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PSYCHOLOGICAL MINDEDNESS AND FLEXIBILITY IN
FATHERS AS IT RELATES TO INDEPENDENCE IN
ADOLESCENT BOYS.**

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PSYCHOLOGICAL MINDEDNESS AND FLEXIBILITY IN
FATHERS AS IT RELATES TO INDEPENDENCE
IN ADOLESCENT BOYS

by

GEORGE GOLDSTEIN

A dissertation submitted to the Graduate Faculty in
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ABSTRACT OF THE THESIS

Psychological Mindedness and Flexibility in
Fathers as it Relates to Independence
in Adolescent Boys

by GEORGE GOLDSTEIN, Ph.D.

Thesis director: Professor Mary Engel, Ph.D.

The issue of independence in adolescence has been examined. Two variables in fathers of middle class, male adolescents have been studied, Psychological Mindedness and Flexibility. It was predicted that the combination of Psychological Mindedness and Flexibility in fathers would be an important link in the development of independence in their sons.

The subjects were 45 white, middle class boys from the greater New York area, and their fathers. Both fathers and sons filled out the California Psychological Inventory and responses for the fathers were obtained from the Psychological Mindedness and Flexibility scales and responses for the sons were obtained from the Independence scale. Following this, six pairs of fathers and sons were selected for blind interviews and testing. Three young men were to be selected from the high

and low ends of the Independence scale respectively for interview with their fathers.

Analysis of the results reveals that the single scores of either Psychological Mindedness or Flexibility in fathers singly or together are not significantly related to Independence in sons. Furthermore, it was found that there is no significant difference in sons' independence whether their mothers work or not. Sibling size was not found to be significantly related to Independence although it approached significance at the .05 level. Sibling order was not found to be related to Independence. Lastly, a significant relationship was established beyond the .01 level between Independence in sons and the degree of agreements of CPI responses between fathers and sons.

The case histories and interaction testing reveal that two of the three fathers of the dependent group have a history of emotional problems, and difficulties finding permanent work, while the boys have a history of difficult school adjustment both socially and academically. The boys also described having experienced adolescent adjustment difficulties. In addition, the pairs functioned inefficiently in the interaction testing and worked out disagreements by allowing one response to dominate in the absence of the other.

The independent group had fathers with no history of emotional problems and are successful men in their respective professions. The boys also have not experienced any difficulties worthy of note in school or during adolescence. More importantly, the fathers and sons in this group functioned efficiently and without any difficulty in a free, give and take atmosphere during the interaction testing.

The results do not support the major hypothesis; however, several factors influencing independence in adolescence have been highlighted. Further, the fathers of those boys who are truly independent and function independently have fewer emotional or employment difficulties and are actively engaged in a very alive problem-solving process with their sons that is significantly different from the ways in which fathers of the dependent group and their sons problem-solve.

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INTRODUCTION

Much has been written about adolescence and the approaches to this period are as varied as they are plentiful. Each writer seems to have his own particular viewpoint that distinguishes him from the others. However, one can nevertheless say that the major portion of the literature falls into one of the two following areas: the developmental tasks of adolescence--what is to be done, and how; and secondly: the biological or experiential factors that influence this work. This study will attempt to examine the relationship between a particular developmental task and two factors that may influence it. Specifically, the aim of the research will be to investigate the role of fathering (experiential factor) as it relates to the relative success or failure of adolescent achievement of emotional independence, one of the major developmental tasks of this stage of life.

The concept of developmental tasks of adolescence has received many different treatments, yet there seems to be a "virtual unanimity" (Ausubel, 1954) when the discussion turns to the primary developmental tasks of adolescence. The concept of developmental tasks itself has been defined by R. J. Havighurst (1948) "as a task which arises at or about a

certain period in the life of the individual: successful achievement of which leads to his happiness and to success with later tasks, while failure leads to unhappiness in the individual: disapproval by the society and difficulty with later tasks." This concept of developmental tasks addresses itself directly to the notion that there are phase specific tasks that the adolescent must struggle with and successfully resolve to satisfactorily complete this period in his growth cycle.

Havighurst has taken the developmental task approach to understanding adolescence and he has divided the major task of this period into three areas: 1. achieving new and more mature relations with age mates of both sexes; the goal of which is to learn to look upon girls as women and boys as men; 2. achieving a masculine or feminine social role, the goal of which is to accept and to learn socially approved adult masculine or feminine social roles; 3. achieving emotional independence of parents and other adults, the goal of which is to become free from childish dependence on parents: to develop affection for parents without dependency upon them, to develop respect for elder adults without dependency upon them.

It is the developmental task involving the achievement of emotional independence that will be the focus of this investigation. The successful achievement of this task and its working through has left many parents and adolescents quite confused at best. Havighurst (1948) has pointed out that in our contemporary era, especially in the middle class, as adolescents are struggling for increased independence the adult world conveys very confusing and conflicting messages causing adolescents to "wish for the continued security of parental protection." The conflict that the adolescent finds himself in is by no means new to him. In fact, the struggle for independence from important objects has been waxing and waning since the moment of birth itself.

The Growth of Dependence in the Human Infant

The issue of dependence has been dealt with in most major areas of psychological investigation from the psychoanalytic to the ethological. While Freud never dealt with the issue of dependence directly, it is nevertheless implied in much of his work. "The word dependence appears neither in his title nor in his indices (Parens and Saul, 1971)." However, the issues related to what is called emotional dependence are clearly implied if not directly stated in the development of the following concepts, primary objects,

cathexes on the object, anxiety and the experience of helplessness. In Totem and Taboo (1913) there is some direct discussion of the relationship between the development of religious ideas as originating from the child's sense of helplessness and dependency on the primary objects (the parents). In addition, as early as 1913, Freud was writing about the relation of childhood dependence to psychic structure formation.

The contributions made by the ethologists have been mainly in the area of the primates object relations. Harlow's famous work (1959) with the rhesus monkeys is of particular importance when viewed in the light of understanding human development through the separation-individuation process. For example, one of the many observations Harlow made from his work was that the monkeys showed the need to be within the general proximity of the mothering object. As Parens and Saul (1971) point out, this behavior is highly suggestive of the psychoanalytic concepts of normal symbiosis and separation anxiety.

These contributions from Freud and Harlow play but a small part in developing a full appreciation of the vicissitudes in the development of psychological dependence in man. The following pages will attempt to bring these distant

contributions together to gather a time-ordered understanding of this process.

The First Three Months of Life

At birth, the human neonate is totally dependent on the adult for survival. This dependence results from its high degree of biologic helplessness as seen in the infants total inability to care for itself. Spitz (1965) has described this period as the "objectless stage" or as a state of "nondifferentiation." "In the stage of nondifferentiation, there is no clear distinction between psyche and soma, between inside and outside, between drive and object, between 'I' and 'Non-I', and not even between different regions of the body." At this point in life, while the infant is completely helpless without the object or parents, the infant has not developed the psychic apparatus necessary to even recognize or relate to the object. What perception of the object that does take place takes the form of a need-configuration or part object.

The Second Three Months of Life

This period of time is described as the time when the precursors of the objects develop. The precursors are "characterized by the capacity to fulfill the exact requisite of a given need-configuration, i.e., they have a function

(Spitz, 1950)." Or as Mahler would say, the infant moves from the autistic to the symbiotic phase as the infant now recognizes that its needs can be satisfied externally (parent or object) (Mahler, 1952). This phase of the precursor of the object is clinically recognized through the occurrence of the smiling response when presented with a human face. Yet while the infant is now able to respond in some way to the object one cannot say that the infant is psychologically dependent on the object. This must wait for the third three months when the parenting figure (mother) truly becomes a recognizable object, (more than just a face configuration) and when the infant becomes not only libidinally attached to the object but dependent on the object for the "gratification of emerging psychological needs (Parens and Saul, 1971)."

The Third Three Months of Life

It is at this point when the infant begins to develop trust in the object and expectations for gratification move beyond the purely physical. It is at this point that dependence has truly become psychological. One may see this clinically in the infant's experience of anxiety during the absence of the object. Separation anxiety and stranger responses are prominent during this time and prolonged absence of the object has led to total withdrawal by the infant and to anaclitic depression.

During this period as a result of the growth of the infants ego functions, the infant can now recognize the role the object plays in gratifying its needs. It now becomes necessary to have the "specific object" or its substitute for gratification as the psychologic dependence has now become object specific. This need for the "specific object" occurs as a result of the infants successful completion of the first sub-phase of the separation-individuation process called "differentiation."

Life from Ten to Fifteen Months

During the second sub-phase, "practicing," which generally occurs from nine to 18 months the infants dependence on the object takes on a new form. Now the infant is no longer passively tied to or dependent upon the object: rather the infant is actively engaged in practice attempts at leaving the object for short periods of time to return to the object for "emotional refueling." It is during this second sub-phase of the separation-individuation process, that the father's importance to the child increases as he can now satisfy more of the child's needs. No other object approaches the primacy of the mother "but the father is now highly libidinized (Parsons and Saul, 1971)." During the early months of development the father's role is more diffuse

than the mother's, as most of her interaction with the infant is clearly need related. Therefore, the infant has been less dependent on the father as the father has not played a major role in the gratification of the infant's biological and affectional or libidinal needs.

However, the father and siblings are closer to the infant than all other objects. As a result, if the father has been consistent in day to day contact with the child, he will not elicit a stranger response. Yet, the mother still maintains primacy during this period. As Parens and Saul illustrate, "the father has to give over the child to his mother for calming during periods of stress because his ministrations do not fulfill their aim. The father, however, is clearly libidinized, taking precedence over siblings who are with the infant more constantly." Moreover, as the authors point out, as the infant moves into the second year of life, the relationship with the father achieves a sufficient degree of stabilization to be able to discuss the presence of two meaningful dyads (mother-infant, father-infant), each with its particular functions and characteristics.

Life from Fourteen Months to Thirty-six Months

During the following time period of 14-36 months the infant passes through the next two sub-phases of the

separation-individuation process. Rapprochement occurs from 14-22 months and object-constancy from 25-36 months. Parens and Saul (1971) remark that when object constancy is finally achieved the infant has been able to successfully complete the separation-individuation process so necessary for independent functioning. These final steps are achieved slowly and through the process of internalization of the psychic representations of the object. These representations, when consistent, reach a high degree of stability, so that the infant can hold these representations even in the absence of the original object. As Parens and Saul remark, "the object psychically internalized makes possible eventual separation from the actual object and the capacity to be alone."

Mahler (1968) also notes that the culmination of the separation-individuation phase is the establishment of object constancy. Hartman (1952) originally proposed the term "object constancy" to contrast it with Anna Freud's (1953) notion of a stage of need satisfaction. Anna Freud's concept notes that the object image is thought of as being intrapsychically cathected following need arousal, and the image disappears when the need is satisfied. Mahler (1968) remarks that "the stage of object constancy develops gradually and may be regarded as having been attained when by contrast

with the previous stage, a firmly established object image is available, the cathexis of which persists regardless of the stage of instinctual need."

Mahler further comments on several aspects of the developing object constancy, noting that these aspects of development "should be regarded as implying transitions from the stage of need satisfaction to that of object constancy (1968)." The first major aspect she notes, states that during the course of development to the stage of object constancy, the maternal representation becomes intraphysically available so that the infant can, in the absence of the mother, accept a substitute or a symbol of the mother. "The carrying power of the internal image of the mother, by contrast with the situation in the stage of stranger anxiety, affords the child the capacity to utilize a symbol, plus the internal image of the mother, until the actual mother in the flesh returns (1968)."

The second major aspect to be noted is that during the course of the development of object constancy, the object image is gradually invested with more and more libidinal and neutralized energy.

Thirdly, Mahler notes that the stage of object constancy is reached "when one particular defense--the splitting

of the object images--is no longer readily available to the ego." Mahler further notes that just as the stages of oral, anal and phallic development "are not altogether sharply demarcated, neither are these phases of object relationships. Not only does one phase continue into the next, but under certain conditions--such as the stage of need tension--a normally allowable degree of regression must be anticipated (1968)."

In addition, as these representations become more stable we see for the first time some real differentiation of parental roles. The mothering object is generally seen as providing protection, care and indulgence, while the fathering object is seen primarily as "limit setting", in addition to whatever support they may provide each other in their respective roles.

Life from Three to Six Years

As the infant matures during the years from three to six, the separation-individuation process continues so that the child will be able to sustain separation from the parents long enough to acquire playmates, and certainly to sustain several hours away from home while in school. In a sense, it is through a successful completion of the four sub-phases of the process that the child is able to explore the outside

world, evidencing an independent style of functioning, knowing the objects are there when needed.

During these years however there is a marked change in the nature of the relationship to these objects. The dyadic role mentioned above, now becomes quite complex and triadic in nature.

According to psychoanalytic theory, the boy's desire for the love and affection of his mother is one of the defining characteristics of the oedipal conflict. Furthermore, the manner in which resolution of this conflict is obtained will have critical implications for the individuals developing sense of self. The oedipal conflict itself involves two related motives: the boy's desire for the love and affection of his mother and a feeling of rivalry with his father over his mother's love. An analogous conflict is present in the girl: a desire for the affection of the father and a competitive rivalry with the mother.

A young boy generally perceives that his father receives love and affection from his mother and since the child has already developed a desire for the mother's affection it is assumed that he will also want for himself the love that mother gives to the father. One way of obtaining such love is through identification with the father in the hope that by

being like the father he will receive the affection of his mother.

However, as the boy's needs for the mother's affection increases he begins to sense his father as a rival. The father now has the additional role of competitor for the mother's love. This feeling of rivalry leads to hostility toward and fear of the father. The child's fear of the father results from the child's belief that the father resents the child's competition and is aware of the boy's hostile thoughts toward the father.

Fear of loss of love from both mother and father are operative for the boy: from the father because of rivalry with him; from the mother, because of both realistic and unrealistic reasons she rejects the sensual gifts of her son. Because satisfactory resolution of the conflict is necessary for further development, the oedipal love-object must frustrate the sensual needs of the child while gratifying optimally the affectional. Parens and Saul (1971) point out the parents who globally reject their children as a defense against their own responsiveness to the child's unconscious sensual wishes is not uncommon. Mussen, Conger and Kagan (1963) note that the most obvious consequents of unresolved oedipal conflicts become apparent in adolescence and adulthood. For example,

the boy who remains emotionally tied to his mother does not make affectionate and love responses to others. As an adolescent then he may still be unable to break his attachment and may find it difficult to form any other relationships. On the other hand, overt rejection and neglect by the mother may have similar effects on her son. The boy in this situation may never develop a strong desire for his mother's love, and his ability to establish a deep and meaningful heterosexual attachment in later years may be impaired.

Blos (1962) points out that as far as the resolution of the Oedipus complex is concerned, "we must remember that neither in the boy nor in the girl do we encounter resolutions which live up to the ideal models. In both sexes there remain residues of positive and negative oedipal strivings: that is to say, relics of feminine strivings remain in the boy, and the girl maintains for a long time fantasies of a phallic nature."

Blos further notes that the decline of the Oedipus complex in adolescence is a slow process. The decline continues into late adolescence and is probably accomplished "only when in the natural course of events the individual re-establishes himself in a new family...and perhaps more correctly--it may be said that through the formation of a new

family the young adult creates an emotional constellation with the help of which he can hope to master any breakthrough of oedipal remnants (1962)."

The Time of Life Known as Latency

The years between early childhood and adolescence, the latency period, are of greatest importance for adolescence because this period establishes new avenues for gratification and for mastery through the development of social competence, and new physical and mental capabilities. In addition, during this period the young child learns to develop increased tension tolerance which makes organized learning possible. This development also increases the conflict-free sphere of ego functioning and brings more stable and less conflicted objects into existence.

Freud's original notion of latency (1905, 1923) of a period of time devoid of sexual urges has been superseded by "an acknowledgment of clinical evidence that sexual feelings expressed in masturbating, voyeuristic, exhibitionistic and sadomasochistic activities do not cease to exist during the latency period (Blos, 1962)." What seems to take place instead, is that no new instinctual aim appears at this stage. This enables the ego and superego to gain control over the instinctual impulses and this enables the growing child to make the gains noted above.

These new skills that are developed bolster the child's feelings of worth and significance and makes him less dependent on parental assurance. The child's self-esteem is derived more from his own inner resourcefulness as his widening scope of social, intellectual and motor skills allows him a vast array of resources. "It follows that instinctual tension fluctuations therefore do not threaten the intactness of ego functions, as they were able to do in prelatency years. The establishment of stable identifications makes the child more independent of object relations and their undulating intensity and quality.... (Blos, 1962)."

The parents continue to help the child in developing ego skills, i.e., control and modulation of drives, reality testing, and also serve as objects for identification. "The father especially is the representative of work, industry and responsibility (Erikson, 1959)." As Parens and Saul (1971) add, he continues to be looked to for protection and limit setting, and as a guide to resource in dealing with peers and other objects which will further help the child in becoming less dependent on the objects. This is accomplished by the acquiring of new skills and mastery of old ones so that the child can obtain what it needs for survival and satisfaction as a result of its own efforts.

This is particularly true for the first phase of latency, usually waning with the second phase, when peers tend to further increase in importance. The peer now takes on a new role as an object in the child's life. "Repression of impulse derivatives from the phallic-oedipal phase (Parens and Saul, 1971)" allow the child to begin cathecting objects other than the parents. New objects are now sought and this process is facilitated by separation from parents during long school hours and the presence of peers during those periods. Parens and Saul (1971) note that although these new peers become objects of attachment, this attachment does not generally carry with it the genital libido which has been partly repressed and partly sublimated.

Blos (1962) makes the clear point that it is essential that the consolidation of these gains in latency is a prerequisite for entering the adolescent phase of drive organization; "otherwise the pubescent child experiences a simple intensification of prelatency strivings and exhibits infantile behavior of arrested rather than regressive nature."

The Time of Life Known as Adolescence

As we have noted so far, the human neonate gradually develops from a totally dependent infant to one of relative independence. At birth, the dependence is almost exclusively

biological in nature and as Spitz (1950) notes it is not until the third three months of life that this dependence becomes partially psychological in nature. Spitz notes that "it is at this turning point of the development that the basic security and the basic insecurity of the child and later on of the adult is laid down." Indeed, it is here that the child begins, as Parens and Saul (1971) remark, to exhibit behaviorally a psychologic dependence on his mother and here that psychologic dependence emerges in its "maximum of intensity." The development of this psychological dependence has been traced through latency and one can clearly see that the nature of the dependence is undeniably linked to the nature of the child's relationship to the parenting objects. During adolescence proper this relationship undergoes extensive upheavals, as the adolescent decathects the parenting objects and invests energy in peers. This procedure further aides the separation-individuation process initiated in the first three years of life.

Blos (1967) has conceptualized this period of development as a "second individuation" process. He sees the second individuation process as a period of time when the adolescent must sever earlier ties to parental figures and begin to develop a sense of identity. "The developmental task of this

process lies in the disengagement of libidinal and aggressive cathexis from the internalized infantile love and hate objects. This second individuation follows the first individuation steps taken during the second year of life when the child experiences the fateful distinction between 'self and non-self'." A similar, yet far more complex individuation process takes place during adolescence, which leads in its final step to a sense of identity and a sense of self-reliance. This will come as the adolescent comes to know that he can provide himself with what he needs for survival and satisfaction. A successful adolescence has satisfactorily completed the separation-individuation process begun at birth and recapitulated in recent years.

The Father's Role in Development

Throughout the discussion so far we have seen that the development of the child's personality is inexorably linked to the quality of the interaction with the parenting objects. Ausubel (1957) has also said that the role of parent-child relationships "deserves such extensive treatment because they constitute perhaps the most important single category of variables impinging on the personality development and socialization of the child. In their capacity as socializing agents and representatives of the culture,

parents determine many intercultural uniformities (psycho-biological traits) and differences (psychological traits) in development: and in their capacity as individuals with unique personalities of their own, parents determine a large part of the personality variance in children within a given culture (idiosyncratic traits)."

Although this notion is easily accepted today, Ausubel has noted that the broader role of parent-child relationships in forming personalities owes much to the influence of Freud. Freud and his peers did much to emphasize the importance of both early experiences and parental treatment for personality development. Psychoanalytic theory as well as other psychological ideas, have traditionally placed great importance on and emphasized the central role of the mother in the development of the child. Gorer (1948) has called American Society "mother land" and has said the mother either has taken or has been given the dominant role in child rearing. The father in effect has become "vestigial". Josselyn (1956) has noted that American Society tends to see fatherhood as a social obligation rather than as a state having biological roots and involving psychological satisfaction. While there is little argument with the importance of the role of mothering in child development, there is nevertheless

a need to clarify and delineate the effect fathering has on child rearing. Rachman (1966) has emphasized the role of fathering and has made the point that the role the father plays "becomes clear to any therapist working with adolescents." However, much of the work done in investigating the relationship between fathers and their children has been sociological rather than psychological in nature, and has been done, in the main, by sociologists and anthropologists.

One major area of this research has been the investigation of paternal relationships and juvenile maladjustment. In 1950 the Gluecks studied this issue and found the fathers of delinquents to be irresponsible and to have noticeable poor work habits. Later, Burton and Whiting (1961) discussed the role of sex identity formation in the son as it related to absent fathers. Warner (1957) by presenting the statistics of clinical referrals strongly suggested that the father is at least as important as the mother in the etiology of maladjustment. His work included the analysis of the parental situation, however, no distinction was made for any differential effects on boys and girls. The research points to the notion that "the father has been underestimated both in clinical and normal psychology (Warner, 1957)."

More recently Becker (1960) in a factor analytic study of parental behavior as related to the problem behavior of children showed "many important associations between father and child behavior," and urged the necessity for more consideration to the role of the father in child development and in psychotherapeutic practice. Mussen (1961) found a "high masculine" group of adolescents, who were all well identified with their fathers, to be better adjusted, "more contented, more relaxed, more exuberant, happier, calmer, and smooth in social functioning", than boys low in masculinity. Following this idea, Mussen (1961) studied 68 high school boys and concluded that adolescents who regarded their paternal relationships to be favorable and rewarding showed strongly masculine interests, whereas those whose relationship with the father was less favorable showed more feminine interests, as measured by the Mf scale of the Minnesota Multiphasic Personality Inventory. The group with good father relationships was also found to be emotionally more stable and superior in adjustment.

Studies have used varied approaches in their investigations. In one attempt, social workers were questioned about the fathers of their clients (Stephans, 1961) and in another, the mothers were asked about their husband's

relationships with their sons (Thurber, 1962). However, some have observed the parental parenting directly (Bandura and Huston, 1961) while others have used the small case study approach. One of the more extensive of these studies was done by Stolz (1954) on the father relations of children born during the war. The method of investigation here consisted of a series of intensive interviews with the fathers, two "semi-structured" interviews with the mother, an observation of the children in social situations with peers and adult leaders, and observation of children in five projective play situations.

As we can note from the brief review of some of the research of paternal child relationships, little work has been done in identifying those specific qualities of "fathering" that contribute to successful child rearing, while much of the "maternal" research has done just that. Furthermore, it would seem that as the child grows and matures and makes his way into adolescence the father may take on a new importance in terms of his parenting role, and may have an increased effect on how well his son masters this period of life; particularly the developmental task of creating and developing independence. It appears to this author that two vital variables of fathering that would greatly effect this developmental

task are; the father's ability to understand and appreciate the full implications and subtleties of what it may mean to be an adolescent, and secondly, to provide a firm yet flexible and responsive framework within which the adolescent may test limits as well as newly acquired skills and learn how to cope within defined boundaries. Thus, psychological mindedness and flexibility of fathers will be the two main "fathering" variables in this investigation.

The first variable mentioned above, i.e., the father's ability to understand, has been referred to as Psychological Mindedness. The Fels Parent Behavior Rating Scale (No. 8.1) includes this variable in interviews with parents: Understanding (Keen-Obtuse). The researchers at the Fels Institute define it as involving "the parents ability to see the child's point of view, his capacities and needs, and the degree to which his behavior toward the child shows sensitivity to him as an individual...." There has been some recent interest in this variable as it relates to mother-child relationships and in a recent study it has been referred to as a "kind of maternal intelligence" (Engel and Wieder, 1970).

The second variable to be investigated relates to the father's ability to provide a firm, flexible, and responsive framework for the adolescent to function within. The concept

"limit setting" has been used often and is often intended to mean different things. "To some it means the mild urging toward planned activity. To others it is the word used for discipline...discipline used in the sense of insuring obedience and conformity to rules, regulations, policies or ultimatums (Jurgensen, 1971)." Helmes and Werner (1966) define limit setting as a "therapeutic process that provides security, gratification, contact, and temporary artificial ego boundaries...." Cohen and Grinspoon (1963) view it as the application of authoritarian techniques for creating a dependable--but not dependent--situation.

This author notes that limit setting may be also seen as an aid to the developing ego of the adolescent. Other authors have noted this in reference to its use as a concept with hospitalized patients. Cohen and Grinspoon (1963) feel it "is necessary for patients whose egos are so burdened with defenses they have little energy left for constructive activities, and advocate a firm, steady discipline that supports weak egos and handicapped superegos in controlling impulses." Aside from "patients" whose egos are suddenly overwhelmed, adolescence itself has often been described in the same manner, as a period of time when a weak ego is confronted by a strong id. At this time the adolescent

experiences increased turmoil as a result of newly increased libidinal drives, weakened defensive structures, and a generally weakened ego. Cohen and Grinspoon have summarized the function of limit setting in relation to the tasks of adolescence: "The effectiveness of limit setting is predicated on a genuine understanding of the painful state of the adolescent ego, its continuous doubts, the strength of impulses that are clamoring for primacy of discharge, the fears and anxieties of anticipated social roles, and the responsibilities of heterosexual adjustment. Considering these things, then, it is not surprising that what may to an adult appear to be severe and constrictive rules may be experienced with a sense of relief on the part of the adolescent who is troubled by these conflicts to the point that he is not able to make appropriate decisions for himself." It would appear then that the father who is most able to maintain a firm, yet flexible framework for the adolescent would be the best able to help his son successfully complete this developmental crisis.

Hypotheses

While a complete listing of the hypotheses of the study, along with operational definitions and descriptions of methods will be given in the chapter on Method, a brief

statement regarding the hypotheses could be made at this time. It is hypothesized that the father who is high on Psychological Mindedness and optimally flexible on the Flexibility Scale will have a son who is high on the Independence Scale of the California Psychological Inventory. It is further hypothesized that the individual correlations between Psychological Mindedness and Independence, or Flexibility and Independence, will be small as compared to the combined correlations of Psychological Mindedness and Flexibility with Independence.

Additional factors will possibly influence the child's independence, i.e., father's occupation, age, and marital situation--stable or unstable--; whether or not a mother is working, sibling order, and variation in number of siblings. While these factors may play a role in defining the quality of relationship between father and son, it is difficult at this time to predict the direction of the influence and therefore I will state the null hypothesis in this regard.

METHOD

The Subjects

The subjects for the study were obtained through the cooperation of school districts from New Jersey (Livingston School District), Long Island (Huntington, Amityville), Westchester (Mammaroneck), and New York City. In each district, guidance and staff personnel were contacted and following an explanation of the study, were asked if they would be willing to participate. This examiner has had most of his therapeutic contacts with white, middle class, high school students and as a result only those students who fit the above description were asked to participate.

The guidance personnel who agreed to cooperate then asked students in their respective schools to participate. Approximately 95 such students were asked and 45 agreed. Test booklets were handed out to these 45 students and their fathers by the local school staff and all 45 returned the handouts.

The boys who filled out the California Psychological Inventory have an average age of 15.9 years, ranging from 14-17 and are on the average, in the 10.75 year of school, ranging from the ninth to 12th year. There are 2.77 children

in each family, and on the average the boys who filled out the CPI are placed in their sibling order at 1.82. The boys listed their religious affiliation in the following manner: Jewish 60%, Roman Catholic 22%, Lutheran 2%, Protestant 4%, None 12%. Two boys listed their religious affiliation as being different from their father. In each case the boys listed their religion as None, when the father had listed it as Jewish in one instance and Roman Catholic in another.

Fathers in the study have an average age of 46.66 and their educational background is listed as follows: Graduate Work or Professional Degree 22%, College Degree 22%, Partial College 13%, High School Degree 28%, Partial High School 9%, Less than High School 3%. Forty-three of the fathers are presently married, while one is separated and one is divorced. Forty-four have been married once, and one father is presently married for the second time. The father's occupations vary from the semi-skilled to the highly professional and in 51% of the families, mothers are employed in regular or part-time jobs.

According to the formula set forth by Hollingshead and Redlich (1950) families in this study fall into the following class divisions: 8% Class IV, the Lower Middle Class; 37% Class III, the Middle, Middle Class; and 55% Class II, the

Upper Middle Class. There were no families from the Upper Class (Class I) or from the Lower Class (Class V).

The Instruments

We will now discuss three diverse approaches to data collection: The California Psychological Inventory, Clinical Interviewing and the Interaction Testing.

The California Psychological Inventory

The main approach to the measurement of Independence in the adolescents and Psychological Mindedness and Flexibility in the fathers was through the Achievement via Independence, Psychological Mindedness, and Flexibility Scales of the California Psychological Inventory (Gough, 1957). This inventory has been in use since 1956 and was published with Consulting Psychologists Press. On the average over 250,000 profile or answer sheets are filled out each year, and there have been over 600 published and unpublished studies. The CPI has been translated into twenty-four languages and dialects and has been described by the Mental Measurements Yearbook as "one of the best, if not the best available instrument of its kind." Kleinmutz (1967) has said, "The CPI is already well on its way to becoming one of the best, if not the best, personality-measuring inventories currently

available," noting that its "technical development is of a high order, and it has been subjected to extensive research and continuous improvement."

The CPI consists of 468 items, of which 178 are identical with the MMPI. It is a true-false questionnaire and has been designed for group administration as well as individual testing or testing by mail. Megargee who wrote a thorough evaluation of the CPI (1972) notes that "standardized testing conditions are not essential", and no time limit is imposed, although most subjects finish within a hour. The test requires only a fourth grade reading level and has been administered to subjects ranging from 12 to 70 years.

The scales used for this study were derived by empirical test construction methods. All have received substantial cross-validation. Conceptualization and use of "concepts which possess broad personal and social relevance" was a major goal in the development of the CPI. Its scales "are addressed principally to personality characteristics important for social living and social interaction (Gough, 1957)."

The Achievement via Independence Scale

The purpose of the Independence Scale is to identify those factors of interest and motivation which facilitate

achievement in any setting where autonomy and independence are positive behaviors. A person who scores high was defined for the criterion group as mature, forceful, strong, dominant, demanding, and foresighted: as being independent and self-reliant: as having superior intellectual ability and judgment. People scoring low on the Independence Scale tend to be seen as inhibited, cautious, submissive and compliant before authority.

Reliability coefficients for the Independence Scale are reported in the Manual as .57, .63, and .71. The first two coefficients were based on high school female and male populations comparable to the present sample. The third coefficient was based on a population of prison males. Coefficients of this size, although not high, are generally considered adequate for group research.

Much of the work with the Independence Scale has been done in college and high school settings. A number of these studies have related the Independence Scale scores to grade point averages. Studies of this type have been done by Barnette (1961), Bendig (1958), Bendig and Klugh (1956), Goldberg and Hase (1967), Gough (1969), Griffin and Flaherty (1964) and Flaherty and Reutzel (1965). Without exception they have reported significant correlations between the

Independence Scale and grades. Domino (1968) found the Independence Scale to be better at predicting achievement in courses stressing independent thought than in those emphasizing rote learning.

Insofar as the Independence Scale stresses independence, it would be hypothesized that a negative relationship with conformity would be expected. Several studies have done just that and all found significant results in the expected direction. (Tuddenham, 1959; Harper, 1964). "The final evidence regarding construct validity comes from a study of autobiographical material on students differing in the Independence Scale (Hill, 1967)." Hill found that high Independence Scale students were apt to be first-born or only-children with well-educated fathers. They fit the stereotype of the solitary scholar in that they tended to be loners who were not very popular, did not date much and manifested lower social adjustment (Megargee, 1972)."

The Psychological Mindedness Scale

The purpose of the Psychological Mindedness Scale is to measure the degree to which the individual is interested in and responsive to, the inner needs, motives, and experiences of others. Gough stated that his concern was in identifying people "who are psychologically oriented and

insightful concerning others (Gough, 1968)." People who score high on the Psychological Mindedness Scale tend to be seen as observing and perceptive. Those who score low on the Psychological Mindedness Scale tend to be seen as serious, cautious, overly conforming and conventional.

The Psychological Mindedness Scale was established in much the same empirical fashion as was the Independence Scale. The reliability coefficients are .49, .48, and .53 on high school females, males and prison males respectively.

The derivation of the Psychological Mindedness Scale suggests that it should be a practical prediction of achievement in psychology as manifested through high research productivity and attainment of national recognition (Megargee, 1972). The Psychological Mindedness Scale has been found to relate to achievement in psychology courses (Gough, 1946). Rosenberg, McHenry, Rosenberg and Nichols (1968) obtained significant correlations between the Psychological Mindedness Scale and military courses in clinical psychology procedures. Gough (1969) has demonstrated significant correlations between the Psychological Mindedness Scale and the Psychologist Scale of the Strong Vocational Interest Blank. He has determined that graduate students in psychology and allied professions score higher than people in other less psychologically oriented occupations (Megargee, 1972).

The Flexibility Scale

The purpose of the Flexibility Scale is to indicate the degree of flexibility and adaptability of a person's thinking and social behavior. Those who score high on the Flexibility Scale are seen as insightful, informal, adventurous, rebellious. While those who score low on the Flexibility Scale are described as deliberate, cautious, guarded, methodical, rigid, formal and as overly deferential to authority, custom, and tradition.

The Flexibility Scale was empirically developed and was originally used as a scale of rigidity by Gough and Nevitt Sanford. When it was included on the CPI the Rigidity Scale was renamed Flexibility and the direction of the keying was changed accordingly. The reliability coefficients are .67, .60, and .49 for high school females, males and prison males respectively.

In a sample of 40 senior medical students and another sample of 40 University of California Ph.D. Candidates, correlations of .36, and .46 were obtained with observers ratings of rigidity (Megargee, 1972). Also significant correlations ranging from .34 to .46 were obtained with the California Ethnocentrism Scale and correlations ranging from .21 to .64 were found with the California F Scale

(Gough, 1951). Gough in 1968 stated in regard to the Flexibility Scale that the Flexibility Scale is curvilinear with moderate elevations reflecting adaptability, but very high scores indicated instability and not flexibility per se. As a result those fathers who will be defined as optimally flexible will be those with T scores (Standard scores with mean of 50 and standard deviation of 10) from T of 70 or more.

Interview Material

Interviews were held with six of the 45 pairs of fathers and sons. The six pairs were selected by ranking the scores on the Independence Scale and selecting the three highest and three lowest scores for interviewing. A list was given to the examiner by an independent person so that the examiner had no prior knowledge as to where the adolescent scored on the Independence Scale. Each father and son was then telephoned and asked to participate in the interviews. Four of the first six pairs called agreed to participate. The next two pairs declined to participate. The final two pairs were not collected until nine others had also refused. Therefore, as it turned out, the three highest on the Independence Scale had agreed to be interviewed and numbers one, six, and fourteen from the low end of the Independence Scale were interviewed.

Tape recorded interviews were held then with these six pairs of fathers and sons. At this time they were told that the interview would consist of questions related to gathering biographical data on fathers and sons who completed the CPI. Following the interviews all questions related to the exact nature and purpose of the study were explained and answered. In each case, fathers were interviewed first. The outline for this structured interview may be found in Appendix A. These outlines were developed to elicit a standard base of information. When and where it seemed appropriate to follow additional lines or probe for more detail the interviewer strayed from the outline of set questions in pursuit of relevant data. The sons were interviewed second following the same basic outline as in Appendix A.

In addition to the biographical data elicited, the interview had five open ended questions for the fathers which attempted to delve further into his understanding of adolescents and the relative flexibility in the ways they might handle a given situation.

Interaction Testing

This section of the case study focused on the dynamic interaction between the father and his son, and used the technique of Interaction Testing. This technique was developed

by Roman and Bauman (1966) and was derived from the need for a reliable and empirically valid method for studying the characteristics of families as interacting units. This method not only provided information about each member of the unit but simultaneously provided meaningful information about the social system or unit itself. In addition it allowed for direct observation of behavior which can be collected in a standardized manner for all units and can be reliably repeated. Also, this technique helped to make the decision making process and communications patterns readily available for analysis.

Each member of the unit (father and son) was separately given the Comprehension and Similarities subtests of the Wechsler Adult Intelligence Scale, a total of forty-four items. The father and son were then brought together again and given the following instructions:

"I am going to readminister the tests given to each of you alone. The purpose is to determine whether two people can do better together than each was able to do alone. I will read each item and both of you are to discuss the question and agree upon the best answer. An answer form and pencil are placed between you and one of you is to record the answer you arrive at."

The following instructions were not read to the subjects, but are a guide to the examiner in the administration and scoring of the items.

"If, on any item, the couple's emotional difficulties prevent them from arriving at a decision in a reasonable time, a limit of one minute is imposed on the amount of time they may continue to spend on that item. The imposition of the time limit is mentioned to the couple. It is imposed at the examiner's discretion. If they are then unable to come to an agreement within the time limit, the item is left blank and the examiner proceeds to the next item."

During the Interaction Testing the father and son were seated next to each other and facing the examiner. Once the testing was over the protocols were scored and interpreted in the standard manner of scoring the WAIS. In addition the test protocol of the father and son unit was scored as though it had been obtained from a single individual. The protocol of the unit was then scored according to a process analysis based on a comparison of the individual tests and the units productions, as follows:

(a) Dominance - is scored when the interaction response contains one member's individual response in the absence of the other's individual response.

(b) Combination - is scored when elements of both members' response, in whole or in part, are found in the interaction response.

(c) Emergence - is scored for the presence of a new idea in the interaction response.

(d) Reinforcement - is scored when the same response is given by each individual and by father and son together.

In addition specific I.Q. scores can be obtained. A prorated I.Q. can be developed from the standard method of scoring the WAIS and its subtests. An Interaction I.Q. is the I.Q. of the unit whose protocol was scored when only one answer was accepted from both of them. A Potential I.Q. is the maximum I.Q. the unit would have achieved had they consistently utilized the better of the two responses given in individual testing. Finally, Task Efficiency is defined by subtracting the Interaction I.Q. from the Potential I.Q. (see Appendix B for more details).

Research that has been done using this technique has been reviewed by Roman and Bauman (1966) and the findings may be summarized as follows:

1. I.Q.s obtained by couples (units) have the same order of reliability as I.Q.s of individuals (Approximately .85, Roman and Bauman, 1966).

2. Couples as a unit can be reliably characterized with respect to their "task efficiency", that is, the effectiveness with which couples pool their individual resources in solving problems or performing tasks.

3. "Task Efficiency" likewise reliably characterizes and distinguishes between three important groups-- "normal" couples, couples with a "neurotic" member, and couples with a "psychotic" member. Specifically, "normal" couples are the most efficient "neurotic" less so, and "psychotic" least efficient (Roman and Bauman, 1965).

4. Couples can be reliably characterized by the decision-making patterns (Dominance, Combination, Emergence, Reinforcement).

The Hypotheses

The California Psychological Inventory

Hypothesis 1

It is hypothesized that the individual correlation between Psychological Mindedness and Independence will be small as compared to the combined correlation of Psychological Mindedness and Flexibility with Independence. That is, the father who is both understanding and sensitive as well as flexible will have a son who is more independent than the father who is understanding alone.

Hypothesis 2

It is hypothesized that the individual correlation between Flexibility and Independence will be small as compared to the combined correlation of Psychological Mindedness and Flexibility with Independence. That is, the father who is both understanding and sensitive as well as flexible will have a son who is more independent than the father who is flexible alone.

Hypothesis 3

The major prediction here is that the father who scores high on Psychological Mindedness and high on Flexibility, will have a son who scores high on Independence. That is, the father who has the capacity to be sensitive and to understand his sons' problems as well as the ability to respond in a reasonably flexible manner will have sons who have achieved a high degree of independence.

Hypothesis 4

While additional factors may influence the direction of results, i.e., father's occupation, age, marital status, whether or not a mother works, sibling order, and number of siblings, it is difficult to predict at this time the direction of influence and therefore I will state the null hypothesis in this regard.

Hypothesis 5

Those sons who score high on Independence will have fewer differences with fathers as measured by the total number of different CPI responses.

Interaction Testing

Hypothesis 1

The interaction testing of those sons who score high on Independence will be characterized by the Qualitative Analysis as Combination, Emergence or Reinforcement.

Hypothesis 2

Those sons who score low on Independence will have interaction testing characterized by Qualitative Analysis as Dominance.

Hypothesis 3

Those sons who score high on Independence will have lower "task efficiency" scores than those who score low on Independence.

Clinical Interviewing

No specific hypotheses directly related to the interviewing itself will be offered. The interviews with the father and son will be used rather to develop the case studies and will be discussed in detail in the Discussion section.

RESULTS

Introduction

This chapter will contain the results obtained from the California Psychological Inventory, the interaction testing, as well as the six interviews. Any discussion of the results, their implications, interpretations, or the ways in which they are to be understood, will be reserved for the Discussion Chapter and not discussed at this time.

The results will be presented in two parts. Part One will consist of the statistical treatment of each Hypothesis. The second part of the chapter will consist of the six case histories of the six father-son pairs interviewed.

Hypothesis 1

There will be a low positive correlation between fathers' Psychological Mindedness and sons' Independence. That is to say, that the single factor of Psychological Mindedness in fathers will not be predictive of high Independence in sons.

In order to test this hypothesis the Pearson Product-Moment Correlation between fathers' Psychological Mindedness and sons' Independence was computed. An r of +0.1516 was

obtained, which with an N of 45 (df=43) was not significant at the .05 level for a one tailed test.

Therefore, Hypothesis 1 was upheld in that no significant positive correlation was found between fathers' Psychological Mindedness and sons' Independence.

Hypothesis 2

There will be little positive correlation between fathers' Flexibility and sons' Independence. That is to say, that the single factor of Flexibility in fathers will not be predictive of high Independence in sons. The data were analyzed with the Pearson Product-Moment Correlation. An r of +0.0549 was obtained, which with an N of 45 (df=43) was not significant at the .05 level for a one tailed test.

The data were analyzed with a population of 45. This population included fathers with Flexibility scores more than two standard deviations above the mean, $T=70$. Research has indicated (Gough, 1968) that such scores are no longer valid indications of flexibility but rather indicate such characteristics as instability and erraticness. As a result the Pearson Product-Moment Correlation was repeated excluding those fathers with such scores. There were two such fathers leaving a total population of 43. When this was done the Pearson r remained quite low at an r of +0.0912. This r

was also not significant at the .05 level for a one tailed test.

Therefore Hypothesis 2 was upheld in that no significant positive correlation was found between fathers' Flexibility and sons' Independence.

Hypothesis 3

There will be a significant positive correlation between fathers' Psychological Mindedness and Flexibility, and sons' Independence. That is to say, that fathers who score high on both Psychological Mindedness and Flexibility will have sons who score high on the Independence Scale.

A multiple correlation was applied to the data and an r of +0.1539 was obtained, which with a N of 45 is not significant at the .05 level for a one tailed test.

The multiple r was repeated excluding those fathers who scored above $T=70$ on the Flexibility Scale. A multiple of r of +0.1529 was obtained which was also not significant at the .05 level for a one tailed test.

Therefore, Hypothesis 3 was not upheld. There was no significant relation between fathers' Psychological Mindedness and Flexibility, and sons' Independence.

Hypothesis 4

It was hypothesized that additional factors may influence the sons' Independence. However it would be difficult

to predict either the magnitude or direction of their influence. Therefore, a null hypothesis was stated. The factors that were thought to have an influence include fathers' occupation, age, mothers' occupation, marital status, sibling order, and number of siblings. On examination there was little or no variation in fathers' age or occupation and only two of the 45 fathers' were separated, divorced or previously married. However, there was enough variation in the numbers of mothers who work, in the number of siblings, and in birth order, to allow for either a statistical evaluation or some graphic description.

(a) It was hypothesized that there would be no significant correlation between mothers who work and those who do not work, in terms of their sons' Independence. The data were analyzed with a Point-Biserial Correlation, and an r of $+0.1026$ with an N of 45 was obtained, which is not significant at the .05 level for a one tailed test. Therefore, no significant difference in sons' Independence was obtained for mothers who work.

(b) It was hypothesized that there would be no significant correlation between the number of siblings and sons' Independence. The data were analyzed with a Pearson Product-Moment Correlation and an r of $+0.2119$ with an N of 45 was

obtained which just misses significance at the .05 level for a one tailed test. An r of +0.2480 was needed at the .05 level. Therefore no significant relationship was obtained between the number of siblings and sons' Independence.

(c) It was hypothesized that there would be no significant correlation between sibling order and sons' Independence. Due to the fact that there were few cases in some of the cells, statistical evaluation was not done. However, by inspection one can see that there does not seem to be any relationship between sibling order and sons' Independence.

Insert Table 1 about here

Hypothesis 5

It was hypothesized that those fathers and sons who have fewer differences as measured by the total number of different responses on the CPI, will have sons who score high on the Independence Scale. The data were analyzed with a Pearson Product-Moment Correlation and an r of -0.3460 with an N of 45 was obtained, which is significant beyond the .01 level for a one tailed test.

TABLE 1
 AVERAGE INDEPENDENCE SCORES OF 45 ADOLESCENT BOYS ON
 THE CALIFORNIA PSYCHOLOGICAL INVENTORY
 AS RELATED TO SIBLING ORDER
 (Age Range: 14-17)

	Sibling Order					
	1st	2nd	3rd	4th	5th	6th
Average Score from the Independence Scale of the California Psychological Inventory	19	20	22	22	20	22
	^a N=5	N=12	N=16	N=8	N=2	N=2

^aTotal number of subjects born in that respective sibling order.

Therefore, Hypothesis 5 was upheld in that a significant relationship was found between those fathers and sons who had fewer different responses on the CPI and those sons who scored high on the Independence Scale.

Interaction Testing

Hypothesis 1

The interaction testing of those sons who score high on Independence will be characterized by the Qualitative Analysis as Combination, Emergence or Reinforcement.

Since there were only three cases taken from each end of the scale, a formal statistical evaluation was not done. However, it was noted that 69% of the responses of the sons from the high end of the scale were described by the Qualitative Analysis as utilizing Combination, Emergence or Reinforcement, while only 42% was so described for the sons from the low end of the Independence Scale.

Therefore, it would seem that those sons who scored high on the Independence Scale were better able to utilize problem solving processes that may be seen as more open ended and flexible, than the boys who scored on the low end of the scale.

Hypothesis 2

Those sons who score low on Independence will have interaction testing characterized by Qualitative Analysis as Dominance.

Since there were only three cases taken from each end of the scale, a formal statistical evaluation was not done. However, it was noted that 58% of the responses of the sons from the low end of the scale were described by the Qualitative Analysis as utilizing Dominance, while only 31% were so described for the sons from the high end of the Independence Scale.

Therefore, it would seem that those sons who scored low on the Independence Scale allowed one response from the father-son pair to dominate more often, than those sons who scored high on the Independence Scale.

Hypothesis 3

Those sons who score high on Independence will have lower "task efficiency" scores than those who score low on Independence.

Since there were only three cases taken from each end of the scale, a formal statistical evaluation was not done. However, it was noted that while there was no consistent pattern between "task efficiency" scores and scores on the

Independence Scale, the two lowest "task efficiency" scores were received from the sons who did in fact score the highest on the Independence Scale.

Case Studies

The purpose of the case studies will be to bring to life, through the use of biographical detail, and live process material the basic issues to be highlighted in this investigation. The use of case histories is seen as providing an additional type of evidence to the statistical evaluations made from the CPI. This examiner felt a different level of understanding could be obtained through direct observation of live father-son interaction, and the total family surrounds which is possible only by going directly into the homes of the respondents. Furthermore, through examination of only those sons who fell in the most extreme points of the Independence Scale, one might be able to get a clearer picture of those experiences, or processes that distinguish these two groups.

As we stated in Chapter II, only the three sons who scored at each end of the Independence Scale and their respective fathers were asked to be interviewed. The three highest on the Independence Scale did in fact consent and were interviewed. However, a total of eleven boys on the

low end of the scale refused interview. In four cases the boys were willing, but not the fathers. In six cases the reverse was true, and in one case both father and son were not willing. As a result the boys who finally agreed to be interviewed placed 1st, 6th, and 14th lowest on the Independence Scale. Therefore, the case histories of the boys who scored high on Independence are in fact more representative of that end of the scale, while the case histories of those boys on the low end of the scale present a slightly more mixed picture due to the sampling difficulties. A fuller discussion of the possible significance of the lack of cooperation by the fathers and sons from the low end of the Independence Scale will be reserved for the Discussion section where it may be related more completely to other data.

The six case histories will be presented with the data from the interaction testing. They will be organized into two separate parts, each part consisting of three case histories from each end of the Independence Scale.

Case Studies of Boys who Scored on the
Low End of the Independence Scale

Scott and Mr. Weiner. Scott is 15 years old and a sophomore in high school. He is a squat boy, short and pudgy with a round full face. He is quite likeable and

entertaining with a quick sense of humor. However, at times he can become quite silly and very much the clown. He is at times reflective and capable of meaningful insights. He is verbal, easily engageable and cooperative. Especially in helping Mrs. Weiner with house chores. Scott is very close to Mrs. Weiner and his siblings are close to Mr. Weiner. In fact when asked what to do with a sealed, stamped and addressed envelope if found in the street, Scott immediately replied "tell my mother."

Scott. Scott is the first born of three boys. His two younger brothers are 12 and 13 respectively. All were planned pregnancies and it was hoped that Scott would have been a girl. The father remarks "I wanted a girl. In fact I'd still like to have a girl."

Scott was born following a miscarriage during which Mrs. Weiner had to lie in bed for over a month, trying to "hold the embryo in there and it just didn't take." Following this, she became pregnant with Scott and his pregnancy and delivery were described as uneventful and without difficulty. Mr. Weiner commented about the idea of having children in the following manner, "I was scared silly because I didn't know how I'd feed them...I can't even make a living." And when Scott was born he recalls, "I couldn't believe it.

I looked in the mirror and said, you're a father? You know, you don't even know how to be a person, how are you going to be a father?"

Scott was born after three years of marriage and after Mr. Weiner had tried many different jobs. "I had approximately 50 jobs between the time I got out of the service until Scott was 7 or 8." Scott's early developmental milestones were passed easily although he was described as somewhat slow because "he was heavy." He walked a little past a year, spoke at about two and was toilet trained at about three. Mr. Weiner was quite vague about exact dates with Scott although he was much more informative clearly factual when discussing his two other sons. When asked about this, Mr. Weiner explained "You see when Scott was growing up I couldn't spend too much time with him because I was traveling on the road. His childhood is the one childhood that there is a gap." This situation continued until Scott was 8 when Mr. Weiner landed a job as a salesman in industrial lighting products in a New York City firm. He maintains this job at present.

Scott apparently grew up with Mr. Weiner absent much of the time and as a result became quite close to Mrs. Weiner much closer at least than the other two children. Although

the second child was also born and developed in the same situation until he was 3 or 4. Meanwhile Scott was off to school and while he did not have any apparent difficulty separating, he did not adjust well and in his own words described himself as having been a "troublemaker," with a "big mouth." He would cut up in class and need the constant attention of adults. As a result Scott has not done well in school until recently. There seems to be a sudden increased interest in school over the past few years, partially attributable as Mr. Weiner sees it "to my taking more interest in his work." Scott also is aware of his father's change and agrees that it may be partially responsible for his sudden success in school.

Scott is not overly involved in extra curricular activities as most of his social life and friends come from his immediate neighborhood and not the high school itself. However, he is a member of the high school band and does belong to a local bowling league. Scott's sexual adjustment seems somewhat slower than his peers. Scott explains it in terms of his weight problem. He also remarks that the girls in high school are more difficult to approach because "they are formed better and they're all looking for older guys." As a result Scott spends most of his time with a large group of male friends with some girls on the periphery.

Scott manages to get along with his parents as he seems to have little overt difficulty. He seeks them out when in need and goes to them easily, perhaps too easily, and confides in them. Mrs. Weiner appears to be of more consistent support to Scott, although Mr. Weiner is more recently able to help Scott out with certain adjustment problems. Mr. Weiner states that he is more "able to relate" to Scott as an adolescent than he was when Scott was younger.

Mr. Weiner. Mr. Weiner is a good looking, stocky man. He was stylishly dressed in a flowered shirt, white shoes and flashy diamond pinky rings. He spoke easily and seemed to be straining to use the proper words and diction at all times. However, as the interview progressed he eased up a bit and became more natural and relaxed.

Mr. Weiner was born in the Bronx forty-one years ago. Six months after he was born his mother died suddenly from the after effects of a dental procedure. His father was almost put in jail after losing control and attacking the dentist. Shortly after however, he remarried and Mr. Weiner and his sister moved in with the step-mother and her daughter. Within a few years Mr. Weiner's father was caught embezzling money from the company he was working for "and

he took off to parts unknown, leaving my sister and I with my step-mother."

While Mr. Weiner has few memories of these years he has been told by other family members that when his father was between wives he spent many years in and out of orphanages with his sister. Finally when his father "took off, my uncle and aunt here in Brooklyn decided they would take me in because they couldn't see me going to an orphanage again. My sister went with another aunt and uncle in New Jersey....It was a terrible thing to split us off....We really missed the closeness that a brother and sister have." When Mr. Weiner moved in with his aunt and uncle he took their last name. It was many years later that he again met his father. "When he came back I opened the door when he walked into my father's (uncle's) apartment on Ocean Avenue in Brooklyn, and my wife was there and my aunt whom I call my mother. We had a conversation, I didn't go into anything deeply at all, no accusations or what have you, what's passed is passed. A couple of years later he died. He went back to California and passed away. I mean I had no feeling. I looked at the man and I knew he was my paternal father, but I had as much feeling for him as I would have for this chair."

Mr. Weiner did not grow up without his share of difficulties. He never "applied" himself in school and was asked to leave. He was called "peewee" because he was so short and always felt "inferior" to the other kids. He stuttered and was in a shell "from saying Hello to people to sex. You name it. Everything. I was just miserable."

Finally when he was 18 he enlisted during the Berlin airlift, and following 13 weeks of basic training he had grown $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches and gained 35 pounds. During this time in the army he experienced many of the things he felt help make him a man and "yet when I came home I still couldn't get my feet on the ground because all of a sudden I was back to being an adolescent again." He went "from pillar to post" never able to stay with a job and in 1954 met his wife and they were married one year later. "If it wasn't for her I'd probably still be a bum. She gave me somebody I could hang on to." Three years later following a miscarriage Scott was born.

Intermittently Mr. Weiner has been in and out of treatment and feels that his personal experiences and experience in treatment has made him more able to deal with his children as they have helped him gain some further understanding and insight. "...I think it's more in a matter of

understanding. ...I don't think I'm anything special as a father. I mean it sincerely...in fact having them as children has made me understand myself too."

Interaction Testing--The Interaction Testing proceeded quite easily with few interruptions and seemed to present no difficulty to the pair. Almost all disagreements were worked out easily, swiftly, and they did not have to pass on any items or go beyond the time limit. Mr. Weiner directed the answers and acted as recorder. Their responses were scored in the following manner: (Please refer to either the Method Section or Appendix for the definitions of the terms listed below).

Reinforcement	-	9		
Emergence	-	7		
Combination	-	0		
Dominance	-	9	Dominance father	- 7
			Dominance son	- 2
No Answer	-	0		
Son's Verbal IQ				103
Father's Verbal IQ				105
Interaction IQ				108
Potential IQ				121
Task Efficiency				+13

Observations--

1. When there was a difference of opinions Mr. Weiner's response dominated in 7 out of 9 cases.
2. There were few combination responses.
3. Many of the reinforcement responses were acquired by Mr. Weiner gently directing Scott to agree with him in the absence of any real give and take.
4. Scott rarely argued and easily gave way to his father.
5. Their interaction IQ is quite close to their individual IQ's.
6. Potential IQ is 13 points above their interaction IQ which gives them a task efficiency of +13 and indicates that they work more efficiently when not working together.

Buzz and Mr. Wine. The Wine's live in a large house situated on a windy street in Westchester. As Mr. Wine let me into the house I was immediately struck by the amount, variation and high quality of the art work throughout the house. Buzz soon joined us as he was upstairs working on his "latest project."

Mr. Wine and Buzz share many interests in their art and are also similar in looks. Both are small and slender. They seemed quite at ease and relaxed and related openly and

candidly. They were both insightful, sensitive and introspective and they spoke to each other as two friends might while sharing a cup of coffee. They listened attentively to each other and seemed to know just when and how to disagree politely before making their contribution.

Buzz. Buzz is the second of three children. He has two sisters one who is three years older and one three years younger. He was born three years after his parents married and was a planned pregnancy. While there was no particular preference as to sex Mr. Wine remarks "That it was nice having one of each."

Buzz was described as an easy baby and had no feeding or sleeping difficulties. He was an active outgoing child. While Mr. Wine "had no idea" at what ages Buzz walked, or talked or was toilet trained, he remembers no difficulties at all.

Buzz progressed easily, seemed to have few difficulties and was sociable and friendly. However, Mr. Wine remembers two vivid incidents that seem to present another side of Buzz. When he was eight and they were visiting friends Buzz refused to go home, wouldn't get back in the car. "We actually had to force him into the car." The other difficulty lasted several months and occurred soon

after they moved from Massachusetts to New York. "He complained of severe back aches...he couldn't move. He was in great pain, and we never really found anything wrong with him. He even had one spell, went to school and came back. He passed out, fainted. We were worried about Petitmal, grand mal, Epilepsy. Everything was negative." In a few months these difficulties abated as suddenly as they had appeared, however, to this day when under stress Buzz has a tendency, as does Mr. Wine, to somatize.

Buzz recalls his early years in school as progressing easily enough. He learned quickly, especially "in areas related to art." I always felt a strong urge to create. I was never very athletic. I couldn't stand sports...and I still can't." These artistic interests were strongly supported by both Mr. and Mrs. Wine as they also had backgrounds in art. However, as Buzz progressed in school his grades dropped off and he was doing poorly "in academic subjects." "I was a quote 'under achiever' and my parents and I used to talk about it...we'd get very upset about it." This pattern continued until Buzz got into a special program in his high school where the classes were small and he could follow his own initiative.

Growing up presented other difficulties for Buzz. When he entered junior high school he was still quite short. "It was really a traumatic period for me, I spent a lot of time feeling sorry for myself...and I think it had a long lasting effect in some ways." Recently Buzz has gone into treatment after seeing a school counselor "I felt there were a few things that I couldn't work out by myself and I felt he could help me." Mr. and Mrs. Wine were not aware of the difficulties Buzz was having. As Buzz remarks "If I don't want them to know something...I'm very good at hiding things ...I never said much to them. Up until very recently I really didn't let them in on any problems I had...any deep ones anyway."

Nevertheless, both Mr. Wine and Buzz describe their relationship as being quite close and involved. However, much of their involvement has been through their "work" and "projects." Buzz recalls that in fact he's been closest to his older cousin, John, and not anyone in the family. It seems that he and John shared their common experiences as young boys in a way that Buzz "just couldn't with my sisters or parents." Yet the family remains closely-knit and involved in day to day events.

Mr. Wine. Mr. Wine was born forty-seven years ago in Providence, Rhode Island, where he lived until he was eleven when he moved to Maine. He has one sister three years older who now lives in another state and his mother and father who live half a year in Maine and Florida respectively. They visit twice a year on their way to and from their houses.

As a child Mr. Wine grew up in a small suburb in Providence and moved to Maine when his dad got a promotion. They were well off financially at that time and seemed to need little. His parents' marriage "has not always been the very best and my mother is quite neurotic. She's always afraid of what might happen, she lives in constant fear...to this day she rarely ventures out of her apartment."

Mr. Wine recalls being quite affected by her. "I have feelings of insecurity and of failure and they have been quite inhibiting at times." Mr. Wine never played sports because "she was constantly afraid I would get hurt...I was kind of the sissy of the kids on the block and my closest friend was my cousin who lived downstairs. I really didn't have any close friends at that time." However, at times his mother's involvement was very beneficial. When they moved to Maine, Mr. Wine had trouble adjusting to the new

school and "she patiently sat down with me and I learned fantastic studying habits...from that point on I went on to become an excellent student."

Mr. Wine graduated from high school after three and a half years and started college. He was then drafted and after serving three or four years in the army he returned to school and graduated. These years in the army were "the worst years of my life with all my buddies getting killed and having to face death everyday." Six months after graduation he married his college sweetheart. He got a job and was transferred to upstate New York. "I became very ill. I had illiitis and had to move back to Maine. We had our first child at that time and I went into business with my father-in-law in Massachusetts." However, before Buzz was born Mr. Wine had begun treatment "and was in it for four years." Within a few years Mrs. Wine also began treatment to "work out problems we were having in our marriage." Soon after Mr. Wine began treatment Buzz was born.

Mr. Wine describes their relationship in very positive terms. However, "I think I had a growing feeling of hostility toward him until two or three years ago and my wife had long talks with me. It may have been part of my own frustrations at the time." Buzz was just entering junior high

school at this time and experiencing that "difficult adjustment" he referred to above.

Mr. Wine presents somewhat of a confusing picture to Buzz and the children. On the one hand he insists they earn money, buy their own clothes and be responsible for themselves, while on the other hand "my anxieties come out all the time about their being late or getting hurt. They're always kidding me about acting like my mother."

Interaction Testing--Mr. Wine and Buzz often got into very intellectual arguments about the questions and on two occasions they went beyond the allowed time. They usually spoke to each other easily with no apparent conflict and always in the most respectful terms. They genuinely enjoyed the exchange of information and long after were still discussing some of the questions. (Please refer either to the Method Section or Appendix for the definitions of the terms listed below).

Reinforcement	-	6		
Emergence	-	1		
Combination	-	1		
Dominance	-	15	Dominance Father	- 8
			Dominance Son	- 7
No Answer	-	2		

Son's Verbal IQ	-	125
Father's Verbal IQ	-	105
Interaction IQ	-	116 $\frac{1}{2}$
Potential IQ	-	128 $\frac{1}{2}$
Task Efficiency	-	+12

Observations--

1. Differences were usually handled by using one of the two responses to the exclusion of the other.

Dominance equals 15.

2. Dominance responses were divided almost equally between father and son.

3. There was a genuine openness in discussion in the absence of overt or covert direction.

4. Interaction IQ is lower than potential IQ indicating that they do not always choose the best of their responses.

Chip and Mr. Weinberg. Mr. Weinberg met me at the door and led me to an immaculately cleaned and furnished living room. The Weinberg's live on a tree lined street in an area of medium sized newly built one-family houses. Mr. Weinberg stood over six feet and was exceedingly well built. His hair was cut short and he had a no-nonsense air about him as he moved quickly with little wasted effort and spoke

very much to the point. Chip soon joined us as he was upstairs listening to his stereo unit. Chip was quiet and subdued, had long hair and was dressed in jeans and a work shirt. Mr. Weinberg controlled most of the conversation and Chip's comments were generally directed at either subtly embarrassing his father or contradicting him. For example, when asked what to do if you found an envelope in the street that was sealed, addressed, and had a stamp on it, Chip surprisingly said "I'd hold it up to the light and see if there was money in it. If there was I'd keep it. If not I'd drop it in the mail box." He said this looking directly at Mr. Weinberg, who was clearly red faced and upset.

Chip. Chip who was named Charles was born in 1956 five years after his parents married. While Mr. Weinberg says that they wanted two children, the first being a boy, it is not exactly clear whether this pregnancy was planned as he remarks that Chip "just came along."

Chip was a full-term birth and although labor was long, lasting over twenty-four hours, it was described as uneventful and presented no problems. Chip was described as a healthy, active baby. He was a good eater and early riser. He walked at ten months, spoke in sentences before two, and

was toilet trained by three. However, he continued to wet his bed at night until seven when he seemed to "just out-grow it."

At about that same time Chip was negotiating a rather difficult adjustment to school. "I didn't like it at first ...I used to bribe my father to let my stay in the car and listen to the radio before I'd go out to kindergarten. I used to be a pain in the neck with all the teachers and everything." Chip notes that he just didn't like other people bossing him around telling him what to do. His father remembers that it was several years before he adjusted, although school continued to be a problem both academically and socially. To this day Chip is barely passing his subjects and is going to summer school to make up a course he failed during the year.

However, while Chip continues to perform poorly in school he is an outstanding science student. He has won first prize in a city-wide science fair by building a laser beam utilizing sound instead of light. His interest in electronics dates back to when Chip was three. "We had the T.V. repairman over to our place fixing our set...he took the rabbit ears and plugged them into an outlet and the juice ran right through him. Luckily the repairman was

aware of it and kicked it out of his hand and we took him to a doctor. He said there was no damage but since that point we can't get him away from electricity." Recently, Chip has plans to combine his interest in music (guitar) with electronics by writing and playing "electric-rock."

Through his music and peers Chip has become somewhat involved in the "drug scene," although he was hesitant to discuss with me just how involved he's become. Mr. Weinberg clearly is not aware of the extent to which Chip is involved in drug taking although he feels that they've discussed it and settled it as an issue. Chip says "He'd flip if he ever found out."

Mr. Weinberg has always treated Chip strictly and directly. Chip remembers when he was ten or eleven he ran away only to come back later that evening. However, Mr. Weinberg wouldn't let Chip back into the house and made him stay out in the driveway all night "well, he wanted to teach me a lesson. So I don't do that anymore. When he makes up his mind there's no changing it even if he's wrong....He still won't change...." As a result Chip has decided to keep much of his activities secret and unknown to his father.

Chip's social life centers solely around his music. He finds it unsatisfying to talk to anyone who's "not into

rock" and most of his friends are either in bands or "groupies" who follow the bands. He has never been overly popular or had many close friends and Mr. Weinberg's attempts to get Chip to play team sports in the little league have met with failure. Chip has always preferred to be by himself and has become involved in sports like water skiing, bowling, or riflery where there is little need to have to get along with or accommodate to his peers.

Mr. Weinberg. Mr. Weinberg was born forty-four years ago in the lower east side of Manhattan and moved to Brooklyn when he was two where he grew up. He has a sister seven years older and his parents who are both living were high school educated in New York whose early years are filled with very warm memories of a close knit family and community. Both his mother and father worked in the family business, Turkish Baths, which Mr. Weinberg was to join as his father's health was declining.

Mr. Weinberg always did well in school. "I didn't have to study too much, I always got good grades. It came naturally." He got as far as three years of college when he was drafted and had to leave school. "I never went back." Those early years in school are remembered as fun filled with many friends and constant activity. "It was very close

knit...and I was busy with athletics and what not." Mr. Weinberg played on the football and track teams and was a member of the school band.

He had a full social life and met his wife in high school. When they married she was 19, he was 21 and were married while he was in the service. Five years later Chip was born and Mr. Weinberg was struggling to find a profession. He worked as a photographer for a while after going to the New York Institute of Photography. "After two years I decided to go into the bath business with my father. He was having heart problems and on the advice of a doctor I went in with him." Mr. Weinberg remains in the business today.

Soon after the switch to the family business Chip was born. While there were no major difficulties with the child Mr. Weinberg recalls "that he wasn't the easiest child. He was very stubborn, he wanted to do things when he wanted to do things and he had to be broken of that." Mr. Weinberg remembers how he tried to get Chip interested in the little league. "I had to umpire one year in order to get him in. He didn't care for it too much. He'd rather not...participate in a group."

School adjustment was difficult and as Chip was becoming a young man and as he approached adolescence the issue

of will and "being stubborn" reasserted itself. Mr. Weinberg saw this as their major conflict. "He needed straightening out as to what he could and couldn't do. Certain things he had to just adhere to. That's all." The major conflicts, however, have never been confronted as Chip managed to keep most his activities a secret. "I tried to instill in him that I can accept most anything, but I can't accept a liar. If I catch him lying, its his backside that's going to suffer, and he remembered it down through the years and it's always been that way."

Interaction Testing--Mr. Weinberg acted as recorder and his attempts to control the situation led to Chip's often embarrassing and argumentative responses. Many disagreements led to wide differences of opinion. The longer they discussed the issues involved the less they could find to agree on. However, rather than skip any items Mr. Weinberg usually took over and gave his response to the exclusion of his son's. Chip usually smiled, shrugged his shoulders and prepared for the next question. (Please refer to either the Method Section or Appendix for the definitions of the terms listed below).

Reinforcement	-	16
Emergence	-	1
Combination	-	1

Dominance	-	7	Dominance father	-	7
			Dominance son	-	0
No answer	-	0			
Son's Verbal IQ	-	103			
Father's Verbal IQ	-	108			
Interaction IQ	-	108			
Potential IQ	-	112 $\frac{1}{2}$			
Task Efficiency	-	+5			

Observations--

1. There was much arguing in the absence of any real give and take. Only one combination.
2. Conflicts were finally resolved by Mr. Weinberg giving his answer, 7 dominance father, 0 dominance son.
3. Interaction IQ same as father's alone even though Chip had enough correct answers to supplement father's score
4. Few new ideas or better formulated ones occurred following discussion, one emergence.

 Insert Table 2 about here

TABLE 2
 RELEVANT CASE INFORMATION FROM FATHER-SON PAIRS AT THE
 LOW END OF THE INDEPENDENCE SCALE OF THE
 CALIFORNIA PSYCHOLOGICAL INVENTORY

Item	Relevant Data from Father-Son Pairs		
	Scott and Mr. Weiner	Chip and Mr. Weinberg	Buzz and Mr. Wine
Total Number of Children	3	2	3
Sons' IQ	103	103	125
Fathers' IQ	105	108	105
Task Efficiency	+13	+5	+12
Sons' School Performance	Poor	Poor	Poor
Presence of Overt Rebellion	No	Yes	No
Son's Psychotherapy History	No	No	Yes
Father's Psychotherapy History	Yes	No	Yes
Number of Different CPI Responses ^a	203	157	56
Number of Dominance Responses in Interaction Testing ^b	9 (7F) ^c (2S) ^d	7 (7F) (0S)	15 (8F) (7S)

^aNumber of responses on the CPI by father and son that do not agree.

^bDominance is defined as the presence of one member's individual response in the absence of the other member's individual response.

^cNumber of Dominance responses by the Father.

^dNumber of Dominance responses by the Son.

Case Studies of Boys who Scored
High on the Independence Scale

Ken and Mr. Cohen. The Cohen's live in a middle-class hi-rise development on the South Shore of Brooklyn. The apartment was well furnished, neat and the center of much activity as Ken's siblings were constantly in and out with friends off to the school yard and bicycle riding. The atmosphere was free and relaxed and when Mrs. Cohen came home from shopping with bags to be unpacked everyone pitched in without being asked. There was a constant hum of conversation and joking around the kitchen as the family helped with the task at hand.

During the interview both Mr. Cohen and Ken related openly and freely. They seemed very much at ease with each other and when there were differences they discussed the issues in a real give and take manner. Each seemed genuinely open and available to disagreement. On several occasions when Mr. Cohen clearly knew the information being asked for, he allowed Ken to struggle with it for awhile rather than directing him overtly or covertly to the correct response. On other occasions when Mr. Cohen did not know the correct information he bowed to Ken and took pride in Ken's level of competence. There seemed to be little undercurrent of competition or jealousy about who knew more.

Ken. Ken is a tall, slender good-looking boy. He eases his way into the room and very quietly goes about his work. He related in a business like manner, answering each question clearly, factually, rarely offering additional comments or insights. However, Ken was much more casual and less serious with his father or when other family members were present.

Ken presents a picture of a well rounded, popular, high school senior. He is active in school functions, plays in the school band, has won science awards and is a reasonably good athlete. Presently Ken is preparing for admission to Stonybrook where he plans to major in pre-med. But as Ken says "I'm really not sure. I want to start off in college by taking science courses--then I'll see what I want to do."

Ken is quite articulate and plans all his undertakings well in advance. He doesn't like surprises and wants to prepare himself "for all eventualities." He takes pride in working out his problems by himself and only likes to seek out help after he's made a decent beginning on his own. For example when I asked Ken about his dating he remarks that while he's gone out some he hasn't really had any serious girlfriends but that he doesn't want to talk to his father about it "until I really start dating and until then I want to work it out myself."

Ken is the oldest of three children. He was born after three years of marriage and was a planned pregnancy, as were all the children. Mr. Cohen remarks that for the first child he wanted a boy. "I definitely wanted a son--like the extension of my arm--you know, carry on a name."

Ken was born full term with an uneventful and normal pregnancy and delivery. However, his parents had enrolled in a natural childbirth course which was quite unusual at that time. As a result Mr. Cohen was quite involved with Ken and with all the following births. "Our attitudes were very strong in having a family...I really don't know where it comes from--the great desire to enjoy children. In fact, I'm very active and always have been with kids--I truly enjoy them--always have. My wife is the same way--we get pure joy out of our kids."

Ken was described by Mr. Cohen as a healthy, active outgoing baby. There were no feeding or sleeping difficulties and all developmental milestones were handled without much difficulty. Ken walked at one, spoke words at one and a half, spoke in full sentences at two and was toilet trained at three. Mr. Cohen was quite detailed and exact when it came to spelling out dates and milestones of Ken's development.

Ken has always had many friends and has been active in local youth and athletic organizations. He has always enjoyed school and has always excelled. Presently out of 1200 students Ken is ranked Number 31. He is quite a serious youngster at times and as Mr. Cohen remarks "He's so far more mature at his age than I was that it's amazing to me." Ken has always had some job and usually pays for his social life and some clothing. He travels freely and often spends weekends visiting friends and rarely has difficulty coming home on time. "If I'm going to be out I'll call home first and let them know what's going on." While there doesn't seem to be any strict rules and regulations around the house Ken seems keenly aware to what is expected of him and he usually manages to work within those limits. As Mr. Cohen says "I've never given much thought to punishing the kids or how to do it. I just felt I knew what would be the right way."

Mr. Cohen. Mr. Cohen was born forty-three years ago the youngest of four brothers, six months after the Wall Street crash. Growing up during those years has left him with two lasting impressions, "it motivated me to want two things as I was getting older--some kind of security--and if not that--it made me very ambitious. These themes are constantly repeated throughout his life and are highlighted by Mr. Cohen during the interview.

His father, a self-educated man born and raised in Williamsburgh had always been a retail clothes salesman and now suddenly found himself without a job that payed less and less and with little future prospects of increased prosperity. Finally, he moved the family out of their tightly knit neighborhood to Portland, Oregon, to work in Kaiser's shipyards and a year later to Los Angeles. This occurred when Mr. Cohen was thirteen and it totally upset all his social and school functions. When they finally returned when he was sixteen, three years later, he couldn't adjust to all the changes in course work "and I started to get bored." As a result he finished high school with a commercial diploma and never went to college.

Instead he began a career in business starting as a file clerk in a corporation trying to work his way up. However, after putting ten years of his life into the company they suddenly suffered a significant financial set back and the ladder to success was frozen. "It was like a shock-- suddenly there was security out the window."

During this time Mr. Cohen had met and married his high school sweetheart, fought in the Korean War and had a child, Ken. At this point he was faced with a position similar to the one that confronted his father. Mr. Cohen

also decided at that time to find a new job in a completely different field. He found a job. Soon became their top salesman and left his job as plant manager. Presently he is an executive in an industrial lighting corporation.

"This is the old security bit. I thought I'd never leave that kind of job...but suddenly I found a job that enabled me to use my own creativity and it was for me. I shudder to think I could've still been going no place with that old company. Instead of going out on my own."

Mr. Cohen remarks "I did not have the proper guidance to bring out my needs.... It goes back to the motivating process. Somehow or other I was the youngest of four sons. My parents were very involved, my father in earning bread for the family, my mom in trying to rear a family. There was a lack of communication of needs such as education and I was four years apart with my brothers and they had their own situations so to speak." As a result Ken has had close supervision and Mr. Cohen and his wife have managed to be intimately involved with Ken throughout his development. Ken describes it by saying "they've let me make all my mistakes, but I know and they know they'll never let me make any big ones."

Interaction Testing--The interaction testing proceeded easily with no difficulties. Differences were discussed without any friction and each seemed genuinely open to the others comments. Often their discussions led to new or more developed answers or they managed to find enough common ground to combine their responses. They never had to pass on any items and easily finished within the time limit as Mr. Cohen acted as recorder and directed much of the way the discussion was managed. (Please refer to the Method Section or Appendix for the definitions of the terms listed below).

Reinforcement	-	16		
Emergence	-	3		
Combination	-	3		
Dominance	-	4	Dominance father	- 2
			Dominance son	- 2
No Answer	-	0		
Son's Verbal IQ	-	113		
Father's Verbal IQ	-	108		
Interaction IQ	-	127		
Potential IQ	-	122		
Task Efficiency	-	-5		

Observations--

1. Differences of opinion were generally handled by combining responses or finding new responses.
2. Dominating responses were evenly divided between father and son.
3. There was a genuine open give and take in discussion.
4. There often was real argument that later led to resolution. Ken did not 'yes' Mr. Cohen or refuse to compromise.
5. Interaction IQ is higher than potential IQ indicating that they perform more efficiently when working together.

Rick and Mr. Wasserman. Rick was mowing the law as I approached the house. He was sturdily built and somewhat overweight. He soon joined his father and myself in the family kitchen. Mr. Wasserman was reading the newspaper and was also quite large but much more obviously overweight than Rick.

Both father and son, especially Mr. Wasserman, were quite verbal, articulate, and both had a quiet social presence. They were very much at ease and related openly and pleasantly. They often got into very detailed political and

somewhat intellectual discussions using my questions as a stimulus. Mr. Wasserman, being a lawyer, usually had more hard data to cite, but Rick often had a contribution to make, which was readily accepted by Mr. Wasserman.

Rick. Rick was an extremely cooperative and pleasant subject. He was at times serious, intense, sensitive, and intelligent as well as entertaining and comical.

Rick is the fourth and youngest of Mr. Wasserman's children. Rick has two older brothers 27 and 24, and one older sister 19, and Rick is now 17. The first three pregnancies were planned while Rick's was "not really planned," and there was no real preference to sex. From as early as Rick can remember there have always been other kids to play with. He was an active baby with no sleeping or eating difficulties and his older siblings were constantly attending to or playing with him. He walked at ten months, was speaking in sentences by two and was completely toilet trained by three. Mr. Wasserman recalls that there were so many people around Rick and teaching him that he was quite precocious and very adept socially. In addition, he always had pets to care for. "I was real young. I think we had our first dog, 'Skipper'. He died when I was about six. We always had parakeets, I once had an alligator and turtles, lots of

lizards and tropical fish. We had four dogs since I've been in this house. I want to be a veterernarian."

Rick is applying to veterernarian schools presently and hopes to be accepted by Cornell. He has always done very well at school. Not only has he been an outstanding student scholastically, but he has excelled in extracurricular activities. He presently is within the top 25 of his graduating class and is vice-president of the student body. He was chosen to represent his school in Albany at Boys State. He has been invited to a relations seminar in Syracuse where only a handful of boys have been chosen from the state and he has been chosen as the only school representative to the Community's activities council which is a joint planning council for the activities of the community. He has also been a member of his junior high school football, wrestling, and soccer teams, and has played tennis for his high school.

Rick has traveled extensively throughout the United States and has spent a summer going cross country with his next oldest brother. He likes to travel and has usually had one part-time job or another to help pay for his expenses. While his parents pay for most of his clothing he says "I'll pay for my lunches at school, bowling, something like that-- I'll save up for a tennis racket if I want to."

Rick does not recall "any major hassles" with his folks. He usually knew what was expected of him and he did it. As Mr. Wasserman remarks, "he's never given us any problem. Disciplinary wise he was never a problem about going to school and scholastically he's being doing pretty well."

Mr. Wasserman and Rick spend much of their time together discussing the news or a book they've read and although Mr. Wasserman has taken an active role in Rick's athletics, he remains interested and involved. However, Rick seems to have his major relationship with his older sister, they often spend hours together discussing common issues and working out common solutions. Lisa is less than two years older than Rick and they share many of the same friends and go out together socially. Lisa, as Rick views it, has fought many of the battles left unfinished by the older brothers. And as a result there has been less friction between Rick and his parents. While his older brothers have served as role models in some ways, Rick remarks that they "were always on their way out somewhere" and as a result "I never got too close to them." Most of his discussions about sex, drugs, and school were with Lisa and although he recalls being able to utilize both his parents at different times,

he remarks that "I think she shaped my personality more than anyone else."

Mr. Wasserman. Mr. Wasserman is an exceedingly heavy man and notes that he's always had difficulty with his weight. He was born in Queens near the Brooklyn border fifty years ago. His family consisted of his mother and father who both worked in the family business, a ladies retail clothing shop, and a sister six years older. Both his parents had emigrated from Poland, met in New York and married here.

Mr. Wasserman remembers being quite close to his mother and "very effected" by her sudden death when he was thirteen. Up to that point he was excelling in school. However "once my mother died I don't think I did as well as I could have." Nevertheless, Mr. Wasserman managed to skip many grades and found himself somewhat bewildered as a college freshman at New York University at the age of fifteen. His academic success took "so much" of his time that his "social life was nil." He recalls that "it was especially bad at New York University...you're at a commuting school...fifteen and a half years old...I was with kids who were three years older than I was...and there were no dorms."

These years are remembered with much pain as Mr. Wasserman paints a picture of a very depressed, isolated

struggling young man with little direction. Things changed for the better, however, following a transfer to Buffalo where he lived in a dormitory and joined a fraternity. His social life became more active and met his wife to be in his sophomore year. At that time, "my senior year, I had gotten quite serious with my life and I decided to go to podiatry school." They married three years later following graduation from podiatry school."

He practiced podiatry for seven years and in 1950 "I decided to go to law school." He wasn't happy with his practice and managed to combine a business venture with law school." He went into practice in 1958 and is presently assistant superintendent of a major municipal medical center.

Rick was born during Mr. Wasserman's law school years and as Mr. Wasserman has recalled was "not really planned." Mr. Wasserman remarks that he would've "stopped at three." Nevertheless the pregnancy was maintained and was full term with no complications. As noted above, Rick progressed and developed easily as "with three siblings before him he got plenty of attention and plenty of people to talk to him and teach him."

He rarely needed punishing or reprimanding, but Mr. Wasserman recalls that when he did "act up we didn't hesitate sending him off to bed or slapping him when he needed

it." Rick clearly had specified limits within which to function and he had two involved parents and three elder siblings "who were always practicing being parents" to Rick.

Interaction Testing--Mr. Wasserman and Rick answered most of the questions carefully, easily and quickly. At times when a particular question stimulated them, they discussed the issues in detail and on one occasion went beyond the allowable time. For the most part they agreed and when differences occurred they usually found some common ground on which to agree including parts of each response or found a new and better response. (Please refer to either the Method Section or Appendix for the definitions of the terms listed below).

Reinforcement	-	11		
Emergence	-	1		
Combination	-	6		
Dominance	-	6	Dominance father	- 3
			Dominance son	- 3
No Answer	-	1		
Son's Verbal IQ	-	113		
Father's Verbal IQ	-	122		
Interaction IQ	-	121		
Potential IQ	-	126		
Task Efficiency	-	+5		

Observations--

1. Little arguing. Mostly genuine open discussion of relevant issues.
2. Conflicts resolved with compromise or agreement, 11 reinforcement, 1 emergence, 6 combination.
3. At times when one party knew the answer the other bowed and allowed him to dominate, 6 dominance.
4. Dominance responses were even and always added to the score that is they never allowed a poorer reponse to dominate.
5. Potential IQ 126, interaction IQ 121--worked efficiently.

Joe and Mr. Morley. The Morley's live on a quiet, hilly street in Westchester. Mr. Morley was seated on the porch in the back and Joe was upstairs finishing some homework and studying for finals. The house was immaculately cleaned and the furnishings were very reminiscent of the Morley's years in Germany. Mr. Morley was quite articulate and spoke with a slight accent, as did Mrs. Morley and many of their comments and observations referred back to their upbringing or experiences in Germany during and just prior to the rise of Hitler.

Joe soon joined us and he bore a striking resemblance to Mrs. Morley and "her side of the family." He was thin, and wiry and was dressed neatly in jeans and a sportshirt with short but stylish hair. He was very outgoing, constantly offering observations and was very much opinionated. He and Mr. Morley almost immediately began disagreeing with each other, often got into very long and at times hostile "discussions."

Joe. Joe is the third of three children born in the ninth year of his parents marriage. He has one older brother who is 19 and one older sister who is 18. Mr. Morley recalls only wanting two children, although when the third came along, "it was okay." There were no complications with either the pregnancy or delivery and Joe was described as a "healthy child." However, Mrs. Morley's father did die in the fourth month of the pregnancy and there is some question of her being quite depressed during the remainder of the pregnancy and shortly after Joe's birth. Mr. Morley does not recollect the times or dates in which Joe walked, talked or was toilet trained, although he does remember "he was a little later than his brother and sister." While he did not have any major difficulties developing, Joe "was a little harder than everyone else. He had some problems with pronunciations because his teeth were sticking out and he drooled alot."

School came quite easily at the beginning to Joe and he was initially an outstanding student. However, later in Junior and Senior high school Joe's grades have dropped off as he does not seem to be able to maintain a sustained interest. During the early years in school his grades were good but he had trouble with the teachers of other children at times. "He was quite argumentative, and liked to get his way, and this presented problems for Joe in school as well as at home." While Joe has had many friends he has "never had one of longstanding. He's not always as considerate of others as much as he should be and he doesn't stick to one thing long enough to make a go of it."

When Joe was twelve his parents took him for professional help "in case we were not handling it right." But as the Morley's report "it didn't do much good...it made things more difficult...he was pretty hard to handle." On the other hand Joe saw himself as a "fairly reasonable guy," adding however, "I'm my own man."

Joe himself has few memories of his early years and his fondest are of a woman who was hired to take care of him. "However, I can remember clearly an older lady who lived down the street...she used to take care of my sister and myself...my mother was always working...she was really

kind...white hair...she used to put a little bit of coffee in a cup with a lot of milk and sugar and give it to me.... I suppose its strange things like that that you always remember." He has few memories of other aspects of his early years.

He describes his parents presently as being quite "strict and firm" and they "don't always see eye to eye." When they disagreed, he'd get punished but "they don't do that anymore." Joe has never been close to his older brother until recently. They now share a common interest in studying theatre. Joe remarks, "it's like we just met two years ago." While the same is pretty much true for his sister they share their interest in skiing.

Joe hasn't really begun to date at this point and doesn't have any real girlfriends. "I used to be real shy and not know how to handle myself with girls...but I'm learning." He never talks to his father about girls or use him to problem solve as they "just don't share the same views on a lot of things."

Joe can be quite insightful and has spent some time thinking about himself and his family, especially about his difficulties with his parents. Joe explains that part of the reason he's been so "difficult" is his brother's and

sister's fault...as "they never fought back...they just weren't rebellious enough...if they had been it would've been easier for me...but they just didn't."

Mr. Morley. Mr. Morley was born fifty-six years ago in a little town in Saxony, Germany. He came from an upper middle class, religious, Jewish family. Both his parents worked in the family store, a small retail department store. He had one older brother, and one younger brother and sister.

When Mr. Morley was about ten his family moved to Dresden and they bought a larger store with other members of the family and were doing "very well." This however was coincident with the rise of Hitler to power and after they were placed in a concentration camp and released they were forced to give up the business and flee "the country with illegal visas." Mr. Morley had to end a promising career in school to learn a trade. He never went back to school and has stayed in the retail business ever since.

Mr. Morley coordinated his family's escape from Germany to Cuba, and his own release to England where he joined the British Army and fought in the war. He eventually made his way to the United States, met his wife and married a year later. The family finally rejoined and his wedding served as a reunion. He had not seen them since the late 1930's and

"during the time his brothers and sisters had married and his parents had grown older." Mr. Morley was to feel the effects of his concentration camp experiences and sought professional guidance to help him control his anxieties.

Mr. Morley was twenty-nine when he came to the United States to begin his life anew. As a result he didn't have his first child until he was in his mid-thirties and Joe wasn't born until he was almost forty and Mrs. Morley was in her late thirties. In addition, his involvement in the family business demanded constant attention and as a result he has few memories of Joe as a child. Mrs. Morley was working as a physical therapist in addition to helping out with the business and had to hire help to "watch" the children. They described themselves as "hard working" people and their "constant attention to the store" had had its effect on the children.

Mr. Morley has tried to get Joe involved in the Little League and Boy Scouts, but Joe "didn't seem to stay with either very long." However, he and Mr. Morley do ski together as often as they can, and will go on hikes and outdoor trips. Mr. Morley skis and hikes quite well as a result of "my early years in Germany where a great emphasis was placed on such activities."

While they are able to share these activities, Joe remarks quite candidly that he "can't be himself around the house...my real environment is not my home...its school... that's where I'm me...but if I carry that me home it just won't fit in...I have to live by their rules and their ideas and they don't want to compromise on a lot of things and neither do I...."

Interaction Testing--Mr. Morley and Joe seemed to use the questions as a vehicle to air long standing family arguments. I had the clear sense as I observed, that these arguments were old hat and well rehearsed and they each knew their parts well. As a result they often went over the time limit of Mr. Morley finally conceded to Joe and allowed his reponse to dominate. In addition, there was a very real tone of conflict and tension which seemed to make everyone somewhat uneasy, although it did not seem to retard the arguing. (Please refer to either the Method Section of Appendix for the definitions of the terms listed below).

Reinforcement	-	9	
Emergence	-	1	
Combination	-	0	
Dominance	-	12	Dominance father - 4
			Dominance son - 8

No Answer	-	3
Son's Verbal IQ	-	105
Father's Verbal IQ	-	109
Interaction IQ	-	105
Potential IQ	-	134
Task Efficiency	-	+29

Observations--

1. There was a noticeable presence of tension and conflict.
2. There was little real give and take and no compromise.
3. Most disagreements were resolved by Joe's answers dominating.
4. They often allowed the poorer response to prevail.
5. Task Efficiency was quite poor as their potential IQ was much higher than their interaction IQ.
6. On only one occasion did their disagreements lead to a novel or creative response.

 Insert Table 3 about here

TABLE 3
 RELEVANT CASE INFORMATION FROM FATHER-SON PAIRS AT THE
 HIGH END OF THE INDEPENDENCE SCALE OF THE
 CALIFORNIA PSYCHOLOGICAL INVENTORY

Item	Relevant Data from Father-Son Pairs		
	Ken and Mr. Cohen	Rick and Mr. Wasserman	Joe and Mr. Morley
Total Number of Children	3	4	3
Sons' IQ	113	113	105
Fathers' IQ	108	122	109
Task Efficiency	-5	+5	+29
Sons' School Performance	Good	Good	Poor
Presence of Overt Rebellion	No	No	Yes
Son's Psychotherapy History	No	No	Yes
Father's Psychotherapy History	No	No	Yes
Number of Different CPI Responses ^a	135	66	159
Number of Dominance Responses in Interaction Testing ^b	4 (2F) ^c (2S) ^d	6 (3F) (3S)	12 (4F) (8S)

^aNumber of responses on the CPI by father and son that do not agree.

^bDominance is defined as the presence of one member's individual response in the absence of the other member's individual response.

^cNumber of Dominance responses by the Father.

^dNumber of Dominance responses by the Son.

DISCUSSION

The results of this study indicate as hypothesized, that there is in fact no positive correlation between Psychological Mindedness in fathers and Independence in sons for white middle class adolescents when measured with the California Psychological Inventory. The same was true for the relationship between Flexibility in fathers and Independence in sons similarly measured. This clearly indicates that the single factors of Psychological Mindedness or Flexibility in fathers when taken individually are quite poor as predictors of Independence in their sons. The multiple correlation between Psychological Mindedness and Flexibility in fathers and Independence in son's was also low.

Also, there was no significant difference in sons' Independence between mothers who work as opposed to those who do not work. That is to say that the sons examined who come from families where their mothers work are not anymore or less independent than those families in which mothers do not work.

Sibling size was also examined for its relationship on Independence in sons. The results are not statistically significant and there seems to be no relationship between son's Independence and sibling size.

Further examination of the sibling situation showed no relationship between son's Independence and the order of the birth. While statistical evaluation was not possible because there were too few cases in some of the cells, one can see from Table 1 the absence of any trend in either direction.

Another factor that was thought to be predictive of Independence was how much fathers and sons might agree or disagree on a series of issues. It has been shown by Mussen (1961) that boys who are well identified with their fathers tend to be "better adjusted." In the study presented here it was demonstrated beyond the .01 level significance that in instances where fathers and sons had the fewest number of different responses on the CPI, the sons scored higher on the Independent Scale. That is to say, that those fathers and sons who tend to see the majority of varied issues similarly will have sons who are more independent than those who do not share the same views with their fathers (see Tables 2 and 3).

Overall, the results from the CPI portion of the study do not provide evidence that the combined variables in fathers of Psychological Mindedness and Flexibility are significant in producing sons high in Independence as measured by the CPI for a white middle class population.

The case studies demonstrated that the development of Independence in sons is quite complex and subtle, and that the original attempt to measure Independence solely with the CPI does not do justice to the intricacies of the variable. For example, one of the boys who scored highest on the Independence Scale was matched with a father who scored lowest on both Psychological Mindedness and Flexibility. Joe had scored as high as Ken or Rick, yet Joe's way of functioning was quite different than theirs. Ken's and Rick's way of working was to engage in a free give and take, gather all available data and then make their decisions or compromises. Joe on the other hand seemed to be more interested in being oppositional and negativistic. Whatever his father said Joe argued and took the opposite position. Joe's position became quite predictable once Mr. Morley had offered his opinion. Therefore, it seems that even though Joe's functioning appeared to be independent, the process through which he operated was quite different than Ken's or Rick's and quite

a dependent one. This picture has been described by Blos (1963) when he remarked that "the adolescent has a need to deny his helplessness through action, to affirm by exaggeration his independence...to counteract the regressive pull to passivity by denying his dependence on reality itself. Here then we encounter the megalomania of the adolescent who says 'nobody can tell me....'"

Many of these adolescents initially look rather "grown-up" and independent as they are usually very verbal. Often they can easily express what appears to be independent thoughts and actions and seemingly function without the need of parental guidance. However, on a closer examination (through interview-interaction testing) one can view Joe's political philosophy and rebelliousness as further manifestations of his dependency. As noted by Barnett (1968) "any more or less comprehensive ideology, with its implicit organization of experience, may serve as a structural frame for cognition, with some degree of safety from the anxiety attendant on cognitive individuation....Some adolescents remain in the safety of such an alternate ideology, different from, but often as rigid and restricting as, the family ideology that it replaces."

Furthermore, the defiant, rebellious behavior that brought Joe to treatment is as much a reflection of dependency conflicts as the passive compliance of others. "Indiscriminate nay-saying is as devoid of personal meaning as indiscriminate yea-saying" (Barnett, 1958). Both positions are devoid of any internal, consistent systems that defines a particular experience, rather they are dependent on outside forces to define their own responses.

The issues presented above relating to Joe are subtle and more available through personal contacts with Joe and Mr. Morley. Here, the issue is one of interpreting a given behavior knowing its place in the family philosophy and being aware of the manner or context in which it is offered. These are issues not easily available to examination by such paper and pencil tests as the CPI. These data can only come from a more personal interaction with the subject as in an interview or other interpersonal contact.

Nevertheless, the CPI Independence Scale was quite good in selecting those subjects who have done well in school. As can be noted two of the three boys who in fact did score high on Independence have done very well as students and two of the three boys who scored low on Independence have a poor school record. This has been a consistent finding of

the Independence Scale as noted by Gough (1964) and Griffin (1964).

Before a further discussion of the implications of the case material is made a further note of explanation must be made. According to the outline requirements of the study three highest and three lowest boys on the Independence Scale were to be selected for interview. However, as noted above, several from the low end of the scale refused to participate. As a result, the investigator was forced to continue up the Independence Scale with each new refusal. The third case then was selected from almost the middle of the scale and is not really representative of those who scored low on Independence. Therefore, of the three cases from the low end of the Independence Scale only Scott and Buzz are truly representative while Chip is not.

It is interesting to note that the lack of cooperation, i.e., refusal to be interviewed, was evidenced only from the fathers and sons from the low end of the Independence Scale. As a further discussion of the case material will demonstrate, it is from these cases that we find the most father-son discord, the poorest school histories for the boys, and fathers with their own history of psychiatric difficulties. It would seem then, that the often expressed impression by researchers,

that those who have the most to hide or have the least to boast about are usually the most uncooperative, has been reiterated in this study.

However, in spite of the sampling difficulties there are several consistencies to be noted from the case material. From their own descriptions of themselves the fathers of Scott and Buzz both had some sort of emotional problems. Buzz's father is described as anxious, "a worrier, just like his mother," and has a tendency to develop somatic disorders under stress. Scott's father also describes himself in a similar manner and recalls vividly how unhappy and bothered he's been. Both men have been in treatment for several years as a result of these difficulties. In addition, they also shared difficulties in establishing themselves in business. Buzz's father resolved his difficulties by joining his wife's family business and Scott's father finally joined up with a close knit firm whose president was a friend of the family.

While Scott's father was not involved with his early development his mother was quite closer controlling as was Buzz's father, and both youngsters had tremendous difficulty adjusting to school and were quite "anxious" about it. Scott seems to have handled his anxiety by being "a trouble maker" while Buzz developed somatic complaints and experienced

"fainting spells." Both youngsters have remained "under-achievers" and the schools report they have not worked up to their potential to date. In addition, both Scott and Buzz report having suffered many years of feelings of inferiority and unhappiness, Buzz being "too short and thin," and Scott being "too fat."

Both pairs also had relatively high task efficiency and their predominate mode of responding was by allowing one response to dominate over the other. In Scott's case his father usually took control and gave his response and did not allow Scott the opportunity to experiment, think out loud or problem solve. In Buzz's case, the predominate mode of response was also one of dominance. However, the dominance responses were evenly split between father and son, although they often allowed the poorer of the two responses to prevail resulting in a high task efficiency.

Although Joe scored high on Independence, it was noted above that in many respects his functioning is more dependent than independent. In fact, his case history and interaction testing is more similar to Scott's and Buzz's than to Ken's or Rick's. Joe has always had difficulty adjusting to school and has had difficulty as a student. He has also had problems socializing with peers, and when he

was twelve he was brought for psychiatric help. Joe's father also has had some emotional problems, was out of work for a short period of time, needed professional help. Also like Scott's father and Buzz's mother both Joe's mother and father were either not involved in their son's early years, for business reasons, or expressed some difficulty in handling children at such a young age.

Joe's interaction testing is also similar in that task efficiency was quite high and the predominate mode of responding was dominance. In this instance Joe's father would give in and allow Joe's responses to prevail even though they were often the poorer of the responses.

Ken's and Rick's protocols differ markedly from Scott's and Buzz's in many ways. Both Ken and Rick have had no adjustment problems in school and have always been outstanding students. In addition, they have been extremely popular with peers and have been elected to represent their student body at different functions. In addition, while each has experienced some sort of adolescent adjustment difficulties, neither has suffered in the ways Scott or Buzz has described. Rather, they appear to be well adjusted, happy, involved young men.

Their fathers also share some common attributes.

Both are very successful men in fields they have sought and developed for themselves. One is an executive officer in a small industrial company while the other is assistant superintendent of a major municipal medical center. Neither has had any serious emotional difficulties and on interview appear to be reasonably happy and well adjusted.

Both are quite involved with daily family issues and always have been. Ken's father and mother took a natural childbirth course and both have always been involved in their son's development. While Rick's birth was "not really planned" his father was still involved and welcomed his birth. In addition, as Rick's father states, he had three elder siblings to be with him and constantly train and attend to him, and the family is described as a "warm, closely knit" one.

However, the most striking finding is the way in which both pairs performed on the interaction testing. There was a general atmosphere of cooperation as differences of opinion were generally handled by free, give and take. Resolution of disagreements was generally handled by compromise, or by creating a new or improved response. When one response dominated, however, it generally was the better of the two being

offered. Furthermore, the dominant responses were evenly split between father and son. Finally, and this may be the most striking finding, both pairs has the lowest task efficiency indicating that they perform outstandingly as a pair. In fact, Ken (who had the highest score on Independence) and his father performed better as a pair than they did separately. Both pairs were able to capitalize on each others assets effectively without damaging or decreasing their performance. By utilizing a genuine adversary process where both were free to speak their mind and still remain open to the other. As a result, they were able to tease out what was best in each of their responses. This was clearly something that could not be done by Joe, Scott, or Buzz as effectively.

Conclusions

The original assumptions of the thesis grew out of a theoretical understanding of adolescence as a second individuation process. Adolescence is seen then as a reworking of the separation from the parental figures. This second individuation, however, involves both parents more so than did the first separation where the mothering figure was more central. In adolescence a new separation must be renegotiated from both figures, and the father or "other" figure

should therefore take on new importance in this role. In light of the findings and the above discussion there are several issues that should be highlighted.

Firstly, it seems apparent that the single variables of either Psychological Mindedness or Flexibility in fathers as measured by the CPI singly or in combination, are not significantly related to Independence in their sons, also as measured by the CPI. Furthermore, there was no significant difference in sons' Independence as it related to their mother's working status. In addition, while sibling order was not significantly related to Independence, it was noted that there was a strong relationship to sibling size.

The lack of positive results from the CPI that would support the original hypothesis implies either a reworking of the theoretical foundation on which the hypotheses were based or a re-evaluation of the instruments used.

As was noted above the concept of Independence is not uni-dimensional, but rather it is quite complex and involves clinical interpretation of behavior. The understanding and interpretation needed is not available to the way in which the CPI is designed. While it remains an excellent predictor of school performance (Gough, 1964) (Griffin, 1968) it does not lend itself well to a fuller understanding of

Independence in the manner of Blos (1962) or Barnett (1968).

Nevertheless, the case histories do provide us with an opportunity to examine the issue at another level that is more easily available in a clinical setting. Several very striking findings are available through this approach.

Firstly, the case history of Joe and Mr. Morley provided us with an opportunity to examine the dependence conflicts in adolescence at work. Joe is a young boy who while he scored high on the Independence Scale of the CPI, nevertheless has major unresolved difficulties relative to his individuating. These conflicts may be expressed as a surrender to a family ideology, as with Scott, or as a subscription to an alternate ideology or a defiant rebelliousness as with Joe. These conflicts are further evidenced during the interviews. For example, the interaction between Joe and his father and other adults clearly does not indicate a young man who can function with some reasonable amount of emotional independence, i.e., without the need for parental guidance. Rather, we find a young man who defines himself, his views and opinions basically in opposition to whatever opinion or view is being offered by his father. This then highlights the difference between a young man who may "appear"

independent and a young man who truly functions and acts independently (without the need for parental guidance).

Secondly, the processes utilized by the two groups (high on Independence, and low on Independence) during the interviews and interaction testing evidence real, consistent differences. Fathers and sons in the high on Independence group had free give-and-take discussions, had responses characterized by compromise and conciliation, they worked efficiently using the best each had to offer and generally shared in the responsibility of recording their responses. However, fathers and sons on the low end of the Independence Scale often argued needlessly, did not have a free-and-easy atmosphere around their disagreements, had responses characterized by domination and not compromise, had poor efficiency as they did not use the best of their individual abilities, and they did not share the responsibility of recording their responses as one of the father-son pair usually took complete control.

Thirdly, there were consistent differences in the fathers' job, and psychiatric histories as well as their son's school and psychiatric histories. Fathers whose sons scored low on the Independence Scale had histories which included marked "anxiety," psychosomatic disorders, inferiority

complexes, stuttering, peer isolation, difficulty finding independent work and life goals, and two of the three as well as Joe's father had a history of long term psychiatric treatment. In addition, they all scored low on the scales of Psychological Mindedness and Flexibility, as Mr. Morley produced one of the lowest scores found. This would then lend some support to the original hypotheses although the sample size is small.

As with their fathers, the boys who scored on the low end of the Independence Scale, as well as Joe, have histories that include psychosomatic disorders, separation difficulties going to elementary school, reports of later school adjustment problems (often described as "trouble makers"), did poorly in academic work in spite of their demonstrated ability, and experienced difficulty "adjusting" (i.e., peers, socializing) during adolescence.

In comparison, fathers of sons who scored high on the Independence Scale had no history of emotional problems to the extent described above and did manage to establish themselves and become quite successful in their life's work. Furthermore, their sons have not had any school adjustment problems, and in fact, they have excelled and been award winners. They have also been described as popular with

peers and active in school life and they have not experienced the same degree of adolescent turmoil as the other group.

The lack of positive findings relating Psychological Mindedness and Flexibility in fathers to Independence in sons, as measured by the CPI, stands in sharp contrast to the clear differences found (between the high on Independence group and low on Independence group) in the case histories. The case history material would suggest that the type of father and/or the type of fathering an adolescent receives may significantly influence how well the adolescent functions, particularly how well he negotiates his own individuation. As the case histories clearly note the boys who scored high on the Independence Scale and their fathers clearly had fewer adjustment difficulties in most major areas of functioning. It was also noted that in this group the boys were significantly more identified with their fathers. The finding corroborated Sopchak (1952) and Payne and Mussen (1955) who also found that boys who are closely identified with their fathers are defined as "healthier" by the MMPI. The question at this point appears to be, are these boys more independent because they had "better role models" (i.e., more psychologically minded, flexible and freer from adjustment difficulties) or because they seem more

identified regardless of the quality of their fathers. The results from the CPI portion of the study would suggest that there is no relationship between the quality of fathering (i.e., psychological minded and/or flexible) while the case material suggests that there is such a relationship. However, the limited number of cases developed at this time makes the resolution to that question available to further investigation.

It might be noted again at this time that the investigator has not dealt with the issue of cultural differences, but instead has kept cultural differences homogeneous. However, in the recent literature Dr. Jules Bamporad (1973) developed the hypothesis that the crisis of adolescence, developing independence, is often not seen in lower socioeconomic class youngsters. He used a population of non-psychotic, non-psychiatrically hospitalized teenagers, and their friends for interviews and programmed questionnaires, he noted a prolonged, unashamed acceptance of dependence on the parental matrix, which is in marked contrast to the difficulties presented by some of the adolescents in this study.

Limitations and Recommendations for Future Research

The case history approach provides for a potentially limitless amount of information. However, it was difficult

to get the full cooperation of all the father-son pairs. As a result the six pairs that were interviewed did not represent the real extremes on the Independence Scale. In fact, Chip who was the last to be interviewed, had to be selected from what was almost the middle range of the scale and therefore was not truly representative of either extreme.

Furthermore, the interviews as originally conceived of did not include the mothers in any way. It would seem, that direct questioning of and about the mothers would have provided the investigator with additional data to develop a more thorough understanding of the issues involved. For example, some fathers did not know or guessed at important questions regarding their son's development. Often, the fathers referred the investigator to the mothers for more exact detail. Also, direct questioning of the mothers would enable the investigator to get a more complete picture of the mother herself, her sense of herself as a wife and mother, without having to infer from what her son and/or her husband have said about her.

In addition, it would be interesting to see how the decision-making process in the family (mother-father-son) compare to those utilized by the father-son pair alone. This may be accomplished by testing either the mother-son

pair or the mother-father-son unit and comparing the results for Qualitative Analysis or to see which unit works most efficiently, and finally to examine how this relates to the son's Independence.

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APPENDIX A

Outline for Interview

Outline for Interview with Father

The following will serve as an outline for the interviews with the fathers. All interviews will be tape recorded. This outline will provide the focus and will list a minimum of data to be collected and questions to be asked. When it seems appropriate the interview may go in directions not listed below to gain further information and insight. All identifying data will be collected from a face sheet all subjects will complete when taking the California Psychological Inventory.

Identifying Data

This part of the interview will be reserved to clarify any information received from the face sheet that is vague, or missing, or needs further clarification.

Life History of Father

This part of the interview will attempt to gather information about the father's life experiences, including his early years, school experiences, social and work history and marriage.

Early Years. I wonder Mr. _____ if you could tell me what you remember of the first few years of your life? What was your family life? What do you remember of your parents at that time? Were there any particularly special experiences, events or memories of that time that you could share with me? Did you have any special friends or one best buddy at that time? How were those first few years of school? Do you remember having any special problems or difficulties those first few years in school?

Adolescence and Adulthood. As you got older how was school in high school and college? Were you a good student? How were your grades? Did you participate in any extra curricular activities? How was your social life then? Did you date much? How and when did you meet your wife? How was the courtship? What was your attitude about raising a family at that time and have your views changed much over the years? What kinds of jobs have you had in the past? What were the reasons for changing jobs at that time? What kind of work are you presently engaged in and how do you like it? Have you ever had any serious illness, disability or have you ever been hospitalized?

Developmental History of the Son as Told by the Father

Pregnancy. Was your sons pregnancy planned? Was

there a preference for a boy or girl? How was your wife feeling during the pregnancy; were there any complications before or after the birth?

Birth. Was the birth full term? Do you remember your son's weight or condition at birth? Who was he named for?

First Year. What do you remember of your son's first year? Were there any difficulties with feeding? How was he fed? Were there any difficulties, i.e., colic, feeding difficulties, head banging, or rocking, breath holding, undue apathy or hyperactivity, convulsions, high fevers?

Second Year. Do you remember at what age your son first took his first steps? Do you remember at what age your son first began to utter his first words? Do you remember at what age your son first became toilet trained? How did the family relate to this "separate person"? What was the nature of your guidance and discipline? Were there any fears, phobias, or night terrors? If so, how did you respond to them?

Three through Five. Did you see any evidence of any sexual curiosity in your son, if so, at what age? What was his relationship to you and your wife, siblings, and peers? What was nursery school or kindergarten like for him? Were

there any problems adjusting? Were there any difficulties during these years, i.e., nail biting, thumb sucking, tics, enuresis, demandingness? If so, how did the family respond?

Six to Puberty. How did your son do in his early years in school? How were his grades and how did he get along with the other kids in his classes?

Adolescence. As your son was growing up were there any marked changes in either his school or general social functioning? When did you notice his physical development and how did the family react to these changes? When did he become interested in girls? How did he handle sexual curiosity? Was he prepared for this period of his life? If so, how, and by whom?

Family Life. How would you describe the general atmosphere in the house? Are people warm or are there many conflicts at present? Do members of your family have friends outside the family circle? If so, what kinds? Does your son take independent action such as trips, visiting friends away from home? Does your son have a capacity for independence in daily life, i.e., handling money, shopping, travelling alone? Has he ever had work experience? How is religion handled at home?

Additional Questions

This part of the interview will help us gain further insight into the father's ability to understand his son (Psychological Mindedness) and his ability to set limits in a flexible and responsive manner (Flexibility).

These questions are seen as invitation for further discussion to delve into the daily, real-life issues confronting a father raising an adolescent boy.

1. A lot of kids are now experimenting with all sorts of drugs, and I wonder how would you feel and what your reaction would be if your son came to you one day and told you he had been experimenting with these drugs?

2. As your son has grown over the years do you notice any real changes in him or do you feel that he has not changed even though he has gotten older?

3. When your son comes to you with problems, do you have trouble understanding what it is that's troubling him? Can you communicate your thoughts to him?

4. Could you tell me briefly what sets of rules or standards of behavior you have for your son, if any?

5. What would be the consequences if your son came home past his curfew next Saturday night? How consistent have you been in enforcing that time restriction? When is he free to use his own judgment? Are there any exceptions?

APPENDIX B

Interaction Testing: Administration and Scoring

AdministrationIndividual Testing

Each member (father and son) is tested separately in the standard manner and responses recorded by the examiner. The items discussed here are taken from the Similarities and Comprehension Subtests of the Wechsler Adult Intelligence Scale.

Interaction Testing

After each member has been tested separately in the standard manner, the couple is assembled and the tests are readministered. As a rule, individual testing is immediately followed by interaction testing. When it is not possible to complete the testing in one session, the interaction testing is scheduled as soon as possible. The couple is at a table next to each other and face the examiner. In order to facilitate task-oriented set, the following instructions are given:

"I am going to readminister the tests given to each of you alone. The purpose is to determine whether two people can do better together than each was able to do alone. I will read each item and both of you are to discuss the

question and agree upon the best answer." An answer form and pencil are placed between the two individuals and they are told that one of them is to record the answer they arrive at. No help is offered by the examiner in making the choice of "Recorder."

If on any item, the couple's emotional difficulties prevent them from arriving at a decision in a reasonable time, a limit of one minute is imposed on the amount of time they may continue to spend on that item. The imposition of the time limit is mentioned to the couple. It is imposed at the examiner's discretion. If they are then unable to come to an agreement within the time limit, the item is left blank and the examiner proceeds to the next item.

Scoring Interaction Process

Interaction Process Analysis. The Interaction Process Analysis refers to a comparison of the interaction product in relation to individual products. It aims at describing through inference the decision-making processes involved in the interaction, and the direction of that interaction. The former is subsumed under four basic concepts: Dominance, Combination, Emergence and Reinforcement and is derived from actual response content. This is described as "Qualitative Process."

The actual content of the interaction is compared to the actual content of the individual responses, from which a "qualitative process" score for each item is derived as follows:

D. Dominance = the presence of one member's individual response in the absence of the other member's individual response.

C. Combination = the presence of elements of both individual responses.

E. Emergence = a new idea not present in either individual response.

R. Reinforcement = the same response by both members individually and in interaction.

Examples of the Four Qualitative Processes

Question: How are a cat and mouse alike?

<u>Father</u>	<u>Son</u>	<u>Interaction</u>	<u>Score</u>
Both animals	They both fight	Both animals	D
Both animals	They both fight	Both fighting animals	C
Both animals	They both fight	Both have four legs	E
Both fight	Both fight	Both fight	R

Other Scoring Rules

Dominance

Dominance "In Words." The designation (v) next to the qualitative process score of D was used when one member's response (i.e., their words) was selected over the other member's response (i.e., words), although the concepts of the two members were apparently similar. While reinforcement may thus be implied, it is not scored. (D without the subscript applies to the score frequent case of Dominance in both words and content).

Example--Question: Why must taxes be paid?

<u>Father</u>	<u>Son</u>	<u>Interaction</u>	<u>Score</u>
to run the government	to support the government	to support the government	D son (v)

"Insufficient" Dominance. The designation (ins.) as a subscript to the process score of D refers to the absence of interaction on the part of the selected member's response.

Example--Question: Why are houses made of brick instead of wood?

<u>Father</u>	<u>Son</u>	<u>Interaction</u>	<u>Score</u>
it's cooler	lasts longer fire protection	lasts longer	D son (ins.)

(This scoring manual is taken in part from Melvin Roman and Gerald Bauman, in their report of July 1966, unpublished, entitled, INTERACTION TESTING: A progress report on the development of a technique for the assessment of family interaction and decision-making).