usage.

To adapt this model to physical object systems, consider a sequence from the second study:

BLANKET -- mom -- stuffed animal -- ring -- boyfriend -- beach

This can be understood as one sentence in this woman's object vocabulary, the continuing expression of a life process. "BLANKET" signifies within the full range of the signified/signifier relationships just discussed; it also signifies as the first term in the object sequence. There are any number of possible ways to complete the meaning. This sequence moves from blanket to nurturing stuffed animal to a nurturing relationship to nurturing place in the environment. Studies of meaning at this level of analysis are case studies; we must identify and examine the links between these object choices over time.

What effect does the type of resolution to the object attachment have on the next object selected? In the sequence "teddy bear" to "dog" to "playing baseball with my brother", all

three objects are existentially wrenched and "As to the present . . . there are no things that I would actually say no I can't give that up except for food and water".

In another sequence, a wrenched nurturing stuffed animal was followed by a hard, closed nurturing object: a wooden box; in another, the nurturing stuffed monkey wrenched by the father was followed by a feared object: her parents bedroom ceiling. By additional analysis of case study data, we may be able to identify rules of transition from one type of object attachment and resolution to the next attachment.

Sequences of object attachments over time can be analyzed individually, as case studies, as the unique vocabulary of objects in the life of one particular subject; these sequences can also be combined to represent the language of objects available in the culture. But language is not only the deposit of individual speech, it is also made up of the rules of usage that function outside of the awareness of any one person.

In the last section, we suggested some of these unconscious rules of usage that operate in the relationship between signified and signifier--the use of soft things to represent nurturing and hard things to represent achievement, for example. Sequences of object attachments described in the data suggest similar unconscious rules of usage: a protective object follows a painful loss, absence of object attachments follows a sequence of painful losses, and positive human relationships follow a sequence of nurturing objects.

But there is much more information needed about these sequential relationships. In a sequence of nurturing objects that represent feelings of safety and security, we suddenly find a transition to an object that represents a movement out into the world of risk, adventure and achievement. This transition from "blanket" to "sailboat" is an example. The woman says,

I related to my blanket when I was sad, scolded, felt down on myself, sorry for myself . . . I would feel like a new person when I sailed with my Kiayka. I had a sense of freedom and individuality . . . My boat was like opening a new chapter in my life.

What makes radical change like this possible? A Jungian might say that it is an aspect of the Self emerging; a Mindellian process psychologist might look for a dream image that patterned this new behavior; an Ericksonian psychologist might relate this change in identity with a stage in life cycle. One psychologist might look to childhood and another might focus on the here-and-now. The academic psychologies try to conceptualize change and the therapies try to help people implement change in their lives. We simply do not know what makes change possible in any particular case; all theories probably represent some aspect of the phenomena.

The objectification of inner states in the symbolic object and the comparison of the sequence of these objectified processes over time adds a whole new set of data to be analyzed in our continuing efforts to understand change in peoples lives.

3. RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN OBJECT AND CONTEXT

The choice of the blanket as the first object may represent

another rule of usage. The blanket is not only chosen because its material qualities are appropriate to represent nurturing; its meaning is also differential. The blanket has been, in some sense, carved out of the mother. It signifies because it is like her: soft, provides warmth; it also signifies because it is not like her: it is available in the environment. This signification is differential; the object signifies by opposition to that which it is not.

The object "stuffed animal" was chosen out of a set of other available choices; probably available were hard things, other soft things, real animals, and people. These oppositions between object and context can operate on any scale. The woman who compares the nurturing feelings experienced in relation to her stuffed animal with the feelings of achievement associated with the senior prom is stating an opposition at the scale of object quality when she says that the prom made her feel "proud" and that this "was not something I could take in my arms and squeeze".

The woman who says, "Everything I wished for I could never have and always had to settle for something else which didn't quite mean the same thing" is stating an opposition between what she has and what she wishes for.

The woman who describes 45 objects while stating that she cannot think of any objects must be describing these in opposition to some unexplained context; there must be something that to her is a real object; the context of her meaning is missing.

The questions multiply. What other objects were available but not experienced as important? What things were important but not available? The quotation from the woman who describes having nothing of value to her for two entire periods of her life is of interest here. It suggests that income level would be a useful variable to explore.

These examples suggest an extroverted definition of context; but the internal, subjective environment also operates as context. A personal movement toward introversion heightens the importance of subjective experience and decreases attachments to external objects. The man who says things "lost their value because I found deeper value in life and found security of the mind" and the many statements denying the value of material things in comparison with the spiritual suggests that the opposition is between the material object and an inner, spiritual context.

Subjects describing the process of natural resolution where things simply disappear from awareness may be describing a natural process of shedding things that operates outside of awareness and serves a function of natural adaptation.

Absence of attachments to things can be experienced as a positive value; it can also be viewed negatively, as alienation from things. Differences between subjects of this study suggest various forms such alienation might take.

Extreme introversion may lead to such an exclusive involvement in the inner experience of significance that the

outer world ceases to exist in any meaningful way. In this case, objects of the environment would cease to exist in their own particularity and would operate only as anonymous pegs from which to hang vast reservoirs of archetypally derived feelings of significance. The speech of people classified as schizophrenic seems to describe such experience.

Extreme extroversion, on the other hand, may lead people to accumulate and manipulate vast collections of things; but all these things may be experienced as dry, useless, and meaningless. There may be no connection between the object and an inner sense of meaning. People experiencing severe depression sometimes describe the world as full of meaningless forms seen in shades of gray.

Beginning with the school system and extending to the workplace, the American culture values and rewards extroverted thinking type behaviors. A third type of alienation may be experienced by a child whose genetic predisposition to the experience of meaning is of some other type, usually introverted intuitive or sensation. Such children become alienated from their own experience of the meaning of things. They may become convinced that they are dumb and drop out of the culture or they may disregard their subjective experience, treat themselves like objects, and learn by rote the meaning system presented by others. Both choices cut the person off from the natural roots of his or her own authentic experience of meaning.

A fourth type of alienation occurs when children are kept

separate from the outcome of their own actions on things or from natural processes of change. A child never allowed to create, construct, destroy or otherwise make messes is already prepared for alienation from the products of his own labor in the workplace. The child whose parents replaced the rabbits that died during the night with live rabbits to protect her from knowledge of death acquires a sense of alienation from life processes.

People surrounded by mass-produced cultural artifacts having no distinguishable differences may be limited in their ability to make discriminations based on the unique qualities of particular things; objects become interchangeable. Marking things in ways labeled "destructive" and the making of graffiti may be attempts to overcome this type of alienation by making identifiable marks on things that have too few distinguishable differences.

There is also the issue of violations of rules of usage. In language, the misuse of a term signifies as a violation. Certainly in the language of physical objects we also see signification by violation of or opposition to the normative context. The woman who wears embroidered overalls to say "Yes I'm different. . . . So look inside and find out who I really am." is saying something important. The man who selected the "ugliest" stone for his ring so no one else would have one like it is also signifying through violation of a norm.

D. IN CONCLUSION

This study identifies and describes the categories of objects that are special to people and the reasons for this importance. It provides narrative descriptions of the processes of transition and transformation of these meanings. Finally, it integrates both of these methods of analysis into a more comprehensive pattern of meaning using the model provided by structural linguistics as a guide. It suggests that the most useful direction for future research lies in the investigation of the meanings of things in individual process terms and in the organization of these processes into broader, collective patterns of meaning.

In conclusion, I would like to thank the subjects who made this study possible by sharing these intimate stories of their lives.

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