71-15,284

ROSENWEIN, Robert Earl, 1941-
DETERMINANTS OF LOW VERBAL ACTIVITY RATES IN SMALL GROUPS: A STUDY OF THE SILENT PERSON.

The University of Michigan, Ph.D., 1970
Psychology, general

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DETERMINANTS OF LOW VERBAL ACTIVITY RATES IN SMALL GROUPS: A STUDY OF THE SILENT PERSON

by
Robert Earl Rosenwein

A dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy
(Social Psychology)
in The University of Michigan
1970

Doctoral Committee:

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ABSTRACT

DETERMINANTS OF LOW VERBAL ACTIVITY RATES IN SMALL GROUPS: A STUDY OF THE SILENT PERSON

by
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The major focus of this study was on the personality, developmental and situational determinants of low verbal activity rates in two kinds of small groups: introductory psychology classrooms (combining teacher lecturing and student discussion) and analytic groups. Four "working hypotheses" were formulated. First, it was suggested that low participators are concerned with frustrated nurturance needs but find it difficult to express this frustration because of feelings of mistrust toward others. Second, it was suggested that low participators would have trouble expressing directly feelings of assertiveness, aggression and hostility. Third, it was suggested that low participators are particularly sensitive to the threat of negative evaluation. Fourth, low participators were expected to be more fearful of attempts by others to manipulate them or rob them of autonomy than others. In the area of developmental antecedents it was suggested that low participators might have the following characterize their past histories:

a. parents restrictive of activity
b. parents low on reward, high on punishment, high standards of achievement
c. parents who frustrated nurturance needs
d. relatively little social interaction with the parents
e. uncertain or ambivalent identification with the same-sex parent

Finally, it was suggested that groups in which the relevant interpersonal issues would be most salient would be characterized by leaders who a) were quick to be critical of verbal contributions b) were particularly concerned with reaching out to the student

c) delivered clear and frequent positive and negative reinforcements after verbal output.

A total of six groups were studied: four lecture discussion groups of an introductory psychology class and two self-analytic groups also run as courses at the University of Michigan. Although the data collected in the classroom groups (Sample 1) and the self-analytic groups (Sample 2) was not completely the same in terms of specific measures, it was identical in terms of the areas of interest covered.

In both samples, low participators were defined as those persons who fell into the lower third of the standardized distribution of amount of verbal output. In addition, more restricted sets of low participators were selected for study. A cross-validation procedure was followed: predictions were made to the second sample from the data generated in the first sample.

The results lent support to the hypotheses concerning the major areas of concern for the low participators, less support to the developmental hypotheses, and equivocal support to the hypotheses about situational differences. Important differences concerned the styles with which individuals used silence to handle areas of internal and interpersonal conflict.

The developmental data uncovered little indicating that parents were restrictive or overprotective toward their children. However, there was indirect evidence that they did maintain high performance standards. Further, there was evidence that low participators perceived their parents to be too often indifferent to their real needs, but felt unable to confront their parents with the fact of their indifference, or to express open resentment against them for this.

Concerning situational determinants, it appeared that there were many complex interactions between individual low participator concerns and group properties.

There was some suggestion that the most powerful leader behavior which is related to differences in low participators between groups was the amount of evaluative anxiety he generated. There was also some suggestion that low participators vary as a function of differences between their intellectual orientation and the leader's, but only when this was more rigidly held by the leader.

Discussion of the results centered on a) sex differences b) low participation as an adaptive response c) methodological problems which may have influenced the results d) the interaction of low participator characteristics and group concerns over time e) implications for further research on participation differences f) implications of low participation for "community-building" processes.

This dissertation is dedicated, with love, to my parents; and, fulfilling an old dream, to Manya.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I've been singularly lucky in more recent years to have had my life intersect the lives of several persons whose influence on me has made my commitments seem more attractive, and who, therefore, made this dissertation etc., etc. Dick Mann, as he did for so many others, made legitimate the thinking of thoughts and the feeling of feelings which hitherto had had a faint aura of disrepute in my graduate experience. He has consistently sent a message to me (as to so many others) that my inner turmoil and struggle was not only important but also useful in my development as a psychologist. If there has been "room to move," much of the credit goes to Dick. And beyond this high-flown stuff, Dick has just been a wonderful friend at very critical moments and even uncritical ones.

Linda Rosenwein (nee Townes) who is becoming my wife at the same time this dissertation comes out of the Xerox has been a helpmeet to beat all helpmeets. Joy is a pretty powerful term; but it's what she has brought into my life. If our life together from now on at all resembles what it has been up till now, then it's time to start believing in happy endings again.

And to H. Coppolillo, who has been introducing me to myself: experiences "no man can guess and no child can remember to tell."

I owe many other debts of gratitude. Drs. McKeachie, Moore and Burnstein, the committee members, have put up with a lot of rush and pressure and have been helpful with their comments. Bill McKeachie has always been a source of assistance and support throughout my graduate career. I have profited immensely from knowing

both Graham Gibbard and John Hartman during the period I was collecting part of the data for this dissertation. John and Bobby Ringwald have both been of great help. There are certain kinds of learning experiences which one comes to treasure. Talking to John has always been one of them for me. Bobby, who did such fine work on the cluster material in the classroom sample, has contributed much to my thinking about low participating students and what they are about.

I want to mention some people who made the last year fun because they're such nice people: George and Meredith, Phil and Barbara, Murray, Rich, Judy, Lynn. Bob Rockaway, the guy who lives next door, has been a very special friend, always good for a late-night, relaxing game of Yah-tzee, and a reassuring word when things were getting too much.

Various persons rushed in at the last minute to lend a hand getting this job done. Sharon Wilson did extra duty on the typing chores; Mary Dugas was an angel, descending at the very last minute. Francis Townes, Meredith Kimball, Dave Yaffee and Bob Rockaway all helped with the proofreading.

Finally, a note of thanks to the low participating students I worked with in the analytic group sample. It's a tough chore to talk about one's activity in a group; I'm grateful they attempted to do so.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The research problem in this thesis focuses on understanding the intrapersonal, interpersonal, developmental and structural (or situational) underpinnings of low verbal participation rates in small groups. Our particular concern will be with those individuals who characteristically (within our research samples) produce little or no verbal output, people often referred to as "low participators" or "silent people" or "non-talkers."

In general, the study of the determinants of differential participation rates in small groups has been neglected by social psychologists. For instance, Mann, in his extensive and integrative review of the literature (1959), found only six studies in which personality characteristics were related to verbal activity rates. Group size (Stephan and Mishler, 1959; O'Dell, 1968; Thomas and Fink, 1963) and position in communications network (Wallas, 1963) are aspects of group structure which appear to be related to differential participation rates. There are literally no studies which [illegible]

directly--see Chapter II). Further, while we certainly have studies on a multitude

of behavioral "styles" in groups (Mann, 1967; Gibbard, 1969; Dunphy, 1964; Bales, 1954) these focus almost entirely (and from a methodological view, quite logically) on those individuals in groups who produce statistically manipulable amounts of verbal output. The presence of "silent members" or "low participators" in large or small numbers seems well-nigh universal; yet very little work has been undertaken to understand this phenomenon.

Superficially, this neglect seems surprising, since participation rates and their variability are such an obvious and immediately observable property of social interaction. Perhaps this has something to do with the "common-sense" nature of the problem. How often we find community leaders, t-group trainers, teachers, and the like, concerned with "increasing participation", "getting more people to speak up", or "eliciting response." Perhaps this fact has discouraged researchers from seeing participation rates as a scientifically meaningful problem. It seems also to be true that psychologists have had a difficult time putting the study of participation into relevant theoretical contexts or frameworks. The present study is an attempt to rectify this omission by focusing on low participators in groups in relation to other subgroups of individuals characterized by differential participation rates. We may point out that in an age of injunctions to "keep our voices lowered" [illegible] behavior" seems only

[illegible] interacting individuals within a given situation. Our

question then becomes: what determines, for a given individual in a given situation, his adoption of this behavioral stance? (This is of course not to suggest that even the most active individual in a group does not have his silent moments.) We will want to look closely, then, at both ends of that continuum of behavioral determinants psychologists call "personality and situation." We would not be surprised, for instance, if specific task requirements in our groups determine who will fall in the lower end of the distribution of verbal participation (i.e., as a function of personal abilities directly relevant to meeting these task requirements). On the other hand, we would also not be surprised to find individuals for whom silence could be characterized as a symptomatic manifestation of unresolved inner conflicts. Finally, we would not be surprised to find that silent persons, across different kinds of groups, share certain attributes, but that also there are factors peculiar to specific groups which determine the adoption of low participation in the particular context.

In constructing this study, the author worked from "the inside out." That is, we began with the notion that the low verbal participator comes to act this way in response to complex intrapsychic and interpersonal pressures, in part carried over from earlier experiences, which may, in the immediate situation, interact with structural or task variables. Thus we ask: what traits, qualities, or predispositions characterize low participators as opposed to other individuals who differ in verbal [illegible]? Are there intra- or interpersonal issues, concerns, or conflicts to which [illegible]tion, or of which silence might be expressive? What, if any, past experiences in groups or with other significant persons might account for low participation? We then ask: what do these personality variables imply will be

relevant situational determinants? In other words, what should be the theoretical relationship between factors we can locate inside the person and situational dimensions?

Chapter II focuses on a review of the several literatures which shed some light on the questions raised above. Here we attempt to integrate both theory and data and point to some converging trends from disparate sources. The chapter concludes with the formulation of a set of working hypotheses about the nature of low verbal participation.

Chapter III discusses in detail the methodologies employed in the research. The two different samples and the specific instruments used in each are discussed, and some conceptual and statistical problems in the comparisons of the two samples are considered.

The following two chapters (IV and V) treat the results from each sample separately. This procedure serves to highlight the nature of each sample most clearly and provides a basis for a detailed comparison and discussion of differences and similarities. The latter task is undertaken in Chapter VI.

CHAPTER II

PROBLEMS AND ISSUES:

A REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

> Speech not only commits (the child) to the kind of voice he has and to the mode of speech he develops; it also defines him as one responded to by those around him with changed diction and attention . . . furthermore, a spoken word is a pact; there is an irrevocably committing aspect to an utterance remembered by others . . .
>
> Erikson, The Problem of Ego-identity

> Govinda said: "it seems to me, Siddhartha, that you still like to jest a little. I believe you and know that you have not followed any teacher, but have you not yourself, if not a doctrine, certain thoughts? Have you not discovered certain knowledge yourself that has helped you to live? It would give me great pleasure if you would tell me something about this." Siddhartha said: "Yes, I have had thoughts and knowledge here and there. Sometimes, for an hour or for a day, I have become aware of knowledge just as one feels life in one's heart. I have had many thoughts, but it would be difficult for me to tell you about them. But this is one thought that has impressed me, Govinda. Wisdom is not communicable. The wisdom which a wise man tries to communicate always sounds foolish."
>
> Hesse, Siddhartha

To begin an investigation of silent behavior in human interaction is to embark on a rather curious voyage. For silence, to the onlooker, is often mysterious and intriguing. We hardly need therapists or group leaders to tell us that silence in other human beings encourages the projection of one's own feelings and fantasies onto the other. Thus we feel, as implied in the Erikson quotation, that the quiet

person is one who is afraid of making a commitment, of expressing his feelings through language; in short, we may feel that he is a man (or woman) in hiding. Conversely, for reasons we will explore later, it is not uncommon for silent group members to be perceived as Govinda must have perceived Siddhartha: as a man possessed of some special wisdom or skills, perhaps a little terrifying and/or awesome besides. And, of course, as sophisticated (and Western) psychologists, we might suspect that Siddhartha is obviously (although delightfully) rationalizing his own incompetence.

This thesis is an attempt to move beyond projection, to penetrate the frustrating "blank screen" the silent group member so often is. Perhaps we can begin by examining some more intuitive guesses or "projections" concerning the low participator which other group members are likely to make about him. A common, and frequently voiced thought, is that somehow the quiet member is "shy" or scared, that he is likely to be passive, a recipient of action, rather than an active initiator because there is something about verbal interaction (or the group situation) which makes him anxious. This explanation, then, suggests that silence is a form of passive behavior (in the dictionary sense of being a recipient of action rather than an initiator of it) which has a defensive function, i.e., which guards the person against experiencing painful affective states. Pursuing this direction in the literature would lead us to the work of the "ego psychologists" and their emphasis on coping and adjustment mechanisms (e.g., Weisskopff, 1962).

A second idea one finds to be frequently voiced about the low participator is that he is somehow "satisfied" with his behavior as quiet member. It is thought

that he enjoys the role of "onlooker", of "observer", that, insofar as he is passive, he finds an enjoyment in that very passivity. The idea here, then, is that silence, lack of verbal activity, is in some sense intrinsically gratifying. This moves us towards questions originally asked by "classical" psychoanalytic theorists (e.g., Freud, Fenichel) about the "aims" of "instincts", about the symbolism inherent in passive or silent behavior, and about the functions of passivity or detachment in the "psychic economy" of the person. But there is another quality of the silent person which frequently elicits reaction in other group members. Often he is perceived to be in a puzzling predicament: by remaining silent, he is established (perceptually at least) as a person who can't be expected to contribute. Thus, if he is experiencing difficulties speaking initially, these are intensified by the emerging social structure of the group, especially the emergence of stronger expectations for behavior over time. This "plight" of the low participator is often perceived by group members, and attempts are often made to help the low participator out of his predicament. This suggests to us, of course, that verbal activity or inactivity may be a role property, and that we might be advised to look at the social psychological literature relevant to this idea. More subtly, however, it might be suggested that the concerned, nurturant behaviors directed toward the low participator have been the goal of his silent behavior. In other words, low verbal activity is a maneuver, an attempt to manipulate certain desired behavior from others. We might find it profitable then to look at the literature which focuses on relationships as the basic unit of analysis, i.e., which considers behavior as it is a property of an on-going interaction system.

To summarize: we can approach the problem of silent behavior in groups by considering low participation as a) a behavioral state which is intrinsically gratifying, and which therefore may have some positive valence for the individual, b) a behavior which is defensive in nature, c) a behavioral stance which has important implications for the reciprocal behavior of others, and d) a behavioral style which is maintained and reinforced by the behavior of others in the context of an emerging social structure. Let us now examine each of these possibilities in turn.

Silence (Passivity) as a Desired Goal-state

In discussing the possibility that silence may be a desired state or goal for the person, one which represents or symbolizes sought-after gratifications, we will need to define more clearly the term "passivity", since this term is often made synonymous with low verbal activity. Hart (1955) suggests that passivity is best considered, first, as an observed behavior, and, second, as that state in which the individual is the object of action rather than the cause of it.[1] Note, however, that passivity is a behavioral posture which may be actively sought; indeed, Freud's formulation of the aim of every instinct is that it "is in every instance satisfaction, which can only be obtained by abolishing the condition of stimulation in the source of the instinct, (Freud, 1963, p. 87)", i.e., returning the organism to a quiescent tension-free state. Freud brings out here a quality which is often noted by other theorists as being characteristic of passivity, namely, that it implies receiving without giving, taking without returning anything (Hart, 1955; Fenichel, 1945; Searles, 1961; Brody, 1964; Nagara, 1969).

This idea immediately suggests that passivity (and by implication, silent behavior) may be an expression of the helplessness and relative undifferentiated quality of the ego in early infancy, and perhaps also of a person's attempt to re-create with others that state of being in which a nurturant other supplied unqualified gratification. As Fenichel points out, in his review of psychoanalytic theory, this state is one in which the person feels totally or partially fused with the nurturant other, the primitive fantasy being that communication between the two is not necessary since they are in some sense the same organism. The implication is immediately clear that this is a non-verbal state, since the advent of language is associated with the differentiation of the self from other objects, and with the ego skill of anticipating events in the real world. Thus silence may symbolize a desire or longing on the part of the person to return to, or have a relationship with, a nurturant other in which he does not have to be active in seeking out gratifications (i.e., use speech).

Searles (1961), working intensively and deeply with a surprisingly large sample of psychotic patients over many years, has documented the extent to which silence in his therapeutic sessions is an attempt to achieve, or perpetuate, the kind of early, symbiotic, mother-child relatedness with the therapist described by Fenichel. He has tried to show that growth in ego autonomy, differentation of the self from others, and the ability of the individual to feel that he can independently supply himself with gratifications, depend to a large extent on the successful emergence from this stage.

An interesting elaboration of this point is made by Schmale (1964). He suggests that the affect of helplessness arises at a critical point in the evolution of

the self, namely, at the end of the oral stage when the mother comes to be perceived as a separate object and not the omnipotent, omnipresent gratifier with whom the child was fused. Echoing Erikson (1950), Schmale suggests that the resolution of this affect leads to basic trust. He suggests that maternal inconsistency and over-protection may mitigate the development of basic trust. This, of course, suggests that "basic mistrust" is in effect a representation of the persistence of helplessness engendered by the dramatic shift in perception of the self and other attendant upon acquisition of more active mastery, motility and, presumably, language skills. The implication, then, is that silence may represent an attempt to master helpiessness by reinvoking (through fantasy) that state in which the person felt more closely fused with the nurturing mother and thus less helpless. It is interesting that Schmale's speculations about the genesis of helplessness and maternal behaviors related to the lack of development of basic trust have been given some support by the longitudinal work of Kagan and Moss (1962) who found that maternal overprotectiveness in the first period (0-3 years) predicted to (or was correlated with) passivity in later life (where passivity was defined as a general tendency to withdraw or acquiesce in the face of attack or frustrating situations).

Brody (1964) has developed a similar idea through the analysis she carried out with two neurotic boys, although she came to somewhat different conclusions about the genesis of passive behavior. In line with the psychoanalytically oriented theorists discussed above, she suggests that the impulse life of the person may be seen as a balance between active and passive aims (to act directly upon objects or to be acted upon by objects) and that the central problem is to identify those forces which pre-

dispose the person toward one or the other. As above, she identifies the passive position with early stages of infantile dependence and with problems centering around the shift from dependence to independence and with the development of trust in nurturing objects. Thus passivity is seen as an attempt to regain the pleasures of that state in which one's needs were gratified without the necessity for independence and autonomy (see also Weisskopff, 1962). For instance, one of her patients symbolically attempted to recreate, over and over, a sanctuary to which he could retreat when the dangers of reality became too unpleasant. Brody suggests that these fantasies expressed a wish to be united with his mother, enveloped as it were by her body. This of course is similar to the theme of unity and fusion with a "magical mother" (Hart, 1961) expressed more profoundly by Searles' more deeply disturbed patients. Again, Brody also notes that the patient's silences seem to reflect this desire to regress to this primitive, pre-verbal level.

Contrary to Schmale's contentions about the possible relevance of maternal overprotection, Brody cites evidence that the genesis of passive longings in her patients seem to arise from powerful and developmentally early separation experiences from the mother, either in terms of early pressures for independence or in terms of maternal absence. Brody suggests that this did not allow these children to adequately resolve those problems centering around obtaining psychological supplies. Indeed, there is certainly good evidence to suggest that the frustration of "dependency needs" results in increases in dependent behavior (Becker, 1965; Hartup, 1963). As Hartup summarizes it, "the childhood experiences appearing to influence behavior most heavily are parental frustration and punishment of dependence" (p. 351). On the surface, then, there seems to be a contradiction between Kagan and

Moss and Brody, the former suggesting that passivity results from maternal overprotection, the latter to frustration of needs for nurturance. It is certainly possible, however, that in the former case we are dealing with parents who punish attempts at aggressive and assertive behavior in their children (leaving them only with the behavioral option of passivity) and in the latter case with parents who managed to elicit powerful and unresolved needs for nurturance and (perhaps) some problems of trust and reliance on others. The punishment hypothesis leads us to considering silent behavior as defensive (see below).

In sum, the theorists considered above tend to focus on silence as symbolic of that period of life when the child is most helpless, most passive (acted upon), least differentiated from others, and most concerned with problems of getting or receiving supplies from others. Silence is then a way of "acting out" a wish or desire to recreate an early, preverbal state of unity with the nurturing other (the mother). Extrapolating, we might suggest that silence allows the person to indulge in the (unconscious?) fantasy that the nurturing other (the group leader?) can read his thoughts, can know what he wants or needs without the need for speech. Following Erikson, (1950; see also Jones, 1968), this might also lead us to suspect that the silent person is likely to be concerned with, or conflicted about, those issues which theoretically characterize the first psychosexual stage of life. Thus we might expect the low participator to be struggling with the problem of trust or mistrust in others, perhaps centering around the issue of trustworthy maternal persons. Thus "not-talking" might represent the individual's struggle with "opening up" to others, i.e., with trusting others with parts of the self. Moreover, if it is true that the center of concern for the child in this stage is the mouth, then we might very well expect speech itself (or

perhaps the act of speaking) to be weighed with personal meanings, affective intensity or motivational consequences. Again following Erikson, one could imagine a divergence in the silent person from the "normal" mode of "incorporation" to a mode of "oral-retention." In other words, speech content itself might be seen by the silent person as a "giving up" of supplies which have been hard to come by (i.e., wrested from untrustworthy others). Or speech may come to be seen as a means of bartering with others for desired supplies (love, affection, support); silence may be a way of saying, "I'll give up part of myself, but only when I'm sure that I'll get something in return."

The linking of orality to depression as explored in the psycho-analytic literature (Abraham, 1927, Fenichel, 1945) is also suggestive of the meanings of speech as related to problems of this stage.

To summarize: this literature suggests that 1) low participators may well be struggling with problems related to the satisfaction of eeds for nurturance, 2) with dependency on others, 3) with problems of trust, 4) may be acting out some primitive form of relatedness to others. It is unclear what this might mean in terms of child-training patterns. However, the suggestions are that we might look for over-protection on the mother's part, or for severe early frustrations.

Silence (passivity) as a Defense

In the section above, it was suggested that silence might be a fantasied recreation of a desired relationship with others. In the section which follows, we pursue the idea that silence represents an attempt on the part of the person to deal with painful affects, that silence is a protective or defensive maneuver designed to

reduce these painful affects. We might say that in the previous section, the individual was considered to be fixated at a primitive stage of development; here we will consider material which would suggest that such primitive functioning involves a regression in the face of stressful internal or external conditions (there being no implication that the two are mutually exclusive). This notion suggests also that we might enter the literature to look for those issues, conflicts, crises, and so on which might be particularly related to the use of silence as a defense.

It seems clear from the literature that both silence and speech defects (stuttering, speech "tics") are associated with both states of inner conflict and states of anxiety. Thus Ferrulo (1963), Clevinger (1961) and Schwartzenberg (1964) have all shown that individuals rated as "poor speakers" on a variety of criteria were rated (or rated themselves, as in the Ferrulo study) as significantly less socially and emotionally adjusted, as displaying more manifest anxiety (Schwartzenberg), and as lacking in self-confidence. Two recent summaries of the personality characteristics of stutterers (Murphy and Fitzsimmons, 1960; Sergeant, 1962) have also suggested that the stutterer is significantly higher on indices of inner turmoil and maladjustment. Although this data is intriguing, an obvious problem is the direction of causation. Is the fact of being a "poor speaker" or having a speech defect a result of the inner turmoil or vice-versa? Mahl (1956) has directly induced anxiety in an interview situation. He found that the silence-speech ratio increased as a function of the anxiety-induction. Unfortunately, he does not clearly specify the nature of the interview situation.

In what sense, given that silence and anxiety may well go together (although obviously not necessarily together), can we speak of silence as a defense? More

specifically, what would be the possible sources of the anxiety against which silence might be a defense? Perhaps we can make some headway here if we think for a moment about the group situation. Certainly an obvious fact about any small group in which there is opportunity for verbal interaction is that it at the same time provides opportunities for people to display themselves to others. It is an arena in which self-definition can take place. We may then ask: what anxieties might be associated with this situation? How might they be alleviated by silent behavior?

Two major approaches to the specific fear of presenting oneself to an audience (erythrophobia, or stage fright) are found in the literature. The first approach arises from the psychoanalytic literature and is sustained primarily through clinical data. As presented by Fenichel (1945), any specific, focussed fear, or phobia, is a projection of an internally experienced threat onto an external object so that the individual, by avoiding the external situation, is able to deal with the internal threat. What might this internal threat be? In the case of stage fright, Fenichel suggests that the person fears his own exhibitionism, that is, his desire to be looked at, to display himself to others, to be admired (or at least noticed) by some audience.

This idea of course raises the same question: why should the person fear to exhibit himself to others? Fenichel reasons as follows: the motive to exhibit oneself stems from the (unconscious) desire for reassurance or support against castration fears, that is, fears (in the male, at least) that the genitals will be harmed or mutilated (or in the broadest sense, that one will be demasculinized). The fear is that this attempt to get reassurance will backfire, that the person will instead be

rejected or punished rather than supported. As Fenichel puts it, ". . . the unconscious content of . . . stage-fright types of fear . . . is not only the idea that exhibitionistic actions may produce castration and loss of love but more specifically the idea that what is done to protect the person's self-esteem against danger may result in the opposite, in his complete annihilation"

Now, what is Fenichel saying here? It would appear that he is suggesting that the person suffering from stage fright is in conflict between his "dependency" or nurturance needs (psychological support, admiration, "love") and needs to raise his self-esteem or to be reassured against certain threats to the self, and his subjective assessment of the probability that negative consequences will follow when he attempts to satisfy these needs. A complication here is that the person may not only be afraid of hostility emanating from others, but may also be afraid of his own aggression towards potentially nurturing agents if his needs for more passive gratifications (see section above) are not met. Depending on the intensity of these needs, the person may feel, at the extreme, that frustration of nurturance needs may result in destruction of the self and the other.

Fenichel thus puts his finger on a number of possible issues for low participators. First, he again stresses the role of problems centered on the oral stage and implies that, for some persons who have not resolved these issues, the act of speech in a small group is seen as an attempt to obtain nurturance as well as an attempt to receive assurances about fears centering on phallic strivings. Fears of rejection (which would mean a drop in self-esteem) and/or fears of being unable to control one's own aggression lead the individual to maintain silence.

The notion that the silent person is one who fears that he may be unable to control his own aggressive impulses receives some support theoretically and in the clinical data. Hirsch (1966) has pointed out that silence may be a self-imposed "ego-constriction" resulting from the fear of being unable to control one's impulses. Horney (1945) has suggested a similar formulation in her description of the person who adopts a stance of detachment or withdrawal in relation to others. She suggests that this "moving away" from others represents an attempt by the person to resolve his conflicts by putting himself in situations where he does not have to feel any feelings toward other human beings. This impoverishment of the personality, the sense of the self as "empty" is seen in its most extreme form in some schizophrenic patients (Searles, 1961) who experience themselves literally as hollowed out, or as landscapes in which nothing can grow. Parenthetically, it is interesting to note that discussions of depression often point to the aggressivization of orality. This phenomenon is associated with the depressed person's feeling that external sources of nurturance are not accessible to him. Thus, the depression represents not only the person's sense of incompetence (Bibring, 1963) at being able to control external sources of supply, but also conflicts about expressing aggression directly, especially toward potential sources of nurturance (the depression perhaps being an expression of aggression turned inwards). It is interesting in this regard that Leary (1957) found that group members (in therapy groups) who were most silent were those who scored highest on the Depression scale of the MMPI.

Fenichel, then, is suggesting that one set of issues underlying stage fright is an important relationship between obtaining psychological "supplies" such as re-assurance and the control of aggression. By implication, this suggests that the problem

of trust and mistrust is importantly related to problems of the control and expression of aggression. Sontag (1969) in a fascinating personal memoir, on a recent trip to Sweden has suggested that, for the Swedish people, there seems to be a close relationship between a chronic mistrust of people, the fear of expressing aggression, and difficulties in interacting verbally:

> Talking apparently never ceases to be a problem for Swedes: a lean across an abyss. Every time a conversation starts, you can feel the physical tension mount between the speakers . . . conversations are always in danger of running out of gas, both from the imperative of secretiveness and from the positive lure of silence . . . the general mode here[is]of habitual suspicion of people, in the teeth of which all ordinary transactions must be conducted . . . not only secretiveness makes the Swedes silent; it's a whole system of anxieties, a perception of the world as extremely dangerous, treacherous. The source of treachery is . . . themselves as much as the other--though it's anyone's guess which has psychological priority, that of another's aggression or of one's own. In this taboo-ridden country, perhaps the most notable taboo is raised against signs of aggressiveness. [She then goes on to document numerous instances of the fear of expressing hostility directly].

It is interesting to note that there is a tremendous amount of ambivalent feeling expressed by the Swedish people about liquor and drinking, which, Sontag feels, is expressive of the Swedish ambivalence about expressing feelings directly, but which perhaps underlines, in light of our earlier discussion, the relationship between oral conflicts and the expression of aggression.

Fenichel's analysis of stage-fright phobia also suggests that conflicts concerning the expression of aggression have another source. Here we focus on his contention that anxiety about exhibiting one's self to others stems from castration anxiety. It will be recalled that, in psychosexual theory, castration anxiety (at least for men) lies at the core of Oedipal conflicts. But, indeed, it is not necessary to accept the reality or importance of the "Oedipal situation" in order

for it to have heuristic value for us as we try to pin down those issues against which silence might be a defense.

It may be helpful here to review briefly the nature of the Oedipal crisis. The genesis of this crisis seems to lie in the child's capacity to perceive himself as a) being part of a network of more complex relationships and b) as possessing initiative, i.e., the potential for controlling some desired area of privilege. Since this "area of privilege" is the mother, i.e., the source of early gratifications, and since, in psychoanalytic theory, this relationship is sexualized, then castration anxiety arises as part of the sense of rivalry with the father as a competitor for this precious resource. Thus castration anxiety is in some sense a metaphor for the child's struggle with relinquishing unrealistic conceptions of himself and his power in the family. The crisis for the child, then, centers on his ability to absorb the blow to self-esteem incurred by discovering that one is, after all, a child, and to retain the sense of initiative (see Erikson, 1950) which originally led to the attempts to compete with the father. Complicating this picture is the ambivalence in the feelings which the child directs towards the parents (and other competitors). That is, the child feels both positive and negative feelings towards father and mother. This idea raises the possibility that the expression of aggression will come to be inhibited because it arouses anxiety about the destruction of loved objects. Moreover, a lack of resolution of the Oedipal crisis may lead to an inhibition of initiative in general (for clinical evidence, see Weisskopff, 1962). Indeed, as Schmale (1964) has pointed out, repression of sexual and aggressive feelings related to the oedipal crisis may intensify the defensive passive posture, since the person may feel controlled by some part of the personality (that is, the repressed feelings) over which

he has no control. Finally, lack of resolution of oedipal issues may lead to a particularly difficult set of feelings about authority figures, such that the person fears the hostility of the authority, but also fears his own (unresolved) hostility toward that figure (mixed in, it will be remembered, with the desire to be close, identified with, loved by the other).

Again, whether we accept the reality of an "oedipal period" is not so important here. What is suggested is that, if silence represents a defensive passivity, then the defense may be triggered by fear of expressing initiative, fear of competition, and fear of expressing ambivalent feelings toward authority figures. This description of the Oedipal situation, however, does not exhaust its complexities.

For there are other components of that situation, as classically described, which may shed some light on the sources of discomfort against which silence might defend, for instance, conflicts about sex-role identity. It will be recalled that in the previous section, we suggested that silence might reflect the acting out of a fantasy of primitive, pre-verbal identification with the mother and represent a longing on the person's part to thereby avoid the difficult tasks of becoming independent and autonomous. The Oedipal situation has also been theoretically related to certain aspects of personal identity. In his original formulation, Freud (1943) suggested that the Oedipal situation was resolved when the child "identified" with the same-sexed parent. Following Bronfenbrenner (1963), we can see that Freud used the term "identification" in two senses: as a <u>motive</u> and as a <u>behavior</u>. It is in this context that Freud, and investigators after him, discussed the problem of sex-role identity. Freud suggested that the child identified with the parent (i.e., became like him)

"out of fear," that is, in order to overcome the imagined threat from the perceived rival. Actually, this speculation ignores Freud's own observation (e.g., in the case of Little Hans, 1963) that the child feels ambivalence toward the same-sexed parent and might in fact identify "out of love," that is, from a desire to reproduce characteristics of the loved object when he or she is not immediately present (see Mowrer, 1956 and Slater, 1960, especially the latter's distinction between "personal" and "positional" identification.) Mussen and Distler (1959), in a well-known study, have shown that identification may indeed be a function of both rewarding and punishing qualities of the father. In their study, boys who were most strongly identified with their fathers, and highly masculine in their interests, tended to view their fathers as potent sources of both rewards and punishments, rather than one or the other. The least masculine identified boys tended to view their parents, as a unit, as being more punitive than the parents of highly masculine identified boys.

We can see a link to silence behavior here, perhaps most relevant for males. One would expect that the male who is less well-identified with the masculine role is less likely to be assertive, take leadership, or be active as is more stereotypical of males in this culture. Indeed, if he preserves stronger vestiges of the more developmentally primitive identification with the mother (a theoretical supposition), then we might expect him to take a more passive, less active role in group interactions. An interesting bit of empirical evidence for this contention is provided by Leventhal et al (1968) who found that males and females with less adequate sex-role adjustment (as measured by the Guilford-Zimmerman Temperament Scale) were much more likely to inhibit expressions of aggression in frustrating situations. In another bit of indirect evidence, Epstein and Liverant (1963) found that

low masculine identified boys conditioned significantly less easily than high masculine identified boys when the reinforcements were delivered by a male experimenter. They suggest that the low masculine identified boys were in a greater state of ambivalence and conflict generated by relationships with male authority figures. For male low participators, then, we might expect that silence indeed would be a defense against anxieties generated by those conflicts which, we have suggested, are theoretically associated with the Oedipal situation. The implication here is that, for one reason or another, the child was unable, or unwilling, to identify completely with the father, and thus is re-experiencing in the group situation very much the same kind of ambivalent fears and attractions he felt much earlier in life.

We are now turning from a discussion of critical components of the Oedipal situation to a consideration of modes of adjustment. If the balance between feelings of threat and attraction shifts toward the threat side in relation to the threatening authority, we might expect a number of possible "solutions" to be adopted by children that would be relevant to low verbal participation. This would be particularly true, it seems intuitively, if parents were both "restrictive" and "hostile" (Becker, 1964). A restrictive parent is one who not only places many demands and restrictions on the child's behavior, but also insists on strict compliance with them. A hostile parent is one who either directs hostile affect toward the child in conjunction with demands for compliance with restrictions or whose affectional relationship with the child is confused, conflicted, or otherwise inhibited. We might expect, for instance, that a child who had hostile and/or restrictive parents is likely to turn his aggression back upon himself (see discussion of depression above). Sears (1961) has found some

empirical confirmation for this contention. Interestingly, he has also found that children who experienced restrictiveness and hostility from parents also exhibited greater inner turmoil and conflict (see Epstein and Liverant above). We might also expect that, in line with this data, the person might adopt a more submissive "defeated" posture in relation to the authority figure. That is, he might try to defend against "dangerous" aggressive, phallic impulses by adopting a subordinate position to the threatening authority (a condition which might shade over into masochism--see discussion below). Interestingly, Levy has found some evidence that mothers who were restrictive but warm toward their children tended to produce children who were submissive, dependent, polite, neat and obedient (1943). This fact suggests some ambiguity in the nature of the conditions which produce the "maximally compliant" person. We may be dealing here, however, with two things: parental punishment of autonomous, assertive responses by the child (the overprotective parent) and/or the child's anxiety associated with expression of aggression toward a threatening other (the rejecting parent; see discussion of "silence as an aim" above).

Finally, the response to the threat of the Oedipal parent may have an impact on the developing conscience of the child and, especially, on the relative severity of the "superego" experienced by the person. Freud's initial suggestion about this phenomenon was that the strength of the hostile affect felt toward the father was a measure of the severity of the superego, since the child ultimately introjected this projected hostility and turned it against the self in the form of guilt feelings. Erikson (1950), taking some exception to this, has suggested that it is the perceived failure of "initiative" relative to obtaining desired familial

positions which may leave the person with a diffuse sense of guilt which persists into later life. The more recent literature on moral behavior and feeling has suggested that these two things are products of rather complicated learning histories and should not be understood as the products of single, "critical" events. Schwartz (1968) has shown empirically that there is no clear relationship between moral standards and moral behavior, and that the former is predictive of the latter only in very special circumstances. Kohlberg (1964) has summarized the literature indicating that there is no necessary relationship between moral affect (guilt) and moral behavior.

Whatever the case may be, it is not hard to imagine that individuals with overly censorious consciences might find it difficult to voice any remark in a group situation for fear it does not measure up to internal standards. Indeed, early experience with attempts to meet externally established standards may result in similar feelings in groups (see discussion of Paivio below).

We have been considering silence as a mechanism or device for dealing with anxiety associated with displaying the self to others. This suggestion has been explored intensively by Paivio (1965) in his studies of audience sensitivity and audience anxiety. Paivio focuses on the role of others as evaluators and reinforcers of individual behavior. The extent to which an audience comes to have rewarding or aversive properties for an individual is considered to be a function of an individual's immediate needs, the situational requirements, and his past history of social reinforcement. Paivio distinguishes between audience anxiety, a state aroused by the presence of others defined by the person as observers, and audience sensitivity, an "experientially determined predisposition to be nervous before observers (p. 176) Paivio and his associates have developed several measures of the latter, most

prominently the Audience Sensitivity Inventory (ASI) and the Children's Audience Sensitivity Inventory (CASI) and have demonstrated some validity for both scales. For example, the ASI was found to correlate significantly with a projective measure of stage fright, absolute levels of palmar sweating, and with the stage fright items of the Taylor Anxiety Scale. In an interesting convergence with Fenichel, a factor analysis of the CASI yielded two factors, which Paivio labeled "exhibitionism" and "self-consciousness."

We will withhold discussion of Paivio's attempts to manipulate situational properties in relation to audience sensitivity until a later section. Here we would consider his studies of the developmental origins of stage fright. Paivio makes two assumptions: audiences acquire aversive properties because the observation and evaluation of an individual's behavior is a necessary condition for the delivery of punishment to him and because the "primary audiences" for the development of audience sensitivity are "significant others," i.e., parents, teachers, and peers. Specifically, he hypothesized that audience sensitivity would be positively related to the frequency of reward experience with parents (actually it is not clear if Paivio is talking about the ratio of one to the other or the absolute frequency of one as opposed to the other).

In general, these hypotheses were confirmed: children who were rewarded infrequently but punished or negatively evaluated by parents for failure to meet achievement standards were highest in audience sensitivity. Further, the parents of children high in audience sensitivity had low achievement standards, suggesting that these children not only failed to reach even these low standards, but were frequently punished for their failures as well. This would suggest that in group situations

which arouse achievement concerns, the person high in audience sensitivity is most likely to remain silent as a function of the anxiety he is experiencing. We might note here that Paivio has some direct evidence of this in 12 year old males. He asked these children to read two stories to an experimenter, and two in front of an audience. He found that children high in audience sensitivity drastically reduced the length of the story told in front of the audience in contrast to the experimenter condition (the audience was 6 adults). This indeed would seem to suggest that the person who is low in verbal output is suffering greater than normal audience sensitivity, or stage-fright, perhaps induced by his definition of the situation as one relevant to achievement behaviors.

There is other evidence that punitive, unaffectionate achievement training may be implicated in low verbal participation. Peckarsky (1952) found that mothers whose children were late in talking were worrisome, anxious and neurotic women who were highly critical of their children. Andersland (1961), dealing with children suffering from severe speech disturbances, found that children who had difficulties in articulation had mothers who were hostile and rejecting. Spache (1957) found that shy withdrawn non-readers had "severely" overprotective parents, where severity refers to the tendency to punish the child's attempt to act autonomously.

Some other findings of Paivio's are of interest here. He found that special training in audience-oriented skills, (e.g., singing and dancing) correlated negatively with girls' audience sensitivity, amount of social activity engaged in by the mother correlated negatively with both boys' and girls' audience sensitivity, and that the amount of social activity engaged in by the father correlated negatively

with the boys' audience sensitivity (it should be noted that these correlations, while significant, were low, averaging -.25). What is of particular interest here is that the parent's "modelability" as well as direct pressures to perform in sex-appropriate ways, seems to predict to low audience anxiety. This data seems strikingly like the material reviewed earlier which focused on the possible relationship of inadequate or confused sexual identifications to low verbal participation.

Mullany (1963), in a recent study of self-disclosure, has also discovered that this variable may reflect similar early learning experiences. He found that individuals who were low in self-disclosure (as measured by the Jourard self-disclosure scale) tended to see their fathers as lax in discipline, to center more affection on the mother, and to be less identified with either father or mother than high disclosers. Here we can again see some of the same dynamics operating as described above. Further, he found that low disclosers participated in fewer family ceremonies or joint ventures. Thus, there seemed to be a pattern of low social interaction in general among family members. The idea that low participation is a result of little opportunity for verbal interaction or little reinforcement for verbal activity receives some support from other sources. For instance, Brodbeck and Irwin (1946) found that children living in families were found to vocalize more and to use more advanced forms of vocalization than children living in hospitals or institutions in the first 6 months of life. McCarthy (1953) cites evidence to show that prolonged and intense care by a single mother was most predictive of vocalization in the child. These studies may also provide some support for the hypothesis that language production is a function of identification with a loved, affectionate object, that the child vocalizes in order to reinvoke the loved parent (see Mowrer, 1950).

It will be noted that we have been considering silence, insofar as it is a defense, within the intrapsychic economy of the person. That is, we have not considered the interpersonal impact of silence on others, nor what silence might mean for the person in terms of maintaining relationships with others. This is the concern of our next section. Before we embark on this task, however, it may be of some interest to look at the literature on authoritarian personality structure as described, for example, by Sanford (1966). It is fascinating to note that not only are the primary personality conflicts and areas of concern similar to those we have already suggested as relevant to the silent group member, but we also have some evidence that more authoritarian individuals are likely to be less verbally active in group settings. What are the areas of concern for the authoritarian? As Sanford describes them (1966, pp. 148-153), these are:

a. concerns with dependency: the authoritarian has powerful, but strongly repressed, yearnings to be dependent on others, to be taken care of, to receive support and affection in fairly primitive ways. Much of the authoritarian's strict emphasis on "appropriate" sex-role behavior is a defensive compensation for these yearings. It is fascinating, in light of our previous discussion, that one frequently finds, in the clinical studies of authoritarian personalities, that they often experienced early and often traumatic losses of nurturant supplies (e.g., the mother dies).

b. hostility against the father: the father is often perceived by the person as a distant, cold, and ungiving person, who frustrated the attempts of the child to get close. Here we see two things operating: the fear of hostility directed against a potentially nurturing parent, and a possible "identification with the ag-

FIGURE 1

SUMMARY OF HYPOTHETICAL CONNECTIONS BETWEEN INTRAPERSONAL ISSUES AND SILENCE BEHAVIOR IN GROUPS AS A DEFENSE

Areas of conflicts and fear	Connection to silence behavior	Developmental antecedents	Empirical evidence
Castration	counter-exhibitionism	restrictive-hostile discipline	Baldwin, 1949; Sears, 1961
loss of love, dependency	regression to preverbal level of relatedness	overprotection or early deprivation	clinical evidence only
expressing aggression, competition, sibling rivalry, initiative	silence as a mode of impulse control	warmly restrictive discipline; or hostile	clinical evidence only
identity confusions	silence as expression of submissiveness	lack of adequate model; identification with the aggressor; inability to discard more primitive identifications	Mussen and Distler, 1959; Epstein and Liverant, 1963; Paivio, 1964
competence and incompetence	fear of being judged	low reward, high punishment for failure to meet achievement standards	Paivio, 1964

Note: Arrows indicate pairings of conflict areas or issues.

gressor" (see below); it is interesting to speculate that the authoritarian's silence (or the silence of the silent person in general) is a reflection of an underlying identification with a "strong, silent" person.

c. submission, passivity, and homosexuality: as in our review above, the suggestion here is that the solution to the ambivalence experienced during the Oedipal period is to adopt a posture of submission to the figure whose power is seen as irresistible, overpowering and dangerous--and then to gain a sense of adequacy by participating in that power vicariously (see Freud, 1943). The further suggestion here is that one may indeed receive the warmth and love one desires from the powerful figure by becoming a positive, sexualized object for him (as above, this may in fact be an acting out of the earlier identification with the mother and, in fact, points to the fact that "Oedipal rivalry" works both against and for the same-sexed parent--but this notion is most certainly suppositional). We can note how it might dovetail with "castration anxiety"; the submissive, passive solution in effect suggests that the person has become emasculated or, better, demasculinized. The obvious implication for relationships with men in general is that they are likely to operate primarily along a dominance-submission basis.

What is the outcome of the above? Sanford has summarized the many attitudinal and interpersonal manifestations of dealing with these problems and conflicts. Of most interest to us are tendencies toward docile conformity, tendencies to overvalue significant others, and repression of overt hostility toward them. As Sanford points out, the strongly externalizing quality of the authoritarian's style (which is seen so clearly in his attitudes toward outgroups) lends itself

to very little tolerance of inner conflict and little self-criticism. The intensity of the repression and the amount of energy necessary to maintain it leaves the authoritarian person with a strong dependence on external authority and, as well, an attitude of hostile watchfulness toward others (see discussion of trust and mistrust above).

Do we have any evidence that this might be related to silent behavior in groups? Stern (1964) cites a study of a social science instructor who was assigned, without his knowledge, a class of high authoritarian students. He found that not only did they seem to lack curiosity and initiative (see discussion above) but it was also very difficult to get them involved in discussion. This was true even though direct questions revealed that they were well-informed on the subject. This behavior was dramatically different from a group of nonauthoritarians to whom the teacher was assigned. Bass (1953) found in unstructured problem-solving groups that non-leaders (i.e., individuals who did not take the initiative in the problem-solving attempts and who participated less verbally) were more stereotyped and conventional, submissive and higher on the F-Scale. Altman and McGinnies (1960) found that individuals high on the F-scale tended to minimize (or not to perceive) opinion discrepancies between themselves and others, and therefore talked less in group discussion (but see Slater, 1963, below, for an important exception to these studies). We have reviewed in this section some of the possible sources of anxiety to which silence might be a response. Figure 1 summarizes this material indicating the primary fear or conflict, the postulated link to silent behavior, suggested developmental antecedents and empirical confirmation, if any.

Silence as an interpersonal manipulation or maneuver

Up to this point, we have focused on silence as it represents an attempt to deal with complex internal dynamics. But silence, like any other human behavior, has implications for the behavior of others. In this section, we will explore the meaning of silent behavior in terms of the silent person's relationships with others. Leary (1957) has made an important attempt to bridge the chasm between the language of "psychodynamics" or intrapsychic phenomena and a language of interpersonal behavior. He suggests that individuals attempt to manipulate others in order to satisfy basic needs, but primarily to relieve anxiety. Any given manipulation Leary calls an "interpersonal reflex" and suggests that we can think of any "reflex" as pulling behavior (or as an attempt to pull behavior) from others which will reduce disturbing affects for the person. In effect, the individual, through repeated use of an "interpersonal reflex" trains others to behave toward him in certain desired ways. An

interpersonal behavior, then, is basically an extension of the concept of a defense. Thus, the question we ask is: what kind of relationship is the person trying to establish by his behavior? What behavior would he like to elicit from others and how does he go about doing this?

A good place to start here may be with the problem with which we began the discussion in the last section of this review: the problem of silence as an expression of a phobia, more specifically, erythrophobia or stage-fright. Andrews (1966) in a brilliant synthesis, suggests that, interpersonally, the phobic person is characterized by two things: a) by the expression of fearfulness, weakness and helplessness which tend to evoke from others the care and protection which is part of what we call dependency relationships, b) an avoidance of activity which involves independent, self-assertive handling of difficult or anxiety-arousing situations, c) the perception of self-assertion by the phobic person as incompatible with the pattern of dependency described in a. In other words, assertion is seen as incompatible with the kind of dependent closeness the phobic person elicits from others. The phobia, then, is in the service of maintaining a generalized pattern of relationships with others, especially strong nurturant others. This pattern may be seen in school phobias, the data of which Andrews summarizes by suggesting that the school phobia "is not so much a fear of school as it is a fear of being separated from the mother" (p. 458). And as Fenichel (1945) points out, "a common factor in all phobias is the regression to childhood. In childhood, dangers could be overcome by finding protection at the hands of more or less omnipotent objects in the external world. The phobic, who fears his impulses or the subsequent punishment, tries to regain the favorable situation where external protection was available. In

this sense, all phobics behave like children, whose anxieties are soothed if the mother sits by the bedside and holds their hand" (p. 206).

Thus Andrews points to interpersonal manifestations of critical issues for phobics we delineated earlier (see discussion of Fenichel and Paivio). First, the person with stage-fright is one who feels the regressive pull of the developmentally more primitive relationship with the omnipotent mother. Second, he also tends to experience as incompatible feelings of dependency and loving gratitude and feelings of assertiveness. This conflict may be true within the dependency relationship or outside of it (although the suggestion here is that the phobic person tries to create this relationship with most other people).

If we define "assertiveness" more broadly to also include feelings of hostility, then we may also see dynamics here similar to those reviewed above. Leary (1957) in describing those individuals who use what he calls "docile-dependent operations" to elicit protective behavior from others, and who tend to complain of phobias, suggests that "the phobic (person) cannot directly attribute hostile, dangerous motives to real, known figures but unconsciously displaces motives to figures or stimuli which are vague, and psychologically distant. One effect of this is to allow the (person) to preserve the consciously conforming, docile relationship with close figures against whom he may feel negative, rebellious emotions" (p. 295). What is fascinating is the overlap with the authoritarian tendency to "docile conformity" and, as well, the tendency to make "saints" out of the protective nurturing agents and to displace hostility to more remote targets.

Andrews also summarizes evidence that this dependent-avoidant pattern arises, is learned, in early interpersonal (familial) situations in which such behavior

was adaptive for the child. He suggests that what the "warmly over protective" mother (warmly restrictive in Becker's terms) teaches her children is that the exercise of independent assertiveness and the expression of emotions connected with this will cause the parent to withdraw nurturant support. In fact, it is the parent who, in essence, is most conflicted about the joint expression of dependency and assertion on the part of the child. As Andrews puts it, "the mother's problem around separation antedates the problem in the child" (p. 461). Note, again, how frequently, in discussing developmental antecedents of silent behavior, the problem of separation, satisfaction of needs for nurturance, and conflicts around becoming independent, appear.

This discussion suggests an important thing for understanding silent behavior in groups. If the silent person is in fact phobic, then his silence should be seen as an attempt to reduce anxiety about group situations by manipulating others to come to his rescue. In a sense, of course, when others take responsibility for what happens in the group, part of the manipulative attempt is successful. On the other hand, if it is true that the silent person is likely to see self-assertiveness as incompatible with others taking responsibility for him, it will obviously be even more difficult for him to break his silence.

The phobic pattern, then, is part of a general strategy for dealing with difficult or anxiety-arousing situations. It may be helpful, then, in discovering the determinants of the behavior of the silent person to inquire about other ways in which silence might serve as a way of manipulating, "pulling" desired behavior from others. Let us proceed by an approach used previously in this review. It will be remembered that we took some of the "classic" stage-related problems of develop-

ment as having implications for issues with which silent persons might struggle. We focused particularly on the "oral" and "phallic" stages of psychosexual development. It is the stage intervening between them, the "anal-urethral-muscular" stage, which invites our attention here. Developmentally, the advent of this stage is signaled by the more independent control the child has over his own musculature, with the attendant ability to be more autonomous, to explore independently, to expand outward from earlier helpless dependency. It is not only a time when we see for the first time signs of emerging individuality, but also a period in which the issue of manipulation becomes very central. Jones (1968) puts it very nicely when he suggests that major themes of this period include affirmation, negation, exclusion, postponement. For indeed it is at this period that parents put forth their first major demands for behavior control; in Fraiberg's lovely image (1962), they are the "missionaries" come to tame the wild "savage."

The toilet-training vignette is a metaphor for this particular interpersonal tension: the need for mutual regulation of impulse-gratification, on one hand, and the social necessity for controlling impulse-expression on the other. Many theorists (Erikson, 1950; Sullivan, 1953; Searles, 1961; Fraiberg, 1962) have suggested that problems of power and control are very central here, and have pointed out that there is a real danger in the child's perceiving himself in a power struggle with the parent over the use of his own body. The issue is, of course, that if the parents also conceptualize the problem of regulation in power terms, they must inevitably "win"; they are the powerful ones vis-a-vis the child, who is still dependent upon them in so many ways. The possible consequences of conflict at this stage, in terms of interpersonal manipulations, seem to center upon the child's attempt to protect his autonomy

through retentiveness (in the broadest sense, holding on to parts of the self in attempt to thwart the encroachment of others) or expulsion. Thus, both overcompliance (in the classic, i.e., sense of the "anal character") or rebellion can be seen as attempts to maintain autonomy when one feels this is threatened.

A relevent interpersonal strategy, then, has to do with "resistance" and "stubbornness," that is, silence may be seen as either an attempt to get others "off your back" or as a way of expressing resistance toward those likely to attack autonomy, a form of behavior often called "passive-aggressive." Mann et al. (1967) have an interesting discussion of those group members who perceive the leader as manipulative and narcissistic, i.e., acting out his own needs at the expense of others' need satisfaction. In light of our previous discussion, it is interesting that individuals who perceive the leader this way tend to be concerned with the fear of being passive, as if they were experiencing the regressive pull of unfulfilled dependency needs. Indeed, in one manifestation of this perception (which Mann labels "counter-dependent flight") the group member acts as if the leader (and perhaps the group) were maliciously or sadistically continuing to stir up these dependency needs, and the member must therefore put plenty of "distance" between himself and the frustrating other. On the other hand, in a second manifestation of this perception (labeled "resistant-complaining") the leader is felt to attack the person's autonomy (and therefore his identity) much more directly. The leader may be felt to be scornful of the group member, he may be felt to be a Machiavellian manipulator (the "experimenter myth"), and, as above, extraordinarily narcissistic about the effects of his behavior on others. This fantasy of the manipulative leader (sometimes, unfortunately, not so much of a fantasy) requires that the individual fight back, but

since one is dealing with such a powerful other, the safest course would seem to be to strike back in passive-aggressive ways. We would suggest that this may be what the silent person is up to. If, in fact, the intent is "passive-aggressive," then it may very well be that the manipulation is designed to get the other frustrated enough to "lay off." The other side of this coin, of course, is that the person who stands "in opposition" often does become a center of concern: what is to be done with him? So silence might then be an attempt to crack the "narcissistic barrier" which the parent is perceived to have thrown up, to make the "parent" pay "real" attention to the group member.

It may be interesting to note here the possibility, often mentioned in the clinical literature (see summary in Weisskopff, 1962) of the "analization" of speech. That is, forms of behavior which are characteristic of eliminative processes are displaced to speech production. Thus, one might find that individuals who have difficulties contributing in class, talking to others in general, etc., have displaced a "retentive" mode to the speech function.

We might also mention in this connection the rather obvious fact that it is during this "anal" period, when problems of control and autonomy are so central, that the child is first learning to use speech in a socialized, adaptive way. As Laffel (1965) points out, that since it is the mother who gives the gift of language to the child, one could think of no better way to oppose and frustrate her than by subverting language learning and/or verbal production. Although this author knows of no data relevant to this point, the impact of personality growth processes and developmental tasks on the acquisition, content, and structure of speech certainly warrants investigation.

We have suggested that silence may be manipulative in terms of a "phobic" assertion-avoiding, dependency-seeking strategy and in terms of a "passive-aggressive" autonomy protecting strategy. Leary (1957) suggests a third possibility, namely, a strategy of "masochistic" self-effacement. Individuals utilizing this are, in essence, saying to others, "I am an inferior, worthless person," and typically they "train" others to scorn, derogate and look down upon them with varying degrees of severity. Thus, unlike the phobic, who "comes on" as helpless, in need of assistance, the self-effacing individual appears to others as depressed and "shy." In Leary's studies of group behavior, he found that typically these individuals were most likely to be glum and withdrawn, and to have the lowest percentage of verbal output.

There are many different theories of masochism. There seems to be some general agreement that there are at least two things that masochism accomplishes for the person. One of these is to satisfy the need to maintain a vitally needed "loving" relationship with the other because of a felt inadequacy to do so in other ways. Thus the "punishment" inflicted on the person is experienced by the person as a way of keeping the desired person's attention focused on the individual. The other accomplishment of masochism is to reduce guilt. As Leary points out, therapists are often impressed by the masochistic person's strongly punitive conscience. If we can recall our earlier discussion of the "submissive" solution of the Oedipal problem, we can see that masochism may indeed represent a person's attempt to deal with the guilt felt about expressing hostile impulses toward a loved person. It is interesting to note that Leary also found this type of maneuver associated with obsessive or overly ruminative thought processes, and we might think that in a group

situation, a person whose thinking is tied up with obsessive complexity and doubt might indeed never be able to "get a thought out", i.e., be silent.

The suggestions concerning the roots of masochism above both emphasize what we have come to see are "phallic" components in masochism. Slater (1966) has suggested that the root of suffering lies in the individual's need to reassure himself of his own separateness. In a sense, masochism can be seen as a defense against the regressive pull toward deindividuation (see discussion of Slater below) and communicates not only "I am not unloved" but also "there is still a me." In this sense (although Slater doesn't mention this possibility) it may be that masochism is also an attempt to deal with threats to autonomy. Certainly clinicians (Fenichel, 1945) have noted the marked passive-aggressive component in masochistic personalities.

We can see important connections between masochism as a posture and other intraphysic dynamics discussed earlier. Thus the masochistic posture is a feminized one, a kind of "self-castration" in which the person gives up desires for independence, assertiveness, and so on, to maintain a passive attitude toward the threatening and loved other. At the same time, however, there is a strange kind of exhibitionism here. It is as if the person is at pains to display how ugly and potentially hurtable he is. In a sense, this "negative exhibitionism" is in actuality a counter-exhibitionism itself, a way the person has of reassuring himself (and the other) that he is harmless.

To summarize: the meaning of silence as an interpersonal manipulation seems to be three-fold. First, it may be an attempt to get others to care for the person and to take over tasks requiring self-assertion. Second, it may represent the

person's attempt to preserve his autonomy against the threat of manipulations by others. Finally, it may reflect an attempt to draw depreciating or (at the extreme) sadistic behavior down upon the individual. In connection with the latter "masochistic" posture, the masochistic posture may represent (interpersonally) a desire to achieve nurturant supplies through submission to the will of others, a desire to atone for guilt through suffering (where the guilt presumably centers around oedipal feelings and/or a desire to maintain individuation in circumstances where the person feels drawn toward a more passive and helpless orientation. One thing this idea may suggest for what actually happens in groups is that persons who are silent are those who have been successful in finding individuals who will behave in the desired ways toward them or have been successful in training groups to behave in the desired ways. This may suggest that the persons employing the silence maneuver may differ as a function of the differential availability of persons willing to support the maneuver, as well as the possibility of leaving the group; one might find that individuals who were constrained to remain in the group who could not find appropriate reinforcement for their "maneuver" might in fact change their silent behavior.

FIGURE 2

INTERPERSONAL MANEUVERS, THEIR AIMS, UNDERLYING ISSUE(S), POSTULATED DEVELOPMENTAL ANTECEDENTS AND EMPIRICAL EVIDENCE

Maneuver	Relation to silence	Aim (sought from others)	Issue	Developmental antecedents	Empirical evidence
phobic	plea for aid and assistance	dependent nurturant behavior	fear of assertion, fear of losing nurturant other	warmly restrictive mother; love-withdrawal punishment of assertive behavior	Andrews, 1966; Leary, 1957
anal-resistant, withholding	passive-aggressive	frustration, neglect; concern and attention	threats to autonomy; fear of being manipulated by others	narcissistic indifferent parent	Weisskopff, 1962; Mann, 1967
self-effacing, masochistic	self as bad, hopeless	scorn, derogation, sadism	desire to maintain relationship with desired other; relief from guilt; desire to individuate as defense against pull toward giving up identity	aloof, powerful, threatening parent	Leary, 1957

Silence as a product of group structure and interaction

In the discussion above, we have been concentrating on silence as an adaptive response or as an expression of certain modes of adaptation. Here we want to move beyond personal dynamics and behavioral strategies and look at low participation as a function of events occurring in the group itself. There are three directions from which we can come at this issue. First, we might consider verbal participation as dependent upon certain patterns of positive and negative reinforcement selectively applied to different members. This might be important, for instance, in more structured groups where the leader or "central person" (Redl, 1950) may selectively reinforce the contributions of individuals. The question then becomes: how sensitive is amount of verbal output to the impact of rewards and punishments?

The second approach focuses on properties of group structure, especially as they might interact with characteristics of the person which have potential for determining participation rates. For instance, Mann's review of the literature (1959) on personality and behavior in groups uncovered six studies in which personal characteristics were related to verbal activity rate in groups. Thus both level of intelligence and extraversion were positively correlated with amount of verbal output. However, the groups included in these studies were all laboratory-created problem-solving groups, and one would therefore expect the more intelligent and outgoing members to be likely to produce more output, i.e., have more to contribute to problem-solving efforts (indeed, extraversion as measured by most instruments is in effect a performance measure on face-valid grounds; typically one question on such a test is, "Do you enjoy interacting with people?"). Thus the implication of the

studies cited by Mann is that formal group goals may be an important group property in determining who becomes a silent member.

Finally, our third approach suggests we look at the group as an entity existing through time and in an environment which presents adaptive problems for the group. The questions then become: in what sense does silence, and the silent person, fulfill group functions? That is, what role does the silent person play, if any, in group life? Is there a "need" for the group to recruit for the position of "silent member?"

a. Conditionability of verbal participation rates

Psychologists have known for a long time that verbal operants are sensitive to reinforcement contingencies (see Verplanck, 1962; Krasner, 1962; Speilberger, 1962). Although most of these studies have focused on the manipulation of verbal content (e.g., self-referent statements, type of pronoun usage), a number of investigators have attempted to manipulate the sheer amount of verbal output. For example, Matrazzo et al. (1965) found that if an interviewer nodded his head or said "mm-hmm" while the speaker was verbalizing, there was approximately 50% increase in the speaker's duration of speaking over the previously established base-line. Perhaps the most extensive studies of verbal output per se have been carried out by Oakes and his associates at the University of Hawaii. As in much of the verbal operant conditioning (VOC) literature, Oakes has been concerned with the kinds of classes of reinforcers most effective in changing the amount of output. In his paradigmatic experimental situation, students are asked to read and discuss a case study, interpreting the motivations underlying the behavior of the individual in the study. A light is flashed by the experimenter

when a student emits a certain kind of statement, defined differently in different experiments (in the experimental setup, students cannot see each other, but communicate over an intercom). Oakes suggests that the most effective reinforcer in this situation is "insight," that is, when the experimenter tells the subject he will flash the light when an "insightful" remark has been made. This idea makes good sense in terms of the subject population; students in introductory psychology classes who know they are being observed (or overheard) by professional psychologists might well be very concerned with being sensitive observers of human behavior.

Indeed, this last obserservation would seem to have great relevance for our discussion of low participator concerns. Especially in the classroom sample, we might expect where the possibility for evaluations positive or negative of one's remarks existed, and where these evaluations were seen as emanating from a competent (powerful) authority, an arousal of those dynamics which we have suggested would be related to low participation. Oakes himself tells a nice little vignette which seems to suggest that this experimental setup stirred up intense feelings of being "on display." One subject (a male) had not said very much in the course of the half-hour discussion. Finally he delivered himself of a 30 second interpretive remark. When he had finished, he did <u>not</u> receive a flash of light from the experimenter (which would indicate an insightful remark). As Oakes describes it, "he visibly flushed, and then said nothing for the remainder of the session" (p. 469, 1962). Behold the low participator!

Indeed, one is surprised that Oakes himself has not speculated further on the numerous implications of his experimental setup for the personal and interpersonal dynamics of group interaction. Perhaps this is because the literature relating

personality variables to verbal conditioning (usually, conditionability) is so monumentally large and confused (for an attempt at a review, see Williams, 1964). Three major criticisms can be made of this material. First, there is very little in the way of theory which would make for a more systematic and rewarding choice of variables. Typically, personality variables are selected on some basis which seems quite intuitive or merely pragmatic. Secondly, as Babladelis (1961) has pointed out, one can find significant relationships between personality variables and conditionability when the former are relevant to the situation. One could easily imagine, for instance, that scores on Paivio's audience anxiety scale (1964) would be very good predictors of behavior in the Oakes situation. Finally, Ganzer and Sarason (1964) follow Orne (1962) and Rosenthal (1964) in suggesting that the nature of the experimenter-subject relationship may be critical in mediating the relationship between personality variables and responsiveness to VOC. Ganzer and Sarason found that, when the experimenter acted in a hostile fashion to the subject, negative self-statements were more effectively conditioned.

Might there be any suggestions in this literature that would be relevant to our study of low participation? There are several possibilities. If it is true that the low participator is very sensitive to being manipulated by others, one might expect him to resist conditioning attempts. There are a number of studies in the literature which lend support to this contention. Noblin (1966) has explored the relationship of postulated psychoanalytic character traits to verbal response as a function of positive and negative verbal reinforcement. He found that anal character types (as indexed by the Blacky Test) tended to reduce responses in the response-class under conditions of positive reinforcement, but increased responses under conditions

of negative reinforcement. This would seem to be in line with the suggestion that anal types are more negative, hostile and resistant to suggestions from authority figures. If we are right in suggesting that low participators display similar "anal" qualities, then in group situations where an authority figure attempts to elicit and reinforce verbal contributions, we would expect this person to be clearly unresponsive. To put it another way: in groups of the sort just described, the low participator personality selected for is one which is characterized by what we have described as "anal" traits.

The other part of the Noblin experiment presents more of a problem for us. We have suggested that low participators may indeed be concerned with problems of obtaining nurturant supplies from others, may have suffered early frustration of dependency needs, and so on. The Noblin research suggests that, when the authority figure is supportive and positively reinforcing, individuals with these "oral" traits should increase their participation. However, it should be remembered that we suggested the low participator may be a person in conflict over the expression of these "oral" needs. Thus a warm, friendly authority may arouse not only the needs, but the conflict as well. Here one would expect that the individual might be extremely sensitive to the reinforcers cognitively, but reluctant to respond behaviorally. Actually, we are suggesting that both types might be aware of the reinforcement potentials in the environment, but, for different reasons, unable or unwilling to respond behaviorally.

Another suggestion we have made is that the low participator suffers from some form of stage-fright. This suggests that we might look at anxiety as a variable in conditioning. The literature here is a little contradictory. Evidently there is some

tendency for highly anxious persons to condition better than low anxious individuals (Sweetbaum, 1960; Karpf, 1960). However, anxiety also seems to interact with the nature of the verbal conditioning task. Again, the problem here is that we may be dealing with individuals in conflict. That is, the stage-fright is not just an expression of an avoidance orientation, but of an approach orientation as well. It would be interesting to relate personality variables to awareness of being conditioned, a phenomenon which has occasioned much controversy in the literature (see Oakes, 1967).

We have seen that verbal output is indeed manipulable, but that attempts at manipulating the output of the low participator may have complex and contradictory effects.

b. Aspects of group structure and participation rates

We can now ask whether or not there are properties of group structures which affect participation rates and which might be related to material we have already revealed. We have already noted that the group's goals may contribute to the tendency for certain personalities to become low participators. Another relevant variable seems to be the communication structure of the group. Bales (1953) has found that individuals who differ in amount of communication initiated also differ in the content of the communication. High initiators typically give out more information and opinions, while individuals who are low in initiation more frequently fall into categories of disagreement-agreement and requests for information, as well as tension expression (this last may be a methodological artifact; when the group as a whole is silent, everyone receives a score in "showing tension" in the Bales scor-

ing system, so that the low initiator is of course likely to have a relatively higher percentage of acts in that category). This finding of course may be a function of personal characteristics, but could as easily result from the monopolization of "task functions" by the high initiator, leaving others to take care of maintenance and socioemotional functions (see discussion of group functions below).

Secord and Backman (1964) have offered an interesting analysis of the relationship of communication to group goal achievement. They suggest producing communications which move the group toward its goal is usually rewarded by other members (this is an alternative to the notion that high-status persons are those who best fulfill group norms). Conversely, contributions which are perceived to impede group progress toward its goals are negatively sanctioned. The individual, then, weighs the potential rewards and costs to him in making a communication and will withhold communication if he feels it will lower his status or reduce positive affect toward him. This suggests that the low participator is a person who tends to rate his communications as likely to impede group goals and bring him unwanted costs (see Paivio data above).

It is interesting to note here that access to information also seems to be correlated with participation (Wallas, 1965). In other words, at least in problem-solving situations, a low participator is one who simply does not have the resources or access to those resources which will allow him to make those contributions which help move the group toward goal-attainment.

Some theorists have also noted the connection between communication and group atmosphere. Gibb (1961; 1964) has explored the impact of a "non-trustful" atmosphere on group communication. He notes that the less trust between members,

the greater the amount of silence among group members. He points out that mistrust breeds mistrust, and that silent persons, by not receiving veridical feedback, are liable to the autistic misperception which breeds or further confirms a mistrustful view of others. Parenthetically, Wright (1963) has demonstrated a linear relation between amount of communication and trust. This seems similar to the familiar proposition that liking between individuals is related to amount of interation (Homans, 1950). As we noted earlier, low participators may indeed be struggling with problems of trust in others.

Finally, Slater has suggested, indirectly, that the nature of role differentiation in the group determines who will be "selected" into low participation. He found that in groups where the structure of leadership emerged early and remained fairly rigid that individuals high on the F-Scale talked more. In groups where role differentiation emerged slowly and remained fairly flexible individuals low on the F-Scale talked more. This is an interesting qualification to the Stern study (see above) and makes sense in terms of the theoretically postulated rigidity and intolerance of ambiguity characteristic of the authoritarian personality.

c. Group functions served by low participation: the meaning of the silent person for other group members

The problem becomes more complex when we consider the possible group functions to which the silent member contributes by his behavior. In recent years, group functions have often been considered as they crystallize in group "roles." What these roles are depends very much on the conceptualization of group function. In an early formulation, Bales (1953) suggested that major group functions are distributed in terms of an adaptive--instrumental and an integrative--socioemotional axis. These two major functions represent a division of labor in the group similar to that

in the nuclear family, and (Bales suggests) one finds "leaders" emerging to take care of both these functions. The person with low verbal output doesn't seem to play much of a functional role for the group, although Bales suggests that he may specialize in negative socioemotional expression. It may be, however, that if these functions are not adequately satisfied, if appropriate role-differentiation does not occur, the silent member may come to serve as the group scapegoat (e.g., "You're not doing your bit for the group!"). We know of little evidence, however, that it is the silent person who typically gets picked for this purpose in problem-solving groups.

In self-analytic groups, the situation is somewhat different. Thus the silent person may often take on the scapegoat role where hostility is displaced from the threatening (and silent) leader to the silent person. Slater (1966) has some interesting thoughts on this point. As he puts it, "This tendency to magnify the silent is often extended beyond the group leader himself to include the less active members of the group who are subject to highly dramatic characterizations. The fear is often expressed that if these individuals did speak it would, as one member suggested, '. . . be shattering--a whole new dimension to deal with.' Thus while they often complain about their silence, the active members usually make it difficult for the silent members to talk when the opportunity arises." (p. 80)

Slater goes on to suggest, as do a number of writers (Gibbard, 1970; Mann, 1967; Bion, 1959) that the silent members in general function as a "blank screen" onto which group members may project many fears or fantasies. Slater suggests that "in addition to serving as a representation of some dreaded expectation of the group leader, the silent members are feared because they represent a latent

fantasy structure for the group. There is always in training and therapy sessions a lingering semi-conscious conviction that the 'real' structure of the group is that of a traditional classroom, in which it is the silent children who are 'good', and will be loved and rewarded by authority, while the active ones are 'bad' and will be punished. The explicit nonauthoritarian setting is accepted only partially and with misgivings by most individuals, and the silent members remain a constant reminder that they may be betting on the wrong horse. This is sometimes expressed in the fantasy that the silent ones have a special 'in' with the group leader" (p. 80). It should be noted that this fear may be peculiar to Slater's groups, where preoccupation with grading and evaluation seemed to be quite high. The suggestion, however, that the silent person may be the focus of some envy, however ambivalent, is an interesting one to pursue. For instance, the silent members may become a screen on which other members play out the persistent problem of impulse expression vs. impulse inhibition or suppression, which Dunphy (1964) and Mann (1967) both see as central to the process of role differentiation. The individual who is concerned about his abilities to control his own impulses or who fears he cannot control being caught up in the affective turmoil which often characterizes the life of the self-analytic group may come to perceive the silent person as possessing an ego-strength which the person does not possess. His silence may be seen, in other words, as impulse-control (personal observation by the author). On the other hand, Gibbard (1969) found that silent members may often be encouraged by the other group members to express their feelings and may feel great concern for "conflicts" about expressing feelings. Gibbard suggests that this may represent a projection of this problem of affective expression onto the silent person.

Bion (1961) has suggested another source contributing to projections on the silent person. In their attempts to deal with anxiety, members of a group may come to share, unconsciously, certain adaptive strategies. These take the form of "basic assumptions" which, it can be inferred, the members of the group seem to share. Of interest here is the basic assumption which Bion calls "fight-flight." During this period in the group's existence, members act as if they were assembled to either direct hostility (toward the leader) or to avoid work by withdrawing from any meaningful interaction or from any interaction. In the latter case, it seems plausible to assume that the silent person may be perceived as the "leader" of the flight group. In such instances, he may be perceived as a particularly strong person, one who can withstand the pressures of the group and who can turn his back on it. Bion cites some interesting examples of absent members who in fact were "leading" the group. That is, by their absence, they seemed to communicate to the group that there were better ways to spend their time than being in a group in which "irrelevant" things happened (p. 48). In a sense, they were expressing their contempt (a flight reaction) through action (see also Herbert and Trist, 1953). Similarly, the silent person can be seen as expressing one form of dealing with group problems that other members may find attractive, i.e., flight and withdrawal.

This discussion, then, suggests that the particular emotional and motivational pressures group members may put on the silent person vary with the stage or phase through which the group is passing. However one conceptualizes these phases or stages of group development (for relevant models, see Bennis and Shepard, 1956; Mills, 1964; Dunphy, 1964; Mann et al., 1967; Hartman, 1969), it is clear that we should pay attention to the developmental context in which concern for silent persons is voiced.

A final point: how ironic it is that silent behavior may be maintained by external forces (the group's need to have a projective screen) which mirror issues the silent member has himself brought to the group and which are resolved by him through silence!

Some Working Hypotheses

Our review of the personality and developmental literature has indicated some encouraging convergences. We will attempt here to formulate these and to suggest some relevant properties of groups related to the intrapsychic and interpersonal material. We do not mean to imply that every low participator will possess everyone of these characteristic concerns. However, we do suggest that a given low participator will have at least one of these concerns as central and that it will be related to his silence behavior in ways which we described earlier:

1. Dependency and trust: the low participator is likely to be concerned with yearnings for nurturance and support from others. It is likely that these will be difficult for him to express directly, since he is likely to be mistrustful and pessimistic about the possibility of getting relief and attention (Brody, Erikson, Sanford).

2. Fear of manipulation: the low participator is likely to be sensitive to the possibility of being manipulated by others in ways over which he has little, or no, control (Mann, Erikson, Jones).

3. Fear of evaluation: the low participator is likely to feel incompetent and fearful of being evaluated by others. This will manifest itself in a form of "stage-fright" (Paivio).

4. Assertion, aggression, initiative: the low participator is likely to be concerned about the consequences of acting autonomously and assertively and of expressing aggression (Fenichel, Weiskopf).

5. Developmental background: the low participator is likely to have had the following characterize his past history:

a. parents restrictive of activity

b. parents low on reward, high on punishment, over-critical

c. parents who frustrated nurturance needs

d. relatively little social interaction with parents

e. uncertain or ambivalent identifications with the same sex parent

In terms of group properties, we can suggest that the above characteristics are most likely to be properties of low participators in groups where:

6. Achievement standards are made clear and where clearcut rewards or punishments are made contingent on meeting them via verbal communication.

7. The leader is less warm, more aloof, more punitive in his response to communications.

8. The leader is more intrusive, moving toward the person without waiting for the person to move toward him.

9. In general, where group structure is more ambiguous and flexible; however, this should be true primarily for problems of assertion.

The chapter which follows describes the data available for our analysis and the methodological strategies employed for shedding light on the question of low participation.

FOOTNOTE

[1]This is a good starting definition, and is clearly what Freud intended when, in his article, "The Instincts and their Vicissitudes" (1963) he says that "the ego-subject is passive in respect of external stimuli, active in virtue of his own instincts."

CHAPTER III

METHOD

The purpose of this chapter is to introduce the reader to the samples used in this study, the assessment devices, and the rationale for the analyses which were undertaken. As well, the problem of comparing the different kinds of data collected in four separate samples will be discussed.

The Classroom Groups: Description of the Sample

The author had access to six different groups for which data relevant to the purposes of this study were available or could be collected. The first four groups comprise the first sample, and will be referred to here as "the classroom groups." These groups were studied as part of a larger study undertaken by Dr. Richard D. Mann and his colleagues at the University of Michigan and carried out under the general aegis of an Office of Education grant to Drs. W. J. McKeachie; J. E. Milholland, and R. L. Isaacson. The focus of this work centered on the interpersonal dynamics of the college classroom, and the results of the study are to be published as a book, entitled The College Classroom: Interpersonal Processes of Teaching and Learning (in press.) These four groups were "lecture-discussion" sections of Psychology 101 (Introduction to Psychology as a Social Science) taught in the Spring of 1965 at the University of Michigan. Each section was taught by a graduate student in psychology who had relatively complete autonomy in the planning,

teaching and grading activities in the course (there was a central lecture for all sections but this was integrated into the course at the discretion of the graduate student instructor). We might note here that two of these instructors were in the social psychology program and two in the clinical psychology program at the University of Michigan. They were all of approximately the same age, although Mr. C was married and had some previous teaching experience, unlike the other three. Certainly while these teachers shared much in common, they were quite different in their respective classrooms. We shall reserve describing these differences until a later point, however, when they become more relevant for our discussion. Each class met three times a week for a total of approximately 40 sessions. Each class contained approximately 30 students, 83% of whom were freshmen or sophomores. Approximately the same percentage (82%) were enrolled in the College of Literature and Science. The classes were also divided into approximately equal numbers of males and females: 15 males and 14 females in group A, 13 males and 17 females in group B, 16 males and 13 females in group C, and 14 males and 11 females in group D (58 males, 55 females). It should be noted that these students were not preselected in any way. That is, students registered and were enrolled in these sections before they learned that they were part of the research project. Although they were told that they could transfer into other sections if they did not want to be part of the research, no student to our knowledge did so (the $10.00 payment for being a subject may have had something to do with this fact).

Each session of each class was tape-recorded and observed by a graduate student in psychology. The observer interviewed both the teacher and each of the students during the semester. Later, after the semester was over, the observer scored

the teacher-student interaction utilizing the Mann Interaction Analysis System described below.

We defined low participators in this sample in two ways. First, the distribution of verbal acts emitted by each of the 112 subjects was standardized ($\bar{X} = 50$, s.d. = 10). By an act here we mean an act unit as defined by the interaction content analysis system (see below). We then defined the lower third of the distribution of participation within each classroom group as the low participators. Since we standardized across sections, we were therefore able to compare the mean (standardized) scores of the four sets of low participators (that is, one per classroom group). As Table 1 indicates, the differences between low participators in average total acts emitted do not differ significantly across groups. In other words, these 35 low participators had an average participation rate (41.79) which was close to one standard deviation below the mean for the entire sample. As a comparison group for the data analysis, we also defined the top third of the distribution of participation (acts emitted) as "high participators." Again, as Table 1 indicates, the average participation rate for high participators does not differ significantly across groups. Thus the average high participator rate is approximately one standard deviation above the mean, and this means that the average spread in participation rates between high and low participators (as we have here defined them) is approximately two standard deviations.

Table 1

Mean Acts Emitted by High and Low Participators in Each Group--Classroom Sample (expressed as standard scores, standardized across all groups)

	Group A	Group B	Group C	Group D
High Participators	60.94 (N=9)	62.09 (N=9)	62.20 (N=9)	61.60 (N=8)
Low Participators	43.23 (N=9)	40.06 (N=9)	40.59 (N=9)	42.61 (N=8)

Analysis of Variance, high part across groups
F ratio = .43 p = n.s.

Analysis of Variance, low part across groups
F ratio = .78 p = n.s.

This method of defining the low participators has a certain appealing simplicity about it. Not only does it give us an equal number of high and low participators, but also yields a not insubstantial N for the purposes of the analyses described below. However, this simplicity is, if we look more closely, somewhat rough-hewn. For example, the distribution of participation in non-standardized form among low participators ranges from upwards of 80 acts down to 0 acts. In other words, there were some low participators who managed to get in approximately two acts per session, while others said nothing for the whole semester. Admittedly, one act per session is not indicative of a high activity rate, but it certainly does seem intuitively to be of a psychologically different order from the complete absence of verbal participation. In fact, a more refined analysis of patterns of verbal interaction carried out as part of the larger study from which the author obtained his data provides some basis for thinking this may be the case. We will describe that analysis briefly, since it provides us with the second definition of low participation to which we alluded above.

In an attempt to provide a typology of student behavior (actually, of student affective communications toward the teacher--see below), the verbal output of the entire sample, as coded in the content analysis system, was cluster analyzed, using a computerized procedure developed by M. C. Johnson at the University of Michigan (1967, see Appendix P). A basic constraint concerning the definition of a data point in this analysis provides us, in essence, with a "cluster" of low participators. A data point was defined as that period of time within which both the teachers and students, taken as a whole, initiated twenty scorable acts (this time unit appears to be one which yields stable enough data for both teachers and students without at the same time throwing together dynamically disparate units that are necessary for conceptual and practical research purposes--see Mann, et al., 1967; Mann et al., in press). Thus any individual who had less than twenty acts across all sessions was not considered by the cluster analysis program. There were 21 individuals who did not have more than 20 acts; these people are our "cluster low participators" (or "cluster 8" to contrast them with the other 7 clusters derived from the analysis) and obviously represent a more homogeneous set of subjects with respect to participation than the lower third of the participation distribution taken as a whole.

We have, therefore, two different samples of low participators, and this presents us with some intriguing possibilities. First of all, we can compare Cluster 8 individuals with all other clusters as well as comparing individuals in the upper and lower third of the distribution of participation. This should help us get an even closer look at the nature of low participation, since we know from the larger study (Mann, et al., in press) that the other seven clusters are significantly (and interestingly)

different from one another on our measures. Second, however, it also allows us the opportunity to see what characteristics are shared by individuals in other clusters who also end up in the lower third of the distribution of participation. In other words, we may ask: are there any similarities between individuals in Clusters 1 through 7 who are low participators which they share with individuals in Cluster 8 that might explain their lack of participation? The idea that this might be an important question to ask is strengthened by the fact that 10 out of the remaining 14 individuals in the lower third of the distribution (that is, those individuals who are not in Cluster 8) are either in Clusters 1 or 2, an indication that, indeed, Clusters 1, 2 and 8 may share some illuminating properties in common.

The Classroom Groups: Measures

A wide range of instruments, tapping individual traits developmental backgrounds, and perceptions of the group situation, was available to us for both quantitative and qualitative analysis.

Measures 1 and 2 below focus on the early history of our subjects, in particular, on familial relationships.

1. Interpersonal Orientations Inventory (IOI): The Interpersonal Orientations Inventory (IOI) is a 60 item questionnaire which asks the individual to describe or predict the frequency with which he has had, or will have, a certain kind of relationship with authority figures (see Appendix N). The instrument was devised by Mann (see Mann et al., in press) to assess the relationship of early developmental experiences to patterns of group behavior vis-a-vis the group leader. Each item is responded to by the subjects in terms of 7 objects: Father, Mother, Teacher, how much the person liked the situation when it happened, how often it will happen in

the classroom group, Teacher in classroom group, and how much the subject liked the situation when it occurred in the classroom group. The 101 was filled out by all subjects in the first week of the semester for the first five objects, and again at the end of the semester for the last two objects. The possibilities for analysis here include not only item by item individual comparisons, but also a series of comparisons based on three different kinds of scales. The first of these are 8 factor scales based on a set of 4 factors derived from a factor analysis after the semester was over (across all subjects and objects). Each scale, then, represents one pole of each of the four bipolar factors. The scales, and the relevant items, are:

a. Dependency and Enactment (1, 3, 7, 45, 49, 53, 55, 57, 59)

b. Disappointment (2, 6, 50, 54, 58)

c. Rebellion (8, 12, 16, 29, 60)

d. Avoidance of Intrusion (9, 10, 13, 14, 17, 21, 22, 26)

e. Independence (15, 19, 23, 27, 31)

f. Self-depreciation and Distress (20, 24, 28, 30, 32, 34, 36)

g. Mistrust (25, 33, 37, 40, 41, 44, 48, 52, 56)

h. Ambivalence and Involvement (35, 39, 43, 47, 51)

The second and third sets of scales were constructed in terms of the 12 by 5 matrix originally utilized to construct the 101 items. In an earlier study, Mann et al. (1967) factor analyzed the results of a content analysis of the ongoing interaction in four unstructured classroom groups at Harvard University. This analysis yielded six bipolar factors, and 12 scales were constructed on the basis of each pole of each factor. These scales, and the relevant items, are:

a. Enactment (1, 45, 49, 52, 53)
b. Dependent-complaining (2, 6, 50, 54, 56)
c. Rebellion (3, 7, 11, 55, 59)
d. Loyalty (4, 8, 12, 16, 36)
e. Counter-dependent Flight (5, 9, 13, 17, 21)
f. Resistant-complaining (10, 17, 18, 22, 26)
g. Relating to Leader as Colleague (15, 19, 23, 27, 31)
h. Concern with Inner Distress (20, 24, 28, 32, 36)
i. Anxiety (25, 29, 33, 37, 41)
j. Depression (30, 34, 38, 42, 46)
k. Emotional Involvement (35, 39, 43, 47, 51)
l. Emotional Neutrality (40, 44, 48, 52, 56)

We will save a more detailed explanation of the meanings of these scales for our discussion of the results (see below). It should be noted, however, that these scales all reflect modes of member feelings toward the leader (see description of content analysis system, below).

The final set of 5 scales results from a theoretical analysis by Mann et al. (1967) of the major themes characterizing interpersonal life. Again, these are described in more detail below, in connection with the content analysis system. Here we will simply name these thematic scales and the relevant 101 items (the minus sign indicates that the item score was reversed):

a. Nurturance (1, -6, 11, -16, -21, 26, 31, -36, -41, 46, 51, -56)

b. Control (-2, 7, -13, -17, -21, 27, -31, -37, -42, 47, -52, 57)

c. Sexual Object (3, -8, -12, -18, 23, -28, -33, -38, 43, -48, 53, -58)

d. Sexual Rival (-4, -9, -14, -19, 24, -29, -34, -39, 44, -49, 54, -59)

e. Competence (-5, -10, 15, -20, -25, -30, 35, -40, 45, -50, 55, -60)

To summarize, we looked at the 101 both in terms of individual item comparisons and in terms of scale score comparisons--8 factor scales from the most recent factor analysis of the instrument, 12 factor scales in terms of which the origi-

nal items were constructed, and 5 theoretical thematic scales, which also were part of the basis on which the original items were constructed. The 101, along with the semi-structured interview, were our principal means for understanding the developmental backgrounds of our low participators.

2. Semi-structured Interview: Each student in the four classroom groups was interviewed once by the classroom observer. These interviews, which usually took about one hour, were aimed at eliciting information about parent-child relationships, feelings about the teacher and other students, and the student's major areas of concern, both academic and personal. Although this material was not quantifiable, it proved most helpful in illuminating the meaning of the quantitative results.

The measures described in 3 through 5 below focus on the subject's perceptions, feelings and general responses to the group situation.

3. Semantic Differential: At intervals of three weeks throughout the term, subjects were asked to fill out the Semantic Differential (see Appendix C). Four stimulus words were employed: Teacher, Self, Other Students in Class, and Psychology. Comparisons here were based on a factor analysis which yielded four factors, labeled Activity-Potency, Evaluation, Distress, and Methaphor Evaluation. The first two, of course, are very similar to the familiar dimensions isolated by Osgood and his colleagues in their original studies with this instrument. Factor scores by object across all administrations are the basis for comparison here. This allows us to make comparisons between groups on each factor, and also between objects (e.g., low participator Distress toward Teacher versus Distress toward Self, high participator Distress toward Teacher versus Distress toward Self). Along with the Semantic Differential, students also were asked to comment on various aspects of the course and the teacher

4. Post-course Evaluation: At the end of the semester, students were asked to evaluate the course. The quantifiable data here were 21 items (see Appendix D) derived from a larger student evaluation form developed by McKeachie and his colleagues at the University of Michigan (McKeachie, 1964). Appendix A also indicates the open-ended questions included.

5. Metaphor Check List: The Metaphor Check List (MCL) was developed by a group of graduate Teaching Fellows in the Spring of 1964 after a similar device developed by Knapp (1961). It consists of 30 brief phrases (e.g., a treasured book, powerful engine) which can be applied metaphorically to describe feelings and perceptions which students might have about and of teachers (see Appendix B). Besides individual item comparisons, we also have available factor scale comparisons. The three factors derived from the factor analysis here were labeled: Trust vs. Mistrust, Teacher's Proactive Comfort vs. Proactive Discomfort, and Teacher's Formality-Distance.

Measures 3 through 5 above were part of the immediate post-course evaluation. In addition, as the relevant appendices indicate, there were a number of open-ended questions which we will treat as qualitative material. Items 6 through 8 below were collected as part of a "two years after" follow-up. 85% of all subjects returned these follow-up questionnaires, and were paid a fee of $3.00 for doing so.

6. Follow-up Evaluation: These 10 items roughly parallel the items in 4 above (see Appendix E). The items on the value of the course and the instructor's teaching ability are repeated and thus differences between the immediate post-test and follow-up questionnaires can be computed.

7. Sentence Completion: These 12 items (see Appendix F) are a rich source of qualitative data. We attempted to score this using the interaction coding system (see below) with somewhat limited success as will be seen.

8. Teacher-As Evaluation: The Teacher-As Evaluation form (TAS) was developed by Mann and his colleagues in 1967 as an operationalization of an earlier theoretical statement by Mann concerning the multiple goals pursued in the college classroom (see Appendix H). He suggests that the teacher may take one or more of six different roles in pursuit of his goals in the classroom. Briefly, when the Teacher is acting as an Expert, he is primarily concerned with transmitting cognitive material about his field. When he is acting as a Formal Authority, he is concerned with being a representative of the larger administrative system, the authority who makes or enforces the formal rules (grading, discipline, etc.). When he is acting as a Socializing Agent, he is concerned with being an adequate representative of his field, to making it seem an attractive profession to be in, and to recruiting promising neophytes into the fold. When he is acting as Ego-ideal, he is concerned with presenting himself as a model worth emulating, with presenting his style of meeting and dealing with the field or life in general as attractive and engaging, and is also concerned with energizing and stimulating students, primarily through a display of his own attractive qualities, whatever they may be. When he is acting as a Facilitator, he focuses on the internal blocks or barriers to effective work on the part of the students, whether this be in terms of increasing specific skills or "self-actualization" in the sense of personal growth and maturity. Finally, when he is acting like a Person, he is concerned with moving from behind the "role" of teacher, with making contact not with "students," but with students as individuals, as human beings who

share qualities, problems, issues, etc., in common and with whom the teacher, as a fellow human being, emphathizes.

The TAS is a 62 item form built around this typology. For each of the 6 roles or goals, items were written reflecting aspects of the way that role was played and the student's desire for less or for more of that kind of behavior from the teacher. In particular, items were written reflecting superior performance of the role, adequate performance of the role, and inadequate performances of the role. In addition, items were written reflecting "perversions" of the role-performance (e.g., "he was fun to watch in class, but afterwards I felt I hadn't gotten anything out of it.").

Two scale scores were computed for each Teacher Role, one scale reflecting the degree to which the student saw the teacher as performing the role adequately or inadequately, the other scale reflecting the student's feeling, positive or negative, about the extent to which he played that role (that is, whether he played it too much or not enough). In addition, a factor analysis of the TAS revealed 7 bipolar factors from which factor scales were derived. These were labeled:

a. Structure (the extent to which the teacher controlled the events, assignments, grading procedures, etc.)
b. Halo (generalized positive feelings toward the teacher)
c. Rapport (the extent to which students felt they could trust or communicate with the teacher, and he with them)
d. Relevance (the extent to which the class seemed to relate to the student's life or life in general)
e. Overpersonal (the extent to which the student felt the teacher intruded on, or pried into, his personal feelings)
f. Investment (the extent to which the student felt the teacher was involved in making the class a success)
g. Difficulty (the extent to which the student felt the material in the course was beyond his capacity to master)

A final scale was constructed, in which items related to Expert, Formal Authority, and Socializing Agent were subtracted from items related to Faciliator, Ego-ideal, and Person. In a sense, this reflects a "role versus person" orientation, that is, an orientation towards these ideals and expectations of the formal system versus an orientation toward interpersonal confrontation and growth.

Items 6 through 8, then, are measures which tap ongoing perceptions, feelings, and behaviors in the group situation. Items 9 and 10 below are concerned with measures of (presumably) stable trait dispositions:

9. Scholastic Aptitude Test (SAT): Both the Verbal and Mathematical portions of the SAT were administered to each student at the time of his entrance to the University. These scores were also standardized with a mean of 500 and an s.d. of 100. Since both verbal and mathematics scores are available, we can look not only at differences in scores between participation subgroups but also at the relationship of the mathematics to the verbal score within each subgroup.

10. Opinion, Attitude and Interest Survey (OAIS): The OAIS was constructed by Fricke and his co-workers at the University of Michigan (see Fricke, 1963). It is an empirically derived instrument comprising eleven subscales:

a. Achiever Personality (AchP). This scale evidently measures orientations toward academic success, independent of general intelligence (Fricke, 1963, p. 107).

b. Intellectual Quality (IntQ). This scale probably measures an inclination toward intellectual and abstract pursuits, rather than more practical or pragmatic interests (Fricke, 1963, p. 111).

c. Creative Personality (CreP). Since this scale correlates fairly high with instructor nominations of creativity in classroom settings, it does seem to measure the

ability to come up with uncommon or novel responses. As has been shown with other measures of creativity CreP correlates negatively with the Social Adjustment Scale (see below) and positively with the Masculine Orientation Scale (see below).

d. Social Adjustment (SocA). The high correlation of this scale with peer social ratings indicates that it probably measures popularity and conformity to conventional social norms.

e. Emotional Adjustment (EmoA). Little information on validity of this scale is given in the Fricke manual. It is highly correlated with Social Introversion, Depression, Paranoia, Psychasthenia, and Schizophrenia scores on the Minnesota Multiphasic Personality Inventory (MMPI) but Fricke suggests that we interpret this with caution.

f. Masculine Orientation (MascO). This scale seems pretty clearly to measure orientations toward masculine sex-typed interests and attitudes. It also is positively correlated with EmoA for men and negatively correlated with EmoA for women.

There are also five scales which measure educational-vocational interest and all of which seem to have fairly good validity in terms of relationships to other interest measures and choice of major. These scales are Business Interests (Bus), Humanities Interest (Hum), Social Science Interest (Soc), Physical Science Interest (Phys), and Biological Science Interest (Bio).

In addition, Fricke includes three response bias scales: Set for True (Set T), Infrequent Response (Inf R) and Social Undesirability (Soc U). This latter is essentially a conventional social desirability scale and was constructed by comparing the responses of a group of subjects attempting to "fake good" with the responses of

the same subjects under a previous "straight take" condition. These items were explicitly not included on the SocA or EmoA scales, and thus probably do reflect the tendency to "try to look good."

11. Self-Descriptive Adjectives: As part of the follow-up questionnaire, each student was asked to write five adjectives describing the following: self as he would like to be seen by same-sex peers, opposite-sex peers, and instructors; self as actually seen by same-sex peers, opposite-sex peers, and instructors; ideal self; real self (See Appendix G).

These, then, are the measures from which we hope to gain some insight into the dynamics of low participation. We will postpone a discussion of the Mann Interaction Analysis System until we describe the second sample, for which it is more directly relevant to our purposes in this study.

The Analytic Groups: Description of the Sample

The second sample comprised two sections of Psychology 454, Analysis of Interpersonal Behavior, an undergraduate course at the University of Michigan. The instruction of Group 1 was Graham S. Gibbard (see Gibbard, 1969) and the instructor of Group 2 was John J. Hartman (see Hartman, 1969). Both were graduate students in the clinical psychology program. This course was in most respects similar to Social Relations 120 at Harvard College, several good descriptions of which have appeared in the literature (Dunphy, 1964; Mann, 1966, 1967; Mills, 1964; Slater, 1966). The course met for 40 sessions of 50 minutes each. The course instructor, after a brief introduction to the course and its requirements did not adapt the more traditional didactic role, as in the groups in Sample 1, but remained more passive, making interventions aimed at clarifying group and individual behavior. The "official" goal of

the course was to improve the student's ability to understand interpersonal behavior by participating in a group in which such behavior is immediate and ongoing. Thus much of the group's attention focused on its own behavior as a case study worthy of understanding.

It is in this sense that these two groups differed most dramatically from the classroom sample. As one might expect, the interaction in these groups tended to be more intense, more personal (by definition), more "emotional," as it were. However, it should also be noted that, unlike those groups which come to be called "T-groups," these groups did not focus on helping members to become more skillful at being group members, or focus on "skill training" in a more pragmatic sense, but were rather oriented to increasing the cognitive understanding of the forces which shape group life. Thus, each student was required to write a weekly log analyzing the events of the week's sessions. In addition, there was a final take-home examination. Two cases were assigned and the groups were free to discuss or ignore them. The grade in the course was determined by performance on the logs and the examination. The reading list, in addition, was wide-ranging, with selections from the psychoanalytic, group-dynamics, and literary fields. That is why we choose to call these groups "analytic."

As an "upper-level" course, students admitted were either juniors or seniors. In addition, again as a requirement, they all had taken at least the introductory course. In actuality, most members of the group had had several psychology courses prior to taking this one. Students were not pre-selected for the course, as in the first sample. Group 1 had 26 members (14 female, 12 male), while Group 2 had 22 members (11 female, 11 male). Group 1 had one black student; Group 2 had three married

women, two of whom had children. Although there were no status or ideological differences between the leaders, their behaviors in the group, as in the first, were not identical. We will again postpone discussion of this until we have seen how low participator behavior varied between the groups.

The groups met three times a week at 9 and 10 A.M. respectively during the fall trimester (September-December, 1967). There was a short vacation which interrupted the sessions two weeks prior to the end of the trimester. All sessions were tape-recorded, although mechanical failure caused the loss of two sessions from Group 1.

The Analytic Groups: Measures

At the time the author was conducting the present project, these groups in the second sample were the object of a study focusing on member-member relationships in small groups. The major part of this study involved the scoring of group interaction using a complex modification of the Mann Interactional Analysis System, which in its original, less complex form, was used to score member-leader interaction in the first sample. In the present study, both the group interaction and the developmental and background data were scored using the newer, modified version of the system. Since we are concerned primarily with low participators, the scoring of the group data is less important to us than the scoring of the individual data. However, we might mention briefly here what the group data was. Essentially, it consisted of about 15,000 lines of scored interactions for each group. The 38 sessions of Group 1 and the 40 sessions of Group 2 were scored by a trained scorer who had in each case been a member of the group he scored. The scorers were trained over a three week period devoted to joint scoring sessions, lengthy discussion of the scoring

procedure, and independent practice scoring. These scorers also scored the individual data (see below), although unfortunately, one of the scorers fell ill halfway through the scoring assigned to her, and the rest was completed by the other scorer.

Each speaker-object interaction was scored and punched on an IBM card identifying group and session. Each card was checked with the assistance of a card checking program developed for use on the IBM 360-67 system. Mistakes were corrected and the data for each group was transferred to separate files on a magnetic computer tape. The data analysis was done from this tape. The same procedure was followed for the scoring of the individual data.

The definition of low participators was essentially the same as the first method for doing this in the classroom group sample. That is, we defined the lower third of the distribution of participation in each group as the low participators and the upper third, for comparison purposes, as the high participators. One problem with this should be noted. When these subjects were available for testing, the groups had not been scored (nor was this to happen for several months). In order to administer the Images Test (IT) and the Thematic Apperception Test (TAT), therefore, the group instructors advised the author of those subjects in their groups who were relatively inactive, as they perceived it. Of the eight persons in Group 1 in the lower third of the participation distribution, 4 were administered the IT and TAT. Of the eight persons in Group 2, six were administered these instruments. These 10 individuals were at the same time interviewed by the author (see below). In sum, then, of the 16 low participators, as defined above, 10 had completed the complete battery of instruments described below. We have no data for three of the 16 who declined to participate in the study. Therefore, the "working sample" of low participators con-

sists of 13 individuals, 5 in Group 1 and 8 in Group 2. Of these, five are female and eight are male (it should be noted that, of the original 16, seven were female and nine were male). As Table 2 indicates, while there is little difference in the mean number of acts emitted between groups within low and within high participators, the difference between low and high participators within each group is quite wide, as in the classroom sample.

Table 2

Mean Acts Emitted by High and Low Participators in Each Group--Analytic Group Sample[2]

	Group 1	Group 2
High Part.	1837.77	2184.11
Low Part.	36.11	109.66

We will now describe the individual data available to us in this sample.

1. Scholastic Aptitude Test (SAT): Same as in the first sample. Both verbal and mathematics scores were available.

2. Opinion, Attitude and Interest Survey (OAIS): Same as in the first sample.

3. Autobiography: The autobiography was adapted from one used by Murray and his co-workers (1938, 412-420) and can be found in Appendix J. This was the longest of the paper and pencil measures the subjects had to fill out, and therefore, when scored and combined with other measures, carried the most weight.

4. Early Memories Inventory: This measure was adapted from one developed by Maymen and his associates (1957). Here the subject was asked to recall earliest memories for familial objects (see Appendix I).

5. Image Association Test (IT): This projective measure asks subjects to associate an image to a selected set of stimulus words. The subject is then asked to elaborate

in various ways upon this image (see Appendix L).

The following measures were not scored in any systematic way, but rather were used for more clinical or descriptive purposes.

6. Group Experience Essay: The individual was asked to write about various aspects of his experience, perceptions and behaviors in the group. The more specific questions asked of him are indicated in Appendix K.

7. Weekly Logs: These were records each student kept of his observations during the week, focusing on the events, trends, or themes which seemed most important. Dunphy (1964) employed the weekly logs as the basic data in his study with good success.

8. Thematic Apperception Test (TAT): Each of the high participators and 10 of the low participators (see above) were administered 7 TAT pictures from the original Murray battery (see Appendix L). Females were shown pictures with female characters, and males were shown pictures with male characters. Three of the pictures, however, were exactly the same for both sexes.

9. Low Participator Interview: At the time that 10 of the 13 low participators were administered the IT and the TAT, they were also interviewed by the author. These interviews focused on the individual's own perceptions of his activity level in the group and some attempt was made to explore the subject's reactions and responses to being a "low participator." In a sense, along with the Group Experience Essay, this interview was concerned with the "phenomenology" of low participation.

10. As in the first sample, final grades were also available.

Analytic Groups: The Process Analysis Scoring System (PASS)

As we indicated above, both the groups and certain individual measures (Autobiography, Early Memories, and Images) were scored using a revised form of the Mann content analysis system. The following description is freely adapted from both an earlier summary by this author of the original Mann system (Mann et al., in press, Chapter 1) and a description of the revised form by Hartman (1969) and Gibbard (1969). The intent of the member-leader scoring system (Mann, 1966, 1967), as originally formulated, was to capture emotional expression in the interactions between members and the leader. To this end, a system of 16 categories was devised for use in content analysis of interaction. The basic scoring task involved in the use of these categories, which we will describe below, whether in the original or revised systems, is perhaps best understood by analogy to the kind of set a clinical therapist brings to the task of listening to his patients and trying to make sense of what they say. First of all, he is sensitive to the way in which individuals can express feelings not only directly but indirectly or symbolically. For instance, in one of the groups in the classroom sample, the students, before the teacher arrives for one session, have an excited discussion about the overthrow of a repressive government in Southeast Asia. In the context of that session (i.e., that the students were quite angry with what they saw as the teacher's rigidity and arbitrariness in grading an examination), a not unwarranted inference is that the discussion is symbolic of their hostility toward the leader at that moment. This example also illustrates the second component of the basic scoring task, that emotional expression can be best understood in a larger context of ongoing events to which the scorer must be sensitive if he is to score in a meaningful way.

In the original system, the scorer focuses on one of many potential emotional interactions in the group, that is, the one taking place between member and leader. Admittedly, this is a critical relationship for most group members, and, as previous research has made clear, much insight can be gained into individual behavior in groups by restricting oneself to this relationship (Mann, 1966, 1967; Mann et al., in press). Certainly in the classroom sample, the most salient and clearly critical relationship is the teacher-student relationship, and the original form of the coding system seems of major applicability there. However, it seems intuitively obvious that the member-leader relationship is not the only one group members become involved in, nor at given moments in the life of a group, necessarily the most critical or interesting one. Certainly a most common experience if one is a group member is the sense of having multiple and simultaneous relationships with individuals or subgroups of individuals within that group milieu. The intent, therefore, of the revised system was to broaden the scope of investigation to include relationships which develop between members as well as between member and leader.

The scorer's task, then, is complicated in a number of ways. First, and perhaps most essentially, the member and the leader are no longer distinguished but are instead scored in precisely the same way. Secondly, the distinction between expressing feelings and observing the expression of feelings towards others is made explicit (although, in the analytic groups, one might expect members to express more than observe and for leaders to observe more than to express--but it is quite clear there is much overlap on this dimension). Thirdly, the scorer's task is now complicated by the appearance of a multiplicity of potential "objects" of expressed and

observed feelings. In the member-to-leader system only the leader is scored as an object of feeling, and thus the scorer is able to attend almost exclusively to this single component of the group process. The revised scoring system attempts to deal quantitatively and fully with a much wider range of interaction. The scorer is now permitted (and encouraged) to note multiple objects whenever he finds that the feelings expressed are directed toward two or more objects. While the vast majority of acts scored involve only one or two objects, there are instances when a subset of people is noted as the objects of the feelings scored.

A fourth problem for the scorer is the problem of "levels of inference." In the member-to-leader system the scorer makes use of four levels of inference to record feelings expressed toward the leader. In level one scoring both the member-speaker and the leader-object are referred to directly. In scoring at levels 2, 3 and 4 either the speaker, the object, or both are referred to symbolically. The levels thus allow the speaker to note expressions in which the speaker employs displacement, projection, or both. in PASS only two levels are used. In level one scoring both the speaker and at least one object are referred to explicitly. In level two scoring there is some distortion stemming from displacement of projection. In effect level two in PASS incorporates level two, three, and four of the member-leader system. In actuality, it should be pointed out that, although in the classroom study the scorers did preserve the four level distinction, levels two through four were collapsed in the final data analysis, indicating that it was clear, even at that time, that the time and effort required to make the four level discrimination was not particularly well spent in terms of what it revealed. The preservation of a two-fold distinction, however, did seem important, and in PASS, this actually is done in two ways: (1) by

scoring a particular act on level two; (2) by indicating one or more objects in addition to the primary object for the act. When this is done, the additional objects can be treated as level two objects.

The fifth complication in scoring involved the addition of two new categories to the system: Expressing Guilt and Denying Guilt. These categories were developed as a refinement of Expressing and Denying Depression in the original system.

Finally, the revised scoring system incorporates into the scoring the major themes in interpersonal behavior which emerged from an earlier study (Mann, 1967). Having discovered that the affective categories can take on different meanings in different thematic contexts, it seemed important to capture this interaction between the feeling expressed and the thematic concern operating at the moment. So each act, in addition to scores for the various categories, may receive one or more scores for the thematic categories.

The scorer, then, is faced with a myriad of questions as he begins to listen to the tape recording of the group session (or begins to read through, say an Autobiography). Who is speaking? To whom? What is he expressing about his own feelings? What is he observing about others? Is there some hostility in what he says? Some affection? Is he feeling anxious, depressed, or guilty? If so, is he expressing it more or less openly or is it being denied or minimized? Does the underlying interpersonal issue involve nurturance or sexuality? Does he seem more concerned with power and control or with his own competence? Perhaps several different feelings and themes are equally central to understanding what the speaker is saying. Perhaps he is expressing his anger at the leader's real or imagined attempts to dominate the group discussion and at the same time expressing in a less obvious way his anxious

disagreement with another member who has just complimented the leader on his active interest in the group's welfare. The examples are seemingly endless.

The reader must now be feeling very much like our undergraduate scorers felt at the beginning of their training: just what does this scoring system actually consist of, and how can such a complicated creation be used at all, let alone with any degree of confidence? The following discussion attempts to make this more persuasive. As we pointed out above, for the purposes of this study of the dynamics of low participation our principal concern was with the individual, rather than the group, data. It turned out, in fact, that the individual data was much easier to score. First of all, the scorer only had to deal with one speaker, i.e., the subject writing the Autobiography or whatever. Second, the scorer had less difficulty in locating the appropriate objects and targets, since they are for the most part specified by the speaker (for the list of objects and targets, see Appendix M). Nonetheless, the task was basically the same, whether the data was individual or group.

We will proceed by tracing out the process of scoring a single speech. We will comment at each point on what must be scored, what the most recurrent ambiguities in scoring seem to be, and on how much agreement between scorers can be obtained. Table 3 can serve as a general outline for this discussion.

Table 3

Components of the Process Analysis Scoring System

1) the speaker: the person scored as expressing feelings toward or making an observation about something or someone.

2) expression/observation: each act is scored as an expression of a speaker's feelings or as an observation about another member's feelings.

3) level of inference: each expression or observation is classified as one relatively obvious to the observer or as relatively latent and accessible only through an inference on the part of the scorer.

4. approval/disapproval: for observations only, the scorer notes whether the speaker "approves of" the expression he is observing, "disapproves of" it, or is "neutral" toward it.

5) object: each expression is scored as having an object toward which it is directed. The object may be some person or persons, other members, the leader, and objects outside the group--society, university, etc.

6) target: for observation only, the object becomes the person whom the speaker observes to be expressing some feeling. The target is the person toward whom the object is expressing the feeling.

7) affective categories: there are 18 categories: 4 in the Hostility area, 4 in the Affection area, 3 in the Power Relations area, and 7 in the Ego State area.

8) thematic categories: in addition to the categories, 4 themes are scored if an act warrants it: Nurturance, Control, Sexuality, and Competence.

The first set of questions is simply this: who is speaking and how should what he is saying be divided up into acts and subacts? Here we must explain several scoring conventions. Each verbal initiation, no matter how complex, is taken as an act. An act ends only when the speaker stops talking altogether or is interrupted by another speaker. But each act can be partitioned into any number of subacts, i.e., into several lines of scoring. The criteria for subact division are these: (1) expressions and observations are always scored on separate lines, (2) a change in the level of inference is always accompanied by a new line and usually by a change in the category as well, (3) a shift in the object accompanied by a change in one or more content or thematic categories requires a new line, even though most of the scoring might be identical to the previous line, and (4) any shift of expressed or observed feelings within a "subarea" (e.g., from one form of affection to another or from expressed to denied guilt) requires a new subact even though the object of the feeling remains the same. So there are four occasions on which the scorer must

begin a new subact. We turn now to the first two of these--expression/observation and level of inference.

Expression/Observation

The basic distinction here is between acts (or subacts) which are primarily expressive, whether explicitly or implicitly, of the speaker's feelings and those which are intended to comment on the feelings being expressed by some other person in the group. The simplest examples are: "I feel angry" as opposed to "I think you're really angry at him." In reality, this distinction is often less easy to make.

The most common ambiguity occurs when observation and expression tend to blend together, either as an observation which looks suspiciously like a projective statement or as a simultaneous expression and observation. In the first instance the scorer might find himself confronted with a statement such as, "Maybe you were really uptight when Mike talked about sex; most anybody would be." In the second instance the scorer might have a somewhat easier job: "Maybe you were really uptight when Mike talked about sex. I know I was." On the other hand the decision to score or not to score an observation is not determined by the scorer's estimate of the accuracy of the observation. Instead, expression rather than observation is scored whenever there is relatively little emphasis on the observational component of the speech, when the speaker seems to be suggesting something about the feelings of another member (or the group as a whole) but primarily as a way of distancing himself from his own feelings. The first example given above remains, according to this convention, ambiguous, and the decision would vary depending on the context in which the statement was made. The second example would be scored as an expression; it might also be scored as an observation. In general one scores an observation

rather than an expression whenever the speaker appears to be articulating his own impressions about something external to himself without in any discernible way including his own feelings. For example, a member might say, "I think this group is really tense. Everybody has been shuffling their chairs and taking notes for the last five minutes without looking up." Unless the speaker himself sounded anxious in making the observation, no expression would be scored.

The Levels of Inference

Level one is scored whenever there is a direct expression of feeling toward another person: "I was really glad when you said that." Level two is scored whenever the feeling expressed is not manifestly apparent and/or when the object of the feeling is not easily recognized. For example, the expression, "I am really upset at your comments on what we have been trying to do here," might, if directed at one member, be scored on level two for another object, perhaps the leader. Alternatively, the comment, "It's OK with me if you want to sit in the corner and read Marcuse," might receive, for the same object, one score on level one (Making Reparation) and another on level two (Guilt Inducing). This act, since it involves level one and level two scoring for the same object, would require two subacts, whereas the first example would require only the addition of a secondary object.

Before reporting the extent to which scorers agree on the scoring of expression/observation and the levels of inference we should pause to discuss in a more general way the selection and training of scorers. It was no surprise to learn that good scorers are not simply diligent workers or good technicians. The good scorer is psychologically-minded in a sense that he recognizes the complexity of interpersonal life, enjoys thinking about it, and tries to make sense of it. Also, if should be admitted,

it is important that he have no overriding personal or theoretical aversions to our choice of categories and themes. In this study, one scorer was selected from each group to score the group in which he had been a member. While both performed competently they were actually very different kinds of people who initially reacted quite differently to the initial task of mastering the scoring system.

The reader may wonder: to what extent was the scoring influenced by the fact that both scorers had been members of the groups they were scoring? Were their perceptions and interpretations of the sessions distorted by their own ambivalent involvements with the leader and with other members? Of course, it would be unrealistic to argue that the scoring was not influenced by the scorers' involvement, but our impression (which we feel is supported by the statistical summaries on scorer agreement which follow) is that when the scoring proceeds on an act-by-act basis temperamental and characterological factors weight far more heavily than do transference reactions to particular individuals. More troublesome than occasional expressions of inflexibility in scoring a particular individual or a particular relationship were persistent tendencies to avoid or over-attend to certain categories or themes. These kinds of preferences can be modulated but not eliminated, and they introduce a kind of error variance which needs to be recognized in the data analysis.

In order to assess the extent of interscorer agreement, each of the researchers scored a session of the group in which he had been the leader. Each researcher's scoring was then compared with the scoring of the same session done by the undergraduate scorer. This provides the two sets of comparisons which make up the measures of agreement in this study. This particular method was chosen because of the conviction that familiarity with the context and the subtleties of each group's interaction is essential

to valid scoring. At the same time this method provides a check on an idiosyncratic view of the group or the application of the scoring system.

The mean agreement for subact division was .79; for level of inference .88. There was less agreement on observation/expression. Of all observations scored, 60% were noted by both scorers, 40% by only one of the two scorers.

Object and Target

Having determined whether he is dealing with an expression or an observation and having settled on the appropriate level of inference for the subact, the scorer turns to the next question: who is the object of the expression or observation? Here again it is necessary to digress and introduce an aspect of the scoring which has not yet been mentioned.

In scoring an expression the scorer need only specify the object (or objects) of the expression. In scoring an observation he must also indicate the "targets" of the feelings he is observing. For example, the observation, "I have the feeling that Alice is angry at Sophie for coming on so strong last time," would be scored with Alice as the object and Sophie as the target. In addition, the scorer must also classify the observation as one in which the speaker is adopting an attitude which is (1) positive and encouraging, (2) neutral, or (3) negative and discouraging. This three-point evaluative scale is identical to that used in the member-to-leader scoring system. For example, the observation, "It seems to me that you are constantly bringing topics from outside into the group and interrupting whatever we have going here," would be scored as reflecting a "negative and discouraging" attitude. The first example would probably be characterized as "neutral."

For both objects and targets the scorer must decide whether the speaker is referring to another group member, the leader, the group as a whole, or one of various objects external to the group. The external objects used most often were Psychology, the University of Michigan, the Family, and American Society.

For the objects and targets two kinds of agreement can be assessed. The first is the extent of perfect agreement between scorers. The second is the extent of partial agreement. This is computed by taking all of the scores in which at least one object is scored in common by both scorers and no more than one is not common to both scorings. That subact is counted as half agreement, half disagreement. Using this criterion of partial agreement, the comparisons were as follows:

Table 4

Inter-scorer Agreement for Object and Target

	Comparison 1	Comparison 2
Perfect Agreement		
expression object	.72	.75
observation object	.70	.87
observation target	.52	.82
Partial Agreement		
expression object	.82	.91
observation object	.84	.90
observation target	.76	.87

This mean agreement on the three-point evaluative scale for observations was .80.

The Affective Categories

The 18 affective categories can be thought of as three separable systems which operate with some independence from one another. The 18 categories are divided into three "areas" and six "subareas." This is indicated in diagrammatic form below.

It should be noted that the categories map onto the expression of feelings in groups in some ways that correspond to dimensions of personal interaction already delimited in the literature. Thus the recurrent two dimensional model of interaction with one axis representing hostility and attraction and the other axis representing degrees of power, influence or status, is captured by the Impulse Expression areas and the Authority Relations area (see, for example, Leary, 1957; Lorr and McNair, 1963; Becker, 1964). We might also note here the contributions of Bennis and Shepard (1956), Thelan and his co-workers (1954) and their quantification of Bion's concept of "basic assumption" and "work" groups, Schutz's analysis of interpersonal behavior (1957), in terms of needs for Inclusion, Affection and Control, and Couch's extension (1960) of Leary's work into a system for observing leaderless groups. The Ego State areas might be thought of as a cross-cutting dimension reflecting the individual's feelings about his own vulnerability, competence, or his sense of personal worth. Perhaps most influential here has been the work of Bibring (1963).

Table 5

Affective Categories

Area	Subarea	Category
Impulse	Hostility	1. Moving Against
		2. Disagreeing
		3. Withdrawing
		4. Guilt Inducing
	Affection	5. Making Reparation
		6. Identifying
		7. Agreeing
		8. Moving Toward
		9. Showing Submission

Table 5 (continued)

Area	Subarea	Category
Power Relations		10. Showing Equality
		11. Showing Dominance
Ego State	Anxiety	12. Expressing Anxiety
		13. Denying Anxiety
	Depression	14. Expressing Depression
		15. Denying Depression
	Guilt	16. Expressing Guilt
		17. Denying Guilt
		18. Expressing Self-Esteem

The reader will notice that aside from changes in a few of the category titles and the addition of the Guilt subarea, the affective categories are identical to those in the original system. Categories 2 and 7, Disagreeing and Agreeing, are the same as Resisting and Accepting in the previous scheme. Categories 9, 10 and 11 have been given more general titles than they have in the member-to-leader system (Showing Dependency, Showing Independence, Showing Counterdependency) but are in practice the same. The distinction between Depression and Guilt involves the separation of the two components of the Depression subarea in the member-to-leader system. As in the original system the Power Relations categories constitute both an area and a subarea and Expressing Self-Esteem is considered a category but not a separate subarea within the Ego State area since it is never double-scored with an anxiety, depression, or guilt category.

We will briefly present each category below, defining its unique characteristics and attempting to delineate clearly its boundaries.

1. Moving Against:

This category is scored when the expression of hostility seems directed at the other as a person, rather than as a response to his role behavior or less personalized behavior. Expressions scored as Moving Against may take the form of scorn, sarcasm, mistrust, belittling, suspicion, and the like, but without a moralistic invoking of values or standards of judgment as weapons (see Guilt-Inducing below). Thus this category closely resembles Bales' (1950) negative socio-emotional category Shows Antagonism.

2. Disagreeing:

Disagreeing is scored when the individual expresses hostility toward the role or role performance of the other. Unlike Moving Against, the hostility tends to be primarily reactive or responsive to the other's behavior, where in the former hostility is more self-initiated or active rather than passive. Thus this category is very close to Bales' (1950) category Shows Disagreement.

3. Withdrawing:

Unlike Moving Against and Resisting, Withdrawing represents an opting out of interaction on the part of the person, an attempt to decrease intensity, loosen previously existing bonds, and the like. These may take the form, at the extreme, of statements about leaving the group entirely or ignoring the other. Silence, as a response to another's question, for instance, may be scored as Withdrawing (although depending on the context might also be scored as Expressing Anxiety--see below).

4. Guilt Inducing:

Perhaps a most common interpersonal tactic by which people express hostility is by invoking standards of judgment or values which purport to have a superordi-

nate claim on the behavior of the individual. One of the major clues which lead one to score an act in this category is the use of evaluative terms (should, just, have a right to). The tone which people use when Guilt Inducing often brings to mind such words as accuse, blame, and complain, and very often, this centers around formal demands upon the other. This is especially relevant for member-leader relations.

5. Making Reparation:

Unlike the other forms of affection to be discussed, Making Reparation is scored when the person appears to be responding to some earlier expression of hostility (whether this expression actually occurred or not), or as a prior response to some form of hostility which is about to occur. The main element here is that the statement represents an attempt to undo or neutralize the effects of a hostile remark. For example, statements of the form, "I don't mean this personally, because I really like you, but . . .," and then the person goes on to make a statement which is scored in a hostility category, represent one kind of Making Reparation. Still another form which Making Reparation takes is the denial of previous hostility, not only that which the person himself has expressed but which others have expressed. For instance, after a particularly hostile act upon the leader by several members, one member who did not participate in this attack said, "I think all of you people are wrong for being so angry at him, I think he's a nice guy." (For further discussion of the phenomena of making reparation and its function in personality, see Melanie Klein and Joan Riviere, 1937).

6. Identifying:

Identifying encompasses all those acts in which one person gives evidence of having taken on some aspect or quality of the other. This may include mannerisms

of speech, peculiarities of style, or personal values, general attitudes and philosophy. For instance, in a group not studied here, several students began to use the words, "It seems to me that . . ." to preface their remarks shortly after the teacher had first used this (to him) common expression. Similarly, in one of the Analytic Groups, a student early in the group repeatedly defended unstructuredness and student autonomy as invaluable learning devices. Both of these would be scored Identifying. In a sense, what we are trying to capture here are those indirect but often highly significant forms of affection whereby one person communicates to another his unity or partnership in some enterprise by also pursuing that activity.

7. Agreeing:

Agreeing is the counterpart of Disagreeing in the Hostility area. Just as the latter describes a primary reactive response to role behavior, so Agreeing expresses the individual's agreement with or approval of some aspect of the other's behavior in a more impersonal sense. Often Agreeing is quite hard to distinguish from Making Reparation, and again the scorer must pay attention to the context, especially the extent to which the person is ambivalent about his feelings; that is, the scorer listens for evidence which suggests that this behavior sounds as if it is countering some other act or not. Agreening principally suggests support, and in this sense is distinguished from Identifying which suggests similarity.

8. Moving Toward:

Moving Toward is the counterpart of Moving Against in the Hostility area. Again, we make a similar distinction between behavior oriented toward the person and behavior oriented toward the role. Moving Toward acts express a feeling of personal liking, a desire to become more intimate and close. Again, context is important in

distinguishing between Moving Toward and Making Reparation.

9. Showing Submission:

The authority Relations area attempts to capture, on the one hand, expressions of member concern with the power and influence of the other. As one might expect, these are often of particular relevance to the member-leader relationship. The category of Showing Submission is designed for those acts in which one person perceives himself as somehow inferior to the other in terms of power or resource control or in which the individual is trying to manipulate the other into a display of dominance by expressing his own inferiority. For instance, in classroom groups, where the teacher controls, or is seen to control, crucial rewards or punishments in the form of grades, students very often (perhaps too often) seem to be involved in trying to discover the "rules of the game" (e.g., "will we have to know that for the next test?"). Often, Showing Submission may reflect on wanting to disown responsibility for one's fate or destiny, to give it over to some other.

10. Showing Equality:

Acts scored in this category carry a sense of real freedom or autonomy with respect to the other's power. This may take the form of working on developing one's own set of values or principles in an autonomous way, accepting responsibility for one's own behavior, or expressing the sense of equality or colleagueship with other persons.

11. Showing Dominance:

This category points up the numerous acts in which people either assert their authority over others, express their desires to move from a position of inferiority or submission to a position of authority, or express denials of dependency on others

(often in the form of attempts to destroy or do away with the existing "power structure"). This category is clearly distinguished from Showing Independence in that the individual does seem to be concerned here with the problem of power: who shall be in control?

12. Expressing Anxiety:

The definition of the Ego State categories owes much to Bibring (1963). He suggests that anxiety is a reaction a person has when he comes close to some danger to which he feels he may be vulnerable. The expressions may be direct expressions of anxiety (e.g., "I feel very nervous in here today"), or in the group data especially, they may be inferred from tone and quality of voice, as when we say that a person's anxiety was "betrayed" by the shakiness of his voice. Occasionally, one finds anxiety expressed without an object being specified, but more often this is not the case.

13. Denying Anxiety:

Statements made by group members which express a feeling of goodness, comfort, or relaxation may have one or two meanings. They can be expressions of self-esteem or they can be defensive denials of feeling scared, uncomfortable, or vulnerable. The critical attribute for scoring denial is the focus on negation. Thus if a person says, "I am not feeling uncomfortable," the scorer would tend to record this as Denying Anxiety. Of course, as always, the context of the act is critical in the ultimate scoring decision. Other moments when this category becomes relevant which are more or less subtle revolve around strong protests against feeling inner distress or belittling the possible causes of anxiety.

14. Expressing Depression:

Following Bibring (1963), depression is considered an affective reaction to a person's felt inability to cope with or overcome internal or external obstacles blocking the way to desired goals. Typically it is expressed in terms of incompetence (see also Expressing Guilt below).

15. Denying Depression:

Denying Depression is similar to Denying Anxiety, except that here the defense is against feeling incompetent and powerless. One thinks not only of simple negations, but also of the more complex manic defense discussed by Lewin (1950). One also finds Denying Depression scored when people are involved in minimizing the impact of loss, sadness, failure, separation, loneliness, and so on.

16. Expressing Guilt:

Expressing Guilt is scored when the person expresses feelings of helplessness in relation to inner impulses which he feels are "bad" or unacceptable, that is, when he feels helpless about controlling these impulses. Apologies accompanied by self-blame, self-criticism, and the like, are the kinds of behaviors likely to be scored in this category. This category and Denying Guilt were an attempt to refine the categories of Expressing and Denying Depression.

17. Denying Guilt:

Acts scored in this category involve the disavowing of one's guilt, in the externalization of blame, disassociating oneself from the guilt of others, and the like. Again, we might mention the more complex manic defenses discussed by Lewin (1950).

18. Expressing Self-Esteem:

As noted above, acts scored here seem to be more motivated by a need to

express a feeling of positive satisfaction and comfort which does not seem to contain, or be a reaction to, feelings of distress. Often this takes the form of feeling competent or strong: "I really feel we have been able to work successfully together this semester"; other times it may come out as an expression of relief or reassurance: "Well, I'm finally feeling comfortable with this class." Interestingly, Expressing Self-Esteem was scored rather infrequently in both samples, suggesting that either it is expressed in indirect ways which we have not been able to specify or that members of these groups rarely feel very good about themselves (or some combination of these factors).

In thinking about the most appropriate way of assessing interscorer agreement we concluded that an act-by-act comparison would be neither strikingly successful or particularly relevant to the kinds of analyses we would be undertaking. Since the smallest time span used in any of our analysis is the single session, we computed the most important statistical summary for the two sessions used in the scorer comparisons. This involves, for each of the two comparisons, taking all of the members with twenty or more acts during the session and computing Spearman rank order correlations for each of the affective categories. The basic question here is: do the scorers agree on which members are highest and lowest on each of the categories? The rarely scored Self-esteem category was eliminated from this analysis. Table 6 presents the mean agreement on each affective category. Interscorer agreement on the affective categories was reasonably high, though somewhat uneven. Pooling the two comparisons, the mean agreement for all category comparisons was .70, ranging from a high of .96 on Identifying to a .44 on Denying Anxiety. Agreement on the eight Impulse categories was strongest, as none was lower than a .72; agreement on the Power

Relations categories was somewhat lower, though the lowest level of agreement was a .60 for Equality, a category used sparingly in the analysis of the data. The scorers experienced the greatest difficulty in the Ego State area. Three categories--Denying Anxiety, Expressing Depression, and Denying Depression--proved troublesome for both sets of scorers. Our impression is that at least two of these categories, the denial versions of anxiety and depression, are among the most difficult to score, primarily because they are usually understood only after a more intensive exposure to psychodynamic thinking about the defensive operations of the ego than either of the two undergraduate scorers had acquired at that point.

Table 6

Interscorer Agreement on the Affective Categories

Category	Mean Agreement
Moving Against	.85**
Disagreeing	.78**
Withdrawing	.73**
Guilt Inducing	.83**
Making Reparation	.82**
Identifying	.96**
Agreeing	.72*
Moving Toward	.73**
Showing Submission	.68*
Showing Equality	.60*
Showing Dominance	.65*
Expressing Anxiety	.69*
Denying Anxiety	.44*
Expressing Depression	.53*
Denying Depression	.45*

Table 6 (continued)

Category	Mean Agreement
Expressing Guilt	.62*
Denying Guilt	.82**

**p = .01, *p = .05

Another discovery should be mentioned at this point, one which is not reflected in these interscorer comparisons but which is important for an understanding of the data. There is a difference between Identifying as it is used in the member-to-leader system and its use in the actual scoring on which this study is based. The largest single component of the acts of Identifying scored in the original system is represented in this system by the scoring of an observational rather than an expressive subact. Our scorers found it much simpler to score an observation than to scrutinize the style, timing, and content of an observation to determine whether the act should be scored as an expression of Identifying (with the leader) as well as noted as an observation. In the member-to-leader system, on the other hand, an observation is either scored as Identifying or it is not scored at all. In PASS an observation is not scored as Identifying unless the similarity with the leader's style of intervention is relatively unmistakable. All in all, this difference seems to have the effect of increasing the agreement on the category but relegating many subacts previously scored as Identifying to observational rather than expressive scoring. Our solution to this will be simply to take an individual's observational activity as an approximate index of identification with the leader's definition of work and his style of interviewing in the group.

The Thematic Categories

Themes are not scored in the member-leader scoring system. Mann (1967) used the concept of themes in a clinical way to trace "the enormous variety of responses to and feelings about the leader backward in time to . . . some of fundamental antecedent relationships" (p. 72). The recurrent themes of nurturance, control, sexuality, and competence were used to give clinical relevance to the factorial analysis of the member-leader relationship. These particular themes were derived in part from Freud's oral, anal, phallic, and latency periods of psychosexual development and Erikson's psychosocial modification of these stages (Freud, 1953, 1957; Erikson, 1955). The themes also bear some similarity to Schutz's notions of inclusion, control and affection (Schutz, 1958).

In the present study, a decision was made to include theme scoring for each speaker-object act if such a scoring was possible. Rather than using the themes globally for a phase or for a particular factor, an effort was made to classify an interaction in thematic terms. In many ways, theme scoring is more difficult and less reliable than category scoring. A complicated set of inferences may be involved in assigning an act to a particular theme. The themes are meant to convey more than specific issues tied to feeding, toilet training, oedipal rivalry, and work. They are meant to be used to describe the many activities, ideas, and feelings which can be traced back to these early stages but which in present costume may look very different. Despite the difficulty of the task and the high level of inference involved, theme scoring turned out to be feasible and added depth to the scoring system.

Nurturance. Scoring an act on the nurturance theme is meant to convey that issues involving dependency, trust, support, safety, and comforting closeness

are involved. It may mean either that such a goal state has been reached, has been cut off, is desired, or feared. Bion's notions of the dependency basic assumption, Erikson's trust vs. mistrust crisis, Freud's orality, and Schutz's inclusion all bear importantly on this theme. In Group 2, for example, following Janet's announcement that she had "no vested interest" in the group because she was married, David suggested that the group all go out for coffee. Mark agreed even though this suggestion came quite out of context. It is not too far fetched to surmise that David and Mark were experiencing Janet's announcement as a rejection and were seeking solace in drink. David's suggestion as well as Mark's agreement would be scored on nurturance. This by no means rules out the sexual implications of Janet's rejection for David and Mark nor the control theme implication of defying the leader by leaving class. The point is that the primary scoring of David's act is nurturance. Acts do not need explicitly oral content to be scored nurturance, however. Later in that same session, Bev, a usually silent member, was asked what she felt about the group. Her response was that she mistrusted the group because of a "horrendous" previous group experience. Her response would be scored nurturance because of the mistrust and fear of rejection implied in her statement. Certain other things she said implied that she very much wanted to be accepted and liked by the group but feared being rejected and vulnerable.

Control. Issues involved in the scoring of the control theme are those which imply standards, values, shoulds, and oughts which come from higher authority and status. Not only is the struggle for control and autonomy involved in toilet training at issue in this theme, but the many authority, status, and value dilemmas which continue to occur in all stages of life. Erikson's stage of autonomy, Freud's concept

of anality, and Bion's thoughts about the fight-flight group bear on this theme. A good example of the control theme occurred in the fourth session of Group 2. The entire session was devoted to a group-wide discussion of good and evil. The question turned around the issue of whether an individual was responsible for his actions or whether his environment induced him to lose control of his aggressive feelings. This entire session was scored extremely high on control. In the middle of the sessions Betsy exclaimed: "Why there's so much within our control who do we advocate (sic) to another stronger force because they have authority or power, I'm wondering why we do that." This is clearly scorable as control and what followed was a discussion of the violence unleashed in Golding's Lord of the Flies. The group was trying to cope with the leader's passivity and their fear that lack of leadership would cause feelings to get out of control. Betsy's speech indicated that she felt that people could control themselves without authoritarian leadership.

Sexuality. Included in this theme are issues involving sex role, male-female relations, homosexual bonds, rivalry for the opposite sex, attractiveness, and potency. The theme is meant to go beyond Freud's oedipal theory and borrows from Erikson's notion of initiative and Bion's concept of the pairing group. In the example cited above, involving her declaration of noninvolvement in Group 2, Janet began the session by showing the group her new fur coat. She announced the new purchase and stood up and modeled it. This was taken by the group as an event outside the usual discussion of the group itself. It was nevertheless scored on sexuality. The group fell silent and Janet began describing her non-involvement because she had a husband and therefore an outlet for her feelings. She said she had discussed this with Bob, an attractive group member. The sexual theme is evident in several ways in

Janet's presentation. Her statement of non-involvement is contradicted by her showing off her new coat to the group. It gives some clue as to the reason for her need to distance herself from the group. Does it have to do with some guilt with regard to her husband and does it have to do with Bob, someone she has talked with outside of class? The pairing implications of her marital relationship and extra-group talk with Bob would be enough to warrant her scoring statements as sexuality.

Competence. Competence as used by White (1963), and Erikson (1955) goes beyond Freud's ideas about the latency period. As a theme in this framework it is meant to reflect pride or shame with regard to accomplishment, with elders as models rather than enforcers of a certain value or moral schema. Bion's work group fits in well with this notion of accomplishment in a "conflict-free" sense. Work can have nurturance, control, and sexual overtones to it and for an act to be scored as competence, the scorer must be relatively certain that the other themes are not paramount in a certain behavior. In a session later in Group 2 several of the active members confronted Beverly, an inactive member, with her silence. Sharon told Beverly that her thoughts about the group could be valuable in resolving the present impasse the group found itself in. This particular interaction between Sharon and Bev would be scored on the competence theme. Although there are some hints that Sharon was implying that the group needed Beverly's insights in a dependent way, the major impact of the request reflects a colleagial respect for Beverly's abilities and a desire to work on the group's problems.

The decision to score themes came out of the conviction that there were different thematic shadings which were associated with particular feelings. Moving against could occur in the service of sexual rivalry, moral sadism, or dependent com-

laining--thematically very different. Reparation could be used in the service of flirtation, gaining trust, or exerting power and control. Certainly anxiety, depression, and guilt can occur because of object loss, concern about evilness, sexual rivalry, and the inability to accomplish meaningful work. The themes were, thus, included to deepend the meaning of the category scores as developed in the member-leader system.

It is crucial when operating within one of the affective subareas that the categories be defined as mutually exclusive. Since it is not possible, for instance, to score both Identifying and Agreeing in the same subact they must be clearly distinguished from one another. This is less important for the thematic categories, as multiple scoring of themes is allowed. Still, it is conceptually desirable that the boundaries between the themes be firm enough so that the themes can be distinguished from one another with some degree of consistency.

We found this most difficult when it came to the difference between Nurturance and Sexuality. It is, after all, commonplace for phallic and genital activity to be interwoven with pregenital (Nurturance and Control) concerns. In the groups, many expressions of affection, closeness, personal interest, etc., are difficult to characterize as reflecting Nurturance as opposed to Sexuality or vice versa.

In general, however, one can make a distinction between statements of personal involvement which emphasize the diffuse, sexually undifferentiated concern with nurturance and support, and those which emphasize more focused and sexually differentiated concerns. In Group 1, for example, John's early interactions with Kathleen revolved around his need to draw her into the group, to get her to "open up" and show more interest in the group--all as one facet of his general goal of creating

a "warm and open" group. In later sessions he demonstrated a more particular interest in Kathleen and in her ambivalent mood in the group, but these interactions included asking for her telephone number and expressing jealousy when she flirted with other males in the group. The early interactions were scored primarily as Nurturance and the later ones primarily as Sexuality. It seems both inaccurate and unfeasible to try to impose on the thematic categories any more exclusive boundaries than these.

The extent of interscorer agreement on the thematic categories was computed in the same way as was agreement for the affective categories. The mean agreement for all comparisons here was .40, certainly lower than one would hope for. A variety of explanations for this have occurred to us, the most persistent being that the researchers' definitions of these categories were not well understood by the scorers. Our decision at this point was to continue with the scoring of the themes but not necessarily to rely heavily on the themes in the analysis. Fortunately, the thematic categories, along with the Impulse, Power Relations, and Ego State categories, constitute a semi-independent system which can be used in conjunction with the other systems, separately, or used not at all. Our initial strategy was to proceed cautiously in the data analysis with the thematic categories in the hope that the scorers' use of the themes had enough internal consistency to make them reasonably useful.

This concludes our discussion of the measures employed in the second sample. For purposes of clarification, we list the measures used in both samples side by side in Table 7. Two problems are immediately apparent. First, insofar as perceptions of the situation are concerned, we have little or no quantified data from the second sample. Secondly, the only measures which the two samples share in common are the SAT and the OAIS (and, of course, final grade). Such are the exigencies of data collection.

Table 7

Comparison of Measures used in Sample 1 and in Sample 2

Sample 1 measures	Sample 2 measures
Developmental Background	
1. Interpersonal Orientations Inventory (101)	1. Autobiography
2. Semi-structured interview	2. Early Memories
	3. Images
Responses to the Situation	
3. Semantic Differential	4. Group Experience Essay
4. Post-course Evaluation	5. Weekly logs
5. Metaphor Checklist (MCL)	6. Low Participator interview (10 subjects)
6. Follow-up Evaluation	
7. Sentence Completion	
8. Teacher-As Evaluation (TAS)	
Dispositional Measures	
9. Scholastic Aptitude Test (SAT)	7. Scholastic Aptitude Test (SAT)
10. Opinion, Attitude, and Interest Survey (OAIS)	8. Opinion, Attitude, and Interest Survey (OAIS)
11. Self-descriptive adjectives	9. Thematic Apperception Test (TAT)

The problem, of course, is to make a meaningful comparison of results from the two samples. In terms of cross-validational procedures, of course, positive predictions between dissimilar measures provide a more powerful argument for one's hypotheses. But even so, it is interesting to note that the basis for the development of a number of the instruments in this study was the same. The 101, for example, is derived from a factor analysis of the same content analysis system as was used to score the individual

data in the second sample. The Group Experience Essay, as it was formulated, touches on many of the same aspects of the group situation as the measures marshalled for this purpose in the first sample. What this suggests, then, is that one could make meaningful predictions from the results of one sample to another. We shall follow this procedure, beginning with the first sample where the amount of quantifiable data is, admittedly, larger. We shall let the results derived from this sample, then, suggest predictions about the behavior of low participators on the measures in the second sample. Our next chapter presents the results of the data analysis from the first sample.

FOOTNOTES

[1]Items on the ICI were written by constructing a matrix of 12 bipolar factors of five themes and writing an item for each of the 60 cells thereby created.

[2]The differences between high participators and between low participators is not significant. The loss of two sessions in Group 1 accounts for the lower mean scores in Group 1.

CHAPTER IV

THE CLASSROOM SAMPLE

In this chapter, we examine the data from the classroom sample. It will be helpful to the reader to recall at this point our research strategy, which focuses on the cross-validation of results from Sample 1 on Sample 2. It will be remembered that our review of the literature led us to formulate certain propositions about the determinants of low participation. We called these "working hypotheses," by which we mean to imply that they would serve to structure the way we looked at the data, especially in the first sample. That is, we looked at the pattern of statistically significant and insignificant findings and other clinical material in terms of these "working hypotheses" to see if the latter represented reasonable propositions about low participators. On the basis of these findings, we made more specific predictions about the data in our second sample (the analytic groups). In Chapter V, we survey the success or failure of these predictions. Finally, in Chapter VI (Conclusions) we discuss the outcome of the cross-validation, i.e., whether, in fact, there are things one can say about low participators that generalize across different kinds of groups.

As indicated in the chapter on Method (Chapter III), we proceeded by comparing the low participators with the high participators (in other words, a comparison of the responses of subjects who fell into the upper and lower third of the distribution of verbal activity). Specifically, we carried out analyses of variance on the readily quantifiable data, i.e., on that data available in rating scale or bi-

nary choice form. We tested differences between four groups--high participator males (n=24) and females (n=11) and low participator males (n=17) and females (n=17)--since an appraisal of the interview material suggested that there were likely to be marked differences between male and female low participators. When the F Test indicated that there was a significant overall difference between the means for the four groups, we carried out post-hoc comparisons between certain differences in which we were interested. These differences were between:

a. high and low participating males
b. high and low participating females
c. high participating males and females
d. low participating males and females

Comparisons a and b, if both significant and in the same direction, told us that there were differences which appeared to be a function of participation alone. Comparisons c and d, if both significant and in the same direction, would indicate that the differences were a function of sex alone. The method for post-hoc comparisons involved t-tests for pairwise comparisons.[1]

Although we had initially planned to carry out some quantitative analyses of the interview material, a closer look at them revealed that this would not be possible. There were two reasons for this fact. First, the interview data was not complete for all subjects. In fact, for one instructor, the interviews are not useful at all since the graduate student interviewer evidently was unable to elicit much information from the students. This left us with 45 interviews from other students which were of some value. Of these, 21 are from low participators and 24 from high participators. These numbers break down by sex as follows: 15 male highs and 9 female highs, and 12 male lows and 9 female lows. Second, the questions asked to subjects were not standardized. This means that some interviewers asked, for example, about family

background more specifically than others did. This situation would seem to make a statistical description of differences somewhat meaningless. Therefore, we used both the interviews and other open-ended materials (e.g., sentence-completion) qualitatively as a source of insight, illumination and clarification of the quantitative analysis.

The quantitative data is presented in Tables 8, 9, 10 and 11. Table 8 summarizes the results of the analyses of variance for the OAIS, post-course evaluation and two-year followup. Tables 9 and 10 summarize the results of the analyses of variance for the Interpersonal Outcomes Inventory (IOI). Table 10 presents the statistical data while Table 11 presents a more quickly accessible review of the items from the IOI which are rated significantly higher and lower by each group. In addition, this table indicates which items are generally sex-related (male-female difference) and those which are participation related (high-low difference). As each "working hypothesis" is reviewed, we present that material (in quotes) which seems to lend support or throw doubt on the proposition. At the end of the presentation, we summarize briefly, indicating any changes or revisions which should be made in the formulation.

Table 8

RESULTS OF ONE-WAY ANALYSES OF VARIANCE COMPARING MALE AND FEMALE HIGH AND LOW PARTICIPATORS ON OAIS, POST-TEST EVALUATION, TWO YEAR FOLLOWUP, GRADE AND INTELLIGENCE MEASURES.[2]

Note: Means with same small letters attached are significantly different from each other at the .05 level or better.

Variable	High Male vs Lo Male	High Female vs. Lo Female	F	p
OAIS:	$\bar{X}$	$\bar{X}$		
Achiever	54.42	59.36		
Personality	57.40	56.69	.24	n.s.
Intellectual	59.05	73.00		
Quality	57.00	70.00	1.86	n.s.
Creative	59.00	67.00a		
Personality	45.20	40.56a	5.07	< .025
Social	47.37	38.82		
Adjustment	47.79	49.00	.76	n.s.
Emotional	47.53	48.64		
Adjustment	47.20	40.25	.50	n.s.
Masculine	54.47	66.45ab		
Orientation	42.80b	36.94a	7.86	< .01
Business	36.83	37.13		
Interest	36.25	23.75	.22	n.s.
Humanities	32.89	55.18		
Interest	34.46	39.40	1.61	n.s.
Social Science	37.28	51.27		
Interest	39.85	42.75	.61	n.s.
Physical Science	47.53	30.50		
Interest	53.47	43.38	1.19	n.s.
Social Undesira-	46.53	62.82		
bility	54.87	49.94	1.09	n.s.

Table 8 (continued)

Variable	High Male vs Lo Male $\bar{X}$	High Female vs. Lo Female $\bar{X}$	F	p
Post-course evaluation: (PC)				
Planned activity in detail	1.80a 2.33abc	1.50c 1.69b	4.83	< .05
Stud. volunt. own opinions	2.00 2.50	2.40 2.46	.56	n.s.
T seemed pers. int. in stud.	1.65a 2.67a	2.00 1.85	9.22	< .01
T followed out-line clearly	2.20 2.50	1.50 1.77	.42	n.s.
Stud. argued with each other	2.85 3.17	2.60 2.46	.56	n.s.
T was friendly to students	2.55 2.75	2.00 2.00	.31	n.s.
Teacher ability	1.70 2.17ab	1.20a 1.46b	5.34	< .05
Value of course	2.00a 2.83abc	2.00b 2.15c	7.21	< .01
Two-year Followup:				
Self involved in course	2.20a 3.00abc	2.20b 2.08c	5.03	< .05
Extent of stud. participation	2.40a 2.87ab	2.10bc 2.92c	4.38	< .05
Participating self relative to other	2.58 2.47	2.50 2.38	.24	n.s.
Overall value of course	2.68 2.80	2.40 2.92	2.87	< .10
Teaching ability	2.58ad 3.93ab	2.30bc 4.00cd	20.88	< .001
Course relative to others	2.42a 3.47ab	2.10b 2.85	7.64	< .01

Table 8 (continued)

Variable	High Male vs. Lo Male	High Female vs. Lo Female	F	p
Instruct. relat. to others	2.00a 3.13ab $\bar{X}$	2.20b 2.31 $\bar{X}$	9.64	< .01
Teacher-as	(Standard scores: on + scales, about 50, good below 50,			
Evaluation:	on - scales, above 50, too much, below 50 not enough)			
Expert+(X)	40.39 44.47	52.40 45.54	2.69	< .1
Expert-	45.00 50.60	49.40 48.38	2.29	n.s.
Formal Auth.+ (FA)	50.50a 42.40a	49.00 49.15	4.44	< .05
Formal Auth.-	46.17ab 52.20a	53.00b 48.54	4.34	< .05
Socializing (SA) Agent+	49.00 44.93	51.60 47.77	1.99	n.s.
Socializing Agent-	49.83 53.83	48.20 49.92	.83	n.s.
Facilitator+ (F)	48.33 45.40	46.10 45.23	.73	n.s.
Facilitator-	46.28 49.93	48.90 51.69	1.30	n.s.
Ego-ideal+(EI)	49.72 44.07a	51.30a 47.38	3.60	< .05
Ego-ideal-	46.67 45.87	49.70 51.69	.83	n.s.
Person+ (P)	48.33a 42.33abc	48.90b 50.38c	3.67	< .05
Person-	51.05 45.20	48.10 49.77	2.53	< .10
Halo	50.00 44.60	48.40 46.54	2.86	< .10
Structure	51.00a 44.47ab	52.00bc 45.85c	5.63	< .05

Table 8 (continued)

Variable	High Male vs. Lo Male	High Female vs. Lo Female	F	p
Rapport	48.28a 42.07abc	51.50b 48.31c	4.38	< .05
Relevance	48.06a 43.27ab	51.50b 47.85	4.17	< .05
Overload	48.94a 56.40ab	44.10bc 51.08c	5.43	< .05
	$\bar{X}$	$\bar{X}$		
Involvement	49.89a 43.73ab	50.38b 48.62	4.76	< .05
Difficulty	47.33 48.20	48.50 49.85	.13	n.s.
X,FA,SA-EI-F,P (Role-person)	51.22a 44.13ab	55.10bc 47.44c	6.95	< .025
Metaphor Check-list Factors:				
Trust vs. Mistrust	47.42 43.18ab	53.90a 52.27b	5.03	< .05
Proactive comfort vs. discomfort	47.63 48.64	48.10 52.73	1.84	n.s.
Formality-distance	51.42 45.91	52.50 50.36	2.83	< .10
Semantic Diff. (Tri-weekly) Factors:				
1-Teacher Act. Potency	45.61 47.23	51.42 50.38	2.60	n.s.
1-self	53.33b 48.46c	57.00ac 43.08ab	7.84	< .01
1-other	42.39abc 53.15a	50.33b 50.69c	8.93	< .01

Table 8 (continued)

Variable	High Male vs. Lo Male	High Female vs. Lo Female	F	p
I-Psych.	46.44a 51.77	53.50a 48.77	3.84	< .05
II-Teacher Evaluation	45.33a 45.54b	57.50abc 49.14c	9.64	< .01
II-Self	48.33b 45.92ac	58.83abc 51.23c	9.73	< .01
II-Other	45.17acd 51.77bc	55.58ab 52.31d	5.21	< .05
II-Psych.	49.89b 44.92abc	56.25ab 53.46c	10.02	< .001
III-Teacher Distress	51.56 50.38	48.58 51.69	.53	n.s.
III-Self	50.00a 53.46b	42.83abc 54.31c	7.39	< .01
III-Other	53.78a 49.92b	44.25ab 49.38	6.53	< .025
III-Psych.	49.67 50.77	46.00 50.46	.79	n.s.
IV-Teacher Metaphor Eval.	47.67a 44.77bc	55.75ab 52.31c	5.98	< .025
IV-Self	48.56c 46.46b	61.42abc 49.92a	7.21	< .01
IV-Other	47.06a 48.38	52.83 54.85a	3.99	< .05
IV-Psych.	49.67c 42.00abc	53.50a 51.92b	5.32	< .025
Intelligence and Academic variables:				
SAT-Math	63.21 62.61	59.36 57.50	.48	n.s.

Table 8 (continued)

Variable	High Male vs. Lo Male	High Female vs. Lo Female	F	p
SAT-Verbal ($\bar{X}$ = 500, s.d.= 100)	535.67 499.27	531.17 597.07	2.63	< .10
Final Grade	516.10a 443.29ab	526.83b 474.69	6.83	< .025
Grade-point Average	538.24 506.35	524.00 512.38	1.36	n.s.
SAT vs. GPA	25.17 40.64b	68.47a 4.57ab	5.26	< .025
SAT vs. Final	27.22 75.50	70.25 53.50	1.78	n.s.
GPA vs. Final	1.65 -1.63	2.83 35.31	1.26	n.s.

Table 9

RESULTS OF ONE-WAY ANALYSES OF VARIANCE FOR DIFFERENCES BETWEEN MEANS FOR MALE HIGH PARTICIPATORS (MH), FEMALE HIGH PARTICIPATORS (FH), MALE LOW PARTICIPATORS (ML), AND FEMALE LOW PARTICIPATORS (FL) ON INTERPERSONAL ORIENTATIONS INVENTORY ITEMS[3]

Note: Only items with a significant overall F are reported. Small letter subscripts indicate means which are significantly different from each other at the .05 level or better by post-hoc analyses. Overall F and significance level are reported directly beneath each cell.

ITEM	FATHER	MOTHER	TEACHER	**
1. Works in harmony, enjoys sense of identity		MH 5.21ab FH 7.50ac ML 5.21cd FL 7.35bd 5.61, <.01		
2. Disappointed not providing enough direction, weak and indecisive	MH 2.63 FH 4.30a ML 3.67b FL 2.66ab 3.36, <.05	MH 3.38a FH 4.40 ML 5.07ab FL 2.53b 3.14, <.05		
3. Feels affection, respect, desires to be noticed and liked			MH 5.58a FH 7.48a ML 6.53 FL 7.00 2.40, < .05	
5. Older person makes process of learning too easy; seeks more challenging task			MH 4.40 FH 5.60ab ML 3.80a FL 3.88b 2.57, < .05	
10. Intrudes too much into younger person's efforts to learn, so latter keeps all such efforts out of view				
12. Expresses an eagerness to learn, in area where older is expert				

** Objects continued on next page

Table 9 (continued)

LIKE	WILL OCCUR	TEACHER (2)	LIKE (2)
		MH 3.96a FH 5.10b ML 3.36c FL 2.11abc 4.60, <.01	
			MH 1.50a FH 1.80 ML 3.40ab FL 1.78b 4.35, <.025
		MH 2.38 FH 1.20a ML 2.86a FL 1.83 2.30, < .05	
	MH 4.09a FH 2.50ab ML 4.47bc FL 2.82c 2.85, <.05		

Table 9 (continued)

ITEM	FATHER	MOTHER	TEACHER	**
13. Feels older wants to be on too friendly terms, turns instead to people of same age				
14. Prying too much into private matters, at least should only be shared when younger feels like it				
15. Feels free to try out new skills; confident of response as colleague				
16. Tries to argue for assistance or special treatment, older seems unwilling			MH 4.48a FH 3.10 ML 3.53 FL 2.53a 2.88,< .05	
17. Feels if given the chance older too dominating, avoids times of expected dependency				
18. Doesn't like initiation of friendliness or closeness in older's hands	MH 2.67c FH 1.30abc ML 2.60a FL 3.06b 2.76,< .05			
19. Feels able to agree or disagree, issue not personal				

** Objects continued on next page

Table 9 (continued)

LIKE	WILL OCCUR	TEACHER (2)	LIKE (2)
			MH 2.96 FH 2.00a ML 3.53 FL 3.83a 2.83, < .05
	MH 2.70 FH 2.00 ML 3.20a FL 1.53a 2.49, < .05		
	MH 2.78a FH 2.00 ML 2.67 FL 1.71a 2.85, < .05		
	MH 2.65 FH 2.40 ML 2.93a FL 1.82a 2.49, < .05		
MH 2.27 FH 1.60a ML 3.07a FL 3.11 2.51, < .05			
			MH 7.96 FH 8.20 ML 6.73a FL 8.06a 2.46, < .05

Table 9 (continued)

ITEM	FATHER	MOTHER	TEACHER	**
21. Feels smothered by attention and efforts to help, tries to break free of close contact				
23. Feels secure of basic affections, a pleasant relationship, not very personal				
24. Older provides steadying influence, especially when younger is distracted from important goals			MH 4.80a FH 6.60ab ML 4.73 FL 4.18b 2.36,< .05	
26. Critical of too much attention and support, refuses to accept more				
28. Older person brings out his best, like "having his batteries recharged"	MH 4.58a FH 5.50 ML 4.93 FL 6.86a 2.30,< .05			
29. Feels older might be vindictive and mean if his authority and right were challenged				
30. Feels incompetent and inexperienced in relation to older's qualifications		MH 3.05ab FH 4.90a ML 4.21 FL 5.06b 2.63,< .05	MH 4.76a FH 5.20 ML 6.33a FL 5.47 2.34,< .05	

** Objects continued on next page

Table 9 (continued)

LIKE	WILL OCCUR	TEACHER (2)	LIKE (2)
MH 1.50a FH 1.70 ML 2.50a FL 2.17 2.65, .05			
		MH 4.88a FH 7.70ab ML 4.50b FL 6.16 4.00, <.025	MH 6.00a FH 7.30 ML 5.67b FL 7.61ab 3.08,< .05
MH 1.65a FH 2.20 ML 2.93a FL 2.11 2.80,< .05			
MH 6.19ab FH 8.10a ML 6.36c FL 8.00bc 3.22,< .05			
MH 2.00a FH 2.00 ML 3.71a FL 2.61 2.69, <.05			

Table 9 (continued)

ITEM	FATHER	MOTHER	TEACHER	**
31. Feels secure and independent, able to relate, no extreme demands for support or protection				
32. Feels uncertain and distressed about making right decision, expresses these feelings	MH 4.54 FH 4.60 ML 3.33a FL 6.06a 3.26, <.05	MH 4.21a FH 5.30 ML 5.07b FL 6.53ab 4.15, < .01		
35. Process of learning involves commitment to older person's view		MH 5.17a FH 6.50b ML 3.64ab FL 5.18 2.78, < .05		
36. Distressed at difficulty of new task, asks for encouragement and assistance	MH 4.50a FH 5.80 ML 4.00b FL 6.29ab 2.92, <.05	MH 3.92a FH 5.10 ML 4.21b FL 6.76ab 5.57, <.01		
39. Spends time thinking about older although relationship not always pleasant				
42. Feels badly about neglecting suggestions and requests in favor of selfish activities				
43. Appreciates and sees him as fellow human being, relationship warm and genuine				

** Objects continued on next page

Table 9 (continued)

LIKE	WILL OCCUR	TEACHER (2)	LIKE (2)
			MH 7.54a FH 8.10b ML 6.13abc FL 7.94c 4.07,< .01
MH 3.77a FH 5.07ab ML 3.43b FL 4.33 2.50,< .05			
	MH 3.00 FH 3.00 ML 3.60a FL 2.18a 2.49,< .05		MH 3.67 FH 4.40a ML 3.47 FL 2.33a 2.90, <.05
		MH 5.25a FH 5.20b ML 4.00 FL 3.00ab 2.68,< .05	MH 7.42a FH 7.30 ML 5.47ab FL 7.89b 3.53, <.025

Table 9 (continued)

ITEM	FATHER	MOTHER	TEACHER	**
45. Admires his skills and talents, uses as model		MH 4.58a FH 4.50b ML 5.21 FL 6.59ab 2.93, <.05	MH 4.84ab FH 4.10cd ML 6.40ac FL 6.18bd 3.61, <.05	
46. Lost and discouraged, hard to get attention or support				
51. Great pleasure in turning the tables, providing older with something of value				
55. Expresses an eagerness to learn, in area where older is expert				
56. Uninvolved and bored, older has nothing of value to offer				
57. Learns older's standards so well that he can adjust to meet them without specific directions	MH 5.88a FH 5.80b ML 6.13c FL 8.06abc 4.01, <.025	MH 5.71a FH 5.70b ML 5.64c FL 7.76abc 3.00, < .05		
59. Careful not to violate older's standards of mature and dignified behavior				

** Objects continued on next page

Table 9 (continued)

LIKE	WILL OCCUR	TEACHER (2)	LIKE (2)
MH 5.38a FH 5.20b ML 6.57 FL 7.00ab 2.59, <.05	MH 4.39 FH 3.10ab ML 5.07a FL 5.41b 2.69, <.05		
		MH 3.04 FH 2.10a ML 4.00 FL 4.33a 2.61, <.05	
		MH 2.63 FH 6.10 ML 6.47 FL 7.06a 2.60, < .05	
	MH 6.48a FH 7.10 ML 7.60a FL 6.94 2.61, <.05	MH 5.21a FH 6.70ab ML 5.79 FL 4.67b 2.90, <.05	MH 7.42 FH 8.00a ML 6.20a FL 7.61 2.83, < .05
		MH 3.00a FH 2.50a ML 4.43a FL 3.72 2.31, < .05	
MH 5.58a FH 5.10b ML 6.07 FL 7.22ab 2.60, < .05	MH 5.04 FH 4.60a ML 5.20 FL 6.24a 2.27, <.05		MH 4.79a FH 5.40 ML 4.87 FL 6.44a 2.91, <.05
	MH 5.52a FH 6.10 ML 6.47 FL 7.06a 2.60, <.05		

Table 10

SCORES ON FACTOR SCALES OF INTERPERSONAL ORIENTATIONS INVENTORY (IOI) FOR HIGH AND LOW PARTICIPATORS.

Note: Only means for highs and lows which were significantly different are shown.

FACTOR	FATHER	MOTHER	TEACHER	LIKE	WILL OCCUR	**
Dependency and enactment	15.28 16.21 2.95 <.05	15.06 15.91 2.63 <.05		15.86 16.41 2.24 <.05		
Disappointment						
Avoidance of intrusion	50.42 38.91 2.43 <.05					
Independence						
Self-depreciation and distress						
Mistrust						
Ambivalence and involvement						
Nurturance			36.39 48.59 2.67 <.05			
Control				45.88 62.32 3.09 < .05	58.47 40.44 4.73 < .01	

** Objects continued on next page

Table 10 (continued)

FACTOR	TEACHER (2)	LIKE (2)	MOTHER-FATHER-TEACHER[4]
Dependency and enactment			
Disappointment	60.22 40.97 3.83 <.025	43.83 52.15 2.08 <.05	
Avoidance of intrusion			
Independence		38.03 52.32 5.98 <.01	36.75 53.94 7.34 <.01
Self-depreciation and distress	35.67 48.65 2.58 < .05		
Mistrust			
Ambivalence and involvement			
Nurturance			
Control			

Table 10 (continued)

FACTOR	FATHER	MOTHER	TEACHER	LIKE	WILL OCCUR
Competence					
Sexual	58.47				57.25
Object	45.24				40.74
	2.02				2.91
	< .05				< .05
Sexual Rival					

Table 10 (continued)

FACTOR	TEACHER (2)	LIKE (2)	MOTHER-FATHER-TEACHER
Competence			
Sexual Object			
Sexual Rival			

Table 11

INTERPERSONAL ORIENTATIONS INVENTORY ITEMS WHICH SIGNIFICANTLY DIFFERENTIATE BETWEEN HIGH AND LOW PARTICIPATORS, AND BETWEEN HIGH MALE PARTICIPATORS, HIGH FEMALE PARTICIPATORS, LOW MALE PARTICIPATORS AND LOW FEMALE PARTICIPATORS

Note: MF means the item differentiates between all males and all females; P indicates the item differentiates be tween high and low participators; FL indicates the item differentiates female low participators, ML male low participators, FH female high participators, and MH male high participators.

Low Participators are higher than High Participators on these items:

Feels older wants to be on too friendly terms, turns instead to people of same age (Like (2))

Doesn't like initiative for friendliness or closeness in older's hands (Like)

Admires skills and talents, uses as models (Mother, Teacher, Like, Will Occur)

Careful not to violate older's standard of mature and dignified behavior (Will Occur)

Feels older might be vindictive or mean if his authority and rights are challenged (Like)

Lost or discouraged, hard to get attention or support (Teacher (2))

Low Participators are lower than High Participators on these items:

Older person makes process of learning too easy; seeks more challenging tasks (Teacher)

Appreciates and sees him as fellow human being; relationship warm and genuine (Teacher (2))

Female Low Participators are high on these items:

MF- Works in close harmony, enjoying sense of identity (Mother)

MF- Feels affection, respect, desires to be noticed and liked (Teacher)

P- Feels older wants to be on too friendly terms, turns instead to people of same age (Like (2))

FL, P (Like)- Doesn't like initiative of friendliness or closeness in older's hands (Father, Like (2))

MF- Feels secure of basic affection and pleasant relationship, not very personal (Teacher (2), Like (2))

MF- Feels able to agree or disagree, issue not personal (Like (2))

MF- Older person brings out best, like "having batteries recharged" (Father, Like (2))

Table 11 (continued)

MF- Feels incompetent and inexperienced in relation to older's qualifications (Mother)

FL- (Father, MF (Mother)-Feels uncertain and distressed about making right decision, expresses these feelings

MF- Distressed at difficulty of new task, asks for encouragement and assistance (Father, Mother)

P- Admires skills and talents, uses as models (Mother, Teacher, Like (2), Will Occur)

P- Lost and discouraged, hard to get attention and support (Teacher, (2))

P (Will Occur), FL- Learns older's standards so well that he can adjust to meet them without specific directives (Father, Mother, Like, Will Occur, Like (2))

P- Careful not to violate older's standards of mature and dignified behavior (Will Occur)

Female Low Participators are low on these items:

FL- Disappointed in older for not providing enough direction, weak and indecisive (Father, Mother)

FL- Works in close harmony, enjoys sense of identity (Teacher (2))

P- Older person makes process of learning too easy; seeks more challenging tasks (Teacher)

FP- Prying too much into private matters, at least should only be shared when younger feels like it (Will Occur)

MF- Tries to argue for assistance or special treatment, older seems unwilling (Teacher, Will Occur)

MF- Feels if given a chance, older too dominating, so avoids times of expected dependency (Will Occur)

FL- Spends time thinking about older, although relationship not always pleasant (Will Occur, Like (2))

P- Appreciates and sees him as fellow human being, relationship warm and genuine (Teacher (2))

FL- Great pleasure in turning the tables, providing older with something of value (Teacher (2))

Male Low Participators are high on these items:

ML- Disappointed, not providing enough direction, weak and indecisive (Mother, Like (2))

Table 11 (continued)

MF- Intrudes too much into younger person's efforts to learn, so latter keeps all such efforts out of view (Teacher (2))

ML- Prying too much into private matters, should only be shared when younger feels like it (Will Occur)

ML- Feels if given the chance, older too dominating, avoids times of expected dependency (Will Occur)

P- Doesn't like initiative for friendliness or closeness in older's hands (Like)

P or MP- Feels older might be vindictive and mean if his authority and rights are challenged (Like)

ML- Feels incompetent and inexperienced in relation to older's qualifications (Teacher)

ML- Spends time thinking about older, although relationship not always pleasant (Will Occur)

P- Admires older's skills and talents, uses as model (Mother, Teacher, Like, Will Occur)

P- Lost and discouraged, hard to get attention or support (Teacher (2))

ML- Expresses an eagerness to learn, in area where older is expert (Will Occur)

ML- Uninvolved and bored, older has nothing of value to offer (Teacher (2))

P- Careful not to violate older's standards of mature and dignified behavior (Will Occur)

ML- Great pleasure in turning the tables, providing older with something of value (Teacher (2))

MF- Rebels against domination, insists on right to do things without interference and control (Will Occur)

ML- Feels smothered by attention and efforts to help, trying to break free of close contact (Like)

ML- Critical of too much attention and support, refuses to accept more (Like)

Male Low Participators are low on these items:

MF- Works in close harmony, enjoys sense of identity (Mother)

P- Older person makes process of learning too easy; seeks more challenging task (Teacher)

ML- Feels able to agree or disagree, issue not personal (Like (2))

MF- Feels secure of basic affection in pleasant relationship, not very personal (Teacher (2), Like)

Table 11 (continued)

MF- Older person brings out best, like "having batteries recharged" (Father, Like)

ML- Feels secure and independent, able to relate, no extreme demands for support or protection (Like (2))

ML- Process of learning involves commitment to older person's view (Mother)

MF- Distressed at difficulty of new task, asks for encouragement and assistance (Father, Mother, Like)

P (Teacher), ML (Like (2)) - Appreciates and sees him as fellow human being, relationship warm and genuine (Teacher (2), Like (2))

MF- Learns older's standards so well that he can adjust to meet them without specific directions (Like (2))

Female High Participators are high on these items:

MF- (Mother), HF (Teacher (2))- Works in harmony enjoys sense of identity

HF- Disappointed, not providing enough direction, weak and indecisive (Father)

MF- Feels affection and respect, desires to be noticed and liked (Teacher)

HF- Older person makes process of learning too easy; seeks more challenging task (Teacher)

MF- Feels able to agree or disagree, issue not personal (Like (2))

MF- Feels secure of basic affection, a pleasant relationship, not very personal (Teacher (2), Like (2))

HF- Older provides steadying influence, especially when younger is distracted from important goals (Teacher)

MF- Older brings out his best, like "having his batteries recharged" (Like)

MF- Feels incompetent and inexperienced, in relation to older's qualifications (Mother, but not Teacher)

MF- Feels secure and independent, able to relate, no extreme demands for support and protection (Like (2))

MF- Feels uncertain and distressed about making right decision, expresses these feelings (Mother)

MF- Distressed at difficulty of new task, asks for encouragement and assistance (Father, Mother)

HF- Spends time thinking about older person, although relationship not always pleasant (Like (2))

Table 11 (continued)

P- Appreciates and sees him as fellow human being, relationship warm and genuine (Teacher (2)).

HF- Expresses an eagerness to learn, in area where older is expert (Teacher (2))

Female High Participators are low on these items:

MF or HF- Intrudes too much into younger person's efforts to learn, so latter keeps all such efforts out of view (Teacher (2))

HF- Doesn't like initiative of friendliness or closeness in older's hands (Father, Like)

P- Feels older might be vindictive and mean if his authority and rights were challenged (Like)

P- Admires skills and talents, uses as a model (Father, Model, Teacher, Like, Will Occur)

P and HF- Lost and discouraged, hard to get attention or support (Teacher (2))

P- Uninvolved and bored, older has nothing of value to offer (Teacher (2))

HF- Learns older's standards so well that he can adjust to meet them without specific direction (Like, Will Occur)

MF- Rebels against domination, insists on right to do things without interference or control (Will Occur)

P- Feels smothered by attention and efforts to help, tries to break free of close contact (Like)

Male High Participators are high on these items:

MF or HM- Tries to argue for special treatment or assistance, older seems unwilling (Teacher, Will Occur)

MF- Feels if given the chance, older too dominating, avoids times of expected dependency (Will Occur)

P- Appreciates and sees older person as fellow human being, relationship warm and genuine (Teacher (2))

MF- Rebels against domination, insists on right to do things without interference and control (Will Occur)

Male High Participators are low on these items:

MH- Disappointed, not providing enough direction, weak and indecisive (Like (2))

MH- Feels affection, respect, desires to be noticed and liked (Teacher)

P- Feels older wants to be on too friendly terms, turns instead to people of same age (Like (2))

Table 11 (continued)

P- Doesn't like initiation of friendliness or closeness in older's hands (Like)

MF- Feels secure of basic affection, a pleasant relationship, not very personal (Teacher (2), Like (2))

MF- Older person bring out best, like "having batteries recharged" (Father, Like)

P- Feels older might be vindictive and mean if his authority and rights were challenged (Like)

MH- Feels incompetent and inexperienced, in relation to older person's qualifications (Mother, Teacher)

MF- Feels uncertain and distressed about making right decisions, expresses these feelings (Mother)

MF- Distressed at difficulty of new task, asks for encouragement and assistance (Father, Mother, Like)

P- Admires his skills and talents, uses as model (Mother, Teacher, Like, Will Occur)

MH- Expresses an eagerness to learn, in area where older is expert (Will Occur)

P- Uninvolved and bored, older has nothing of value to offer (Teacher (2))

P- Learns older's standards so well that can adjust to meet them without specific directions (Father, Like, Will Occur)

MH- Careful not to violate older's standards of mature and dignified behavior (Will Occur)

P- Feels smothered by attention and efforts to help, tries to break free of close contact (Like)

MH- Critical of too much attention and support, refuses to accept more (Like)

Working Hyp. 1: the low participator is likely to be concerned with yearnings for nurturance and support from others. It is likely that these will be difficult for him to express directly, since he is likely to be mistrustful and pessimistic about the possibility of getting relief and attention.

The most direct evidence we have of this working hypothesis comes from the Interpersonal Orientations Inventory (IOI). It will be remembered that we carried out not only an item by item analysis, but also an analysis of factor scores. Looking first at the factor scores, we find that low participators are significantly more likely than high participators to predict that working relationships involving dependency will occur in the classroom vis-a-vis the teacher (Factor I+, "Dependency and Enactment," $F=2.95$, $p=<.05$). In other words, it would appear that work is defined less in terms of autonomy and independence and more in terms of learning what the authority figure wants and adhering closely to this. The notion that this result is related to concerns for nurturance is strengthened by two bits of data. First, low participators have significantly higher scores on the "Nurturance" scale when rating teachers in the past ($F=2.67$, $p=<.05$). That is, low participators are more likely to have had experiences either positive or negative with teachers in the past having to do with receiving support and attention. They do not receive higher scores on this scale when they rate their experiences with the teacher in the present study. However, if we look at individual items, we do find that both male and female low participators, in relation to their high participating counterparts, felt that, in the classroom, they were more likely to have been "lost and discouraged," and that it was "hard to get attention and support from the teacher" (IOI Item 46, $F=2.61$, $p=<.05$). We might also note here that lows have significantly higher scores on the "self-depreciation and distress" IOI factor in relation to the teacher in the

present study ($F=2.58$, $p=<.05$). If we look at the items which comprise this factor (20, 24, 28, 30, 34, 36), it seems to be true that the "distress" centers around the problem of support and attention from the authority figure ("needs additional comments and 'words of wisdom' to complete a task;" "Older provides steadying influence;" "asks for encouragement and assistance") as well as achieving (or being unable to achieve) some standard of excellence (see hypothesis 3 below).

These results would seem to indicate that, more than high participators, low participators are more attuned to, and concerned with, problems of nurturance, support and dependency. But to demonstrate that these concerns are probably present takes us only part of the way toward providing support for this proposition. We must still demonstrate that low participators "yearn" for nurturance, but find this "yearning" difficult to "express directly" because of "mistrust and pessimism" about receiving attention. Let us begin with the easier task, demonstrating the presence of mistrust and pessimism. The most direct evidence comes from male low participators. More often than other groups, male low participators feel that the teacher was not particularly "interested in students" (post-test evaluation #7; $F=6.22$, $p=<.01$), that he did not have enough "Rapport" with the students (T-as Eval.; $F=4.18$, $p=<.05$), and that he was not "involved with the students" (T-as Eval.; $T=3.98$, $p=<.05$). Taken in context with the fact that these students felt "lost and discouraged," that it was "hard to get attention and support" from the teacher (101 item 46), we may conclude that, at least for males, there was a certain sense of despair associated with this classroom experience, a despair centering around receiving attention and support. It should be noted that we have no direct evidence that these males <u>anticipated</u> that they would not be able to receive support (e.g., 101 ratings on "Will

Occur"). However, as we shall argue later, their familial experiences may indeed have led them to anticipate the difficulty of getting attention and support. We certainly do have some evidence that they felt they tried to get closer to the teacher. Thus, these males report that they expressed an "eagerness to learn in areas where the teacher was an expert" (I01 item 55; F= 2.90, p=<.05) and "experienced great pleasure in turning the tables and providing the teacher with something of value" (I01 item 51; F-3.26, p·=<.025). At the same time, curiously, they also indicate (as, by the way, do the females) that the teacher had "nothing of value to offer and that they felt uninvolved and bored" (I01 item 56; F=2.31, p= <.05).

For male participators, then, we get some sense of pessimism or, better, a sense of despair or hopelessness, about receiving such support (see discussion of hypothesis 3 below for further qualification of this point). To what extent this reflects a mistrust of the teacher is something we would like to pursue more fully in our discussion of hypotheses 3 and 4. For now, let us note that male low participators score lowest on the "trust" factor of the Metaphor Checklist (MCL; F=7.65, p=<.01).

The picture for female low participators is much less clear. Although they are rather negative about the teacher and the experience as are the males (same items as above), these feelings are more muted and less intense. Thus they do not share the male's perception of the teacher as "uninterested" in his students, as "uninvolved with them, or as not having "rapport" with them. They do agree that he seemed to emphasize the role components of his performance in class rather than the personal components (T-as: Role-Person; F=6.19, p=<.01); however, as point out below, this fact could be interpreted in terms of evaluative concerns as well as nurturance concerns. What, then, can we say about female low participators in relation to this hypothesis? First,

we must remember that females also felt lost and discouraged in class, that it was hard to get attention and support from the teacher. At the same time, they were also least likely to feel that the teacher "appreciated or saw them as fellow human beings," or that the "relationship with him was warm and genuine" (IOI item 43; $F=2.68$, $p=<.05$), although when this did happen, they liked it more than other groups ($F-3.53$, $p=<.025$). They were also least likely to express an "eagerness to learn in an area where the teacher was an expert" (IOI item 55; $F=2.90$, $p=<.05$) and were least likely to get any "pleasure from turning the tables on the teacher and presenting him with something of value" (IOI item 51; $p=<.025$).

We get a picture, then, of concern about nurturance and related concerns, but much less of a feeling that these females are as actively concerned as the males seem to be. To anticipate, it would appear that nurturance concerns for females seem more closely linked to concerns with being evaluated on one's competence, and we shall take this up when we discuss hypothesis 3. For now, we may note that this connection between nurturance and evaluation seems to generate a certain kind of mistrust in at least some of the female low participators, a fear that the teacher's warmth or concern is a facade, masking malevolence or hostility. It is as if this female low participator distrusts the motives of the teacher. Thus Louise, in Mr. C's class, saw the teacher as democratic on the surface but "ultimately authoritarian." Nancy didn't like Mr. B's "constant psychoanalysis of us either by watching us or expressing himself verbally--and suppressing his own reactions for those he thought would be more psychologically appropriate." At the same time, she describes him as both a compassionate and threatening father, since "underneath he has a powerful temper which he keeps well-hidden."

In summary, hypothesis 1 is substantially confirmed for male low participators, but (as stated in its present form) only partly confirmed for female low participators. We now consider data relevant to hypothesis 2 which again tends to highlight the striking sex differences in this sample.

Working Hyp. 2: the low participator is likely to be sensitive to the possibility of being manipulated by others in ways over which he has little, or no, control.

In both the quantitative and qualitative data, low participators give clear evidence of anticipating, perceiving, and behaving toward the teachers in this sample as if they were out to use the students in the service of their own needs and (by inference) ignoring the student's needs. Again, this idea is most pronounced for males and emerges as a need to escape from the intrusions of older persons into one's personal domain and a fear that, in making oneself dependent upon another, one may find oneself trapped in that dependent position, i.e., one may lose one's autonomy and independence. Thus males recall having liked being able to "break free of close contact when feeling smothered by the efforts of the older person to help" (IOI item 21, $F = 2.65$, $p =< .05$) and of "refusing to accept too much attention and support" while at the same time being "critical of the older person for giving too much support" (IOI item 26; $F = 2.80$, $p = < .05$). Males anticipate or predict that the teacher, "if given a chance, will be too dominating," and that it "will be necessary to avoid times of expected dependency" (IOI item 17; $F = 2.49$, $p =< .05$), they also predict that the teacher will "pry too much into their private affairs," which they feel "should be shared only when they feel like it it" (IOI item 14, $F = 2.49$, $p = < .05$). These results give a much more suspicious and mistrustful quality to the anticipation which is generally true for all males, i.e., that they will have to "rebel against the domination of

the teacher and insist on doing things without interference and control" (IOI item 12; F-2.85, p= <.05). Finally, both male and female low participators liked it in the present study when they could "turn to people of their same age when the teacher wanted to be on too friendly terms" (IOI item 13; F=2.83, p= <.05) and liked it in the past when the "initiative for friendliness and closeness" was not "in the older person's hands" (IOI item 18; F=2.51, p=<.05).

These perceptions and feelings find open expression in the interview data. For the males, one finds what we may describe as a curious combination of rebellious bravado and emotional neutrality. Tim, in Mr. C's class, is a "classic" example of this stance. He suggests that he is going to study only if it is personally interesting to him and not because he is "hot and bothered" by what the teacher thinks is important. He explicitly suggests that he is "cooling it" and "being his own man." His motto, he says, is "easy come, easy go"; if the teacher "asks questions about what I haven't read--tough." One must be wary, however, (Tim suggests) since the teacher is like a missionary: "He'll listen to you but try to convert you."

The implication here that silence is a kind of counterattack upon the teacher's perceived intrusiveness and narcissistic manipulations is made explicit by Howard in Mr. A's class. He suggests that being "non-reactive" is to "blow his [the teacher's] cool." When Howard first saw Mr. A, he thought: "This guy is going to teach me something because he knows how to teach, or he is not going to teach me anything and I'll have to teach myself using his outline." When asked what events in the class had the most impact on him, he said, "I met the girl next to me and we dated a few times." When asked what he liked most about the class,

he said (evidently irritated): "I usually don't like anything or anybody the most."

Two impressions are conveyed by these males. First, they seem to see the teacher as posing a real danger to their identity, or at least to their sense of being a free agent, being able to determine who and what they want to be, and they feel they must engage in a struggle with the teacher to maintain this freedom. Insofar as this stance is predicted on the perceived narcissism of the teacher, the preoccupation with "independence" then might be understood as an attempt to escape the confusion about self-identity created when the older person manipulates an everchanging and unpredictable sequence of behaviors from the young person in the service of the older person's needs and at the expense of the younger person's needs (see Searles, 1961).

Second, we can perhaps better understand the function of "passive-aggressive"behavior, as the behavior of Tim and Howard might be described. The silence (or in Howard's terms, "non-reactivity") seems to be saying:

> you see, you think you can make me do what you want, that you can intrude upon my personal space and make me respond as you want, but I am putting up a wall against you and it will be you who will be frustrated, irritated, made to blow your cool, to feel hot and bothered.

Thus, silence is a way of defending oneself against a perceived threat from what we assume must be seen as a powerful other.

But we can push this analysis too far. Indeed, at this point, one might be justified in protesting that we are drawing too negative or "neurotic" a picture of these males. Indeed, one might argue, these are men whose style is to deal with life in a very independent way, making sense of the world very much in their own terms. In response to this argument, we would like to suggest that there is too much evidence that this "independence" is in fact what Mann calls "counterdependence" (1967). We

have already seen that low participating males seem to be concerned with problems of nurturance, attention and support. This fact would seem to shift our conceptualizing their defiant self-assertion in the direction of the idea that these males are struggling with impulses toward dependence, that is, with the yearning to be in a state where one is paid attention to, taken care of, nurtured. Note, indeed, how several of the 101 items center around the issue of dependency and the need to avoid situations where one would be unable to pull loose from a dependent position. There are indications too in the interviews which, in a clinical sense, lead us to suspect that these males are conflicted about expressing dependent feelings. For instance, Tim, whom we have already mentioned, indicated that he would want Mr. C as a psychiatrist and indicated that he bought a jacket like his. In the midst of a highly symbolic discussion of maternal deprivation centering around the mother's ability to provide need-gratification, Tim, in one of his rare statements in class, suggested "I don't think mothers feel the same toward adopted sons at all . . ." This comment stirred up enough anxiety in the class to make us suspect that Tim was really saying something about himself vis-a-vis the teacher, namely, that it was highly unlikely that Mr. C would be able to, or would want to, gratify Tim's nurturance needs. Another example: Willa (one of the females who had similar suspicions about being manipuated and who described Mr. C as being "too interested for his own good") indicates that she would go to see him at his office hour, but there are always other students around; she would like to see him alone. She also feels that she would like to be more "personal, private" with him, but feels he "wouldn't understand."

The concern with manipulation for male participators, comes through pretty clearly. What about women as regards this hypothesis? Interestingly, if we

look at the interviews, we find that four of the eleven low participating female interviews show the same kind of suspicion and mistrust of the teacher's motives as do the men. The remaining females, on the other hand, seem to adopt a posture which seems, phenotypically at any rate, to be diametrically opposed to the counterdependent stance of the others. We shall discuss this in more detail below, but we can say here that this stance can be described as "anxious and submissive"; the power and threat of the authority is acknowledged and the self is presented as incompetent and helpless. As we shall see later, the split between "counterdependent" and "submissive" females seems traceable to early developmental experiences (but note that "submissiveness" is also a sex-role characteristic--see below).

In summary, we again find that this working hypothesis is supported for male low participators, but only partially for female low participators. Before moving on to consider our other working hypotheses, we might suggest an alternative formulation to account for the self-assertive stance of the males. It must be remembered that these are males who do not speak in class. We might guess that they are in fact likely to perceive themselves (and be perceived by others) as somewhat deviant in terms of conventional role-expectations for males, i.e., that they be assertive, aggressive, and "take the lead" in group activities. Indeed, this was true in our sample. Of the high participators, 24 were males and only 11 were females, suggesting that it is more the norm for men to speak out or to take the initiative in talking than it is for women (see also Slater, 1961). If this is the case, then these low participating males may indeed have something about which to be defensive, namely, the perception of the self as not performing in the manner expected of males. It may very well be that the male stress on "being cool," independent, in command of one's behavior, is a response to this sense

of being deviant. In the present study, we have no way of testing this idea.

Working Hyp. 3: the low participator is likely to feel incompetent and fearful of being evaluated by others. This will manifest itself in a form of "stage-fright."

In any traditional classroom situation, one expects most students to be concerned with problems of evaluation. Pursuing the genesis of low participation, then, we will want to look for evidence that low participators, more than others, are particularly sensitive, or particularly conflicted, about evaluation. We might look in two directions here. First, we might look at these students' perceptions of those aspects of the classroom having to do with supports for academic performance. That is, we might look at perceptions of course structure, of clarity of presentation on the part of the teacher, on the work load, and so on. Second, we might look at direct expressions of feeling concerning the achievement of standards.

Indeed, we find that, in the quantitative data, concern is expressed over formal properties of the course--but primarily by the males. Thus, more than other groups, male lows did not think the instructor "planned activities in detail" ($F=4.83$, $p=<.05$), that the course did not have enough "structure" (T-as; $F=5.43$, $p=<.05$), that the instructor "overloaded the students" (T-as; $F=5.43$, $p=<.05$), that the course was not "relevant" to them (T-as; $F=4.17$, $p=<.05$), and that the instructor was a poor "Formal Authority" (T-as; $F=4.44$, $p=<.05$). In general, the male low participators are negative about the course. Thus, relative to the other students, they see the course as having less "value" (post-course eval.: $F=7.21$, $p=<.01$) the instructor as having less "teaching ability" (post-course eval.: $F=20.88$, $p=<.001$), the course as having less "value relative to others" (2 year eval." $F=7.64$, $p=<.01$), and the instructor as low in "teaching ability relative to others" (2 year eval.: $F=9.64$, $p=<.01$).

For the males, a very immediate impact of this discontent with the formal structure of the class is a significantly lower grade ($F=6.32$, $p=< .025$). Since the evaluations were made by the students after the course was over, one might interpret their negative reaction to the course as "sour grapes." However, other evidence makes us think that more was going on for these males. For, more than high participators, these are persons who typically try to use teachers as models, admiring their skills and talents, but who at the same time tend to feel incompetent and inexperienced in relation to the teacher's qualifications (IOI item 45; $F=3.61$, $p=\leq.05$; IOI item 30; $F=2.34$, $p= <.05$). In other words, these are people who in the past at any rate, were desirous of meeting the standards of an attractive model, but who felt inadequate to the task. We would suggest, then, that the males tend to externalize this felt inadequacy by blaming the formal course structure (and the teacher's skill) for their inability to meet these standards (remember that these males also "felt lost and discouraged, and found it hard to get attention and support from the teacher"). A good example of these characteristics is Mike in Mr. D's class. To Mike, Mr. D is a "fine guy" and a "cool head," by which he means that he is well-informed, answers difficult questions quickly, who is "not boring" but "tries to keep things interesting." At the same time, he indicates that he is somewhat unsure of himself and afraid of getting "put down." There is some accuracy in this, in the sense that Mr. D. was more directly scornful and negative in evaluating student contributions. This fear seems to lead to the major criticism of the course, namely, that he didn't know what to look for in the readings and would prefer a text. The implication here is that he would be less susceptible to being "put down" if he could anticipate more clearly what the teacher wants. This externalization seems to fit with the counter-

dependent stance which, we noted earlier, many of these males take. That is, their counterdependence might be seen as a form of withdrawal from a situation in which they feel incompetent and inadequate. This conceptualization might also help us to understand why they indicate to us in their interviews that they fended off the teacher's attempts to engage them in discussions of subject matter; this indeed might reveal their felt incompetence.

It is curious, in regard to this last point, that this incompetence should come out in this course in such a concrete way, i.e., in terms of a lower grade. For these males are not significantly less intelligent than other groups (SAT: $F=2.63$, $p=< .1$) nor do they have lower grade point averages (GPA: $F=1.36$, p=n.s.). This fact suggests that there was something specific about this course which inhibited them from performing up to their potential. It is difficult to pinpoint just what this inhibiting factor is. One suspects that it is quite variable from individual to individual. For instance, it is clear that a certain subset of these males are disturbed by the nature of the subject matter itself. As Craig in Mr. D's class says, "psychology is just not as neat as physics." Similarly, Mike in Mr. D's class felt the class was "abstract" because "psychology principles and concepts are harder to apply than in Chemistry." We will see this problem again when we consider differences between low participators across classrooms.

In the example of Mike above, we noted that the concern with structure may in fact reflect a concern to discover what the teacher wants. Again, this is a common concern for students in the traditional classroom. The question we must raise is whether this concern is more central or pressing for the low participator, as demanded by the working hypothesis. We have suggested for the males that felt incompetence combined

with an orientation to meet the standards set by the teacher results in a greater "need for structure" (see Grimes and Allinsmith, 1961, for a further discussion of the relationship of evaluative anxiety and desires for structure). For low participating females in this study, we also find a similar combination of desire to model a power authority and a felt incompetence or lack of qualification to meet the model's standards (same 101 items as above). However, we do not find the same concern with lack of structure (although they do tend to feel "overloaded" with work relative to high participating females--T-as; $F=5.43$, $p=<.05$). Rather, we find a generalized orientation toward authority figures which we shall label "submissive." Female lows, more than any other group, not only agree that, in the course, they will have "to be careful not to violate the teacher's standards of mature and dignified behavior" (101 item 59; $F=2.60$, $p=<.05$), but that they will have to "learn the teacher's standards so well that they can adjust to meet them without specific directives" (101 item 57; $F=2.47$, $p=< .05$). The generality of this latter orientation is quite dramatic; low participating females agree with this statement in regards to 5 of the 7 objects that one could rate on the 101 (Father, Mother, Like, Will Occur, and Like in the Present Situation).

What does this "submissiveness" mean? Most obviously, it suggests one possible solution to the problem of feeling incompetent in the presence of a valued model. That is, one simply learns what is desired by the model (teacher, etc.) so well that the latter no longer has to monitor the behavior of the person, who in turn need not fear punishment for incompetence (or failure to meet the standards). There are some clearcut examples of this orientation in the classroom behavior of female low participators. For instance, Mr. C put a great deal of stress on the heredity-

environment controversy, coming down very hard on the primacy of environmental determinants. Audrey, who from her voice, seemed quite shy and frightened, mustered up courage to produce four acts during the semester, two of which came when the teacher was clearly trying to elicit the "correct" response from the students about environmental determinants. She seemed almost grateful for the opportunity to say something which she knew would be approved by the teacher. Another example: Mr. B. demonstrated the principle of operant conditioning by asking a student to say three words that had the letter "b" in them. Nancy, who produced no more than three or four acts all semester, was the first one to guess correctly what the operant was, and she did so with a good deal of assurance in her voice. Finally, we should note that a very large percentage of low participator acts in class are taken up with "safe" questions about course mechanics, e.g., what a text will cover, what books they are supposed to read, requests for the teacher to repeat something, etc.

In short, we have some grounds to suspect that low participators are particularly fearful of negative evaluation. Of course, it may seem intuitively obvious that individuals who feel incompetent in relation to a person perceived as powerful and whom they want to model would be fearful of negative evaluation. There is another interesting possibility, however. We indicated above that females seem to divide into two groups: a group of counterdependents, who seem in many ways similar to the males who are like this, and a group of "submissive" females in both these groups. We would like to suggest that the fear of negative evaluation centers not only on feelings of incompetence but also around the problem of receiving nurturance, attention and support. The "submissive" females are most direct about it. For example, Liz,

in Mr. D's class, was extremely disappointed in Mr. D., although initially quite excited about him, because he was not "personal" enough. She wanted a teacher who was "supportive, who if you stumble around, they will help you." She would like to see the teacher show more "affection" even though he is "very brilliant." But she fears to speak because Mr. D seems so "unapproachable" so "bored with the class," so "reserved." In many ways, Mr. D resembles Liz's father who was also somewhat distant and unaffectionate (see developmental hypotheses below).

Negative evaluation, then, for this person and others like her represents a form of love-withdrawal (as Pamela in Mr. B's class says, "something I've often experienced") and leads to a kind of inhibition of activity which demands that the other make the first move; that is, the authority figure must reach out to the student who is far too fearful of being rejected to do so herself.

We must remember, however, that submissiveness and passivity are sex-typed characteristics of the female role in this society. Thus there is a cultural option open to females, namely, to develop a sexualized and flirtatious relationship to the teacher which makes the participation appear to be an expression of coyness or (perhaps) mysteriousness. The attractiveness of this for the female low participator we are describing is that it allows the person to compensate for the feeling of incompetence in meeting standards of evaluation for substituting "competent" sex-role behavior. Mary, in Mr. C's class, is a very well-defined example of this mode of adaptation. She expresses her feeling of incompetence quite directly. She feels Mr. C's assignments are too big, gets irritated when he gets "distracted . . . and doesn't stress something, but admits that "half the time I don't know what's happening," and that she is "doing worst in this class." She then goes on to say that Mr. C is perceived

by her to be both a "boy" and an "elder." She explicitly states that "Mr. C is cute and appealing with a big grin and I'd date." Further, "there isn't anyone in the psychology class attractive enough to date." Her descriptions of other females in the class all center around their looks and possible competition with her for males in the class (and presumably the teacher). Mr. C, in a personal communication, has indicated he did indeed experience his relationship with Mary as sexualized and flirtatious. Of course, one could argue that many females "size up the competition" (as do males); but Mary is one of the few to openly stress this in interviews. Further, she also had three older brothers to whom she also related in a similar way. This leads us to suspect that the flirtatiousness is a well-learned and preferred style of adaptation. We might speculate that flirtation has the effect of bringing the threatening, evaluative authority down to one's own level, i.e., in the dating-mating game. But of course that behavior may subserve many motives.

The group of counterdependent females, like their male counterparts, again seem similar to the males in focusing a good deal of discontent on the lack of structure in the course. Thus Celia, in Mr. C's class, sees Mr. C as incompetent and not prepared for lectures; she says she comes to class only because she doesn't want him to lower her grade. As we pointed out while discussing the first and second hypotheses, the counterdependent person fears being seduced into a passive or dependent position; as Celia puts it, "I don't like to submit myself to anything." But the irony here is that these females are struggling not to fall into the posture the "submissive" females have embraced, which makes us suspect that the rebellious withdrawal of the counterdependent person has a similar intent, i.e., to avoid rejection and negative evaluation. Clearly, if the authority figure is an incompetent teacher (i.e., doesn't provide enough structure

or prepare well enough), the person himself need not fear the force of his negative (or positive) evaluation. However, with no direct evidence for this idea, we simply offer it as a speculation.

To summarize, we have demonstrated some support for this working hypothesis. All low participators see themselves as incompetent and unable to meet the standards of an attractive model. Males express concern about evaluation by focusing on the ways in which the structure of the course makes it difficult to meet the teacher's standards. Females are more likely to accept and express their incompetence and try to avoid negative evaluation by learning the teacher's standards so well that any confrontation with him is avoided. There is some possibility that negative evaluation for these females means loss of nurturance and support, which we have already seen is a concern for them. It was noted that the submissive posture is a cultural option for females, and one that certain women may try to capitalize on, perhaps to compensate for feelings of inadequacy in other areas. A small group of females resembles the males in being counterdependent. These females (4) also express discontent with the lack of structure and focus on the incompetence of the teacher.

This last part of this working hypothesis suggests that the fear of evaluation will manifest itself as "stage-fright." Our only evidence here comes from the interviews. Of the 24 low participators interviewed, 5 explicitly mention their fear of participating in a group and express concern with the anticipated reactions of others. (See above, however, on use of interviews). None of the high participators mention this fear ($X^2=3.28$, $p= < .10$). This disconfirmation, however, does not end the issue. We believe one can make a case that the perception of the teacher as threatening, the mistrust implied in the counterdependent stance and the expressed fear of evaluation on

the part of some low participators suggests that the classroom setting does evoke strong fears of exposing the self to others through verbal participation. However, this is most certainly an argument from inference.

Working hyp. 4: The low participator is likely to be concerned about the consequences of acting autonomously and assertively and of expressing aggression directly.

Autonomy, assertion and aggression are of course three different kinds of behavior (or rather, behavior with different intents). Our review of the literature suggested that low participators might tend to confuse them, that expressions of autonomy or assertion might be seen as aggressive acts (i.e., damaging to others) and especially seen to be incompatible with needs for nurturance and support. This would suggest that, in the present context, if the low participator is especially concerned with getting nurturance from the teacher, he is very unlikely to feel confortable acting in an independent, autonomous or aggressive way in relation to him. We have already seen that male low participators express irritation by assuming a stance we have been calling "counterdependent," by which is meant that autonomy is couched in terms of escaping from a potentially manipulative entrapment of self. In the context of our discussion of previous hypotheses it becomes clear that the orientation of many low participators is away from any kind of confrontation with the teacher or other students. Indeed, as we have pointed out, hostility seems to arise out of disappointment with being unable to get close enough to the teacher, as an externalization of one's own incompetence, or as an externalization of one's own needs for occupying a dependent, passive position. For these low participators, then, the problem of aggression is not so much that aggression is difficult to express, but that it arises out of rather painfully frustraging circumstances, most notably the inability to achieve desired standards or to receive

nurturance, affection and support.

It is probably worthwhile pointing out here that passivity itself can be a powerful tool of self-assertion. As we have already seen, male low participators sometimes self-consciously use a "non-reactive" posture as a way of discomfiting and frustrating the intrusive other. Similarly, some of the females in this sample made use of their cultural option of passivity. In both these cases, silence may be a form of control over others. Indeed, it may very well be a form of control over the self. As Celia puts it, "I want to be objective, have complete independence, self-strength enough to repress emotions that are often a person's downfall in getting what they want. I don't like the power emotions have over me, I don't like to submit myself to anything. I make it a struggle." Thus for this person the external struggle to be independent, to tell off the teacher, and so in, in short, the struggle to control and effect the outer world (and not be controlled by it) is reflected in the struggle to control and effect the inner world. One often hears of the "strong, silent type." Can it be that some of these people see their silence as strength? Incidentally, Celia also expresses what we have come to feel is the characteristic ambivalence of these people when, in discussing the possibility of rebellion against what she perceives to be an incompetent teacher, she says, "I don't want to buck him. I conform. I keep my own thoughts and think a lot . . . I'm too cowardly to be rebellious . . . I don't like conformity, but I can't renounce it completely." Thus, with all her concern with inner strength and self-control, Celia reveals her fear, hopelessness, and possible attraction to the "conformist" position of dependent student (as she perceives others in the class to be). Interestingly, she considers that "needing people" is a form of "weakness," strengthening the idea that her "rebelliousness" is an attempt to repudiate her own dependency needs.

The combination of perceiving dependency as a sign of "weakness," the stress on control of the emotions, the inability to directly confront the instructor and the depressed submission to "conformity" all suggest that we are dealing with a low participator whose silence is a reflection of an authoritarian character structure; as we remember from Chapter II, there is some data that persons high on the F-scale are more likely to be silent in groups. Celia also demonstrates other traits usually associated with authoritarianism (see Review, Chapter II). For instance, her criticisms of Mr. C's "incompetence" seems to center on his tendency to encourage discussion and to be more free-wheeling in his lectures. She also indicates some uneasiness and antipathy toward Jews, but makes distinctions between "good" and "bad" Jewish characteristics. Mr. C (a Jew) is considered "intelligent" and doesn't have "bad Jewish characteristics, so he doesn't enter in . . . to the stereotype." Celia, however, is as well-defined an authoritarian personality as can be found in the sample of women. Craig, in Mr. D's class, comes as close as we can find among the men. For instance, Craig doesn't believe in "student-teacher fraternization." He believes teachers should maintain authority and have a right to punish students if they merit it. He pictures the class as "feminine" because there are too many discussions, and "not enough gets done," i.e., not enough material gets communicated by the teacher. The observer describes Craig as having "free-floating hostility" which, from the observer's point of view, makes Craig "preauthoritarian," i.e., his hostility has not come to rest on some defined object as yet. Finally, Craig is strongly anti-introspective; it was very difficult for the observer to get him to elaborate on his "impatient insights."

Finally, we should make mention of those submissive low participators for whom non-assertiveness is a clearly preferred mode of adaptation. Here, silence would

seem to reflect or communicate the sense of low esteem and felt incompetence indicated in our quantitative data. The extent to which the silence is also a plea for attention and support must remain inferential. It is quite interesting that these individuals rarely express hostility toward the instructor, and in fact show some evidence of turning it back upon themselves. Thus Elizabeth is sure Mr. D doesn't like her because she doesn't talk enough. Mary says that she thinks her low participation makes Mr. C think she is "inferior." And Carol states very clearly that she feels she is letting Mr. B down by not participating.

In summary, we may note that, by definition, low participators are "non-assertive," if by this we mean that they do not take the lead in verbal interaction in the classroom setting. Data summarized in reviewing earlier hypotheses seems to suggest that, because of mistrust, suspicion, or fear, low participators are unlikely to be people interested in confronting others directly in general, and that aggression is likely to be expressed passively of as a result of the frustration of other needs of activities.

A Partial Summary

Our data would seem to indicate at least some support for all of the first four working hypotheses. Hypotheses 1 and 2 are supported for male low participators, but only partially so for female low participators. In examining hypothesis 3, we noted that this partial confirmation seems to result from the anxious and submissive orientation of the females. That is, the females in general seem much more directly to perceive themselves as incompetent, the authority figure as powerful, and seem therefore much more overtly concerned with the possibility of rejection for failure to meet the authority figure's standards. We suggested that the females adapt to this situation by attempting to learn the other's standards so well that no verbal communication need pass between the person

and the other. Low participating males, while also admitting (on the IOI) to feelings of incompetence in achieving the standards of an attractive model, tend to externalize this feeling by accusing the teacher of incompetence in structuring the course. These accusations also seem to reflect their need to have the teacher's standards clearly spelt out so that they (low males) will not risk hostile rejection. Again most clearly for the females, the possibility of negative evaluation seems linked to concerns for receiving nurturance and support. Negative evaluation may be seen as the loss of desired attention and affection.

We noted, however, that females are not unitary in their orientations and modes of adaptation. Thus a small subgroup of four (and possibly more) females seem to have adopted the counterdependent, rebellious stance of the males. We also noted, however, that a counterdependent stance is the other side of the coin as far as dependency needs are concerned. That is, both the counterdependent and submissive stances share in common the concern with the problem of obtaining nurturant support, attention and affection.

We also noted that the male posture in this sample may be a response to the male's perception of their own lack of participation which, in sex-role terms, seems more appropriate to the female. Insofar as these males are in fact reacting against their own needs for passivity, the problem of acting in sex-appropriate ways probably exacerbates their problems of adaptation in the classroom. For the females, acting "submissively" maps much more closely onto the cultural stereotype of appropriate sex-role behavior; it is not surprising, then, to find that some of these females perceive themselves as having a sexualized, flirtatious relationship with the teacher. We suggested for these females that this set of feelings may be a way of handling feelings of incompe-

tence, either in the sense that this is a woman's "competence" or in the sense that the teacher is made less threatening and more "controllable."

Finally, we suggest that, by inference from the data presented earlier, one could argue hypothesis 4 receives support in this sample. Assertiveness seems to be threatening, either because of fear of rejection and negative evaluation, or because it is incompatible with a preferred mode of dealing with powerful authority figures. Fear of the loss of autonomy, and rebellious assertions of it, seem to have to do with fear of one's own yearnings for nurturance and the fear that the older person is narcissistic and manipulative, so that the temptation to enter into a dependent relationship must be strongly resisted. We suggested that confrontations with others in general are avoided by these people since their hostility seems to be either an externalization of inadequacy, an expression of disappointment and despair about receiving affection and support, or an expression of frustration of very painful inner impulses.

These are the low participators. Let us now turn to an examination of their past histories and see if present behavior bears any relationship to early experiences in the family.

Working hyp. 5: The low participator is likely to have had the following characterize his past history:

a. parents restrictive of activity
b. parents low on reward, high on punishment, overcritical
c. parents who frustrated nurturance needs
d. relatively little social interaction with parents
e. uncertain or ambivalent identifications with the same-sex parent

Our information about the developmental origins of low participation comes from the 101 and from the interview data. We will discuss these hypotheses

as a group. We begin by looking at the results for the 101 to see if there are any logical connections between experiences with parents and behavior in the classroom. Unlike the data we looked at earlier, the most clearcut results come from female low participators. In the same way that female lows generally expressed feelings of incompetence and inadequacy, seemed very concerned with the possibility of negative evaluation from the teacher and generally expressed an anxious submissiveness, so do they seem to feel in a similar way toward their parents. Thus they not only "express distress at the difficulty of a new task" and ask the parents for encouragement and assistance (101 item 36; $F=2.92$, $p=<.05$) as do other females, but they also typically "express uncertainty and distress about making right decisions to their parents" (101 item 32; $F=3.26$, $p=<.05$). Further, not only do they share the experience with other females of feeling about their father that he "brings out the best in them, as if one were having his batteries recharged" (101 item 28; $F=2.30$, $p=<.05$), but, unlike other females, feel that for both Father and Mother they "learned their standards so well they could adjust to meet them without specific directives" (101 item 57; $F=4.01$, $p=<.025$; $F=3.00$, $p=<.05$).

As in the classroom situation, one gets no sense here of irritation, resentment or hostility toward the parents, rather the picture is one of admiring but fearful, submission. Of all the groups, including high participating females, for instance, female lows were most likely to have "admired the mother's skills and talents and used them as models" (101 item 45; $F=2.43$, $p=<.05$). Since we earlier pointed out that the "quiet female" is a culturally accepted female role behavior, we might suggest that these females have most closely identified with the stereotype (see below). The only hint of resentment here centers on the father. More than other groups, female lows

say that they did not like it when the "initiative for friendliness or closeness was in the father's hands." (101 item 18, $F=2.76$, $p= <.05$). But where could this mistrustfulness come from?

If we look at the interviews, the meaning of these results begins to come more into focus. If we look at the 101 items again, we notice that one thing they center on is the eliciting of support or concern from authority figures. Is there something special, then, about the parents of these students which would make them more concerned than others about this problem? Our perusal of the interviews suggests that many of these females had fathers (and in some cases parents) who were experienced as strong and powerful but who were not very affectionate and seemed indifferent to the child's needs for this concern. For instance, Mary in Mr. C's class had a father who, while "hard-working" and whom she admired and respected, was "away a lot" in connection with his occupation; he often took his wife with him. This meant that Mary had to live with her older brother and sister-in-law. Her mother is described as a "Woman City Club type" whom Mary found hard to "get to react" and who "shows disappointment-withdrawal of love type of punishment." We might surmise, then, that Mary has some degree of concern about the possibility of getting affection and attention from older persons. In her case, we might guess that "learning standards so well" that one needs no further guidance may be one way of moving closer to the persons from whom she desires support.

Similarly, Cary's father was the"classic example of the father who lavishes his kids with gifts but no affection" (interviewer's description) and who tended to withdraw such affection as was there when he disapproved of what Cary did. Mr. D, her instructor, closely fit this description--a strong, attractive authority figure who remained

aloof and showed little or no affection. Cary was certain that she would not say anything in class unless Mr. D approved. But at the same time she felt that Mr. D didn't like her because she didn't participate.

One suspects that the description of parents (especially fathers) as "authoritarian" (which one finds in some interviews) really means that the parent was not too free with warmth and affection. Now, it is true that high participating females will sometimes refer to parents as "authoritarian." The difference seems to be that the low participating female seems much more to have acquiesced or given up in attempts to get the desired nurturance, leaving behind residual feelings of helplessness, incompetence, and resignation. The high participators are much more likely to express both disappointment and anger; one doesn't have the sense of depression and despair more characteristic of the low participator. In part, this difference seems to be a result of increased interaction with the parent. In other words, the parent may be cold and not very nurturant, but at least reacts or responds to the child. For instance, Jill in Mr. C's class describes her father as "not very personal and authoritarian." She goes on to say that "Dad is very admirable . . . very dominant volatile temper . . . threatens to commit family to institution." This person was very volatile and aggressive in class, which suggests some identification with the father here. She also perceives Mr. C to be very much like her father.

There is another difference between highs and lows as regards their perception of parents, especially fathers. Not only are the fathers of lows perceived to be "authoritarian" but also as attempting to hide this fact or mask it with a facade of democratic equalitarianism. Karen, in Mr. C's class describes her father as "actually strict but not admitting it. He goes about it through my mother." Carla describes her father

as "reasonably democratic but an ultimate authoritarian"; for instance, "he'd try to talk you out of it before he'd say no." We have noted earlier that many females seem to mistrust their teachers because of what they perceive to be similar qualities: friendly and democratic on the outside, hostile and authoritarian on the inside. It does not seem too much of a leap to assume that the suspicion that older persons may be out to manipulate you in the service of their needs, rather than yours, might have grown out of interactions with parents of this sort.

A few of these students appear to have had to struggle with parents who very definitely seemed to be using the child to gratify their own needs at the expense of the other's needs. Eileen, in Mr. C's class, was the only child of a widowed father, who from her accounts, wrote her twice a week, sent her "articles and stuff" and pushed her to read and discuss them with him. She was quite upset about this, experiencing it as an intrusion on her life, as stifling her independence, and, in a more subtle way, as having not-well-understood sexual connotations. Eileen clearly felt that close relationships between people of the same sex (as between Mr. C and another teacher with whom he collaborated) border on the perverse: "there's something wrong there, something unhealthy."

When we look at the I01 data for male low participators, the picture is less clear. A curious thing is the lack of material about the father. All that comes out clearly is the infrequency with which male low participators admit to having "felt distress or uncertainty about making a decision and coming to the parent" with the problem (item 32; $F=3.26$, $p=<.05$). More remarkable is the pattern of results which focus on the mother. Thus, while there is some tendency to take the "mother as a model" (item 45; $F=2.93$, $p=<.05$), they also report that they "felt disappointed in

her for not providing direction, for being weak and indecisive" (101 item 2; F=3.14, p= <.05).

The puzzle deepens when one goes to the interviews. Evidently, how one responds on the 101 does not always predict directly to how one will respond in the interview situation, since it is clear that, for many of the male low participators, the father is very central and important. In what ways is this true? In many ways, these fathers resemble the father of low participating females. The major difference seems to be that the father is seen as presenting very high standards which are, therefore, very difficult to model. For example, Jerry describes his father as "first in his class, and first in medical school . . . my father . . . is hard to impress . . . he's the 'unattainable'. . . nobody could have been that smart." In addition, he is "distant" and "not active in his affairs to me." Thus, the young person not only feels incompetent to achieve the high standards, but also does not feel that the father is very supportive in his attempts to do so. Tim in Mr. C's class had a father who is a "top-flight architect" (Tim is also in architecture school). His father "knows a lot" but at the same time "you're stupid to argue with him. He tears up any argument to shreds" but "never shows he's mad or angry." What's more, "you never do anything without consulting him."

Now if it is true that these males have fathers who present difficult standards and do not reward the young person's attempts to reach them, then we might have a possible explanation for the 101 results. In this situation, one could imagine that the young man might turn to a more attainable model, namely, the mother. Very few of the mothers of low participators (we infer) seem to be housewives solely; most seem to have some profession. Presumably, then, they might well offer something in the way

of modelable behavior. However, one could imagine that for the male, this is hardly satisfactory; the most desirable model is clearly the father. Hence one might expect a rejection of the mother as "weak and indecisive," i.e., in relation to the father. At least as they report it in the interviews, the males do not explicitly describe the mother as "weak and indecisive" as they do in the IOI and it therefore seems not unreasonable that they mean this in relation to the father. Certainly one can understand why these males definitely do not go to the father with problems. One's fantasy is that the child is afraid of the father's scorn; it would seem difficult enough to get warm reactions from him in any event.

This possibility might help to explain the developmental origins of the silent, non-assertive behavior of these males in class. If in fact they do turn to the mother because they find the father hard to use as a model, then one might speculate that there is a greater possibility of developing an identification with the mother as opposed to the father. If we can be granted this point for a moment, then we can develop an interesting explanation of the counterdependent stance of these males in the classroom. We would tentatively suggest that the temptation against which they react is to act out the more submissive maternal identification vis-a-vis the feared authority. In a sense, this is a description of the "submissive" solution of oedipal issues as described in the psychoanalytic literature (see Chapter II). It might help explain the tremendous need not to be placed in a dependent position. It is unfortunate that our interview data is not complete enough to let us ascertain if this perception of the father and mother are truly typical of male low participators.

Nonetheless, the notion that there is a cross-sex identification which may account for and may help to explain the behavior of that small subset of females

we noted earlier to have adopted a similar counterdependent stance to the one males did. All of these 4 females at least leave open the possibility that this possibility of cross-sex identification, is true. For instance, Celia in Mr. C's class, who severely criticized Mr. C as a teacher for his incompetence and who threatened a walk-out of the class (see above) feels much more positively toward her father whom she idealizes than toward her mother who she accuses of being insensitive and "show-offy." She says that she "always confides in her father" and brought questions about sex to him. "I identify an enormous amount with my father. I possess my father's good qualities--strength, independence, sensitivity, quiet knowledge (insight). Knowledge of people as opposed to book learning." Her mother on the other hand "is a smart woman and knows it. Smart in school sense. Not as smart as my father, sometimes insensitive. Sometimes she can't perceive people, emotions, etc." We can see than a pattern similar to that suggested for the males. The mother here is seen as unwarm and unnurturant, as punitive in regard to intellectual achievement. The young person then turns to the father as the model for identification. The idealization of the father makes us suspect that underlying this choice may lie an attempt to work out feelings of rivalry with the mother. Indeed, the issue of rivalry seems to be a sore point with Celia. After saying that she identifies with the father, she mentions that she has a brother who feels rivalry with her, but in whom the father sees much of himself. She immediately adds, "My father also sees some of him in me too. He respects me." Interestingly, one of her major complaints about Mr. C is that he doesn't respect her, i.e., treats her like a kid, rather than a grown-up person as she feels her father does.

The problem of competition would seem to be a sore point with many low participators, especially the males. Given a situation in which there are high standards, not many rewards for achievement striving, and many frustrations in the attempt to receive praise, one might expect that competition for nurturance might indeed be an issue. Some males are explicit about feeling competitive with the father (as is Jerry quoted above). Others focus on the problem of siblings. Tim, quoted earlier, has an older brother, also in architecture, at the University of Michigan, who he describes succinctly as "smart," and Mary, also quoted above, had three older brothers who were "very smart." One gets the impression that being "smart" means being valued by the parents. This competitive feeling may help to explain why low participators often get so irritated when people get into discussion in the class (as they often state in interviews). That is, this may reproduce the family situation in which the children vied for favors by performing for the parent. After all, when students are discussing something in class, the teacher is usually paying attention to them, not to those who remain silent. But, of course, if one is afraid of rejection as we suspect these people are, then the choice of remaining silent may seem like the best of several bad options.

In summary, we have seen that on the IOI, female low participators appear to relate to their parents in a helpless, anxious and submissive way, but tending to resent having the initiative for closeness in the hands of the father. A reading of the interviews suggested that the fathers of these females were somewhat unwarm and aloof, exacerbating needs for affection and support, and were also perceived as hypocritical in their protestation of warmth toward the child. The younger person seemed, therefore, to mistrust the motives of the parent.

For the males, the results on the 101 were puzzling, since only 1 significant difference was noted in relation to the father, but several in relation to the mother. There is a tendency to take the mother as a model, but also resent her because she is weak and indecisive. With both parents, low males reported that when they "felt distress and concern about making a decision" they less frequently "went to their parents" than to other groups. The interviews revealed perceptions of the parents similar to those of the females, but with one important difference: the fathers of these males seem to present standards for behavior which are very difficult to attain and hence to model. At the same time, the father does not appear to reward attempts to approach these standards. It was suggested that the tendency not to come to the father with problems reflected this fear of the non-rewarding behavior of the father. It was speculated that this tendency and fear tempted the child to turn to the mother as a model, but which in turn produced a dissatisfaction, reflected in the 101, that the mother could never be as rewarding a model for behavior as the father. It was noted, however, that identification with a maternal figure might explain some of the silent, non-assertive behavior of the male low participator.

Finally, it was suggested that because of the concern about meeting standards and obtaining support and affection, the issue of competition might be quite problematic for the low participator.

In terms of our original hypotheses, we have no evidence that constitutes a direct test of any of them. However, we would like to suggest that intuitively, from our reading of the interviews, hypotheses 5b and 5e (and perhaps 5c) seem more likely to be accurate. There are a few hints in the interview material that there was

less verbal interaction in the families of low participators (hypothesis 5d). For instance, Cindy, in Mr. C's class, says that her "family is not democratic like the class is . . . not encouraged as much to express our opinion. We have never sat around, the whole family, and had a bull session. Classroom is much more a sit-around bull session." Again, however, these are hints; our second sample may provide more adequate data for this and the other hypotheses.

In Chapter III, we noted that low participators were defined in two ways. We have been exploring them as defined by those individuals falling into the lower third of the distribution of verbal participation. Our alternative method of defining low participators involved a cluster analysis of the verbal output of the entire sample (see Appendix L) which used, as the unit of analysis, a 20 act segment of interaction. This meant that individuals who did not produce 20 acts or more during the semester were not included in the cluster analysis. These 21 individuals (who we will label "cluster 8" to distinguish them from the other 7 clusters which were isolated in the analysis) would thus represent the extreme lower end of the verbal participation distribution.

What additional light can an analysis of the responses of these individuals contribute to an understanding of low participation? First of all, there are certain artifacts which contributed to an individual falling into cluster 8 having to do with the unique structure of each class. Thus Mr. A lectured much more than the other instructors, and his students consequently talked less. Therefore one finds that of the 9 individuals in the lower third of the distribution 8 fell into cluster 8. Mr. B, on the other hand, required that each student be involved in presenting material in class to other students. Consequently his students produced more verbal output.

Only 2 of the 9 individuals in the lower third of the distribution are in cluster 8.

The question we will raise here, therefore, will not be aimed at seeing how cluster 8 individuals differ from other individuals in the lower third of the distribution, but rather at a comparison of low participators with individuals in other clusters. That this may be a helpful approach is suggested by the fact that, of the 14 individuals in the lower third of the distribution of verbal participation who are not in cluster 8, 5 fall into cluster 2. This immediately suggests that there may be similarities between these cluster 2 individuals and individuals in the lower third of the distribution of verbal participation. Let us then begin with a look at these two groups (clusters 2 and 8).

Table 12 summarizes some of the quantitative data about cluster 2. This data was obtained by comparing cluster against all other clusters combined. We will give a brief summary of conclusions about cluster 2 individuals as summarized from Mann et al (1970), Chapter IV. Cluster 2 individuals are described as having parents with high standards, but as perceiving little love and nurturance from the parents. They appear to have some difficulty in handling and expressing hostility, and typically respond to hostility with guilt, or by turning against the self. They express an enormous amount of anxiety around evaluation by authorities, and often fear the teacher will seek them out to punish them. These individuals tend to view themselves as "dull" or "lazy"; concerns about intellectual competence seem central. Although they do not get significantly lower grades than other individuals in the sample, they do have a lower verbal IQ (as measured by the SAT). Finally, the women in this group (15 out of a total of 27 individuals) feel inadequate in comparison with men, and typically are jealous of them. With all this, cluster 2

individuals do strive to function more independently and confidently and respond very readily and gratefully to any bit of encouragement from the instructor.

In many ways, cluster 2 individuals are strikingly like the low participating women we described above. One difference is that the low participating women seem less likely to describe themselves as dull or lazy, although they do seem to see themselves as incompetent in relation to former teachers' standards. We saw above that low participators in general (although men in particular) have some difficulty admitting to dependency needs, and this may be one reason why cluster 2 individuals are ready to respond when the teacher moves toward them and low participators are not.

The major difference here, of course, concerns the males in this cluster. As we saw above, low participating males present a stance of counterdependent nautrality, a fear of the intrusiveness and seductiveness of the teacher, and a tendency toward passive-aggressive behavior. Males in cluster 2 do not seem to share these characteristics and indeed seem to be much more like the females. This comparison raises a fascinating question: why is it that some males feel it necessary to repudiate severely their needs for nurturance and affection? Unfortunately our data is not sufficient to allow us to answer this question. Again, we might offer the suggestion that it may have something to do with identification processes and the submissive solution to "oedipal" problems. Whatever the case, we become even more keenly aware that the problem of handling dependency feelings and the style by which this is done seems very central in understanding low participation in this sample.

Table 12

SUMMARY OF DATA SIGNIFICANTLY DISCRIMINATING CLUSTER 2 AND 6 FROM OTHER CLUSTERS (FROM MANN, 1970)

Cluster 2

Interaction analysis categories (See Chapter III):

HI: Showing dependency (.01), Expressing Anxiety (.01), Expressing Depression (.05), Level 1 (.05)

LO: Resisting (.05), Showing Independence (.05), Showing Counter-Dependence (.01), Denying Depression (.05), Amount of Participation (.05)

Students did not volunteer their own opinion (post-course evaluation)
Low creative Personality (OAIS)
Low Verbal (SAT)
Teach high on Activity-Potency (Tri-weekly)
101 Factors:
Enactment Loyalty high for Father, Mother
Dependent-complaining low for Father, Like-past and Course-predict
Rebellion low for Father, Course, predict, Course-actual
Counter-dependent Flight-Resistant Complaining low for Father
Colleague high for Father
Depression-Distress high for Father and Mother
Anxiety-Neutrality low for Father and Mother
Nurturance high for Father and Course-predict
Sexual Object high for Father and Mother
Sexual Rival high for Father, Mother and Like-past
Competence high for Father and Mother

Cluster 6

Interaction analysis categories:

HI: Moving Against (.01), Counterdependent (.01), Making Reparation (.01), Resisting (.05)

LO: Level one (.05)

Students volunteered their own opinion (post-course evaluation)
The teacher was too much of a person (Teacher-as)
Too little Structure (Teacher-as)
Teacher low on Activity-Potency (Tri-weekly)

Table 12 (continued)

Teacher high on Distress (Tri-weekly)
101 Factors:
Enactment-loyalty high for Other Teacher's and Like-past
Dependent-complaining high for Like-past and Course-predict
Rebellion high for father
Counterdependent Flight-Resistant Complaining for Father and Like-past
Colleague high for Other teacher's and Course-actual
Depression-distress for Other teacher's and Like-past
Anxiety-neutrality high for Father and Like-past
Nurturance low for Father, Mother and Course-predict
Sexual Object low for Father
Sexual Rival low for Like-past
Competence low for Father, Mother, Like-past and Course-predict

The only other cluster which seems to some extent similar to the low participators as we have described them is cluster 6. Just as cluster 2 individuals seemed most similar to female low participators, so cluster 6 individuals seem similar to male low participators. Thus they are described as expressing counterdependence and rebellion in the classroom, but are unable to become involved and work along with the rebellion. In general they tend to have a low sense of self-esteem. Interestingly, this seems tied to self-identify in females who feel inadequate as females and tend to identify with counterdependent assertive styles they see in men. In addition, cluster 6 individuals are described as having a sense of hopelessness and anger at the teacher and course, and this is likely to be handled by protesting indifference to the procedures of the course and withholding involvement by complaining about peripheral issues and attacking the teacher from a distance. Finally, these individuals feel more comfortable in a lecture than in discussion class.

There seem to be quite remarkable similarities descriptively between these cluster 6 students and the low participating males (as well as some females). Yet 6 of the 11 cluster 6 persons are high participators (i.e., are in the upper third of the distribution of verbal participation. What accounts for this participation difference? First and most obviously, cluster 6 persons are much freer about expressing hostility toward the instructor through verbal interaction. This hostility, however, is rarely in the service of moving closer to the teacher or establishing a real relationship with him. Rather, it seems to be expressive of general dissatisfactions these people feel with themselves or with others. Like low participators, they tend to have fathers who they describe as "authoritarian," i.e., restrictive in their discipline techniques. Unlike low participators, however, the fathers are also perceived as being weak, that is,

of using their authority to cover up a personal defect or fault. Thus much of their hostility toward (male) authority figures is a combination of feeling stronger than the other but also a sense of disappointment and despair about developing real relationships with the authority figure. Interestingly enough, there were no cluster 6 individuals in Mr. D's class, probably because Mr. D seemed quite strong and sure of himself.

In contrast, male low participators seem much more fearful of expressing their aggression directly toward the teacher. Comparing them directly with cluster 6 individuals, we can see several sources for this difference. Male low participators' fathers are perceived as very competent and self-assured. Not only do they feel it difficult to meet the standards set by them, but also seem to have experienced failure in "getting to" the father via verbal communication. Finally, hostility seems to be somewhat incompatible with feelings of dependency, needs for nurturance, and so on.

This comparative analysis, then, points up the relevance of nurturance issues and the handling of hostile impulses for low participators. We now turn to an examination of group properties and low participation.

Group Properties and the Characteristics of Low Participators

In Chapter II, we noted that certain properties of the groups themselves might select for those individuals who became low participators. It was suggested that the nature of the group task might have some effect here. We have some evidence which bears on this notion. As we have seen, high and low participators do not differ significantly in SAT-verbal (the intelligence measure) or in GPA. One would

predict that in groups dealing with academic problems, these characteristics would predict to participation; but they do not. However, there is one "skill trait" one would expect to be related to performance in these groups which in fact is related. This is Creative Personality as measured by the OAIS. Low participating females are significantly lower than high participating females on this variable ($F=5.07$, $p < .025$). This result makes sense, since the Creative Personality scale evidently measures verbal fluency. However, it is curious that it does not distinguish between high and low participating males (although the mean scores are certainly in the right direction).

One other trait variable seems to be related to participation rate. This is Masculine Orientation as measured by the OAIS. Again the significant difference in scores is true for females only (although, again, males scores are in the same direction). This result gives some added support to the notion that patterns of sex identification are related to participation rate, since high participating females are highest on this scale which evidently measures masculine sex-typed activities and preferences.

In Chapter II, we also suggested that low participation would be a function of the behavior of the leader toward the members. Specifically, we suggested that the characteristics of low participators as revealed across all groups would be most likely to characterize low participators in groups where:

Working hyp. 6: Achievement standards are made clear and where clearcut rewards or punishments are made contingent on meeting them via verbal communication.

Working hyp. 7: The leader is less warm, more aloof, more punitive in his response to communications.

Working hyp. 8: The leader is more intrusive, moving toward the person without waiting for the person to move toward him.

We are fortunate in having extensive and complete descriptions of the four instructors in our sample as a result of their participation in the larger study from which the data reported above was taken. These descriptions are contained in the report of that study (Mann et al, in press), and are based on the observer's record of the teacher's behavior, on the results of an analysis of the content of his verbal output in terms of emotional expression (by means of the Mann Interaction Analysis System--see Chapter III) and on students' perceptions of the instructor both during and after the course. On the basis of this information, we can order the four teachers, in a rough way, relative to the dimension suggested by hypotheses 6 through 8. We then compare low participators across all four classroom groups on our measures. Unfortunately, within classes, the number of males and females are not evenly divided, which means that the Ns for these subgroups were too small for statistical manipulation. We therefore collapsed males and females for the comparisons. Table 13 summarizes those items which significantly discriminate between classes.

The most clearcut ordering of teachers is possible for hypotheses 7 and 8. According to the data as summarized in Mann et al, Mr. D is described as least warm, most aloof, and more punitive in his response to communications, with Mr. C being lowest on this dimension. Although it is less clear, Mr. A is probably second, followed by Mr. B. In terms of intrusiveness, Mr. C seems clearly to be first on the dimension; that is, he was most overtly involved in drawing students out, in trying to understand the student's motivations or conflicts in order to facilitate op-

Table 13

ITEMS SIGNIFICANTLY DIFFERENTIATING BETWEEN LOW PARTICIPATORS ACROSS CLASSROOMS

Note: A complete list of items may be found in Table 8

Variable	Class	$\overline{X}$	F	p	Variable	Class	$\overline{X}$	F	p
Creative Personality	A	37.44	5.58	.025	Part rel. to others	A	2.75	6.54	<.025
	B	44.13				B	1.88		
	C	37.11				C	2.14		
	D	60.80				D	3.20		
Social Adjustment	A	44.89	3.92	.05	Overall Value	A	3.25	5.90	<.025
	B	40.50				B	2.25		
	C	53.11				C	2.43		
	D	61.75				D	3.80		
Humanities	A	21.39	6.19	.01	Teaching Ability	A	4.00	3.89	<.05
	B	39.43				B	4.38		
	C	39.88				C	3.29		
	D	54.60				D	4.20		
Physical Science	A	46.44	4.83	.05	Course Rel. to others	A	3.25	8.46	<.01
	B	63.00				B	2.88		
	C	38.78				C	2.71		
	D	45.00				D	4.20		
Planned Act. in detail	A	2.14	8.68	.01	X+	A	44.63	3.79	<.05
	B	2.88				B	44.00		
	C	3.00				C	51.86		
	D	2.00				D	37.40		

Table 13 (continued)

Variable	Class	$\bar{X}$	F	p	Variable	Class	$\bar{X}$	F	p
Stud. Volun. opinions	A	3.14	10.72	.001	FA+	A	45.63	2.52	< .1
	B	1.25				B	46.38		
	C	1.60				C	49.00		
	D	3.83				D	39.20		
Teacher seem. interested in Students	A	1.29	12.63	.001	Difficulty	A	45.75	2.83	< .1
	B	2.25				B	47.38		
	C	1.60				C	55.71		
	D	2.83				D	47.20		
Stud. argued not with hos.	A	3.00	11.63	.001	Trust	A	47.86	3.67	< .05
	B	1.25				B	48.43		
	C	2.00				C	56.25		
	D	3.17				D	40.20		
Teacher was friendly	A	1.29	9.98	.001	Formality-Distance	A	53.43	4.49	< .05
	B	1.00				B	39.86		
	C	3.50				C	43.25		
	D	3.50				D	57.40		
Extent of Stud. Part.	A	3.00	3.83	.05	SAT	A	475.6	6.4	< .025
	B	2.75				B	505.8		
	C	2.57				C	498.3		
	D	3.40				D	549.8		

timal learning. He was the only instructor, for example, to ask the students directly about resentment and resistance he felt they were experiencing about the course. In this sense, the least intrusive instructor was Mr. A, who primarily tended to counter his own anxiety about relating to students by withdrawing into his lecturing. It is a little more difficult to place Mr. B and D on this dimension. For instance, both Mr. B and Mr. D went through periods in the semester when they specifically called on particular students. However, Mr. B tended to be concerned with more interpersonal issues, while Mr. D focused on "what the students knew." For example, Mr. B, during one session, took time to ask the low participators why they were not participating. Mr. D, during one session, and in an annoyed, angry mood, asked questions about the material and then called on people to see if they had the answers. Indeed, in terms of perceptions of the instructor, Mr. D was clearly seen as more threatening and intimidating, both in terms of his perceived competence and his punitive response to the student. Mr. B, on the other hand, was generally rated affectionately by his students and was perceived by them to be concerned with them as human beings. Thus in the sense that we have defined "intrusiveness," that is, as oriented toward intruding upon the independence or autonomy of the person, Mr. B, one would assume, is more likely to be perceived as intrusive by low participators (we can remember a low participator comment, noted above, that Mr. B was always "psychoanalyzing" people but not revealing it on the surface).

It is less clear what the ordering on hypothesis 6 is. The clearest thing here is that Mr. D is probably highest on this dimension. That is, he seemed to best clearly communicate a "point of view" about the field of psychology, namely, that is was a science, that data obtained in the laboratory was the "best" data, and that

being a psychologist meant a real commitment to psychology as a scientific discipline in a fairly rigorous manner. Thus the most "successful" students in his class were those who, by his lights, were able to "buy" this orientation. It is less clear how the other instructors would fall on this dimension. Mr. B, as a graduate student in clinical psychology, was perhaps most clearly identified with a psychoanalytic, developmental approach to the field. However, from observer reports of his classroom behavior, Mr. B tried very hard to bring in other theoretical approaches, and spent a good deal of time on learning concepts. It was less clear, then, in his class and in the classrooms of Mr. A and Mr. C how a desirable or valuable or "good" student was defined. In Mr. B's case, there was a definite concern about participation, which reflected Mr. B's ambivalence about the value of student interaction and his own role in controlling what went on in the classroom. Indeed, as we indicated earlier, Mr. B changed the structure of his classroom after the ninth class session, such that students were made responsible for presenting material to the whole class, with Mr. B acting, in his own terms, as a "reference" person. However, this new structure caused a great deal of dissatisfaction and tension both in Mr. B and his students and he later reverted to a much more comfortable stance for him, i.e., a lecture-discussion format.

Let us now look at the differences between low participators in different classes. Table 13 summarizes these results. One of the first things that strikes us is the extent to which the low participators vary from class to class in terms of vocational interest. Two of these differences might be a function of the intellectual orientation of the teacher. Thus the low participators in Mr. D's class are significantly higher on the Humanities interest scale of the OAIS ($F=8.02$, $p \leq .01$), as one might predict

from his emphasis on "scientific" approaches, while low participators in Mr. B's class are higher on the Physical Science Interest Scale ($F=4.93$, $p=<.05$), again as one might predict from his more "clinical" orientation. We suggest that this result may be interpreted in one of two ways. First, it may indeed support hypothesis 6. Both Mr. D and Mr. B may have made it clear that orientations to understanding the world which were opposed to those which they were offering were less acceptable and may have punished attempts by students to offer alternative points of view. The alternative explanation is that individuals with a humanistic orientation in Mr. D's class and a physical sciences orientation in Mr. B's class had more difficulty understanding or working within the conceptual framework of the instructor.

The rest of the evidence here seems much more equivocal. Most of the differences between classes seem to reflect general perceptions in the classes as a whole and are not peculiar to low participators. The only difference of real note is the tendency for low participators in Mr. D's class to have significantly higher Creative Personality Scores ($F=6.84$, $p=< .025$) and to be underachievers, i.e., to have a significantly greater disparity between SAT scores and final grade ($F=8.93$, $p=<.01$). This result, it would seem, tends to strengthen the notion that Mr. D was a man with a "point of view" who tended to punish those individuals who disagreed or tried to offer alternatives. Indeed, if one looks at the interviews, the general tendency for individuals in Mr. D's class to see him as less responsive to them as human beings is exacerbated in the low participator interviews. It is almost as if the 8 low participators in this class (five of whom are males) had very little success in moving closer to Mr. D personally, and that this fact was deeply meaningful to

them. It would seem therefore that the effect of a punitive, less warm, more aloof instructor is not so much to create low participators who have the characteristics we have described, but rather to make more silent (and perhaps alienated) those individuals who, by inclination, are less ready or able to accept the particular set of standards the teacher deems important. We find little evidence in this data that the more intrusive instructor creates low participators more concerned about this issue. This suggests that these concerns, insofar as they are typical of male low participators in this sample, are more likely to be a generalized personal characteristic, less effected by situational properties. Part of this result may lie in our definition of intrusiveness, however, although none of these instructors seem to elicit responses from low participators which we could interpret as reflecting special concern (that is, especially higher than low participators in general).

In summary, hypothesis 7 does not seem to be supported by this data. Hypotheses 6 and 8 are given some support, with the qualification that clearcut standards of achievement coupled with punitive responses to deviant contributions lead to the reduction in verbal output of individuals who do not share the teacher's outlook or who find they cannot get close to the teacher on their own terms. We did not consider hypothesis 9 here, since this hypothesis is best tested by comparing the results from both samples of this study.

Implications of results for the analytic group sample

We have seen that the results for this sample lend some support to the working hypotheses. However, we have also seen that much of that support comes through inference and interpretation. This is especially true for the developmental hypotheses, where, as we pointed out, our data is not as strong as we might desire

it to be. In the analytic group sample, our information on developmental histories is much more complete and rounded out. In addition, since we have more projective measures, we have what amounts to another approach to looking at intrapsychic and interpersonal concerns. We now turn to our second sample.

FOOTNOTES

[1]During the period when the author had access to this data, computer programs for running two-way analyses of variance, which would have allowed us to test for Sex X participation interactions statistically, were not available. Our next best option, then, was to run one-way analyses of variance on the four groups mentioned above, referring to the post-hoc comparisons as a means of understanding the interactions in the data.

[2]See Footnote 1.

[3]See text, chapter 3, for explanation of terms; Teacher (2) and Like (2) refer to post-course evaluation by the student of his teacher in the classroom sample. The items are abbreviated here; for the complete item, see Appendix N.

[4]Mother-Father-Teacher is a collapsing of the first three objects.

CHAPTER V

THE ANALYTIC GROUP SAMPLE

Chapter IV demonstrated that we are at least on the right track in terms of our initial suggestions about the probable determinants of low verbal participation, although, as we noted, many of our suggestions needed qualification (e.g., sex differences). But the procedure of interweaving empirical data and clinical interpretation raises some important validity problems. It might be argued, for instance, that by attending to items which significantly distinguished our subgroups, we ignored items which, on an a priori basis, one might also have expected to demonstrate differences. This is an important criticism. In response to it, we may note that none of the significant differences on items between our subgroups of high and low participating male and females were in a direction contrary to the working hypotheses. This singular fact adds some strength to the idea that there is some meaningful pattern of responding on the part of our subjects, although the criticism is certainly not vitiated.

A second important validity problem revolves around the generalizability of our findings. Especially when our analysis involved a great deal of inference and interpretation, one is justified in asking if our results are truly indicative of low participators in a more general sense or are simply artifacts of this particular sample. Indeed, we might even extend this to read: artifacts of these particular measures.

Both of these criticisms suggest that we need to validate our results on a sample in which the kind of the group, the subjects and the measures differ enough so that, if the low participators are similar across both samples, we can feel persuaded that there is some reality to the assumption that we are talking about low participators in general.

In this chapter we move to two groups which in many ways are different from the classroom groups. Although we briefly touched on these differences in Chapter III, it may be helpful to review some of them. We describe these groups as "analytic," by which we mean that they are groups whose primary purpose is for the members to reflect self-consciously on the events which occur in the group itself and to understand group and interpersonal processes as they are expressed through those events. At the same time, there is no formal agenda or prescribed sets of procedures for attaining this goal, nor does the instructor (trainer, guide) play the traditional instructor role. That is, he does not lecture or formally structure the situation for the participants, but (in these groups) addresses himself to the analytic task as best he can. The last four words are important; as O'Day (1969) has shown, T-group trainers (being human) tend to respond to a group both in terms of its needs and the needs of the members, and their own needs. Nonetheless, the leader is often perceived in these groups as "passive, aloof" and therefore disturbing. As many authors have shown (e.g., Mills, 1964; Mann et al, 1967; Hartman, 1969; Gibbard, 1969), a good part of what goes on in these groups involves dealing with the ambiguous and unexpected role of the leader. Hartman (1969) and Gibbard (1969) who have studied the two groups in this sample extensively have noted in these groups how important a preoccupation this concern about the leader was for group members, especially in

the early phases of group development. We shall have occasion to refer to this issue later on.

Thus these groups may be described as more "open" than the classroom groups we studied in Chapter IV. That is, the degree of permissible behavior and comment is, at least initially, greater and the degree to which emotionally charged issues for group members arise is also greater. Finally, in a formal sense, the groups were much less "structured" than the classroom groups. On the other hand, these groups did share certain characteristics of the classroom sample. For one thing, they were also classroom groups; students were expected to keep and turn in weekly observation logs, to write a midterm take-home exam, and to write a final paper based on fairly extensive readings in the group development literature (see Appendix M). Further, the instructor was fully responsible for evaluating and grading these products. Thus, the objective conditions for perceiving the teacher as an evaluator of intellectual work and production are satisfied.

But there are significant differences in our subject sample as well. In the classroom study, most of the students with some exceptions were sophomores and juniors taking an introductory course and majoring in many different fields. In the analytic group sample, most all of the individuals were juniors and seniors. This difference means not only that the average of this sample is approximately 1 year and 3 months older than the classroom group sample, but also suggests that we are dealing with students who are coming to the close of their college careers (rather than to the beginning of them) with all that this implies for issues of vocational and marital commitment and identity.

The second significant difference lies in the choice of major for these persons. In the classroom group, areas of major interest were quite diverse. In this sample, almost all the subjects are psychology majors with substantial backgrounds (academically speaking) in the field. Of course, there are also individuals who are majoring in other fields besides psychology. However, even these individuals unanimously tell us that they have taken other psychology courses and are at least actively interested in the field.

Finally, we draw the reader's attention to the differences in the measures used (see Table 7). Two things should be noted. First, although we are still dealing with self-report material, as in the other sample, it is not rating scale material. That is, subjects are not responding to discrete items by agreeing or disagreeing or rating their degree of agreement or disagreement. Rather, subjects are producing material in the form of responses to projective measures or in the form of essays describing, for example, themselves and their past history or their experiences in the group. The material was then scored using PASS as a means of content analysis (Images, Early Memories, Autobiographies), sorted on the basis of the hypotheses as elaborated in Chapter IV (weekly logs) or rated using scales devised by the author (TAT--see below).

The second thing to be noted about this data is that it is much richer and more elaborated than the data in the previous sample. This fact is particularly important for our purposes, since we are dealing with a somewhat smaller sample and also because, as with the other sample, what we can discover about low participators by definition must be outside the group context.

We may hopefully conclude, then, that this sample meets the criteria for an adequate cross-validation of our hypotheses. In order to pursue this goal, we

will proceed below to repeat our working hypotheses and then to make specific predictions about this data based on the results reported in Chapter IV. We will then evaluate the "status" of the hypothesis, that is, the extent to which it has received support or disconformation and/or the extent to which our data force us to modify the hypothesis.

Before proceeding to this task, we will describe in more detail the kinds of data analyses we carried out, the statistical analyses, and the problem of sample size. Let us begin with the latter. It will be remembered that subjects from this sample were selected in a manner different from the classroom sample. The data from the analytic group sample was collected in the fall semester, 1967, and it was clear that the job of scoring, key punching, checking, and transferring data to computer tapes would be a job of many months. Since many of these students were graduating seniors, it was important to make some decisions about who the low participators were without being able to tell precisely who fell into the lower third of the distribution of verbal participation. Six students from each group had already been chosen by the group leaders (Gibbard and Hartman) as the most active members of the group. These instructors also selected six individuals who they felt were the least active members of the groups. In terms of intuition, these instructors did remarkably well in selecting individuals, since all "active" members selected were in the top third and all "inactive" members selected were in the lower third.

Autobiographies, Early Memories and Group Experience Essays were collected from approximately 85% of the group members. Of the 8 individuals in each group who comprise the lower third of the distribution of verbal participation, 3 did not complete this battery. Thus we were able to analyze the data from these three

instruments for 13 subjects. Because of financial and time considerations, only the data on these instruments for the 6 active members of each group was analyzed. We therefore have scored data on Autobiographies and Early Memories for 12 high and 13 low participators (Group Experience Essays were not scored--see below).

As we noted above, the selection of the 12 most "inactive" members took place before we knew the complete roster of subjects in the low participation group. Therefore, TATs and Images were administered only to the selected group of "inactives" (as well as the actives). One of these 12, a female, was not available for testing. Therefore, for these two instruments (and for the Low Participator Interview) we have an N of 12.

Our total sample, then, is not large, and certainly not as large as the classroom sample. This fact should be borne in mind as we look at, and try to interpret, the results. The problem of a small sample is sticky here (particularly since we are often dealing with comparisons of percentage of acts falling into single categories). Individuals with a significantly larger number of total acts will obviously have a disproportionately greater effect on the mean percentage in each category (the base rate problem is one). To deal with this problem, we adopted the following procedure: first we looked at the four subgroups--high and low male and female participators--to see the extent of variability in the number of scored acts per individual. In every group except one--high participating females--there was one (but only one) individual who had a significantly greater number of acts. In each case, each individual had approximately twice as many acts as the individual with the lowest number of scored acts. We then ran the data for all individuals and compared each individual's category percentages with the group mean for each category. We

then took individuals who differed widely (this was an intuitive judgment) and looked at their interviews and Early Memories to see if they did indeed appear to be different from those individuals who were close to the overall mean. In Tables 15 through 20 we have reported the mean results with all individuals counted in. In the text, we indicate when interesting subgroups occurred which differed from the overall mean. In looking at these "subgroups within subgroups," we are dealing with numbers of subjects small enough to make meaningful statistical manipulation rather difficult. It should be remembered, however, that we are not only dealing with richer and more extensive data on each individual, but we are also making specific predictions to the data on the basis of our earlier results. The persuasiveness of our case, then, lies in good measure in degree of overlap between these two samples (and, of course, in the sensible and sensitive nature of our attempts to derive meaning from the material).

We now turn to a discussion of the ways in which we approached the material. As we indicated above, the Autobiographies, Early Memories and Images were all scored using PASS (see description and reliability data, Chapter III). It will be recalled that this system attempts to capture the individual's feelings as they are directed toward objects in his psychological field. What this fact means is that one could generate a profile of scores across PASS categories which would reflect the proportion of different affects directed toward selected objects. One could then compare the differences between objects in terms of this profile, or one could compare different subgroups (high vs. low participators) toward the same object. Appendix M lists all Objects and Targets for the individual data. Obviously, the total number of unique objects across all subjects is enormous. Even if one collapses

unique objects into less precise categories (e.g., from "subject A's peers" to "male peers for all subjects with whom one is friendly"), the number of acts is still low and makes statistical comparison difficult. For our purposes, we decided to "clump" objects to create six different "objects." The six were: Father (FA), Mother (MO), Siblings (AB), Peers (AP), Sex Objects (XE) and World (WR). This last object reflects all feelings toward life and existence in general, larger institutions, generalized authority figures, traditions or heritage, and the like. Obviously, the larger the clumps, the more precision is lost in terms of feeling of each individual about specific objects. However, the gain in statistical certainty is considerable.

We carried out two kinds of statistical analyses of this data. First, we compared the profiles of high and low participating males, high and low participating females, high males and high females, and low males and low females category by category (including thematic categories) in terms of the proportion of acts falling into each category. A test for difference in proportions (Dixon and Massey, 1957) was carried out. This procedure was repeated for each of the six objects (Some additional analyses using the same test will be mentioned below). The question toward which this procedure is directed, then, is: do different subgroups direct significantly higher proportions of certain expressed affects rather than others toward certain objects?

Our second analysis was a factor analysis of all PASS scores from all subjects, active and inactive. The factor analysis procedure selected was the UCLA/ Biomedical method of factor analysis with varimax rotation using the estimate of multiple R as the diagonal. The actual scores on which the analysis was run were subjected to a square-root transformation to standard scoring within groups in order to minimize the effect of scorer biases for particular categories. These standard scores

were then subjected to factor analysis (see Appendix Q). Factor "Scale" scores based on the factors obtained (see below) were used in running one-way analyses of variance for four groups (male and female high and low participators) for each of the six objects. The results of this analysis were fairly meager, but seem worthwhile reporting if only because the factors themselves are of interest. The TAT is of great interest to us, since it is the only instrument we have which is a "traditional" method of analyzing personality. We hoped, through the use of it, to get closer to the intrapsychic dynamics which our literature review indicated would be important in understanding the nature of lov verbal participation. Appendix L indicates the cards each subject was presented in order. Due to an error, low male participators did not receive the male subject cards. Our analysis, therefore, focused on the "all subject" cards (1, 3BM, 13MF, 18GF). We rated each of the active and inactive subjects cards (taken together) on scales derived from Prelinger and Zimet (1964).[1] Table 14 describes the four scales. These scales correspond to the preoccupations or concerns we hypothesized low participators to have. As can be seen, the first three scales have some correspondence to psychosocial "crises" described by Erikson (1950). We summed the scores for low and high participators, computed means and standard deviations and compared them statistically. We did have another "semiprojective" measure, the Early Memories. Although these have already been scored by PASS, the number of scored acts was not large enough for us to look at the Early Memories separately. Theoretically, it is assumed that a person's early memories represent those moments, however, accurately recalled, which symbolize the kinds of interpersonal issues with which the person is involved. Accordingly, we decided to analyze the Early

Table 14

DESCRIPTION OF RATING SCALES FOR THEMATIC APPERCEPTION TEST
(based on Prelinger and Zimet, 1966)

Each of the 7-point scales described has a positive and negative outcome pole. That is, for each issue on which the scale focuses, the person can describe experiences, perceptions, feelings, etc., indicative of varying degrees of success in achieving satisfactions connected with the issue. The rating the scorer makes is a global one which takes into account both the quality of response to the issue and the intensity of concern. In other words, of the four pictures scored, the issue may occur only once or it may pervade all of the responses to the pictures. The scorer first makes a decision about the occurrence of the issue, then a decision about the quality of response on the dimension and finally about the intensity of concern. The final score on the dimension reflects all three decisions.

Scale 1: Nurturance

Nurturance refers to any concerns with dependency, trust, receiving attention and/or support, and the like. Of special interest are concerns with separation, loneliness, being together with others vs. being apart, being accepted, being close. Of particular interest here is trust, defined as "a feeling that the world and the people in it are basically good, abundant in supplies and well-meaning" vs. mistrust, "a feeling that the world contains many hidden dangers, that people are out to exploit or 'get' you . . . that the world is an unsafe, unpredictable, threatening and cold place." Any oral concern, that is, food and nourishment related themes would be scored here and would be rated in terms of relative benevolence of outcomes and feelings associated with these themes.

1. On this dimension would be scored if the pictures all contain nurturance concerns, if outcomes are primarily negative (i.e., person separated from nurturing other, betrayed by loved one, can't get support, etc.).

4. On this dimension would be scored if there is a relative balance of negative and positive aspects of nurturance concerns, that is, if outcomes and feelings reflect some balance between trust-mistrust, being rejected and being accepted, etc.

7. On this dimension would be scored if the pictures all contain nurturance concerns and if outcomes are primarily positive (i.e., person entirely trusting, always receives support and attention, is close to others, and anticipates remaining that way.

Scale 2: Autonomy

Autonomy refers to concerns with being the arbiter of one's own actions, of being in control of self well enough to be able to define one's own ground in the face of others. This dimension includes concerns with having autonomy taken away from one, at not being manipulated against one's will, etc. An important set of

Table 14 (continued)

feelings here centers on feeling powerless, weak, helpless before the encroachment of others. This would also include doubts about one's plans and actions. Anal imagery is scored here depending on its evaluative weight. This would include familiar "anal" concerns, orderliness, cleanliness, scheduling, etc. Concerns with compliance and resistance to authority, stubbornness and/or dutifulness would also be included here.

1. On this dimension would be scored if the dimension were of concern in all four stories, if the outcomes were primarily negative with regard to maintaining (or attaining) autonomy. This would include feelings primarily of doubt, stubbornness or dutifulness as a result of not being able to be autonomous, and so on.

4. On this dimension would reflect concerns and perhaps even struggle to maintain and define autonomy. Doubt and confidence about this are more or less evenly mixed; some outcomes are negative, some positive.

7. On this dimension would be scored if the dimension were of concern in all four stories and if the outcomes are primarily positive. Autonomy is defined, maintained; the person successfully resists attempts at encroachment, but not in the sense of passive-aggressive retaliation; occasional self-doubting, but basically "independent."

Scale 3: Initiative

Initiative refers to active pursuit of goals, striving to accomplish tasks, pleasure in attack and conquest, open expression of competitiveness and rivalry with others. On the other side, this scale also reflects concerns with guilt, with concern over the aggressive aspect of competition and striving, with concerns about being active and its consequences, with paralysis of action. References to sexuality in the sense of "making" others, whether by seduction or intrusion, potency, genitals would also be scored here.

1. On this dimension would be scored if the dimension were of concern in all four stories, if the preoccupation was primarily negative, that is, concerns with being weak or fear of this, of losing to others, of destroying others through one's initiative, feelings of guilt, etc., and if the outcomes are primarily negative (person does lose out to others, does hurt others, is impotent or incompetent, retreats from taking initiative).

4. Would be scored on this dimension if there was a relative balance between enjoyment of initiative and concerns or fears about succeeding or of the consequences of exerting initiative. Basically, this would represent a realistic appraisal by the person of the pros and cons of actions representing initiative.

7. On this dimension would be scored if it were of concern in all four stories and if the preoccupation was primarily positive as well as the outcomes. In other words, the emphasis is on basically unconflicted expressions of initiative.

Table 14 (continued)

Scale 4: Hostility

Hostility is a scale that crosscuts the dimensions represented by the other scales. Hostility refers to any concern with the expression of aggression, no matter what the context. This may range from the enjoyment of expressing aggression or the fear of doing so. Concerns with being able to control aggression would also be scored here, whether positive or negative. Hostility directed toward the person would also be included here.

1. On this scale would indicate either extreme reluctance to express aggression in situations where it is felt or where expressing it would be appropriate or with fears of expressing or controlling aggression. Again, 1 would be scored if the concern were present in all four pictures. It would also be scored if the outcomes were primarily negative.(i.e., people are hurt, person is hurt, person is unable to get feelings out). Sadistic or masochistic would be scored if of primary importance..

4. Would be scored on this dimension if there is a balance between the anticipation of consequences of expressing aggression and the ability to do so. In other words, it would be scored if the person is realistically aware of consequences but is able to express it. Outcomes are evenly balanced between positive and negative.

7. Would be scored on this dimension if the concern is found in all four stories and if the outcomes are all positive for the person without being expressly sadistic. In other words, the aim is not primarily to get pleasure from hurting others, rather it seems appropriate or "feels right" and the person does so. Unlike 4, there is no concern here with fears or possible consequences.

Memories of high and low participators using the same scales as for the TAT. We similarly summed scores for highs and lows, computing means and standard deviations and compared them statistically.

Finally, we took the logs and performed a blind sorting of them in terms of each of the working hypotheses. These weekly logs are the most powerful analogue to the material collected in the first sample of the perceptions and reactions to the classroom situation. The Group Experience Essay has some relevance here, of course; unfortunately, it was administered at the end of the testing session in which individuals wrote Autobiographies and Early Memories. The Essays were, therefore, fairly short and skimpy and were not used quantitatively. The sorting procedure itself was as follows: the sorter[2] read the hypotheses as elaborated in Chapter IV. He then took every log for every week for all subjects (a total of 288 logs), read them in a random order, and rated each one in terms of support for the hypothesis.[3] For each hypothesis (actually, the first four hypotheses) the scorer indicated a Yes, No or Can't Tell. When this procedure had been completed, the logs were tallied for lows and high participators. The expectation was that low participators would have a higher proportion of "Yeses" than "Nos" or "Can't Tells." It was unclear whether this was appropriate for the hypothesis concerning the expression of assertion or aggression. One might expect that low participators might leave this concern out of the logs entirely. The number of logs which made specific reference to the individual's own participation rate was less than 3%; we therefore included them in the analysis. What this analysis should tell us is the extent to which low participator orientations to the classroom and instructor are similar across the samples. Obviously, it would have been preferable (and interesting) to have had the logs

scored using PASS; again, time and finances mitigated against this admittedly lengthy job.

These were the major data analyses. Again, when we found significant results, particularly when predictions from the first sample were at issue but also with data not directly related to those predictions, we went into the data to try to make some impressionistic sense of the material. We might also mention that we compared SAT and OAIS scores as in the first sample. We move now to a consideration of the data itself. We shall present each of our original hypotheses, recall briefly how these were modified by the data in the first sample, and then make predictions about the second sample. We will then discuss the results in some detail.

> Hyp. 1: The low participator is likely to be concerned with yearnings for nurturance and support from others. It is likely that these will be difficult for him to express directly, since he is likely to be mistrustful and pessimistic about the possibility of getting relief and attention.

In our classroom sample, we found that this hypothesis had some support: the nurturance concerns of low participators seemed to be associated with feelings of disappointment and inability to receive desired affection and support. We noted that males seem most intensely involved in this issue, and in the context of the classroom, were more likely than women to accuse the teacher of being unconcerned, uninvolved, and unresponsive to the needs of the student. We noted that females were more likely to relate nurturance to evaluative concerns: negative evaluation by the authority figure is equated with personal rejection and loss of desired affection and support. We also suggested that the males responded to their own need for nurturant gratifications by a display of counterdependence and neutrality which could be seen either as an attempt to repudiate their nurturance needs or as a response to

their perception of their own low participation as "feminine."

For the TAT, a comparison of High vs. Low participator mean scores on the Nurturance scale reveals no statistically significant difference between them (High: 4.34; Lo: 3.97, t=.05, p=n.s.).[4] However, if we look at the distribution of scores for Highs and Lows, we find a curious scoring artifact. Evidently, high participators seem to be consistently either higher or lower on this scale, while low participators express an equal number of positive and negative feelings on this dimension across all TAT cards and hence get scored in the middle of the scale. (For the highs, 5 score 1 or 2, 3 score 3, 4 or 5, and 4 score 6 or 7. For the lows, 2 score 1 or 2, and 9 score 3, 4 or 5). The consensus of the two scorers is that low participators seem to express more ambivalence, and that especially the positive nurturance seems to be defensive in nature, usually occurring as a counter to negative material. For example, there are many stories by low participators about the possibility of abandonment or loss, but typically they "turn out all right," even though the story itself has been fairly pessimistic. The results on scoring Nurturance for the Early Memories are similarly non-significant (Hi: 3.9; Lo: 4.23; t=1.02, p=n.s.).

If we look at the weekly logs, we find a similar result (these results are summarized in Table 21). High and low participators are not significantly different in the relative proportions of "yes" and "no" responses in regards to the Nurturance hypothesis. What is most interesting here is the very large proportion of "yes" responses for both groups. This makes good sense when one considers the nature of the analytic group task. That task is the struggle to form a viable culture and community literally from scratch. In the process of doing so, problems of trust, dependency,

Table 15

PERCENTAGE OF ACTS FALLING INTO CATEGORIES OF "PASS" FOR MALE AND FEMALE HIGH AND LOW PARTICIPATORS WHERE THE OBJECT IS "FATHER": RESULTS OF TESTS FOR SIGNIFICANT DIFFERENCES BETWEEN SUBGROUPS

Category	Subgroups				sig. diff. between subgroups			
	HiM	HiF	LoM	LoF	HMvsLM	HFvsLF	HMvsHF	LMvsLF
MA	11.3	1.9	6.3	7.7	2.4*	-3.2***	5.0***	
DS	.2	0	2.8	1.4	-2.7**	-2.2*		
WI	4.2	8.6	2.2	6.0				2.5*
GI	6.5	1.9	6.6	7.7		-3.2***	2.8**	
RP	3.2	1.9	2.5	3.7				
ID	2.8	2.5	1.9	4.0				
AG	0	.6	5.7	2.0	-4.3***			-2.4*
MT	9.7	17.9	10.1	8.3		2.8*	-2.4*	
SUB	8.6	18.5	10.8	10.5		2.3*	-2.9**	
EQUAL	.5	.6	1.6	.3				
DOM	5.1	4.3	5.1	4.3				
ANXEX	18.1	15.4	12.7	14.0	2.0*			
ANXDEN	6.0	8.0	12.0	8.0	-2.7**			
DEPEX	15.5	8.6	8.5	12.8	2.9**		2.4*	
DEPDEN	5.8	7.4	10.8	8.3	-2.4*			
GUIEX	1.4	.6	.3	1.1				
GUIDEN	.7	0	0	0				
Total Acts Categories	432	162	316	351				
NUR	46.3	34.4	51.1	48.8		-2.4*	2.0*	
CON	40.5	46.9	32.6	37.2				
SEX	9.3	12.5	12.1	3.7		2.4*		-3.1***
COM	3.9	6.3	4.2	10.2				2.3*
Total Acts Themes	257	96	190	215				

*= <.05
**=<.01
***= <.002
(2 tailed test)

Table 16

PERCENTAGE OF ACTS FALLING INTO CATEGORIES OF "PASS" FOR MALE AND FEMALE HIGH AND LOW PARTICIPATORS WHERE THE OBJECT IS "MOTHER": RESULTS OF TESTS FOR SIGNIFICANT DIFFERENCES BETWEEN SUBGROUPS

Category	Subgroups				Sig. diff. between subgroups			
	HiM	HiF	LoM	LoF	HMvsLM	HFvsLF	HMvsHF	LMvsLF
MA	5.4	8.2	6.0	4.2				
DS	1.0	1.9	2.8	2.8				
WI	4.2	4.3	1.6	5.8	2.2*			3.0**
GI	5.9	6.3	9.2	6.1				
RP	2.5	3.8	2.1	3.6				
ID	2.2	2.9	1.6	4.7				2.4*
AG	.5	1.0	2.3	.6	-2.2*			-2.0*
MT	14.4	11.5	10.6	10.6				
SUB	12.6	8.2	12.9	12.5				
EQUAL	0	1.0	0	1.4				2.2*
DOM	3.0	12.5	3.9	5.6		2.6**	-3.8***	
ANXEX	11.4	12.0	15.2	8.9	-2.0*			-2.7**
ANXDEN	9.9	6.3	8.5	10.6				
DEPEX	12.9	9.1	13.1	9.2				
DEPDEN	9.2	5.8	8.1	11.4		-2.4*		
GUIEX	4.0	1.9	1.4	1.4	2.3*			
GUIDEN	.5	3.4	.7	.6		2.1*	3.4*	
Total Acts Categories	404	208	434	360				
NUR	43.7	41.7	57.6	53.5	-3.1***	2.0*		
CON	35.6	43.7	32.4	31.0		2.1*		
SEX	14.2	9.7	5.6	8.5	3.3***			
COM	6.5	4.9	4.4	7.0				
Total Acts Themes	261	103	250	213				

*= <.05
**= <.01
***= <.002
(2 tailed test)

Table 17

PERCENTAGE OF ACTS FALLING INTO CATEGORIES OF "PASS" FOR MALE AND FEMALE HIGH AND LOW PARTICIPATORS WHERE THE OBJECT IS "SIBLINGS": RESULTS OF TESTS FOR SIGNIFICANT DIFFERENCES BETWEEN SUBGROUPS

Category	Subgroups				Sig. diff. between subgroups			
	HiM	HiF	LoM	LoF	HMvsLM	HFvsLF	HMvsHF	LMvsLF
MA	4.6	4.2	8.0	5.6				
DS	0	0	1.7	2.8		-2.6**		
WI	6.5	3.1	4.5	5.6				
GI	5.9	1.0	4.5	5.2		-2.4*	2.2*	
RP	.7	1.0	3.4	8.8		-3.7***		2.3*
ID	.7	3.1	2.3	4.8				
AG	0	0	2.8	2.8	-2.2*	-2.6**		
MT	24.2	13.5	9.1	15.6	3.6***		2.1*	2.0*
SUB	5.2	15.6	10.2	4.8		2.7**	-2.5*	-2.0*
EQUAL	0	2.1	1.7	4.8				
DOM	13.1	8.3	10.2	9.6				
ANXEX	3.9	8.3	10.2	7.2	-2.2*			
ANXDEN	11.8	7.3	8.5	6.4				
DEPEX	8.5	15.6	9.7	6.4		2.2*		
DEPDEN	10.5	12.5	8.0	7.6				
GUIEX	3.3	3.1	3.4	1.2				
GUIDEN	.7	1.0	1.1	.8				
Total Acts Categories	153	96	176	250				
NUR	50.5	37.5	51.5	51.2				
CON	35.2	37.5	17.2	22.6	2.9**			
SEX	10.5	10.4	11.1	13.1				
COM	3.8	14.6	20.2	13.1	-3.6***			
Total Acts Themes	105	48	99	168				

*= <.05
**= <.01
***= <.002
(2 tailed test)

Table 18

PERCENTAGE OF ACTS FALLING INTO CATEGORIES OF "PASS" FOR MALE AND FEMALE HIGH AND LOW PARTICIPATORS WHERE THE OBJECT IS "WORLD": RESULTS OF TESTS FOR SIGNIFICANT DIFFERENCES BETWEEN SUBGROUPS

Category	Subgroups				Sig. diff. between subgroups			
	HiM	HiF	LoM	LoF	HMvsLM	HFvsLF	HMvsHF	LMvsLF
MA	4.3	2.4	2.7	2.8	2.8**		2.8**	
DS	2.1	3.1	5.5	5.1	-5.5***	-2.5*		
WI	5.4	4.8	4.4	5.4				
GI	1.2	.6	.9	.9				
RP	.5	1.2	2.2	2.2	-4.5***			
ID	.3	.1	.4	.8		-2.9**		
AG	.9	.5	2.3	2.3	-3.4***	-4.2***		
MT	11.0	10.0	9.7	10.3				
SUB	8.8	8.8	5.5	5.9	4.1***	2.6**		
EQUAL	.2	.2	.8	1.1	-2.6**	3.1***		
DOM	6.4	7.9	5.1	3.5		4.3***		-2.3*
ANXEX	12.1	14.3	13.6	13.8				
ANXDEN	9.6	11.0	14.2	14.5	-4.5***	-2.5*		
DEPEX	20.7	15.8	14.1	11.3	5.6***	3.1***	3.2***	-2.5*
DEPDEN	12.3	15.1	14.7	16.2	-2.2*		-2.0*	
GUIEX	2.4	1.3	1.7	1.0			2.2*	
GUIDEN	.6	1.6	.9	.8			-2.1*	
Total Acts Categories	2402	861	1812	1831				
NUR	34.2	33.1	35.1	40.5		-2.8**		2.6**
CON	38.2	34.2	35.7	29.4				-3.1***
SEX	9.9	14.3	6.2	8.3	3.4***	3.2***	-2.4*	
COM	17.7	18.4	23.0	21.7	-3.2***			
Total Acts Themes	1555	456	1056	1164				

*= <.05
**= <.01
***= <.002
(2 tailed test)

Table 19

PERCENTAGE OF ACTS FALLING INTO CATEGORIES OF "PASS" FOR MALE AND FEMALE HIGH AND LOW PARTICIPATORS WHERE THE OBJECT IS "SEX OBJECTS": RESULTS OF TESTS FOR SIGNIFICANT DIFFERENCES BETWEEN SUBGROUPS

Category	Subgroups				Sig. diff. between subgroups			
	HiM	HiF	LoM	LoF	HMvsLM	HFvsLF	HMvsHF	LMvsLF
MA	1.6	2.2	1.0	3.6				2.3*
DS	.4	3.1	4.9	3.3	-4.5***		-2.7**	
WI	7.1	6.3	2.9	5.9	3.5***			2.0*
GI	1.1	3.1	1.0	2.4				
RP	.4	3.4	1.2	1.5			-2.8**	
ID	.7	.3	.4	1.8				
AG	.1	.6	3.9	2.1	-4.4***			
MT	22.4	16.6	18.9	18.1			2.2*	
SUB	4.8	4.4	3.3	3.3				
EQUAL	.8	.6	1.8	1.5				
DOM	3.7	4.1	5.5	2.1				-2.6**
ANXEX	11.6	12.5	10.7	9.5				
ANXDEN	14.4	10.9	17.6	14.5				
DEPEX	12.3	11.2	8.6	13.1				2.0*
DEPDEN	14.0	10.6	15.0	13.4				
GUIEX	3.1	3.4	2.1	1.8				
GUIDEN	.7	5.0	.6	1.8		2.2*	-3.4***	
Total Acts Categories	750	320	512	337				
NUR	26.2	12.6	21.9	20.3		-2.1*	4.4***	
CON	15.4	15.2	15.9	12.0				
SEX	54.5	65.7	59.2	61.0			-2.7**	
COM	3.9	6.6	3.0	3.0				
Total Acts Themes	508	198	333	241				

*=<.05
**=<.01
***=<.002
(2 tailed test)

Table 20

PERCENTAGE OF ACTS FALLING INTO CATEGORIES OF "PASS" FOR MALE AND FEMALE HIGH AND LOW PARTICIPATORS WHERE THE OBJECT IS "PEERS": RESULTS OF TESTS FOR SIGNIFICANT DIFFERENCES BETWEEN SUBGROUPS

Category	Subgroups				Sig. diff. between subgroups			
	HiM	HiF	LoM	LoF	HMvsLM	HFvsLF	HMvsHF	LMvsLF
MA	4.5	4.7	2.0	1.8	2.5*			
DS	.2	1.9	3.7	.5	-4.6***			-3.9***
WI	7.9	6.5	6.9	7.4				
GI	1.2	1.4	1.5	1.5				
RP	1.2	.5	.8	1.3				
ID	1.3	.5	1.2	2.3		-2.0*		
AG	0	.5	2.9	1.5	-4.4***			
MT	9.7	14.5	16.4	20.1	-3.6***			
SUB	8.0	7.0	6.7	6.3				
EQUAL	1.2	1.4	2.9	1.0	-2.1*			-2.2*
DOM	11.7	15.4	8.9	11.2				
ANXEX	9.4	5.1	10.9	5.6			2.2*	-3.1***
ANXDEN	11.4	12.1	12.6	14.7				
DEPEX	16.5	9.8	8.4	7.6	4.4***		2.6**	2.0*
DEPDEN	12.7	14.5	11.9	16.5				-2.2*
GUIEX	2.3	2.8	1.2	.8				
GUIDEN	.2	.5	.3	0				
Total Acts Categories	648	214	653	394				
NUR	38.0	23.3	31.3	40.5		-3.4***	3.1***	2.3*
CON	31.8	39.7	26.7	32.2				
SEX	20.8	26.7	31.1	17.8	-3.2***			-3.9***
COM	9.4	10.3	10.9	9.5				
Total Acts Themes	371	116	386	242				

*=<.05
**=<.01
***=<.002
(2 tailed test)

Table 21

RESULTS OF CHI-SQUARE ANALYSES COMPARING HIGH AND LOW PARTICIPATORS FOR SORTINGS OF WEEKLY LOGS ON RELATIONSHIP TO FOUR WORKING HYPOTHESES

	Yes	No	Can't Tell	
HYP. 1: NURTURANCE				
High Part.	78%	7	15	
Low Part.	70	10	32	
HYP. 2: FEAR OF MANIPULATION				
High Part.	41	11	47	
Low Part.	45	5	65	
HYP. 3: FEAR OF EVALUATION				
High Part.	51	13	36	
Low Part.	61	5	43	
HYP. 4: ASSERTION				
High Part.	26	38	34	$X^2 = 17.59$ $p = < .005$
Low Part.	74	14	37	

NOTE: Percentages were first computed within each individual for each hypothesis. Then percentages were summed and averaged across all individuals for each category for each hypothesis. Therefore, the percentages do not add up to 100%.

support, getting affection from others are clearly going to occupy a very central place in the concerns of the members. Thus one is likely to see much evidence (as we do here) of all the conflicts centered around nurturance.

It is interesting to note, even though the X^2 is not significant, that lows have a proportionately greater percentage of protocols rated "Can't Tell" (this seems to be true for all tests of the hypotheses). We might interpret this in one of two ways. First, it just may be that low participators are typically less expressive about any issue of concern for them. As we shall see below, there is some evidence that low participators are typically more defensive and less likely to express feelings of distress. Second, it may be that low participators are in general less involved in the group itself. We remember from the classroom sample that low participators (and especially the more "counterdependent" ones) were more likely to say that they were uninvolved in the course. Indeed, in the "phenomenology" of low participation, as we see in the Group Experience Essay, many (although by no means all) of the low participators express feelings of lack of interest, not "being able to get into it," feeling that the group was "weird" or "too serious."

Finally, let us look at the results of the PASS analysis of the Autobiographies, early Memories, and Images for expressions of feelings toward the object "World" (Table 18). It will be recalled that "World" is the most generalized social object and reflects both the person's affective orientation toward larger social institutions and his most general feelings about himself in relation to other people. From our analysis of the classroom sample, we would predict that low participators would have a higher percentage of acts coded for nurturance concerns. Given the male tendency to move away from direct expressions of nurturance needs (as this was manifested in the class-

room sample interviews), we might expect the difference to be significant for females but not for males. We would expect males to express less Submission, more Equality and to Deny both Anxiety and Depression (as part of the counterdependent stance). We would expect the females to express more Submission, less Dominance and/or Equality, and more Anxiety and Depression (as part of the "anxious helpless female" stance). As Table 18 indicates, the prediction for nurturance is confirmed. Although high and low participating males are not significantly different from each other while low participating females are significantly higher than high participating females on this dimension ($z=-2.8$, $p=<.01$), when males and females are combined within participation groups, the difference is significant (Highs: 34.0%, Lows: 38.0%; $z=-2.7$, $p=<.01$). In regards to male "counterdependence," our predictions are confirmed. Males express less Submission than their high participating counterparts ($z=4.1$, $p=<.002$), more Equality ($z=-2.6$, $p=<.01$--however, notice the small proportion of acts for all subgroups), are more apt to Deny Depression ($z=-2.2$, $p=<.05$) while expressing less Depression ($z=5.6$, $p=<.002$), and are more likely to Deny Anxiety ($z=-4.5$, $p=<.002$). The reader may wonder why we did predict greater Dominance also. We would argue that male counterdependence, as we understood it from the other sample, was more reactive and took the form of neutrality. We would also argue (see below) that Dominance, as defined in PASS, is inconsistent with what we see as the low participator's desire to avoid confrontation and direct expression of assertion toward (or against) others.

Predictions for the female low participators are substantially disconfirmed (except, as noted, for the nurturance concern prediction). Female Lows express less Submission ($z=2.6$, $p=<.01$), more Equality ($z=-3.1$, $p=<.002$), do not differ in

expression of Anxiety, Deny Anxiety more ($z=-2.5$, $p=< .05$) and express less Depression ($z=3.1$, $p=<.002$). They are, however, lower on Dominance, as predicted ($z=4.3$, $p=<.002$). In short, although showing greater nurturance concern, these low participating females look more like the males than we had predicted. We should keep in mind, however, that in our classroom sample we noted (from the interviews) at least 4 females who also seemed very similar to the males in terms of handling nurturance. What seems to be true in this sample is that the relative balance between "anxious helpless" stance and the "counterdependent" stance for women as modes of handling nurturance issues seems to have shifted. That is, in the classroom sample the preponderance of low participating females were anxious and helpless; here they are counterdependent, at least in regard to their more generalized orientations to the "World." It may very well be that this orientation is a phenomenon related to the older age and advancement of the students. That is, it is possible that, over the course of the college career, the "anxious submissive" female (whose behavior is more sex-typed) may be more likely to drop out of college for a variety of reasons which are probably role-related (e.g., more likely to get married, stop pursuing a career). It would indeed be interesting to do research to see if "counterdependence" as we have described it in females predicts to tenacity of career orientation in women. In any case, the important issue for all these females, as in the classroom sample, still appears to be nurturance.

In summary, we find equivocal support for this hypothesis. In part, the equivocal nature of the data no doubt reflects the nature of the measures available to us. Our scales for measuring nurturance concerns in the TAT and Early Memories are obviously rather broad and crude; it is unfortunate that time and events militated

against scoring the logs using PASS. It is probably important to note that, when we look at the results of data scored with PASS, we do find nurturance concerns coming out more clearly for the low participator. When we review the developmental data, we will see that these concerns are important for understanding the problems low participators evidently faced in interpersonal interaction.

Hyp. 2: The low participator is likely to be sensitive to the possibility of being manipulated by others in ways over which he has little, or no, control.

In the classroom sample, this hypothesis, which deals with the issue of autonomy and control, was supported for the male low participators but only partially for the females. We pointed out that this concern with manipulation seemed to center on the fear that, in putting oneself in a dependent position vis-a-vis others, one may find oneself trapped in this position and unable to retain one's autonomy and independence. We suggested, in other words, that the problem of autonomy is linked to problems centering around the expression of dependency and the gratification of dependency needs. We also suggested that these feelings were associated with a perception of authority figures as "narcissistic," that is, as indifferent to the person's needs, acting primarily in the service of his needs. Our rating scale for Autonomy in the TAT data is relevant here. Our prediction is that low participators will score significantly lower on this scale than high participators. This prediction is confirmed for low vs. high participators (although not confirmed when we break it down into males and females as well). The mean for Highs is 5.25 and for Lows is 3.56 ($t=1.73$, $p=<.05$). For the low participators, the lower scores on this dimension seem to reflect resentment about having one's autonomy reduced, depression about being able to maintain autonomy in the face of restrictions from authority

figures or acceptance of more restricted activity.

The results for Early Memories corroborate the TAT findings. Low participators are significantly lower on the Autonomy scale than high participators (Los: 2.71; His: 3.43; $t=1.82$, $p=<.05$). Here the focus is primarily on parental figures who move in on those activities which the child considers to be his own. A not untypical memory of the father is provided by Sol, a group member:

> . . . As a young boy (here age 3) I still sucked my thumb. At this age my father was living at home for the first time (interning, Navy, etc.) and I imagine became aware of my sucking for the first time. The entire idea was anathema to him and gave vent to many hostile feelings on his part. The incident I recall best is when he finally reported to 'germ warfare.' One day he came home with this bottle of liquid which he painted on our thumbs . . . It tasted bad enough that it prevented me from sucking my thumb; but unfortunately he only was home in the evenings to catch me sucking . . . I recall how angry my father would become when he caught us sucking and how angry he would get at my mother because she would not exert the same effort he did to get us to stop . . . He was very cold and brutal in his administering his punishment for this thumb sucking . . .

To what extent was the fear of manipulation and control characteristic of the individual's experience in the classroom? Our sorting of group members' logs offers some additional information here.

As Table 21 indicates, the relative proportions of logs in each category does not differ significantly between high and low participators. Again, it is interesting to note the greater number of "Can't Tell" responses for low participators. This might fit with our TAT results which indicate that the restriction of autonomy may be experienced very differently by people (that is, both positively and negatively), and hence might not show up in the logs as fear of manipulation. It is possible that the greater number of "Can't Tell" responses reflects a fear of manipulation, but this fact cannot be ascertained from our data. We again should note that problems of control, manipulation and the like are obvious components of the culture-

building and society building process in groups of this sort and one might expect on an intrapersonal level to see these issues evoked.

In the PASS analysis of the Autobiography data for "World" there are some predictions which we might make. We would expect that low participators would be higher on the control theme. This prediction is not confirmed; there are no differences between the groups on the Control theme.

In summary, we again find some equivocal support for this hypothesis. The TAT and Early Memories data, is supportive; other data is not. At a later point we will discuss these findings; the developmental data leads us to think that individuals with these preoccupations are in our sample but our measures are not picking them up.

Hyp. 3: The low participator is likely to feel incompetent and fearful of being evaluated by others. This will manifest itself in a form of "stage fright."

In the classroom sample, some support was demonstrated for this hypothesis. All low participators seemed to see themselves as incompetent and unable to meet the standards of an attractive member. Male Lows seemed less ready to face this sense of incompetence more directly while female Lows were more likely to accept and express a feeling of incompetence and adopt a posture of submissiveness in order to avoid negative evaluation. There was some possible suggestion that, for the female Lows, negative evaluation was associated with loss of nurturance, affection and support.

The fear that, if one were to speak in class, others would negatively evaluate one, is very pervasive in the reports of low participators. For instance, in the Group Experience Essay, 11 of the 13 low participators spontaneously mention

this fear; only 1 of the 12 high participators mentioned similar feelings ($X^2=9.46$, $p=< .001$). As one might expect from the nature of the analytic group, these fears are expressed both toward the leader, toward active, salient or central members, and toward the group in general.

Interestingly, however, our interviews with low participators reveal this fear to be rather complex. Some low participators feel that, in fact, they simply are not as intelligent, quick-witted or exciting as the more active members, so that talking in class is likely to reveal how "out of it" (a frequently used expression) they really are. That is, relative to their perception of themselves in relation to others and what they felt was normatively expected of them, these persons felt incompetent. Shirley expresses this feeling rather directly:

> "Oh, there were a lot of times I wanted to say things but . . . like I say, I feel like they know more than I do, I don't know why . . . and I'd feel that what I said would be really . . . insignificant . . . everybody would just look at me and think 'I don't believe that girl is dumb enough to come up with something like that!'"

But it is not only incompetence which makes some low participators feel fearful of other people's responses. Some low participators seem to fear the loss of control; that is, they feel they will be overcome or overwhelmed by emotion when they speak and this will cause the group to condemn them. As Deborah puts it:

> "I guess that maybe generally that's what I was afraid of. Of losing all sense of proportion . . . either . . . not especially . . . you know, maybe more with group members since they were more reactive. Not just getting . . . oh, why would I not like this? Oh, I don't know, I guess not just liking the image of being that way. Suddenly getting so---losing control and things (if you can use that phrase). So watch, everyone suddenly just draws back and says, you know, what is this creature! Does she live in the same reality that we do?

She goes on to express the fear that she will not be able to control her associations

if she began to talk and that she might get onto topics she really didn't want to talk about, like "sexual attitudes."

A third manifestation of the fear of negative evaluation seems to center on a felt inability to be "authentic." That is, the person seems to feel he is unable to express his "real self" because he does not know what that self is; therefore, he will be "phony" in the group other people will perceive this and condemn it. In part, this is probably an artifact of the group pressure for people to express their "gut" emotional reactions to each other; in this particular group this frequently meant feelings of attraction and dependency (Gibbard, 1969). As Lester puts it:

> ". . . if I opened my mouth and said something the other people would find out about me . . . that I'd be a phony that I'd put up a front that wasn't really me . . . a total unawareness of what was happening . . . I didn't know who I was."

We will come back to these issues when we discuss the developmental data. Although in the right direction, our sorting of group logs, on this hypothesis does not reveal statistically significant differences (see Table 21). It is curious that fear of evaluation should emerge so strongly in the Group Experience Essays but not in the logs. It may be adopting an "observational" stance which log writing encourages may have submerged more direct expressions of this fear; in a sense one can hide behind the role of "observer." Of course, through the logs, the student was also communicating with the instructor, and this fact may have muted more direct expression of evaluative anxiety. A final prediction about this hypothesis again centers on feelings expressed in the Autobiography, etc., toward the object "World." We would expect that low participators would be more likely to express competence concerns (e.g., have significantly higher percentage of acts in that

category) than high participators. Although a comparison of means for high versus low participators indicates that the two groups differ in the predicted direction (Hi: 17.9%, Lo: 22.3%; $z=-3.5$, $p=<.002$), Table 18 reveals that this difference is primarily accounted for by the males. This difference is not large; but if we look at the autobiographies, it would appear that low males are somewhat more inclined to discuss past vocational problems (e.g., change of major).

In summary, two out of three measures reveal that low participators are concerned with problems of evaluation. It is less clear that these concerns center entirely on the instructor as seemed to be more true in the classroom sample. There is some indication from the PASS analysis of feelings toward "World" that female Lows do mingle competence and nurturance concerns ($z=-2.8$, $p=<.01$). Although the difference between high and low females on Competence is not statistically significant, it certainly is in the expected direction.

Hyp. 4: The low participator is likely to be concerned about the consequences of acting autonomously and assertively and of expressing aggression directly.

In the classroom sample, we suggested, by inference from other data, that the orientation of low participators is away from the direct expression of assertion and aggression. We suggested that feelings of aggression arise out of painfully frustrating circumstances particularly the inability to achieve desired standards or to satisfy nurturance needs. We suggested that aggression is more likely to be expressed passively or displaced onto other targets. For the most direct tests of this hypothesis, we look at the differences in mean scores on the Initiative and Hostility scales for rating the TATs and Early Memories and to our weekly log sorting data.

Our only significant finding on the TAT is for the Initiative Scale. Here we find that low participators are significantly lower on this scale than high participators (Low: 3.21, High: 4.76; t=1.93, p=<.05). However, it would appear that this scale is significantly correlated with the Autonomy scale, and hence we would expect them to both yield similar results. It is of some theoretical interest, however, to see autonomy and initiative as related to each other. Certainly in a developmental sense, restriction of the person's autonomy is likely to restrict his opportunities to exercise his initiative, and, one might guess, lead to uncertainties, feelings of failure and incompetence.

A further corroboration, centering more directly on the expression of hostility, comes from the Early Memories. Low participators score significantly lower on the Hostility scale than high participators (His; 3.5; Los: 2.6; t=5.34, p=< .001). The nature of this hostility is interesting. Typically, the low participator has been the victim of some not-well-understood act of hostility from someone else, to which the person reacts with inner feelings of hostility which are not expressed directly. We should keep open the possibility here that the memory of others' hostility toward the self is a projection of hostile impulses onto others.

When we look at the group log results, we see that the results are significant. Low participators are much more likely to reflect concerns about problems of assertion and initiative in their logs. This result should certainly not surprise us; low participation is not a highly valued characteristic in groups of this sort, and one might expect that low participators would respond to the negative evaluation. Thus it is not clear from this result if the low participator is struggling with problems of expressing hostile or aggressive impulses or simply with the problem of asserting himself verbally.

As our last test of this hypothesis, let us turn to the Autobiography-Early Memory-Images data. As indicated in Appendix P, Factor 1+, Defensive Ambivalence, seems to reflect the person's attempt to cover up, hide, withhold, repress, or mute feelings of hostility toward others, especially authority figures. The sense here is that the person desires to maintain a relationship characterized by positive feelings, but gives evidence of struggling with less than benevolent feelings toward these authority figures. We would expect, then, that low participators would score more highly than high participators on this factor scale. This prediction is confirmed. Lows in general are higher than Highs, and male low participators are particularly high on this factor when all objects are combined ($F=4.05$, $p=<.61$). More light is shed on this result if we look at the results for individual categories toward "World" (Table 18). From the loadings on Factor 1+, we would expect that low participators would be higher on Disagreeing, Agreeing, Making Reparation and Showing Equality. We would expect them to be significantly lower on Moving Against, (the most direct expression of hostility). All of these expectations are confirmed for males: they are higher on Disagreeing ($z=-4.5$, $p= <.002$), and Showing Equality ($Z=2.6$, $p= <.01$) and are lower on Moving Against ($z=2.8$, $p= <.01$). The results are similar for low participating females, except that the differences are not significant for Making Reparation. The interesting addition here is the higher percentages in the Denial categories for Anxiety and Depression for low participators (especially males). If this result has any relevance to the expression of hostility, one wonders if it doesn't imply that the direct expression of hostility may leave the person feeling both vulnerable and helpless in the face of others. Of course, the direction of causality is a question here--perhaps painful feelings of anxiety and depression lead the

person to inhibit his hostility. We will return to this issue when we consider developmental antecedents.

In summary, it would appear that there is some support for this hypothesis. Both assertion and taking initiative and the expression of hostility seem to be issues for the low participators.

We now turn to the data which hopefully will give us some insight into the developmental origins of these feelings and behavior.

Developmental Data

Hyp. 5: The low participator is likely to have had the following characterize his past history:

a. parents restrictive of activity
b. parents low on reward, high on punishment, overcritical
c. parents who frustrated nurturance needs
d. relatively little social interaction with parents
e. uncertain or ambivalent identifications with the same-sex parent

In the classroom sample, we pursued a path from 101 items to interviews, letting the hypotheses above guide our interpretive efforts. We found that hypotheses 5b and c (and possibly e) seemed most applicable. The other hypotheses, because of the incomplete nature of the interviews, were not tested. In summary, we suggested that female low participators felt helpless, anxious and submissive in relation to the parents, but also tended to express some resentment or mistrust toward the father. Fathers were described by female lows as somewhat unwarm and aloof, hypocritical in their expressions of warmth and affection, tending to exacerbate needs for affection and support. For the male Lows, a major factor which seemed related to low participation was the presence of a father who presented high

standards for behavior which were difficult to attain and to model, and who did not seem to reward attempts to achieve those standards. Some evidence indicated that males might turn to the mother as a model, although feeling somewhat ambivalent about doing so, as if the mother could never be as rewarding a model as the father. It was suggested that because of the concern for achieving standards and obtaining support and affection, the issue of competition might be particularly problematic. Low participators did seem to feel jealous of, and competitive with, other siblings, but in a more depressed and despairing way than did high participators. We reasoned that these patterns of child-parent behavior mapped, in a reasonable way, onto the behavior of individuals in the classroom. That is, the same issues in the classroom also seemed to have been issues in familial relationships.

Our major sources of information for the present sample on developmental issues are the Autobiography and Early Memories. Our task, to begin with, is to translate our hypotheses into predicted patterns of affective expression. We will try to make predictions for both the Factor scales and for category percentage data. After testing these propositions, we will spend some time thinking about them. Let us begin with the two subhypotheses which seemed most salient in the classroom data, 5b and c, which suggest that parents of low participators are likely to be low on reward, high on punishment, overcritical and frustrating of nurturance needs. To this we might add, from the data of the classroom sample, that these parents also hold very high standards forbehavioral performance, and that they are likely to be perceived as more responsive to their own needs than the child's needs (i.e., "hypocritical" or "narcissistic").

What can we predict, then, in terms of our present data? We would suggest two patterns of possible affective expression if these ideas have some validity. First,

we might expect that, because the parental figure (especially the father) is seen as rather powerful (or felt to be so) that Defensive Ambivalence (factor scale 1+) might predominate. This situation should be true for those low participators who have adopted the strategy, described in the last chapter, of submission to the powerful other. As in the last chapter, we might expect some idealization of the parents as well as some muted expressions of less than positive feeling. Specifically, then, we would predict that low participators would be higher on factor scale 1+ and, therefore, higher on categories of Disagreeing, Agreeing, Reparation, and showing Equality. In addition, we might also expect Lows to be higher on denial of affect rather than expression.

There is, however, a second possible pattern of response to the father. As we pointed out in the last chapter, low participators in the interviews (especially the females) often expressed a great deal of resentment and mistrust toward the father. We are therefore led to suspect that we may find a different pattern for females. We would expect them to be higher on factor scale II-(Critical evaluation and disappointment) and also on factor scale III+ (Anxious hostility). We would also expect them to be lower on factor scale II+ (Intimacy and closeness). In terms of categories, we would expect them to be higher on Disagreeing (Moving Against would still seem to be too direct) but <u>not</u> on Agreeing, higher on Guilt-Inducing (i.e., for the father having failed the child), to be lower on Moving Toward, higher on Expressing Depression and (probably) Anxiety. Finally, we would expect both male and female low participators to have a higher percentage of acts in the nurturance category.

Of these 16 predictions, 10 are confirmed. First, let us look at the males and see if we can discover what these results mean. The prediction for Defensive Ambivalence is not confirmed for low participators. The mean is in the right direction for males; however, the small number of subjects being dealt with here militates against significant findings. We should keep in mind, on the other hand, that, as reported above, male Lows are significantly higher on this factor scale when all objects are combined. Looking at the categories (Table 15), we again see a pattern similar to that for "World"; male Lows are lower on Moving Against ($z=2.3$, $p=<.05$), higher on Disagreeing ($z=-2.7$, $p=<.01$) and Agreeing ($z=-4.3$, $p=<.002$). They are also higher on Denying Anxiety ($z=-2.7$, $p=<.01$) and Denying Depression ($z=-2.4$, $p=<.05$). Contrary to prediction, they are not significantly different on Making Reparation or on Nurturance.

When we look at the female data, we see that our suspicion about the more direct resentfulness and disappointment toward the father is confirmed with a vengeance. Not only are female Lows higher on Disagreement as we predicted ($z=-2.2$, $p=<.05$) and Guilt-Inducing ($z=-3.2$, $p=<.002$) but also much higher on Moving Against, contrary to our prediction ($z=-3.2$, $p=<.002$). As predicted, they are also lower on Moving Toward ($z=2.8$, $p=<.05$), although not on Agreeing. In line with this result (although we made no prediction), they are also lower on Submission ($z=2.3$, $p=<.05$). Our predictions about the amount of anxiety and depression expressed are in the right direction, but do not reach statistical significance. Finally, the prediction for nurturance is confirmed ($z=-2.4$, $p=<.05$), although, interestingly, Sexuality issues are significantly less expressed ($z=2.4$, $p=<.05$) than any group.

What accounts for these striking differences? For the male Lows, a major theme which predominates in all the protocols is the intimidating behavior of the father toward the child. This intimidation, however, takes a number of forms. Bert's father was physically threatening to him. Bert's earliest memory of his father, for instance, might have come out of a clinical case-book:

> "My earliest memory of my father in terms of a specific incident is not a pleasant one . . . my brother who I slept with in a large double bed called to my father tattling that I was masturbating although I'm sure that he didn't use such a sophisticated term. My father came with a large kitchen knife in his hand threatening to cut my penis off. I can remember I was scared shitless believing he actually was going to do it. I can remember him silhouetted against the lights of the living room in pants and T-shirt with a large knife in his hand (right). I just layed (sic) there stiff with fright and hating my brother for having tattled . . . Anyway he didn't carry through with his threat. He left warning that next time if he caught me, he'd 'cut it off.'"

In describing the enforcement of discipline in the house, he suggests that his father's discipline

> "was not taken as such. There seemed nothing good about it. It was unpredictable and when it came it was frightening--like a natural catastrophe. I was scared stiff of him . . ."

The impact of this on Bert was to scare him into obedient and submissive conformity:

> "It seems I always knew there existed a really strict set of rules in the house that had to be adhered to. I was scared most of the time and walked the straightest line. I was always afraid I would unintentionally make a mistake and get punished for it."

This submissive orientation is strikingly like that of female low participators in the classroom sample, and, as we shall point out later, it makes sense for Bert to be this way in light of his highly probable maternal identification.

But fear and trembling was not Bert's only experience with his father. For instance, he is described by Bert as very indulgent in supplying physical needs,

sometimes spontaneously giving his children large presents (e.g., a speedboat for Bert). Bert recalls a revealing incident in which his mother was angry (for evidently justified reasons) with his father, and continued to "bitch" at him even after he had apologized. Bert remembers that his father looked over at him and winked as if to say (according to Bert), "everything's all right, don't get upset." Bert treasures this moment (he says) because it was the kind of closeness that he always desired with his father but which he felt he never received. Indeed, his father was away for much of his early (0-5 years) life.

Bert (like Sol in this sample) had an unpredictable, hostile and physically abusive father. The predominant response is fear, but not much direct hostility expressed back (Is it possible that the person feels he deserves it? Remember that one category that loads on Defensive Ambivalence is Making Reparation, which implies some sense of guilt for which the person is making restitution. In Bert's case, we might look for guilt and self-hate generated around masturbation and all the emotional issues it represents). But there is another form of paternal intimidation which, in its way, may be as powerful as direct physical threat, that is, the kind of intimidation resulting from loving concern and requirements that the child adhere to rather strict standards. Becker (1965) describes this kind of discipline as "warmly restrictive" and its impact (as he summarizes it) is indeed to create the kind of defensive ambivalence which seems to characterize the low participating male in this sample. That is, the parents' "loving concern," their communication to the child that they would never do or say anything to govern his behavior unless they felt it was in his best interests, made it very difficult for the male Lows to express hostility directly. This situation seems to have been exacerbated by the use of isolation, love-withdrawal and guilt-induction techniques these parents used to discipline the child. These techniques

ranged all the way from physical isolation of the child to parents who (as the child remembers it) explicitly stated they would have to stop loving the child if he didn't obey. We remember that low participators in the other sample mention these techniques also.

Becker (1965) indicates that this kind of parental behavior leads to an obedient, submissive child, and this data is supported by our data. Thus the four males (out of 6 low participating males) who describe a family situation of this sort all describe themselves as: "wanting to please my parents in all that I did," "somewhat aggressive but at the same time overly obedient, "very passive to my parents (ugh!),""very obedient," and "generally obedient" and "very docile." (Note, however, that the other two males also seem to have been intimidated into a similar posture.) Indeed, the ambivalence in these individuals toward the father is very clear. On the one hand, Clarence views his father (who is a Methodist minister) as being "easy-going, open, good-humored." He "rarely if ever disagrees with" him; however, two pages later, he reveals that he "would never accept discipline from him unless it was based on some sort of rational reasoning." The father is described as a highly controlled individual who was "reluctant to get angry"; what this description seems to have meant is that the father fell back on exhortation and threats of withdrawal of affection:

> "I remember distinct warnings against smoking, drinking, and sexual involvement and intercourse not so much in the form of prohibitions but phrased in terms of 'it not being a good idea' or 'we would be very disappointed in you if you did this'."

Clarence follows this immediately by saying that "my greatest early motivation was to please my parents in all that I did." Yet a paragraph further on, he reveals his

mixed resentment and fear in an indirect way by saying that he "in some ways finds conformity to society difficult and repugnant and yet overpowering . . ." he is "not totally free to be myself." His earliest memory of his father is interesting in this regard:

> "Clearest, earliest incident in which I remember my father as a father, was about 5 when the family (I had one brother by then) was travelling through S.E. US by car . . . in Florida, we had stayed in a motel and picked baskets of oranges nearby. We were driving and in order for me to see out the back window I stood on the basket of oranges. My father got very angry and shouted at both my brother and I . . . I recall that it seemed very unjust . . . I was innocent of the charge . . . Yet I did stand on the oranges."

Then the very next incident recalled is of the whole family picking oranges together, of how "neat" it felt that "they were doing something together," and of how good everybody felt toward each other. One hardly needs a father to be physically threatening, it would appear, to fear his potential rage (or perhaps to project one's own resentment and rage onto him).

The other males who experienced their fathers similarly also reveal the same ambivalence. Harry first describes his father as having a "good sense of humor" and "easy to get along with"; yet, in the next sentence, says that "he can get extremely stubborn and will pick on any little detail and blow it out of proportion in order to make a point." Later, in describing discipline techniques, he says:

> "Punishment at home was almost never physical and if so, from either parent. Both demanded respect for them from me, and this they felt would be enough . . . Unfortunately . . . this respect was more in the form of fear, particularly of my father and created some problems."

A few pages later, he indicates that he underwent therapy from ages 10 to 12 for stuttering, and for bedwetting, the latter continuing until he was 14, the former, persisting to the present. His understanding of these behaviors is that they were

related to his fear of his father and his desire to be a "good boy." What we can understand these symptomsto indicate (and this idea would fit theoretically) is the emergence of repressed hostility and resentment, and this emergence suggests that the "good boy" stance may have the function of protecting the child from the expression of his own aggressive impulses.

The male low participators, then, would seem to be intimidated by their fathers and one component of their low participation, then, may represent the acting out of the "obedient child" position in response to male authority figures. We should keep in mind another important perception of the father associated with the "good little boy" stance. For in adopting this stance out of fear of the father and what he might do, the obvious frustration is that the older person is unresponsive to one's true needs. As we saw above, Bert had some good reasons to feel frightened and angry toward his father. Yet underlying this feeling was the wish to be close to, supported by, loved by the father. In short, we might suggest, the stance of obedience may not only be a way of avoiding punishment, or a way of handling hostile impulses, but also a way of obtaining a desired closeness to the father.

Clarence's explanation, in the Group Experience Essay, for his non-participation is interesting in this light:

> "My dominate (sic) thought or feeling through the course was that everyone was so 'psyed (sic) out' by Hartman and the nature of the group that no one was really interested in learning about anyone else or just a friendship or personal level . . . I was certainly one of the silent members of the group. When I talked, I was aware of everyone looking at me and yet no one really hearing what I was saying . . ."

The leader and the group are threatening; and one is sure that closeness, intimacy, affection can't be achieved. Even to openly express the feeling is hopeless; no one will understand.

This theme is to be repeated even more strongly among the female low participators. It will be remembered that these females seem much more unhappy and directly hostile toward their fathers and feel much less close. Moreover, relative to high participating females, they seem more absorbed in Nurturance rather than Sexuality and intimacy issues. When we look at the interviews, some of these results come into focus.

Let us first consider the Low females who are most direct in the expression of their feelings. Like two of the males, two of these females had fathers who were unpredictably and physically brutal toward the child. The father of a third abandoned the family without warning (according to the girl's report) when she was 7 or 8. Unlike the males, however, these females respond not only with fear and pain, but with expressions of anger at the father for this behavior. Here is Shirley's description of discipline in the family:

> "Discipline quite inconsistent. My father was more likely to yell or hit out of anger . . . My reactions to his punishments were usually fear and inhibition (temporarily) of the activity, bitter hatred at his severity, and strict stoicism--I never cried out unless I was in great pain, even then, tho, (sic) usually running to another room . . . I don't remember ever receiving threats of punishment which were never carried out . . . I was usually bitter and angry after punishment, and for a while I truly and sincerely believed my parents were Communists! Once I remember going to the phone after my father slugged me in the head, but I hadn't the nerve and he firmly restrained my arm from dialing . . ."

It is most interesting that the stance of "stoicism" seems to represent an internalization of her mother's method of discipline, which she describes as "martyrdom, where we were made to feel guilty and unworthy in response to her silence and pained looks." The silence, then, may be a form of expressing hostility.

Deborah's father is perceived by her to have fairly rigid standards of behavior for people--a Protestant Ethic ideal--but "likes to see himself as stronger in the ideal characteristics . . . than those around him . . ." which Deborah feels is not always the case. In her description of him, he seems basically counter-depressive; that is, he can get "suddenly very hostile, sarcastic, and depressed," has a great deal of difficulty sleeping and has digestive disturbances, and yet is very personable and a "brilliant conversationalist" with others in a way that seems to Deborah "put-on-overdoing his expressions of consideration and concern for others." He presents "an image" of concern, but not "a true self." She experiences his judgments ("which alternate from admiration and pride to disgust") as basically capricious and based on "angry and emotional personal reactions"; in other words, they weren't directly responsive to Deborah as a person. To their attempts at discipline, she reacted with

> "defiance and sarcasm, tho' (sic) when I felt my father was really angry I just did as he said, but not respecting his authority, only fearing the threats. Immediately after being punished I thought about what sarcastic things I would like to say if I hadn't said them. When I was young I thought about killing myself or being killed or sick and how my parents would react. Later I thought about leaving the house and made many plans and inquiries about other places to live while I was in school. I was more and more serious about this and thought about it even when my parents were not angry with me."

Note here both the differences and similarities to the male Lows. With the female Lows, anger, disappointment and mistrust are very much on the surface, very much expressed as directly as is compatible with the fear of retaliation. For the male Lows, we found that the response to paternal intimidation was to "go underground," i.e., swallow the hostility and resentment and adopt an obedient, submissive stance. Some individuals (like Bert and Sol) are much more conscious of having done this,

while others seem to be much less aware of the dynamics of adopting this posture.

For the females on the other hand, we find a perception that their fathers (and, as we shall see, in some cases the parents in general) respond only out of their own needs, are insensitive to the needs of the child and most certainly not to be trusted in terms of delivering positive reinforcements in any reliable way. This fact no doubt accounts for the interesting differences between the proportion of acts which fall into Nurturance as opposed to Sexuality. That is, all of the usual sense of sexual attraction to the father, rivalry with the mother, and so on, is not so much absent from these autobiographies but seem overpowered by the intense concern with the problem of receiving nurturant supplies. One sees this rather poignantly in Ruth, who describes herself as feeling both threatened by her father and yet feeling that he understood her better than her mother did, of feeling that in certain ways she was preferred to her mother--and then without warning (when Ruth was 8) the father abandoned the family and left for California! This fact, with all the attendant feelings of loss, rejection, anger, etc.--overwhelms (or suffuses) the sexual tone of her feelings toward her father.

For the male Lows, the problem of trust and parental indifference to needs comes out in a subtler way especially for the obedient, submissive types. If one is to be a "good little boy" and submit oneself to the standards of the father (or parents), then one at the same time must put a sharp rein on one's own unique and spontaneously expressed needs. One can't help but feel that this has left these males with a sense of being "out of touch" with the father, of sensing (although denying) his indifference to the "real self."

But there is another "subgroup" of female Lows, who, in our retrospective analysis (see above) seem not to be directly hostile, disappointed and do not express

feelings of separateness from the father. These females seem to resemble the males much more closely. Here again we find the familiar defensive ambivalence and idealization: the family is close, warm, no problems or issues of any kind. Yet--the father is stubborn, sometimes scary, one anticipates his hostility, one can't get through even though, as in Milly's case, he seems eager to have long discussions with her (which always fall apart because he is so unaccepting of her ideas). The primary differences between these female Lows and the male Lows, it would appear, is a somewhat greater propensity to admit to a fear of being "independent," of enjoying a state of dependency with the parents. We shall see this propensity more clearly below.

We have looked at the data for fathers. We turn now to the data for mothers. Again, in terms of hypotheses 5b and c (and now let us add 5e) what might we expect of the data? In the classroom sample, we found that the data were least clear for the mother. For males, we might expect a greater identification with the mother although this is a tentative idea, since the classroom sample data indicate that identification is likely to be ambivalent. We can test this proposition by looking at the Identifying category of PASS (Lows should be higher here). Since the autobiography specifically asks students who they seem more like, we can also test this hypothesis by comparing Highs and Lows here. Beyond this, we would make the same predictions for mothers as for fathers (see above).

For females, our classroom data indicate that we can make similar predictions for mother and for father. Again, we would expect the "defensive ambivalence" pattern, and might also expect female Lows to be higher on factor scale v- (Submission) and/or lower on factor scale v+ (Dominance).

For both males and females, we find a somewhat sparse crop of significant differences. To begin with, the male Lows are not higher on Identifying; this prediction is disconfirmed. Nor are they higher on Disagreeing, Making Reparation or Equality. In line with the prediction, they are higher on Agreeing; however, there is no difference on denial categories. Instead, male Lows are higher on the expression of anxiety (and lower on the expression of guilt). Finally, as predicted, male low participators have a greater percentage of acts falling into the Nurturance category. In an interesting parallel to the results for females toward the father, male lows are not only higher in Nurturance, but also lower on Sexuality toward the mother. There are no differences on factor scales: unexpectedly, males are lower on Withdrawing.

For females, we find one confirmation of our three predictions for factor scale differences. Female lows are lower on v+ (Power); however, this result seems primarily a function of the very high score of the high participating women. Two of our predictions are confirmed for categories; female lows are lower on Dominance ($z=2.6$, $p=<.05$) and higher on Denying Depression ($z=-2.4$, $p=<.05$). None of the other predictions are confirmed. These females are higher on the Control theme ($z=2.1$, $p=<.05$) and Deny Guilt less ($z=2.1$, $p=<.05$).

In our summary of results, we neglected to mention our measure of identification from the autobiographies. We may begin looking at the interviews by taking up this point, since it may help us to understand what the results mean. In general, we do not find any statistically significant differences between stated identification and participation groups. Most subjects mention aspects of the self which resemble both mother and father. What is interesting is that low participators tend to "identify" with those characteristics of the parents which imply low participation, unlike high partici-

pators. For instance, Harry says that "I am like my mother most in that I'm overly sensitive at times and I . . . get upset easily. I also have a stubborn streak like my father . . ." Clarence says "I probably resemble my mother most in my lack of confidence in myself . . ." Jerry says, "I am most like my mother in that I am very interested in other people's business, nosy I guess. However I certainly lack her courage to talk to anyone or speak up which I often refrain from doing." This last expression could serve as a statement of 1) why Clarence would be interested in a course like The Psychology of Interpersonal Behavior and 2) the nature of his behavior in the group.

Three of these males describe feelings of being overprotected or overwhelmed by the actions of the mother, and of feeling resentful and frightened by this behavior. Bert (whose father threatened to cut his penis off) is an overt homosexual. He projects the most negative, fearful and hostile set of feelings about his mother:

> "My mother's attitude toward me has always been overly affectionate (she calls me 'her little baby') and extremely domineering . . . I've always had the feeling that I wish I could get my mother off my back. I've always wished that she could be less domineering and more womanly . . . through most of my life I was completely intimidated by her . . ."

Lester describes a confused emotional relationship with his mother:

> "My mother was always quite affectionate and protective . . . I was always very close to mother, but this has been so excessive as to cause problems; consequently, lately (last 4 years) I've been rather distant from her. Seeing myself as the unfortunate protagonist in Sons and Lovers, I believe this distance necessary in order to establish a better balance (I'm afraid I didn't express the emotion very well on paper - use your imagination and you'll know what I mean). From my mother I have learned the power (and danger) of being overprotective . . ."

The pattern of ambivalence--fear of being overwhelmed and attraction to the mother--

shows up clearly in his earliest memory of his mother:

> "The earliest memory of my mother is not a pleasant one . . . I must have been 7 or 8 years old. I was behind the garage of our home, more or less experimenting with sex and the human body with a neighbor boy--this included such fantasies as being told I had the choice of either being thrown into a pit of molten lava or removing my clothing in front of the QUEEN and getting great pleasure out of 'painfully' and 'embarrassingly' stripping. Well, my mother had been hanging up some clothes outside, heard noises and investigated. She got quite angry with the neighbor boy, sending him home. With me she was quite pleasant, telling me I shouldn't do things like that, etc., etc. I felt then like I do when I recall it - really shitty and guilty - like my stomach was in knots . . ."

Finally, Jerry experiences his mother as intrusive and controlling:

> "My mother was always extremely interested in all of my activities and my sister, much to our displeasure. I really objected to always having to discuss where I was going, who was there, etc. My mother thus seemed overly interested in me and very domineering. I was always afraid to do things without her permission or knowledge because she became quite angry . . ."

Even among the males we described earlier who tended to repress feelings of hostility toward the parent, one finds numerous indirect signs of resentment and fear directed toward the mother. Thus Harry had numerous early dreams associated with his mother of drowning and suffocating. Clarence's two early memories of his mother are about his mother frustrating his needs. It will be remembered that his first memory was about running away from Sunday School, but being "carried back across the street" to attend it against his will. A second memory also concerns his mother's indifference to his "real" needs:

> "About the age of 5 . . . I took a nap and woke up. My mother was downstairs fixing something - dinner, laundry, something . . . but was busy. She called for me to put on my shoes and come downstairs. I felt awful - frustrated, angry, not wanting to obey - got half-way downstairs to the landing and sat there. I was angry at her for not paying me attention. I wanted to go downstairs and I didn't want to go down - so I just sat there making angry sounds - very frustrated. Mother asked me to come down - I said I didn't want to, she said to go back to bed - I said I didn't want to - so I waited an hour just sitting there mad for no reason . . ."

Two themes seem to predominate in these male's feelings about their mothers. First seems to be a fear of being trapped or engulfed by the mother, being made into a little boy, the "servant to the queen" (the castrating mother). The second theme is, again, the theme of parental narcissism. That is, the mother is perceived as being intrusive out of her own needs, disregarding those of the child. This data may explain why nurturance themes predominate over sexual ones. The preoccupation is with malevolent nurturing agents, and this feeling overwhelms other feelings toward the mother (not that they are nonexistent as we have seen). Thus we have an interesting parallel to the female low participators relative to the father. There, we remember, we also saw the same pattern of nurturance predominating over sexuality; and indeed the underlying issues seem to have been similar. Certainly these perceptions of the mother might explain the higher score on Expressing Anxiety in the low participating males. Similarly, the lower score on Withdrawing might be explained by the ambivalence; the attempt by the mother to maintain the child in a dependent position may be greeted by the low participating male with some pleasure. There are a few hints about this in the Early Memories. For instance, there are several instances of early memories of mothers involving passive enjoyment of some service the mother is rendering (e.g., dressing one, getting a gift, being fed). This memory is often associated with a sense of discomfort at the thought of being "outside" e.g., the house, a family group. Bert, the subject in our sample most open about expressing these feelings in various forms, has an early memory of his mother in which he is sure that he has been abandoned by her, that she has left home and him. But of course all of the latter is based on fragmentary evidence. It is interesting to note, incidentally, that Bieber et al (1962) have suggested that one important develop-

mental antecedent of homosexuality is a familial scene similar to the one we have described for some of these males (a close, binding mother and a feared or absent father); we may offer their study as some further indirect evidence concerning the cross-sexual identification of our Low participating males.

When we turn to the female Lows, we do not find the perception of the mother as narcissistic and smothering. Rather, we find individuals who feel defeated by the apparent unwillingness of the mother to respond to the child as a real person and are struggling with the depression attendant on this perception. Here again these females span a wide dimension in expressing these issues directly. Deborah offers this perception in its most clearcut form:

> "My mother really doesn't react to me as a person unless I get in a deep argument-discussion with her - and then she reacts as if my ideas were very wrong and immoral, and yet as if she were afraid of my ability to argue and of my knowledge and intelligence. Generally, she reacts to me as a mother to a daughter - "of course" she loves, although she scarcely knows me as a person, she has done and still does many nice things for me, but more to get satisfaction of being a good mother and of fulfilling her obligation, than to really make me happy. I feel somewhat ashamed and defiantly honest in saying this."

It will be remembered that Deborah's father also held a rigid set of ideals for behavior, which in itself is yet another form of non-recognition of individual differences.

Shirley, who as we recall had hostile, unaffectionate parents, who were physically abusive to her, expressed their indifference in another way:

> "I had total freedom (anarchy?) never any restrictions, such as curfews, neighborhood limits, friends, or anything. Nothing was ever asked of me."

The feeling (as Shirley reflects it) is that the parents are out at that extreme of permissiveness which is a form of indifference: "nothing was ever asked of me" in the

context of Shirley's inconsistent, unpredictably hostile parents suggests a real depression and loneliness vis-a-vis them.

The other form of handling these issues goes to the extreme of idealization and denial. Lynn is one of the anxiously submissive "good little girls" described above. The family is very loving; yet "you have to watch out for my father's temper." Decision making in the family is democratic; yet "father makes all the major decisions in the family. She could "really get close" to her mother; yet "the most effective punishment for me was to have my mother not talk to me. Once she did this for four days--she did not talk to me. I thought I would be stubborn and not obey, but she did not talk to me until I had done what she wanted." In a contest of wills, never go up against the "loving" mother! But again, the point is that it is the parental need which takes precedence.

Given that low participators struggle with the problem, which seems to be central for them, of unambivalently getting nurturant supplies, we argued in the classroom sample that competition might be a particularly tricky issue for these low participators. We suggested (and found some indications) that rivalry with siblings, with all the focus on gaining parental attention, being center-stage, etc., might play an important role. All this discussion suggests the following predictions for this sample. We would expect that low males would express more Anxiety and Depression toward siblings. In addition, we would expect less Moving Toward and more Disagreeing. Although we have seen, in both samples, that low participators are not likely to direct too much hostility toward anyone, we would argue that the siblings may be a "safe" enough target so that more hostility will emerge. Therefore, we would expect higher scores on Moving Against and Guilt-Inducing. We would also expect

a greater percentage of acts in Competence. Although the interviews in the first sample were incomplete, it appeared that the most tension here was found among the men. We would therefore expect the above predictions to be most true for men. Finally, we might expect scores on Defensive Ambivalence and Anxious Hostility to be higher for lows.

The most obvious thing about the results here are the male-female differences. In general, some of our hypotheses are confirmed for male Lows and some for female Lows while some are disconfirmed for both. Males are higher on agreeing ($z=-2.2$, $p=< .05$), lower on Moving Toward ($z=3.6$, $p=< .002$), and higher on Anxious Hostility ($F=5.01$, $p=< .01$). They are higher on Expressing Anxiety ($z=-2.2$, $p=< .05$), on the percentage of acts in Competence ($z=-3.6$, $p=< .002$) and lower on percentage of acts in Control ($z=2.9$, $p= < .01$). Thus we do see some evidence of hostility and we do see anxiety around the competence issue.

It is the female Lows who express ambivalent hostility. Thus they are higher on Disagreeing ($z=-2.6$, $p=< .01$), Guilt-Inducing ($z=-2.4$, $p= < .05$), and on Agreeing ($z= -2.6$, $p= < .01$) and Making Reparation ($z=-3.7$, $p=< .002$), but lower on Submission ($z=2.7$, $p=< .01$), and Expressing Depression ($z=2.2$, $p= < .05$).

Looking first at the male Lows' autobiographies, we see that, in general, same-sex siblings appear to male low participators as more powerful, potent and active, embodying qualities which they probably envy. It is the latter perception which probably accounts for the higher score on Agreeing. For instance, Clarence's brother is described as "the self-proclaimed black sheep of the family - rebellious, frank, not willing to play games." In the section previous to this, Clarence used very similar descriptions to indicate what he would <u>like</u> to be. Further, his brother is

"good looking, active, socially aware, independent." Clarence confesses it very directly: "I experienced continual and intense rivalry with Tom throughout most of my life until 2-3 years ago." He "often felt threatened by his successes, resented very much the attention he received over and above me." We, of course, are not suggesting that other kinds of participators are not involved in sibling rivalry. What is important here is that the rivalry is occurring in a context where the low participator is struggling with the problem of receiving affection, attention and support and feeling "needy" in this regard. Therefore the sibling is even more of a threat.

Bert expresses the sense of what low Moving Toward score means:

> "As kids all we did was fight - real sibling rivalry, and were never really close."

Part of this lack of closeness resulted from the much older age of the brother. Similarly, Jerry reveals a pattern of professed lack of closeness, but an obvious interest and concern for competing:

> "I was not closely attached to her because of the difference in our ages but she cared about me and would help me with things etc. When I became older I felt socially superior to her because I was much more popular than she had been. Also she always had better grades than I had had but I didn't resent it. I was happy though when my SAT scores were much higher than hers had been."

One can see in this excerpt the relative lack of hostility, but at the same time the concern with competence and (in this case) denial of depression.

Another component of the sibling orientation is low self-esteem felt toward the sibling. Harry provides us with a good example (and we remember the problems he had handling hostile impulses):

> "I feel intellectually inferior to Tom as he is more intelligent and does better in school than I did . . . since he entered high school and became extremely active in numerous activities (though I did too, his outspokenness, brings him more attention in these activities) and has won leading roles in plays, won speech contests, etc., my parents have tended to favor him . . . I might be unfair in this respect for expecting equal attention but . . . there are tensions because of this."

When we recall that this young man has a stuttering problem, and that he felt afraid and alienated from his father, one can see how this sibling's behavior as he sees it exacerbates the conflict Jerry feels in these areas.

When we turn to the females, we see a more active, less depressed and hopeless orientation to the sibling. This may be because these females have more siblings than the males. For some individuals, there seems to be a banding together with the sibling against the parents. As Deborah puts it:

> "David, Christy, Sarah and I really feel like brothers and sisters and care very much about each other. I believe we all love our parents less than we do each other, and more than our parents love us."

When females feel they have "beat out" a sibling, they seem to feel a sense of self-righteousness; but this feeling creates guilt and necessitates making reparation. Lynn gives us a nice example of this:

> "When I was younger I always felt my brother was a pest and welcomed the arrival of my sister--I was just old enough to enjoy her. Now I can say that I feel close to both my brother and sister and have no favorite between them. My brother was always punished more often as a child--but then he deserved it. I always felt that my parents favored me because of this. Now, I can see that they do not openly show that they have a favorite child--whether they do or not I don't know."

It is most interesting that low participators often see the classroom situation as a scene in which the predominant motivation is the need for attention. Others are seen as talking just to get the teacher to look at them, to "snow" him and other students. For instance, in the interview, Harry indicates why he didn't participate:

> ". . . so many kids in classes just talk to hear themselves talking, to show off their intellectual abilities--to impress people and hear themselves talk . . . it has to do with the fact that classes up here are so competitive that so many people are opponents. They're here to really impress the class, particularly the instructor."

For a man who already feels hopeless and mistrustful about receiving nurturance and who is still struggling with the feeling that his brother is preferred to him (see quote above), this explanation of his low participation takes on added poignancy.

Although we did not make any predictions about "peers" and "sexual objects," it is interesting to look at the pattern of results which emerges here. That familiar ambivalent pattern of Disagreeing and Agreeing we have seen for other social objects in males again appears in relation to sexual objects. Since our sample of low participating males contains one overt homosexual and one individual who, we may infer from his maternal relationship, has sexual conflicts, we might indeed expect some kind of ambivalence to show up. The higher proportion of Withdrawal for high participating males seems to reflect their tendency to report on loves lost as well as gained. The pattern of results for males towards peers is in part an artifact of the greater proportion of female peers (not sexual objects) reported on by low participators. However, what one finds reflected here, besides the greater proportion of female peers, is a general tendency to turn away from the frustrating family scene toward the peer group. As we remember from the 101 results in the classroom sample, there were a number of references to escape from threatening older persons. It is possible that we are seeing a hint of the same thing here.

What can we say, now, for the other two developmental hypotheses (5a and d)? Concerning restriction of activity, the problem is a subtle one. For instance, we find individuals (especially low participators) who deny that their activity

was restricted at all; yet in many different ways give evidence that in fact their behavior was rather heavily monitored. On the other hand, we find individuals (especially high participators) who complain about the restrictiveness of the parents and yet who clearly had very few restrictions on their behavior. Again, this possible distortion is always a problem with self-report data.

When we look at the degree of social interaction with the parents, we again run into a problem which seems to have to do with the perception of the parent as narcissistic. For example, a number of the low participators report that they interacted with the parents a great deal, but (indirectly or directly) felt that the parents were not very responsive to their real needs. Again, low participators often generate a feeling of loneliness or despair which makes it difficult to code the amount of interaction. Thus, as far as this data is concerned, the proposition will have to remain untested.

A curious failure in cross-validation should be noted on the "trait measures" (OAIS, SAT, Grade in course, GPA). None of these measures significantly distinguished any of our subgroups in the analytic group sample. It will be remembered that, in the classroom sample, male Lows had significantly lower grades, and female Lows were significantly lower in Creative Personality (OAIS). The grade difference may be an artifact of the much smaller variance of grades in this sample. The difference for Creative Personality, however, is surprising. One might expect scores on this scale, since it supposedly measures verbal fluidity, to differentiate high and low participators even more strongly than in the other sample. This result may suggest that intrapsychic processes are an even more powerful determiner of silent behavior in groups than we had supposed.

We have finished our review of the developmental data from the analytic group sample. We will begin the next chapter by summarizing, across both samples, what we think we have or have not discovered about low participators. In the course of doing so, we will discuss the impact of the nature of the analytic group on low participation, particularly the ways in which the silent members fit into the ongoing life of the group and how their functions for other group members intersect with their own particular concerns.

FOOTNOTES

[1]We gratefully acknowledge the work of David Yaffe of the University of Michigan who assisted us in this coding. The overall interjudge reliability on these scales was r=.91.

[2]We even more gratefully acknowledge the assistance of Linda Townes and David Yaffe of the University of Michigan for carrying out this laborious task.

[3]All protocols were coded "blind," i.e., the scorers did not know if the protocols were written by high or low participators.

[4]This is the most direct test of this hypothesis in the analytic group sample.

CHAPTER VI

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Once, again, the reader is reminded that we employed a cross-validational procedure, predicting from sample one (the classroom sample) to sample 2 (the analytic group sample). We have, therefore, reached that point in our study where we will want to assess the success and/or failure of our attempts at prediction. In other words, we will want to see the ways in which low participators in the two samples were similar or different. After applying ourselves to this task, we will try to evaluate the effect of situational or group properties on low participation. As part of this effort, we will offer some data on the behavior of low participators over time, that is, over the life of the group, focusing particularly on the analytic groups. That is, we will discuss the way the group itself varies over time, looking both at the ways in which low participator concerns intersect with group issues as they emerge developmentally and at the functions of low participators for the group. We will then discuss some theoretical issues raised by our results. Finally, we will offer a critique of this study, indicating its shortcomings and offering some suggestions for future research.

The Results

As far as the importance of the nurturance issue is concerned, our evidence suggests some generality across both samples, even though there were some

methodological problems involved in predicting from sample one to sample 2 (see above). In the classroom sample, we noted that males seemed most directly involved in the problem of nurturance in the classroom and responded to it "counterdependently", i.e., by repudiating the importance of the situation, defensive expressions of independence, scorn for the teacher, and the like. Females, it was suggested, were more likely to directly express these nurturant concerns and link them to evaluation anxiety. In the analytic group sample, the difference between males and females seemed less marked. The counterdependent "style" seemed more characteristic of more of these subjects, both male and female, than was true in the first sample. One possible reason for this fact may be that college life selects out individuals whose conflicts about trust, receiving affection and support, and the like, involve an undefended perception of the self as weak, incompetent and despairing. That is, counterdependent behavior, with its mixture of rebellion, neutrality and withdrawal, may be more adaptive for individuals who are struggling with nurturance concerns in the college setting.

As far as the problem of autonomy, fear of manipulation and the like are concerned, the two samples seem to be similar. Although, again, we couldn't find any differences when we sorted weekly logs in the analytic group sample, both TAT and Early Memories Autonomy Scale data supported the notion that low participators feared encroachment on their autonomy and were suspicious about the possibility of being manipulated by others. Unfortunately, our data in the analytic group sample were not refined enough to let us look as closely as we might have liked at male-female differences here. However, if one looks at the Group Experience Essays, one finds scattered throughout them, both male and female, some

individual references to fears of being "used" in an experiment made to behave in ways unacceptable to self and so on.

As far as the fear of evaluation is concerned, low participators in both samples seem substantially similar. In both samples, there was some suggestion that female lows tend to link competence and nurturance as concerns. More evidence of "stage-fright" was evident in the analytic group sample, a fact which is not only a result of the richer responses we had in this sample about this issue, but perhaps also, because the community-building pressures in the analytic group put so much more of a premium on talking. Low participators in general seemed very open in expressing the fear that unpleasant consequences could ensue if one were to talk. These consequences ranged from the admission of incompetence to loss of impulse control to admission of one's basic "badness" or "phoniness" (quoted from interview).

In the classroom sample, our evidence concerning problems of expressing hostility and/or acting assertively came indirectly. We noted in that sample a general tendency running through all the data to avoid personal confrontation, to put a rein on resentment, to deflect it to other targets, and turn against the self. In the analytic sample, where we were able to test this tendency more directly, we found that the weight of evidence from all our measures suggested that low participators were defensively ambivalent about expressing hostility and initiative. The exceptions to this centered on the females' responses to fathers and males' responses to siblings. The latter appeared to be a more anxious and despairing concern centering around competition for nurturant supplies when one was still conflicted and unsure of one's ability to get them. The hostility directed at fathers seemed mainly to come from half the sample of women who had particularly brutalizing, indifferent

and unpredictable fathers. Males whose fathers were the same seemed much more intimidated and threatened, tending to adopt a submissive, obedient posture toward the father (see below).

Our developmental data in the analytic group sample was much more complete and we, therefore, were able to get a somewhat clearer picture of the backgrounds of low participators than in the classroom sample. The major themes which seem to emerge in both samples in terms of paternal relationships stressed the perceived power of the father, the difficulty of moving close to him, the feeling of being intimidated by him, and his perceived indifference or narcissism to the "real" needs of the child. There were important male-female differences in both samples and across samples. The major problem for males in the classroom sample appeared to be that the father presented very high standards of achievement and not much encouragement for the child as he tried to reach those standards. There was some evidence which might suggest that the male child, therefore, attempted, in some ambivalent way, to model the mother instead. In the analytic group sample, the question of intimidation seemed uppermost. Either the father was particularly hostile and capricious in expressing feeling toward the child or he was "warmly restrictive," that is, imposing standards on the child's behavior in a context of "sacrifice" to his welfare, but at the same time making it very difficult for the child to feel accepted for his own uniqueness. In the latter case, the child evidently found it very difficult to express hostility directly toward this "warm" parent and this situation seems to account for the pattern of "defensive ambivalence" expressed toward the father. The general tendency for low participating males to be obedient, submissive "good little boys" (although tending to give evidence of suppressed resentment at this

state of affairs) was much more evident in the analytic group sample than in the classroom sample. This fact may be an artifact of the skimpiness of the interviews in the classroom sample, although a few males in that sample generated enough material so that we could conclude that this obedient submission was true for them also.

The females differed between the two samples primarily as a function of the relative balance of angry, mistrustful, and/or counterdependent individuals and anxious, submissive individuals. In the classroom sample, the balance was clearly in the direction of the latter. In the analytic group sample, the balance seemed to swing toward the other side. However, in that sample, one-third of the low participator females had fathers who were particularly harsh and physically brutal and the anger, guilt-inducing and resentment they expressed clearly stemmed from the consequences of this treatment. We have no direct evidence of similar kinds of fathers in the classroom sample.

In any case, it is important to stress again that power, frustration of nurturance needs, intimidation (in the broader sense used here) and narcissism all characterized the perceptions of the father by low participators in both samples. In relation to the mother, we raised the possibility, suggested in the literature and hinted at in the classroom sample data, that low participating males may be more closely identified with their mothers than their fathers. Although we have no direct quantitative evidence of this cross-sex identification for males in the analytic group sample, we did note that half of the males in that sample not only had fathers who were experienced as hostile and indifferent, but also experienced their mothers as very dominating and over-protective in ways that irritated and frightened them. At

least one of these males was an overt homosexual, while the presence of sexual conflicts was noted in two others. We suggested that this home situation is similar to that described by Bieber et al. (1962) in their discussion of the genesis of homosexuality. However, it should be pointed out that we had no direct means of testing parental identification. Finally, we suggested for males in this sample that the pattern of Expressing Anxiety and non-Withdrawal could be accounted for by the males' concern, as indicated in the Autobiographies and Early Memories, with malevolent nurturing figures and ambivalent feelings of enjoying the dependency and fearing it as well. These latter perceptions of the "smothering" or "castrating" mother were much less in evidence in the classroom sample; the generality of this maternal relationship is, therefore, not demonstrated in this study (again remembering the lack of detail in the classroom sample developmental data).

Females in both samples do not experience the mother as controlling or over-protective. In the analytic groups, however, one finds an intriguing parallel to the defensive ambivalence (reflected in the quantitative data) which males feel toward the father. Again, what seems to underly this pattern of feelings is a perception of the mother as apparently unwilling to respond to the child as a real person. A subgroup of the females tend to express more depression directly about this state of affairs (as does a small subgroup of males). A final intriguing parallel for males and females in the analytic group sample was noted. For the mother of males and the father of females, there was a much greater percentage of acts scored as Nurturance and a much smaller percentage of acts scored as Sexuality. Since Nurturance and Sexuality are typically positively correlated, this relationship between Nurturance and Sexuality is of even more interest. Evidently, what it reflects is a

preoccupation with problems of being close to, or accepted by, the opposite-sex parent such that issues of rivalry and the like, which are more noticeable in high participators, are overshadowed or not attended to directly (but see below) except by inference; there is no parallel to this preoccupation in the classroom sample.

Our data in the analytic group sample also revealed something we had suspected from interviews in the classroom sample, that is, that the issue of sibling rivalry might be exacerbated for low participators because of its implications for the satisfaction of nurturance needs. At least for males, more depression, anxiety, lack of closeness, and concerns about competence were expressed toward siblings than was true for high participators. Females appear to be closer to their siblings and to express more contentious (although ambivalent) rivalry, with few overtones of depression. In terms of a cross sample similarity, we do not have strong enough data in our classroom sample to come to any conclusions.

We have seen that there are some commonalities in the results as well as differences across samples. Can either similarities or differences be accounted for in terms of group properties? Let us look first at similarities. One thing all of these groups, classroom and analytic had in common, was the discipline of psychology. Our low participators let us know this fact in their interviews in both samples. As we pointed out in Chapter IV, some of them indicated that they felt uncomfortable or uneasy with what they perceived to be the "unstructured" or "less organized" nature of the field. People of this sort tended to be majoring in the Natural Sciences (we remember also that the instructor who was most insistent on scientific method in psychology had low participators who were more likely to be majoring in the Humanities). In the analytic group sample, individual low partici-

pators (although by no means all) mentioned the uneasiness they felt about the expression of certain emotions, specifically, sexual attraction, hostility, and dependency. The "weirdness" of the group, as Clarence puts it, was that it focused so much on "abnormal relationships" by which he seems to mean too much emphasis was placed on understanding the unconscious determinants of group events. If in fact the analytic group situation is more volatile emotionally, then we might expect individuals who are more conflicted about the expression of emotion to become low participators. This idea might explain why the background of many low participators in this sample seemed so dramatically more disorganized and "pathological" than those in the classroom sample.

This discussion might lead us to suggest that in groups that are more structured, less oriented to intrapsychic and interpersonal concerns, those individuals who are low participators in our sample may move up dramatically in the distribution of verbal participation. Obviously from our study we have no way of knowing. Although in the analytic group sample we asked subjects about their usual rate of participation in groups, this data was very difficult to interpret. For instance, about half of the low participators initially stated that being quiet was unusual for them; yet in ensuing discussion with them or later on in their autobiography, they would describe themselves as "shy" or "inhibited" or "nervous with people." This discrepancy seems to reflect a social desirability problem; being a low participator is not highly valued, to say the least. There are also interesting cases in the opposite direction. For instance, one low participator, while describing himself as basically a low participator in most groups, then goes on to describe an almost amusingly large number of leadership jobs he held while in high school--senior class president,

president of student council, head of French Club, etc., etc.

Ideally, then, in this study we should have looked at low participators in groups which were considerably different from the groups we looked at here, groups varying more widely in groups goals, structure, sex of instructor or leader, and so on. But the groups in our sample did vary in another way of which we have some understanding, that is, in terms of central interpersonal concerns as they developed over time. Hartman (1969) has described, statistically and clinically, the nature of these concerns. He suggests that both groups in the sample went through four major phases of development; an initial phase of concern and distress about group structure culminating in a revolt against the leader's authority, a second phase in which the groups attempted to create a "utopian" atmosphere of honesty and closeness, a third phase in which issues of sexual rivalry and disappointment about creating the "utopian" group were central, and a final "termination" phase centering on distress associated with the end of the group. We can then ask, having some tentative understanding of low participators in these groups, how the concerns of low participators interacted with the groups concerns as they succeeded each other over time.

Our original intent had been two-fold. First, we were going to compare the kinds of acts produced by low participators in each phase and compare this profile to that of all other members. Secondly, we were going to compare the acts directed toward low participators in each phase to see what we could learn about the possible function of low participators for the other group members in different phases of the group. In both these cases, we were foiled by the sheer paucity of acts produced by low participators in both these groups. By the last two phases of

group, only one or two participators in each group are producing any acts at all; the combined total for both groups in the last two phases is 84 acts.

Since the number of acts, then, was so low, this author simply went through both groups to see, first, of what issues low participators became the focus and, second, to see if there were any commonalities in the issues which elicited comment from low participators. In the first two phases of the groups, there was clear support for the notion that low participators receive the displaced or projected concerns typical of the phase. This phenomenon was less clearly apparent in the last two phases, mainly because even fewer acts were directed toward low participators in the last half of the groups. For instance, Milly entered the group at its fourth session. The group takes notice of this and then briefly (and anxiously discusses whether there should be a group decision on admitting a new member. Milly is then asked if "she will make interesting comments." Coming shortly after some concern expressed about the leader's role and the nature of his comments, we might conclude that Milly is "taking the rap" for the leader at this point. Similarly, during phase 2, concern is expressed with "bringing everyone into the group" and this is directed toward silent members in ways that imply that they are too distressed or conflicted to be able to "make a move" by themselves. For instance, during a session in which the group is discussing the fear of revealing feelings between members, an active member elicits a fairly lengthy comment from Jill, an inactive member, by asking "Do you think you are hiding behind that cigarette?" she replies that she agrees. Then the active member says, "That's the first thing you've said all year, isn't it?" Jill denies this and then proceeds to discuss another member of the group, exhorting him not to feel coerced by outside forces but to realize that one is motivated

from within. This speech seems like a defensive response to feeling coerced by the active member into talking.

Jill's comment begins to give us some insight into the difficult position of the low participator in the group. As we saw, autonomy issues, possible the fear of manipulation, but certainly resentment at having people intrude into one's domain are issues for low participators. This issue is overlaid by mistrust, fear of rejection or loss of support but also a fear of being made dependent by others. These fears and issues create the paradox that when an overture is made toward a low participator, it creates a painful approach-avoidance conflict. On the one hand, there are all the ungratified nurturance needs which are aroused, but at the same time all the painful feelings of mistrust, fear of being made dependent, and so on. Jill's resentment is a typical response; the other, is to deny that one is involved, interested, and so on. Indeed, since the overture to the low participator is made as part of displaced or projected feelings from the other, they are often experienced (accurately) as attacks or as "put downs" (from low participator interviews). Harry is rather open about the painfulness of this paradox. When asked if he wanted to participate, he replies that he was waiting for someone to ask him a question directly, or even to ask about his lack of participation (this evidently happened to him in another group). About the middle of the groups, someone did ask Harry a question, in the context of deciding who the "real" leader in the group was: "Do you think you're in that system--what's your name?" "Who me, Harry." "Harry, do you think you're supporting one candidate for leadership?" "I'm not involved at all" "Don't think you're involved at all?" "Nope." Again, we might expect that the active member is displacing feeling to Harry from the leader. But for Harry, one wonders, first, if this wasn't a golden

opportunity for him to express some hostility toward an intrusive other and, second, if the whole issue of competition, leadership, and so on, is not particularly painful for this person who, as we remember, expressed much despair about his brother being preferred over him by the parents.

What we are saying, then, is not only does the group "use" the silent members, but typically it does this using in a way that exacerbates the very problems which lead to the adoption of the silent stance in groups. This phenomenon raises an interesting theoretical question: to what extent is it possible for the silent member to actually be "in the group"? That is, to what extent can we speak of the low participator as "participating" in any sense? What does it take for him to be included within the boundaries of the group from the point of view of other members and himself? In part, these questions raise the issue of defining the "community" is defined either by exclusion or conclusion, processes which, on the group level, are the analogues of the intrapsychic processes of projection and introjection. We would like to suggest that there is another component of the community-building process which is particularly relevant to low participators' "community" involvement. Slater (1970) has suggested that a central requirement of building a viable community (defined as living "in trust and fraternal cooperation with one's fellows in a total and visible collective entity") is the ability to be dependent on others, that is, "to share responsibility for the control of one's impulses and direction of one's life." But this state of affairs, it would seem, implies the satisfactory resolution of trust and autonomy issues and, as we have seen, low participators are indeed struggling with those very issues. Indeed, the very tendency to deny the importance of those nurturance needs, which we have seen to be characteristic of many in our sample, would militate against the low participator being

able to fully share in the life of the community, or perhaps even more relevant to our groups, to participate in the struggle to build a community satisfactory to all, in short, to become productively dependent. Our perusal of the analytic groups over time and of low participator behavior in the group over time indicates that, leaving aside whatever else may be going on, the tendency of low participators to deny that they are having any meaningful feelings toward the group tends to close off avenues of integration into the community-building process.

There are two predominant ways in the group that low participators opt out of the community-building process. The first it through the denial of any negative feelings associated with group events. Here is an active member talking to Clarence: "How do the silences make you feel?" "Well, they used to bother me but I feel quite comfortable like this," "Doesn't it ever bother you that everybody just sits there?" "No, I couldn't care less . . . " This interaction occurred the session after the group was beginning to realize that the fantasies around which it had structured itself concerning sexual relationships could not be realized. The active member's question, in some sense, is probably both a displacement from the leader and, as well, a plea: where do we go from here? But Clarence's denial of involvement in these issues closes off an avenue of integration into the group.

The second way in which low participators often opt out of the community-building process is through the assumption of the "flight leader" role. Typically, however, low participators urge the group into flight precisely at that moment when the group is just about to directly confront particularly critical (and, therefore, anxiety-arousing) issues. So just at a point at which most members are ready to stop being defensive, the low participator urges them to "run" in the opposite direction. Milly

is a very good example of a person who makes these attempts. For instance, the session before the group confronted the leader with its hostility toward his behavior, and during the time the group was, in different ways, talking about the possibility of revolt, Milly suggests the whole group go and have coffee in the cafeteria. In a session just prior to the revelation of sexual attraction among group members, Milly asks, "Does anyone feel that the group isn't as important to you as it used to be?" She elaborates, "At first I was really concerned about making the group work; now so much else has happened for me, if this isn't going well, it's all right . . . there doesn't seem to be that much here . . ." This remark is even more curious, since Milly had already begun to be involved in a little flirtation with another member. Finally, during the session when the group is planning a party, which represents an attempt at resolving a number of authority and intimacy issues, Milly is asked if she wants a party. She says yes, but doesn't feel like "messing up" her weekend, that she usually has plans for the weekend. In short, just as barriers to action, or denials and resistances, are beginning to break down in the group, the low participator rushes in (too late) to shore them up.

We do not wish to imply here that low participators never find a comfortable place within, or never feel identified with, the group as it struggles to build a community. Milly, for example, developed a sexualized relationship with one of the active members and, therefore, became important in working out sexuality issues. Ruth, whose father suddenly abandoned her and her mother at age 8 (see above) spoke up several times in support of active members whom she seemed to perceive as lost, lonely, and deprived of support. The active member typically reinforced this behavior, as did others (although somewhat ambivalently since initially Ruth was seen as

one of these "poor, hungup" people who couldn't express feeling) and her interview material makes it clear that this behavior made her feel part of the ongoing group. What we are saying here is that the characteristic low participator stance, struggling with mistrust and felt threats to autonomy, and tending to repudiate dependency feelings, makes integration into group life difficult.

There is an interesting implication here for the problem of lowering the "barrier of silence." We have said that both the group and the low participator contribute to the person remaining a low participator. We have some interesting examples of persons who were low participators for some time at the beginning of the group, but then became more active. In both these cases, the individual made statements that were both clear and direct expressions of mistrust toward other members and which took other group members by surprise, i.e., did not reinforce the current fantasy about the silent member. In the first instance, Gloria broke into a discussion of concern for the silent members and for their (supposedly) fragile feelings, and accused the group of lumping all the silent members into one group, thereby destroying their individuality. This made her angry, she said, because she was a person like everyone else, but often felt intimidated and afraid of certain active members. The effect of this statement was in fact to make her a person for other group members; it also aroused considerable guilt on the part of the active members who in fact were acting in a patronizing and scornful way toward the low participators.

In the second instance, and in the other analytic group, Doris also voiced her mistrust and resentment at certain active people who were, she felt, threatening and unkind. Again, this statement had the effect of generating surprise and guilt among other active members. The dynamic here is complex. One part of it seems

to be that it is difficult to scapegoat someone who makes you feel guilty for it. The other part of it, obviously, is the ability of the low participator to "become authentic" for himself, that is, to confront directly and articulate for others those feelings which are most painful.

This brief review of the low participator over time in the analytic group samples stresses an important idea, namely, that the intrapsychic issues and modes of handling them developed by the low participator may militate against his involvement in the process of building a viable community. But mistrust and nurturance concerns, problems of autonomy and doubt, conflicts of expressing initiative and anger also have obvious implications for the growth of identity (Erikson, 1950; Jones, 1968). James Donovan of the University of Michigan in a recently completed study (personal communication) has provided some interesting corroboration of the results of the present study, but in the context of the study of identity in groups. Donovan investigated individuals who varied in "identity-status," that is, the mode or style in which the person was handling issues of identity resolution. He found that most of the low participators in the group he studied (an analytic group) could be classified as "identity diffused," that is, very uncertain about what they intended to do or be in the future and very uncommitted to finding out. As with individuals in our study, Donovan's subjects were very low in trust toward others and tended to have physically intimidating hostile and cold parents. Unlike his subjects, the subjects in the present study did not seem to suffer the same kind of identity-diffusion. Donovan suggests something we alluded to earlier, namely, that low participators may be so involved in dealing with developmentally more primitive issues that they simply haven't yet begun to work on more complex and sophisticated developmental tasks. We need much

more data, however, before we can be sure of this idea.

Problems, weaknesses, where we go from here

There are several major weaknesses in this study which perhaps should qualify it as exploratory research. First, while it was appropriate in a cross-validational sense to have very different measures in the two samples, the parallel measures were often not equally sophisticated. Thus in the classroom sample, we felt we had a much better picture of the person's perceptions of the classroom situation, the instructor, other students, and so on. However, our developmental data (101 and interviews) was simply not as clarifying as it could have been. In the analytic sample, the developmental measures were much richer and therefore much more illuminating about this aspect of low participation. However, the measures for perception of the situation and the leader were rather global and imprecise, making prediction more difficult than it should have been.

The size of the sample is of course another major difficulty here. The small N became particularly sticky when we broke the sample down into males and females. In the classroom sample, there were 11 high participating females; in the analytic sample, only 4. As we pointed out earlier, the small N also presented problems statistically which we tried to handle in a number of ways.

The degree of variability in type of group, as we have pointed out earlier, was probably not as wide as we wanted it to be in order to investigate the interaction between group properties and individual characteristics. All groups in our sample were concerned with various aspects of psychology as a social science; all groups had male instructors. All groups drew on the population of University of Michigan undergraduates who may indeed not be truly representative of the population at

large. We should also note that these groups were all of the same size. As O'Dell (1968) has shown, the amount, extent and distribution of participation varies dramatically as a function of size. The low participator in a 10 man group might be quite different from the low participator in a 25 man group, even if the groups do not vary on other characteristics.

The nature of the data we had available to us also precluded a more thorough analysis of patterns of reward and punishment as a determinant of low participation rates. For this, we would need to have much closer observations of the behavior of the leader and other members. It may very well be that low participators are much more sensitive than other group members to nonverbal as well as verbal cues indicating support and approval, or disapproval and rejection, an eminently testable proposition.

Our study focused on one kind of participation "style." We paid very little attention to the high participator treated as a group and ignoring other differences. In the same way we tried to point out the meaning or function of low participation for the individual, so we might ask the same question for high participators. What does it mean for a person to interact verbally? In Mann et al.'s study of the college classroom (1970, in press), there were some hints that different clusters of students not only varied in rates of participation, but also that participation had some important implications for the relationship of the student to the teacher. But "rates of participation" does not necessarily have to mean individuals categorized into high, middle and low participators. Indeed, it is evident that, while some individuals maintain a consistently uniform rate of participation across the life of the group, there are many others who participation waxes and wanes regularly or irregularly, and that

these patterns may be importantly related to group or individual determinants. For instance, any teacher of undergraduate students is aware of people who start "strong," participating at a high rate, but who then seem to "lose steam," seemingly becoming disappointed or depressed and stop participating. Conversely, one is also aware of students who seem to "play it cool" for varying periods of time, seeming to test out the situation before they begin to participate. It would be fascinating to understand the dynamics of these patterns of participation.

Examination of these patterns of participation is one direction in which research should move. The other obvious direction is to expand the examination of low participators to many different kinds of groups. Perhaps the most interesting research to follow this study, however, besides the clear need for further replication, lies in following through on the task of understanding <u>how</u> intrapsychic processes affect transactional processes. We certainly subscribe to the notion that behavior is a joint function of person and situation; but this does not absolve us from the responsibility for understanding <u>how</u> a given aspect of group structure or functioning interacts with a complex and dynamic set of individual processes. We would argue that the richer the theory is on both sides of the interface, the greater will be our ultimate understanding.

Finally, we hope that this study, exploratory as it may be, will serve as a vehicle for both leaders and members to alter the stereotypes, projections, displacements and so on that make group life such a difficult chore for too many low participators. And for low participators who have occasion to read this study: we hope it serves as a source of insight and illumination into dynamics of a behavioral stance which, as low participators seem to know, is not always the most productive or

growth-inducing. In all seriousness, the author commends these wise words to the reader:

Listen to the sounds of silence.

APPENDIX A

CLASSROOM SAMPLE INSTRUMENTS: INTRODUCTION AND SENTENCE COMPLETION

STUDENT REPORT ON INTRODUCTORY PSYCHOLOGY

A question which every Psychology instructor asks is: how may I improve my teaching? To answer this question, the instructor turns to his students for assistance. In the past, the reactions of thoughtful students to a variety of aspects of the discussion section and the course in general have proven most helpful in making the Introductory Psychology course a valuable and meaningful experience. This semester we ask your assistance again. The form which follows may be unfamiliar to you in certain respects; for instance, as you glance over it you will notice that you are asked to recall specific incidents which occurred in class, or to state whether or not a certain poetic metaphor applies to your instructor. All this information is of great value; serious, thoughtful and considered answers will greatly aid instructors in their endeavor to improve their teaching.

Please do not put your name on this form. In order that you may feel free to be as honest as possible in your answers, you are assured that your instructor will not have access to these forms until final grades are handed in.

Please complete the blanks.

Section number_____ Instructor_____

Academic year: Fresh., Soph., Jr., Sr. Sex: M F

Your University of Michigan Grade Point Average_____

Note: Except for the last page, the questions all refer to your recitation instructor.

Complete each of the following sentences so as to best express the way you feel:

1. The best thing about this course was . . .

2. The worst thing about this course was . . .

3. The time I really felt we were learning something exciting was when . . .

4. The thing that bothered me most about my recitation instructor was . . .

5. The thing I liked best about my recitation instructor was . . .

6. After taking the course I feel that Psychology is . . .

7. If I had my way, the course would have . . .

8. One way in which the course has changed me is . . .

Answer each question below and give a specific example where possible.

1. When was your instructor most clear in communicating the course material? Give an example.

2. When wasn't he clear? Give an example.

How often was he unclear? (circle appropriate answer)

1	2	3	4	5
Always		Sometimes		Never

3. What do you think the goals of the class were?
Give an example or two in which these were implemented.

4. To what extent did the instructor encourage independent thinking in the solution of a problem?

1	2	3	4	5
Always		Sometimes		Never

Give an example.

5. Did you feel free in class to ask questions, disagree, or express your own ideas?

1	2	3	4	5
Always		Sometimes		Never

If there were times when you did not feel free, give an example.

6. How effective was your instructor in stimulating your interest in the course material?

1	2	3	4	5
Very		Somewhat		Not at all

Give an example of a particularly stimulating class period.

APPENDIX B

CLASSROOM SAMPLE INSTRUMENTS

METAPHOR CHECK LIST

Imagine that you are a poet and have just been commissioned to write a poem describing your instructor. Decide which of the metaphors in the list below apply to your instructor. If the metaphor definitely describes your instructor, circle the plus sign (+). If the metaphor is definitely unlike the instructor, circle the minus sign (-). If it does not apply to him or her, circle the 0.

Circle as many pluses as definitely apply to your instructor, and as many minuses as are definitely unlike him. Keep in mind that it is quite possible to use seemingly contradictory phrases if this is necessary for an adequate description. A descriptive metaphor does not imply anything about age, sex or status. For example, "a compassionate mother" could apply as much to a male as a female, to a young person as much as to an older person.

+	0	-	1.	a stranger in the night
+	0	-	2.	a treasured book
+	0	-	3.	a powerful engine
+	0	-	4.	a dissonant chord
+	0	-	5.	a driving rain
+	0	-	6.	an intense rhythm
+	0	-	7.	a tentative shrug
+	0	-	8.	a probing searchlight
+	0	-	9.	a compassionate mother
+	0	-	10.	a scolding mother
+	0	-	11.	cloudy weather
+	0	-	12.	a catchy tune
+	0	-	13.	a secure fortress
+	0	-	14.	a sharp scissors
+	0	-	15.	a warm fire

+	0	-	16.	a meandering stream
+	0	-	17.	a threatening father
+	0	-	18.	a door ajar
+	0	-	19.	a just judge
+	0	-	20.	a searing flame
+	0	-	21.	a loving friend
+	0	-	22.	a bouncing ball
+	0	-	23.	an able seducer
+	0	-	24.	a secret betrayer
+	0	-	25.	a lonely eminence
+	0	-	26.	a deep forest
+	0	-	27.	a comforting hand
+	0	-	28.	an unopened telegram
+	0	-	29.	a gentle breeze
+	0	-	30.	a nostalgic memory

In the space below write the numbers of the two metaphors which best describe your instructor, and the two which are most unlike him or her.

Most like him: _____ and _____

Why did you choose these two?

Most unlike him: _____ and _____

Why did you choose these two?

Below indicate any other metaphors that apply to your instructor.

APPENDIX C

CLASSROOM SAMPLE INSTRUMENTS: TRI-WEEKLY QUESTIONNAIRE

(OPEN-ENDED QUESTIONS AND SEMANTIC DIFFERENTIAL)

STIMULUS PHRASES

1. Your Instructor
2. Yourself in the Course
3. The Other Students

Date_____

TRI-WEEKLY QUESTIONNAIRE

Name_____ Section # _____ Student # _____

We would like you to take a few moments to answer the questions listed below and on the following pages. Please attempt to write some descriptive comment about each question on this page. Feel free to elaborate on any point you wish. All information is confidential and not available to anyone evaluating your work in this course. It will benefit you as well as us if you are as objective as possible. Trust your first responses, they are often the most valid.

The other four pages are meaning scales of the same type as the ones you filled out in the testing session before the course began. The same instructions govern these scales. Again, work quickly and objectively, and trust your first impressions.

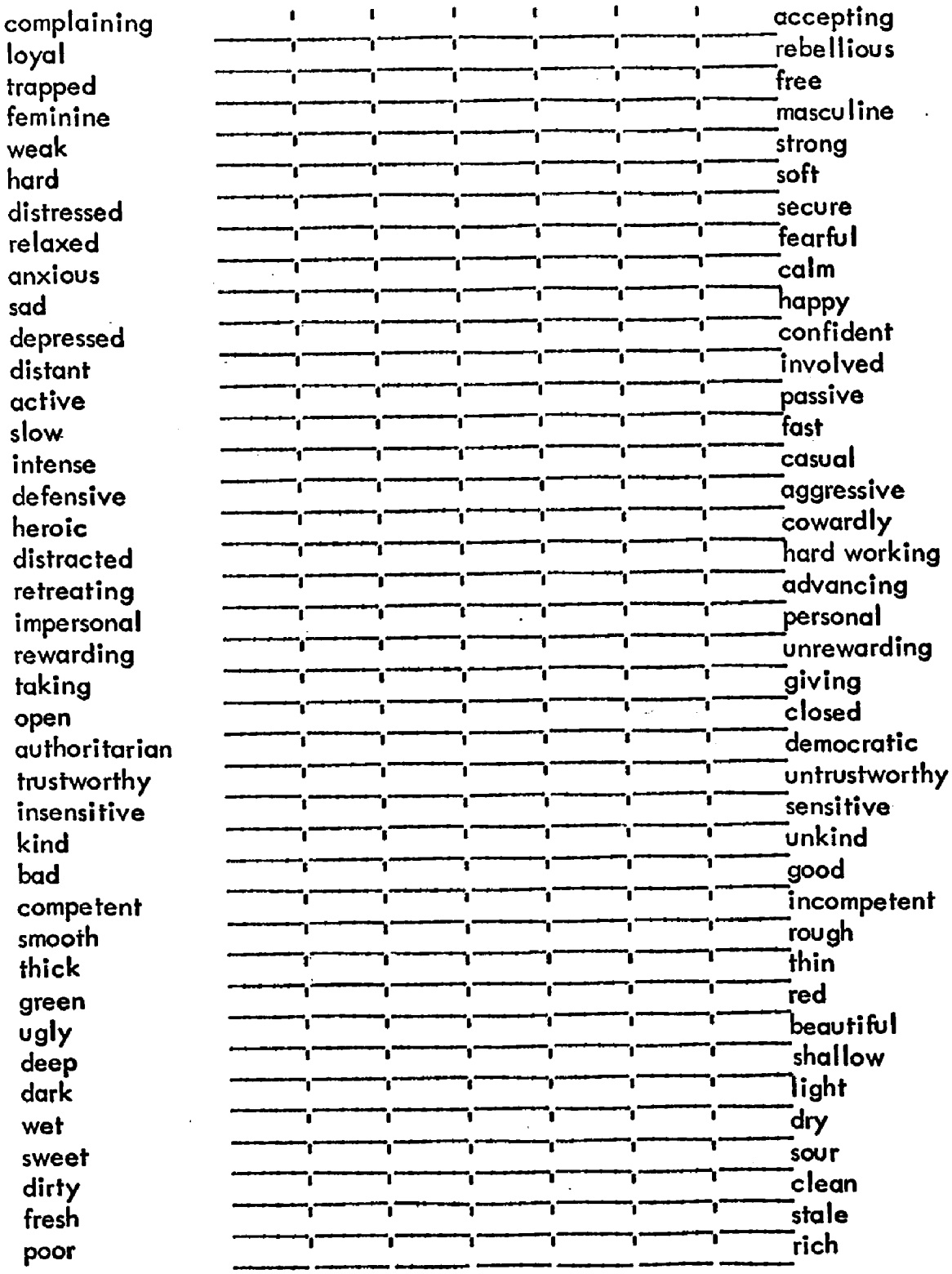
1. Describe your impressions of the instructor in this course in terms of his attitudes and his way of doing things.

2. What do you feel about this course so far?

3. How would you describe the other students in your section?

4. What has been your reaction to the course material so far?

YOUR INSTRUCTOR



APPENDIX D

CLASSROOM SAMPLE INSTRUMENTS:
MULTIPLE CHOICE EVALUATIONS OF COURSE AND TEACHER

For each question below circle the alternative that best fits your recitation instructor.

1. He put the material across in an interesting way
   A. almost always
   B. often
   C. occasionally
   D. seldom
   E. almost never

2. He assigned a great amount of reading
   A. almost always
   B. often
   C. occasionally
   D. seldom
   E. almost never

3. He planned class activities in detail
   A. almost always
   B. often
   C. occasionally
   D. seldom
   E. almost never

4. He invited criticism of his acts
   A. almost always
   B. often
   C. occasionally
   D. seldom
   E. almost never

5. Students frequently volunteered their own opinions
   A. almost always
   B. often
   C. occasionally
   D. seldom
   E. almost never

6. He maintained definite standards of student performance
   A. almost always
   B. often
   C. occasionally
   D. seldom
   E. almost never

7. He seemed personally interested in the students
   A. almost always
   B. often
   C. occasionally
   D. seldom
   E. almost never

8. He assigned very difficult reading
   A. almost always
   B. often
   C. occasionally
   D. seldom
   E. almost never

9. He followed an outline closely
   A. almost always
   B. often
   C. occasionally
   D. seldom
   E. almost never

10. He told students when they had done a particularly good job.
   A. almost always
   B. often
   C. occasionally
   D. seldom
   E. almost never

11. He complimented students in front of others
   A. almost always
   B. often
   C. occasionally
   D. seldom
   E. almost never

12. Students argue with one another or with the instructor, not necessarily with hostility
   A. almost always
   B. often
   C. occasionally
   D. seldom
   E. almost never

13. He was permissive and flexible
    A. almost always
    B. often
    C. occasionally
    D. seldom
    E. almost never

14. He was friendly
    A. almost always
    B. often
    C. occasionally
    D. seldom
    E. almost never

15. How would you rate the recitation instructor in general (all-around) teaching ability?
    A. superior
    B. very good
    C. good
    D. fair
    E. poor

16. How would you rate the over-all value of the course?
    A. superior
    B. very good
    C. good
    D. fair
    E. poor

Have you any additional comments to make about the course, your instructor, or the field in general? Continue on the back of this sheet if necessary.

APPENDIX E

CLASSROOM SAMPLE FOLLOW-UP STUDY: INTRODUCTION, OPEN-ENDED AND MULTIPLE CHOICE EVALUATIONS OF CLASS AND TEACHER

PSYCHOLOGY 101 FOLLOW-UP QUESTIONNAIRE

To the Student:

In the Spring of '65 you were a student in one of the four sections of Psychology 101 that were being studied as part of a larger study of college teaching being conducted at the University. During and after that semester you were asked to evaluate your instructor and to share your reactions to many aspects of the course.

Now that two years have passed, we are interested in trying to assess the overall effect of that course: How does it all look, in retrospect? Your cooperation in answering the following questions, as extensively and candidly as possible, will greatly help us in our efforts to improve college teaching. Since your former instructor will not have access to your questionnaire, please feel free to indicate your candid reactions to each question.

PLEASE COMPLETE THE BLANKS.

Name_____ Sex._____ Age_____ Academic Year_____

Address_____ Phone_____

School_____ Major Field of Study_____

or

Occupation_____ Field of Employment_____

Your U. M. Grade Point Average_____

When Expect to Graduate_____

Please answer the following questions in as much detail as possible. If additional space is needed, continue on back of page.

1. What was your initial impression of your Psychology 101 instructor?

2. What do you remember about the first few days of class?

3. How would you describe your involvement in the course?

_____very enthusiastic
_____generally enthusiastic
_____interested but not enthusiastic
_____often uninvolved
_____very uninvolved

4. How would you describe the involvement of other students in the class?

_____very enthusiastic
_____generally enthusiastic
_____interested but not enthusiastic
_____often uninvolved
_____very uninvolved

5. How would you describe the extent of student participation in the course?

_____Students determined course content and really ran the course.
_____Instructor determined course content and students took it from there.
_____Sometimes instructor lectured and sometimes we had discussions.
_____Sometimes we answered the questions he asked.
_____Instructor lectured and students took notes.

6. How would you describe the amount of your participation relative to other students in the class?

_____Much more than most other students
_____Usually more than other students
_____About average
_____Usually less than other students
_____Much less than other students

7. Describe any incidents or experiences in your 101 class that had a significant impact on you.

8. Was there any difference between the way male students and female students behaved in class? Why?

9. Please describe a typical Psychology 101 class session.

10. Did the course have any influence on your subsequent academic and/or vocational plans?

_____great influence
_____some influence
_____slight influence
_____no influence

Please explain.

11. How do you remember having evaluated your Psychology 101 course two years ago?

_____superior
_____very good
_____good
_____fair
_____poor

12. Looking back on your class, how would you rate the overall value of the course?

_____superior
_____very good
_____good
_____fair
_____poor

13. How would you rate your 101 instructor in general (all-around) teaching ability?

_____superior
_____very good
_____good
_____fair
_____poor

14. How would you describe Psychology 101 relative to other courses you have taken at the University?

15. _____ best course I have taken
_____ better than most other courses I have taken
_____ about average
_____ not as good as most other courses I have taken
_____ worst course I have taken

15. How would you rate your Psychology 101 instructor relative to other instructors, (Professors, etc.), you have had at the University?

_____ best instructor I have had
_____ better than most other instructors I have had
_____ about average
_____ not as good as most other instructors I have had
_____ worst instructor I have had

16. In what ways, if any, have your views of Psychology 101 and/or your instructor changed in the two years since you took the course?

APPENDIX F

CLASSROOM SAMPLE FOLLOW-UP STUDY: SENTENCE COMPLETION ITEMS

1. The best thing about Psychology 101 was . . .

2. The worst thing about Psychology 101 was . . .

3. The most important thing I learned in the course was . . .

4. The thing I like most about my instructor was . . .

5. The thing I like least about my instructor was . . .

6. After taking the course I felt that Psychology was . . .

7. If I could have changed the course I would have . . .

8. The part of the course most relevant to me was . . .

9. The part of the course most irrelevant to me was . . .

10. If my Psychology 101 instructor had been a female . . .

11. One way in which the course changed me was . . .

12. My relationship with my instructor was . . .

13. Ten years from now I think I'll be . . .

14. Ten years from now I'd like to be . . .

APPENDIX G

CLASSROOM SAMPLE FOLLOW-UP STUDY: SELF AND OTHER DESCRIPTIONS

Please complete the following by the use of five adjectives or short phrases.

1. I would like to be seen by peers of my sex as

_____
_____
_____
_____
_____

2. I would like to be seen by peers of the opposite sex as

_____
_____
_____
_____
_____

3. I would like to be seen by my instructors as

_____
_____
_____
_____
_____

4. I would like to be (my ideal self)

_____
_____
_____
_____
_____

5. I think peers of my sex would describe me as

_____
_____
_____
_____
_____

6. I think my instructors would describe me as

_____
_____
_____
_____
_____

APPENDIX H

CLASSROOM SAMPLE FOLLOW-UP STUDY: TEACHER--AS EVALUATION FORM AND ANSWER SHEET

Please do not write on this booklet.

STUDENT REPORT ON INTRODUCTORY PSYCHOLOGY

1. The instructor presented material which seemed both original, in the sense that he had thought deeply about the issues, and at the same time well grounded and thorough.

2. The instructor was skillful in keeping us from wandering off the topic for discussion.

3. As time went on, I began to appreciate and agree with some of the positions put forward by the instructor.

4. The class spent so much of its time trying to figure out what it wanted to do that in the end it didn't have time to accomplish much of anything.

5. At times the instructor became so wrapped up in his own enthusiasm and ideas that we could not follow him and were somewhat bewildered.

6. One thing which detracted from the effectiveness of this class was the instructor's manner of being distant and even unfriendly at times.

7. No matter what the area in psychology, the instructor always seemed to have references and readings at his fingertips.

8. The instructor was helpful in setting high standards for the class without making them seem arbitrary.

9. The students in this class felt "out of it" if they could not accept the instructor's orientation.

10. The instructor was too easily fooled by sob-stories; some students got away with murder in the class.

11. The instructor was so dry, unemotional, and impersonal that it was difficult to grasp why he was interested in the material he was presenting.

12. For all the instructor knew, I was just another name on the class list.

13. The instructor was effective because he was able to communicate with clarity a great deal of his accumulated knowledge.

14. When the issue of grades, regulations, and deadlines arose, the instructor often seemed unfair and insensitive to the students' point of view.

15. The instructor was too involved in whether students were going along with his basic orientation to life.

16. I often felt that the instructor had no idea why students were not performing as well as he wanted them to.

17. Despite the instructor's efforts to generate interest and involvement, I was generally bored in this course.

18. The class was more pleasant than productive, more oriented toward everyone becoming friends than having students learn the relevant material.

19. The instructor seemed more interested in snowing the students with his brilliance than in making sure they were understanding what he was saying at each step along the way.

20. The instructor's effectiveness was limited by his excessive need to be in control of everything.

21. I wish the instructor had spent less time on the details of the field and more time on what it feels like to be a psychologist.

22. The instructor was unable to see that at times the class had some good ideas about what to study and how the class should be conducted.

23. My involvement in this class depended largely on the excitement generated by the instructor.

24. It was very easy to learn to like and trust the instructor.

25. The instructor seemed so wrapped up in his own world of theories and facts that he couldn't translate his knowledge into a presentation the students could comprehend.

26. The whole issue of grades, assignments, etc., seemed to bother the instructor so much that he simply refused to play his proper role in the classroom.

27. I had the feeling that the instructor was trying to discourage me from taking more courses in his field.

28. Sometimes I came out of class so exhausted that I did not have any energy left over for other work.

29. Because of his enthusiasm and energy, the instructor made this course which one could not help but become interested and involved in.

30. I had the feeling that this class was personally meaningful and rewarding for both the instructor and the students.

31. The instructor often seemed not to know what he was talking about when he presented material or answered questions.

32. The instructor didn't seem to care whether we learned anything or not.

33. While I may have learned quite a bit in this course, I find it very difficult to relate what I have learned to what I already knew and believed when I entered the course.

34. The instructor was effective because he respected the individuality of the students and was willing to try and work out the best learning arrangement for each individual student.

35. The instructor was effective because he managed to convey not only his knowledge of the field but also the larger human context in which he places knowledge.

36. The instructor was effective because he shared with us some of his own concerns and his own feelings.

37. The instructor may have known his stuff, but he couldn't put it across.

38. The best way to get a good grade from the instructor was to give him exactly what he wanted and never to get "out of line."

39. The instructor was effective because he was able to convey to the students what it is like to be a psychologist.

40. Whenever the instructor sensed that the class was getting tense, angry, or just bogged down, he would try and help us discover why.

41. Regardless of whether one liked the instructor personally, one could not help admiring and being affected by his commitment to something he feels is worthwhile.

42. The instructor spent so much time trying to be "one of the boys" that we didn't learn as much as we could have.

43. In this course I learned a bunch of facts and terms which I forgot as soon as the final was over.

44. The instructor was really great because you always knew exactly what he wanted.

45. As a result of my experience with this instructor, I took additional psychology courses.

46. By connecting the material in the course with personal experiences and concerns, this class was one of the most meaningful I have ever had.

47. The instructor was so preoccupied with having students excited and involved that I often left the class with the feeling that nothing very substantial had been said by either the instructor or the students.

48. The instructor revealed some things about his reactions to the class which I wish he had kept to himself.

49. The instructor put the material across in an interesting way.

50. The instructor assigned a great amount of reading.

51. The instructor planned class activities in detail.

52. The instructor invited criticism of his acts.

53. Students frequently volunteered their own opinions.

54. The instructor maintained definite standards of student performance.

55. The instructor seemed personally interested in the students.

56. The instructor assigned very difficult reading.

57. The instructor followed an outline closely.

58. The instructor told students when they had done a particularly good job.

59. The instructor complimented students in front of others.

60. Students argued with one another or with the instructor, not necessarily with hostility.

61. The instructor was permissive and flexible.

62. The instructor was friendly.

ANSWER SHEET FOR STUDENT REPORT ON INTRODUCTORY PSYCHOLOGY

Name _____

For each question please circle the appropriate letter:

a = strongly disagree
b = moderately disagree
c = slightly disagree
d = slightly agree
e = moderately agree
f = strongly agree

1.	a b c d e f	22.	a b c d e f	43.	a b c d e f
2.	a b c d e f	23.	a b c d e f	44.	a b c d e f
3.	a b c d e f	24.	a b c d e f	45.	a b c d e f
4.	a b c d e f	25.	a b c d e f	46.	a b c d e f
5.	a b c d e f	26.	a b c d e f	47.	a b c d e f
6.	a b c d e f	27.	a b c d e f	48.	a b c d e f
7.	a b c d e f	28.	a b c d e f	49.	a b c d e f
8.	a b c d e f	29.	a b c d e f	50.	a b c d e f
9.	a b c d e f	30.	a b c d e f	51.	a b c d e f
10.	a b c d e f	31.	a b c d e f	52.	a b c d e f
11.	a b c d e f	32.	a b c d e f	53.	a b c d e f
12.	a b c d e f	33.	a b c d e f	54.	a b c d e f
13.	a b c d e f	34.	a b c d e f	55.	a b c d e f
14.	a b c d e f	35.	a b c d e f	56.	a b c d e f
15.	a b c d e f	36.	a b c d e f	57.	a b c d e f
16.	a b c d e f	37.	a b c d e f	58.	a b c d e f
17.	a b c d e f	38.	a b c d e f	59.	a b c d e f
18.	a b c d e f	39.	a b c d e f	60.	a b c d e f
19.	a b c d e f	40.	a b c d e f	61.	a b c d e f
20.	a b c d e f	41.	a b c d e f	62.	a b c d e f
21.	a b c d e f	42.	a b c d e f		

APPENDIX I

ANALYTIC GROUP SAMPLE:
EARLY MEMORIES INSTRUCTION FORM

General Instructions:

We would like you to describe and answer some questions about your early memories. Try to answer each of the questions about each memory. Please identify yourself by code number ather than by name.

1. Think back as far as you can and try to recall your very earliest memory of a specific incident.

a) Do you picture the scene? What do you actually see, concretely, in your image of it?

b) Which details stand out most clearly? What elements in this memory do you actually recall; that is recall as you experienced it then, and which elements do you just know about? Try to describe the process of bringing the memory to mind.

c) Do you see yourself in the memory, or feel yourself in it, or both?

d) Is there a particular feeling which comes back with the memory? How is the person(s) in the memory feeling?

e) How old were you at the time?

f) Is there any other aspect of the memory of the process of bringing it to mind which hasn't been covered?

2. Now think back to your next earliest memory of a specific incident. Describe it as you did the first memory, i.e., answer parts a-f for this memory also.

3. Describe your earliest memory of mother, that is, of a specific incident involving your mother. Answer parts a-f for this memory also.

4. Describe your earliest memory of father, that is, of a specific incident involving your father. Answer parts a-f for this memory also.

5. Describe your earliest memory of your entire family together, that is, of a specific incident involving your entire family together. Answer parts a-f for this memory also.

6. Describe an early memory which you think of as "special," one which seems especially important or which is your own special favorite. Answer parts a-f for this memory also.

APPENDIX J

ANALYTIC GROUP SAMPLE:
AUTOBIOGRAPHY INSTRUCTION FORM

General Instructions

Be sure to complete this section on Early Memories before beginning the autobiography.

In studying the development of small groups such as the Psychology 454 class in which you recently participated, we have often wished that we knew more about the individual group members. We felt that an open-ended autobiographical essay from each member would prove helpful in our efforts to understand how a particular set of people came together to form a unique group at a particular point in their life histories.

The form we have provided consists of several major and minor headings and a great many detailed questions under each heading. Our goal here is not to obtain a point-by-point consideration of these questions but rather to call to mind a number of situations and aspects of your life history which might be relevant. We would appreciate your following the outlined sequence of headings and sub-headings (e.g., Family History; Parents, Brothers and Sisters, etc. . . . Personal History, etc.) but feel free to organize the material within each heading in whatever way seems natural to you. Do try to incorporate as much of your history as possible, though as you write you may feel that some of our questions are less important than memories and observations of your own which our form doesn't call for in an explicit fashion.

As long as your writing is reasonably legible there is no need for editing or rewriting. If in looking back over what you have written you notice omissions or think of additional points you may simply add them at the end of a heading or of the essay. Don't bother to copy over or rewrite sections.

Please Identify Yourself by Code Number
Rather Than by Name

A. Family History

1. Parents:

a. A general descriptive picture: Race, ethnic and religious backgrounds, ages, educational backgrounds, economic and social status, occupations, income, political positions, opinions and general temperament, state of health, special interests, activities, hobbies, idiosyncrasies.

b. Atmosphere in the home: An overall impression (pleasant, troubled, superficial, variable, etc.) What was the attitude of each of your parents toward you (affectionate, domineering, aloof, intrusive, rejecting, etc.)? Attachment to family (close, distant, ambiguous). Disappointments about parents, long-standing criticisms and doubts. In which ways do you resemble your mother? Your father? In which ways are you most unlike them?

c. Discipline in the home, punishments, reactions to punishment: Who was most likely to set the standards for the family? Was authority imposed kindly or harshly? Forms of punishment? Which preferred and by whom? How did you react to these disciplinary measures? Whose disciplining was most effective or taken most seriously by you? Why? Whose disciplining did you most fear? Why? Were you often threatened with disciplinary measures which were not carried out? By which parent? By which parent did you prefer to be disciplined or punished? Why? Immediately after being punished, about what did you usually think or daydream? Did either parent tend to indulge you more than the other? What special freedoms and prohibitions do you remember?

d. Religious background: Were your parents religious? How often did they attend religious services? Did you attend religious services as a child? Did you stop at some point or are you still actively religious?

2. Brothers and sisters: Names, ages, order of birth. Characteristics of each. Attachments and resentments, conflicts. Any siblings lost through death? Any half-brothers or sisters or step-brothers or sisters? Did you feel superior or inferior to brothers or sisters? Did you feel that they were more favored than you, or that you were disciplined more strictly than they? Did either of your parents seem to have a favorite child? Did you have a favorite brother or sister? Was there a sibling with whom you always felt at odds?

3. Larger family circle: Did any relatives live with your family when you were a child? What relatives visited occasionally? Were these your mother's or your father's relatives? Were there changes in your family's relationships with these relatives (e.g., moving away, death, marriage, conflict)? If so, how old were you when these changes occurred?

4. Geographical and physical aspects: Did you live in a city, or town, or in the country? Did your family move once or more? If so, how old were you at the time?

B. Personal History

1. Date and place of birth.

2. Early development: Precocious or retarded? When did you begin to walk and talk? Major and minor illnesses, physical disabilities. Habits (e.g., thumb-sucking, bedwetting, stammering, convulsions, temper tantrums, fears, nightmares, food preferences and aversions, etc.). Favorite pastimes and games, with self, toys, other children. Fantasies about yourself. Favorite stories and heroes.

3. A general descriptive picture of yourself as a child: Were you generally timid, aggressive, rebellious, obedient, artistic, athletic, etc.?

C. School and College History

1. Elementary school: How did you feel about starting school? How did you get along with your teachers? With your classmates?

2. Junior high and high school:

a. Scholastic record, best and worst subjects. Relationships with teachers.

b. Friendships (many or few, casual or deep). What kinds of persons did you tend to choose as friends? What kinds of persons tended to choose you as a friend? Did you have a best friend?

c. Association with groups? Were you a member of many formal or semi-formal groups (e.g., clubs, sports, school newspaper, etc.?) If so, how were you generally regarded? Did you hold any elected or appointed positions? In formal or informal groups, what about you did your peers seem to find appealing? What about you did others find unattractive or unlikable? Were there times when you felt you were being ignored, ridiculed, idealized, etc.? What was your general attitude toward groups (confident, assertive, shy, placating, withdrawn, etc.)? Did you notice that you behaved differently or were responded to differently in different kinds of groups? If so, what seemed to make the difference (e.g., size, nature of the group, purpose of the group, etc.)?

d. Were there particular people (historical or contemporary, older generation or peer) whom you admired a great deal or tried to be like? What qualities did you most respect or envy?

e. Were there times when you felt like being alone? Were there times when you felt that other people didn't especially want you around? Were there times when you felt lonely, alienated, or peripheral? If so, under what circumstances were you most likely to feel this way? What did you tend to do when you were by yourself? Did you enjoy being by yourself or did you often feel that you would rather be with someone else?

f. A general descriptive picture of yourself as a pre-college adolescent: Were you characteristically moody, gay, angry, confused, flirtatious, studious, etc.?

3. College:

a. Academic life: What is your Michigan grade point average? Has this been stable or a fluctuating average? What kinds of courses have you most enjoyed? What courses have you found most tedious, irrelevant, unexciting, etc.? Have you chosen a major? If so, how did you arrive at this decision? If not, what alternatives have you or are you considering? What academic or occupational plans do you have? How confident are you of the career plans that you have made?

b. Social and personal life: In looking back over what you have written in parts b-f of the section on junior high and high school, what aspects appear to have changed? Which are more or less the same? How might one understand these changes and consistencies? In other words what has been the impact of college, growing older, moving away from home, etc.?

D. Sexual and Dating History

1. Early knowledge and experiences: Curiosity about the body, especially about sex differences. What theories about conception and childbirth did you formulate as a child? When did you learn about the sexual relations of your parents? Do you remember being shocked by this? What kind of sexual instruction did you receive? How did your parents respond to questions about sex?

2. Early sexual experiences: Masturbation, sexual games with other children. Do you remember wanting to see others naked or display your body?

3. Puberty: How did you feel about the physiological changes of puberty (pleasure, fear, uncertainty, surprise, etc.)? Did you mature early or late? If so, how did this affect your feeling about yourself? Did it make a difference in the way you got along with other people? In general, how would you describe your body, (muscular, flabby, handsome, beautiful, drab, sexy, etc.)?

4. Sexual experiences: What kind of sexual experiences have you had? How did you feel about them (e.g., satisfied, anxious, ambivalent, elated, guilty, etc.)? What kinds of people are most sexually attractive for you?

5. What were your early daydreams about an ideal sexual partner and/or spouse like? Has this changed over the years? What is your current attitude toward marriage? Do you feel that you would like to get married in the near future? If you are married, how have things worked out so far?

E. Major Experiences

1. Positive: What events have been accompanied by the greatest sense of accomplishment, joy, elation, etc.

2. Negative: What events have been accompanied by the greatest anxiety, depression, sense of defeat or humiliation, etc.

3. Life changes: What events have changed you most, for better or worse?

F. Aims and Aspirations

What are your major aims for the immediate future? What do you feel is the likelihood of achieving those aims in the near or distant future? If you could remodel the world in any way that you wished, how would you have it and what role would you like to play in such a world? What relation, if any, do you see between your major aims and your ideal model of the world?

G. Estimate of Self and World

State briefly what you believe to be:

1. Your general estimate of and attitude toward the world.

2. The world's estimate of and attitude toward you.

3. Your general estimate of yourself.

APPENDIX K

ANALYTIC GROUP SAMPLE:
GROUP EXPERIENCE ESSAY INSTRUCTION FORM

GROUP EXPERIENCE ESSAY

We would like you, in this part of the study, to assess as fully as possible the nature and relevance of this group experience for you and the impact of this group on your life. This essay should follow the same general style and format as the autobiography you have written. As an aid in writing this, we suggest five questions around which you might organize the essay, again with the order and presentation up to you. However, we would like you to try to be as specific and complete as you can about your thoughts, feelings and behavior in the group last semester, citing specific incidents where possible. It should be noted that reference to "other members" also includes the instructor (even though his "memberness" may be, or may have been, a question for you.)

1. Were there people or clusters of people in the group who had particular significance for you, or about whom you had some special concern? Who were they and what were you feeling and thinking about them (e.g., models, friends, enemies). How would you describe your relationship with them? Did your perceptions and feelings change over the semester? Did the nature of the relationships change? How do you think these thoughts and feelings affected your behavior in the group?

2. How would you describe yourself in the group? What were your thoughts and feelings about the kind of person you were at different times in the group? How did your behavior in the 454 group remind you of yourself in other groups in which you have participated? Did new ways of behaving emerge, old ways return, some parts of you become engaged and some parts not, etc.? If you feel you changed over time, how would you describe this? What did this mean for your relationship with others in the group?

3. What were the significant moments for you in the group, that is, what were "turning points," high points or particularly painful, frustrating or embarrassing moments?

4. All of us at some time or another feel irrelevant and/or tuned out while in groups. Were there moments in this group when you felt particularly alienated, disengaged, outside the group or peripheral to what was going on in the group? Can you remember what the circumstances were or why you were feeling this way? What caused it to change if at all, i.e., what internal or external events occurred to produce the change?

5. In general, what effect did the group experience have on your life? Did it change you in any way? (e.g., personal, style, philosophy, current relationships, general life or vocational goals and aspirations.)

Again, it would be very helpful to us if you would be as specific and complete as possible, citing specific incidents or events as they come to mind.

APPENDIX L

ADDITIONAL BATTERY FOR KEY MEMBERS (IMAGE ASSOCIATION TEST AND THEMATIC APPERCEPTION TEST)

Image Association Test

Instructions

This test is designed to elicit the patient's spontaneous, non-intellectualized characterization of a self and 'significant others' in his life.

The instructions therefore should stress that you want the subject to let some picture come to mind. The following wording is recommended:

"I am going to call out some words to you one at a time. After each word I'd like you to let some picture form in your mind--whatever it may be. Think, not of any other word, but rather of a picture. Then describe the details of this picture as you see it in your mind's eye."

The words are read in the following order: Mother, Afraid, Angry, Love, Father, Alone, Yourself. Say the word "yourself" with an emphasis which indicates to the subject that you mean him.

Following each word, wait until you feel the subject has thought of some image. Then ask him to tell you the details of that image.

Inquiry

1. What picture came to mind?
2. What did you actually see, concretely, in the visual image?
3. Any other details you noticed?
4. Did you notice any background details of the setting?
5. What did you notice about the person. Is he familiar? As of when in your life? How much of him did you see? Did you notice the clothing? the expression on his face? Is he doing anything?
6. Do you see yourself in the scene? What do you see of yourself?
7. Do you feel yourself in the scene, or experience it rather, with more detachment?
8. Is this something that actually happened to you? When?

9. Where would you have to be standing to see this scene the way you do? (i.e., what point in the room, what direction, what eye level?)

10. Was it a two-dimensional image, or three dimensional (a snapshot or a living scene)?

11. How far off would you be standing to see the scene in the way you do?

12. Was there any feeling-tone associated with that image?

Your inquiry will make clear to the subject the kind of information you want him to give about his image. Inquiry becomes increasingly unnecessary as the test proceeds.

This test follows very closely the procedure and wording recommended by Martin Mayman (Mayman, 1967).

Thematic Apperception Test

Instructions

Initial statement: "I am going to show you some pictures one at a time. I would like you to tell a story about each one. Tell what is going on in the scene, what led up to the scene, what the characters are thinking and feeling, and how things will turn out."

Cards included (in order presented): *

1 (all subjects): A young boy is contemplating a violin which rests on a table in front of him.

2 BM (all subjects): On the floor against a couch is the huddled form of a boy with his head bowed on his right arm. Beside him on the floor is a revolver.

6 BM (male subjects): A short elderly woman stands with her back to a tall young man. The latter is looking downward with a perplexed expression.

6 GF (female subjects): A young woman sitting on the edge of a sofa looks back over her shoulder at an older man with a pipe in his mouth who seems to be addressing her.

7 BM (male subjects): A gray-haired man is looking at a younger man who is sullenly staring into space.

7 GF (female subjects): An older woman is sitting on a sofa close beside a girl; speaking or reading to her. The girl, who holds a doll in her lap, is looking away.

9 BM (male subjects): Four men in overalls are lying on the grass taking it easy.

9 GF (female subjects): A young woman with a magazine and a purse in her hand looks from behind a tree at another young woman in a party dress running along a beach.

13 MF (all subjects): A young man is standing with downcast head buried in his arm. Behind him is the figure of a woman lying in bed.

---

* These descriptions are taken from the Manual (Murray, 1943).

18 GF (all subjects): A woman has her hands squeezed around the throat of another woman whom she appears to be pushing backwards across the banister of a stairway.

Inquiry: The inquiry, which followed the presentation of all the cards, was designed to encourage the fullest possible description of the personalities of the characters mentioned. The inquiry was unstructured but was based on questions such as "What kind of person is he?" "Is he someone you might like in real life?", "How does he get along with his father?", etc. In general the goal of the inquiry was to move from the action orientation of the original stories toward more intense and wideranging portraits of the kinds of significant others presumed to be most important in the subject's life.

APPENDIX M

OBJECTS AND TARGETS FOR INDIVIDUAL DATA

FR	father
MO	mother
PS	parents (mother and father)
B	brother
S	sister
SI	siblings (all children)
F	grandfather
M	grandmother
A	aunt
U	uncle
IN	inlaws, other relatives
FC	family clan, family extended (immediate family plus others)
FG	immediate family (parents and children)
PR	peers, generalized
W	male peers with whom one is friendly
X	male peers with whom one is unfriendly, alien, distant
Y	female peers with whom one is friendly
Z	female peers with whom one is unfriendly, alien, distant
P	best friend
SR	superior person (not authority, not peer; older guys)
IN	inferior person (not authority, not peer; younger guys)
H	hero, ego ideal, model
L	love object, sexual partner, platonic "friend"
TG	t-groups, 454 group
PJ	454 research project, the investigators
WR	world, life, existence
CR	institutionalized religion, the church, services, etc.
RE	religion, non-institutionalized aspects
EC	ethnic group, tradition, heritage
PC	psychological counseling, therapy, health service, etc.
XE	sexuality
AI	athletics
WK	work, business, profession
SO	societal authority (institutions, government, army, the establishment)
AR	"authority" as in "my authority problem"
T	teacher
EL	elementary school
JH	junior high school

HI	high school
CO	college
MK	music and art
SE	self, the writer or speaker
IV	interviewer

APPENDIX N

CLASSROOM SAMPLE INSTRUMENTS:
INTERPERSONAL OUTCOME INVENTORY

Please do not write on this booklet. Use the answer sheet to indicate your responses.

INTERPERSONAL OUTCOME INVENTORY
BOOKLET

1. In this situation, the Younger Person works in close harmony with the Older Person, each one enjoying the sense of identity with the other one that develops in their relationship.

2. In this situation, the Younger Person feels disappointed in the Older Person for not providing enough direction and for being too weak and indecisive in matters affecting the Younger Person.

3. In this situation, the Younger Person feels affection and respect for the Older Person and desires to be noticed and liked in return.

4. In this situation, the Younger Person feels somewhat jealous and resentful of how many things the Older Person enjoys which are not permitted to the Younger Person.

5. In this situation, the Younger Person feels that the Older Person tries to make the process of learning too easy, and the Younger Person seeks out more challenging tasks to master.

6. In this situation, the Younger Person feels disappointed in the Older Person for being cold, impersonal, or unsupportive.

7. In this situation, the Younger Person depends upon the Older Person for guidance and good judgment.

8. In this situation, the Younger Person feels angry at the Older Person, although the anger is somewhat rare in their usually warm and friendly relationship.

9. In this situation, the Younger Person cannot accept the advice or rules of the Older Person since the Older Person does not live up to them either, or at least did not when he was younger.

10. In this situation, the Younger Person feels that the Older Person intrudes too much into the Younger Person's efforts to learn something, and the Younger Person tries to keep all such efforts out of the Older Person's view.

11. In this situation, the Younger Person can trust the Older Person to be supportive and protective at the appropriate moment.

12. In this situation, the Younger Person rebels against the domination of the Older Person, insisting on the right to do things without interference and control.

13. In this situation, the Younger Person feels that the Older Person wants to be on friendlier terms than the Younger Person wishes to be, and the Younger Person turns, instead, to people of the same age for friendship.

14. In this situation, the Younger Person feels that the Older Person is prying too much into matters that should be private, or at least they should be shared only when the Younger Person feels like sharing them.

115. In this situation, the Younger Person feels free to try out new ideas or skills, confident that the Older Person would respond as to the skills or ideas of a colleague.

16. In this situation, the Younger Person tries to argue the Older Person into giving the Younger Person assistance or special treatment, even though the Older Person seems unwilling to give them.

17. In this situation, the Younger Person feels that the Older Person, if given half a chance, would be too dominating, and the Younger Person tries to avoid those times when the Older Person might expect some expression of dependency.

18. In this situation, the Younger Person does not like the fact that the initiative for being friendly and close is entirely in the hands of the Older Person.

19. In this situation, the Younger Person feels able to agree or disagree with the Older Person without the issue becoming a personal one.

20. In this situation, the Younger Person feels not quite able to complete a task without a few additional comments and "words of wisdom" from the Older Person.

21. In this situation, the Younger Person feels almost smothered by the Older Person's attention and efforts to help, and the Younger Person tries to break free of this close contact.

22. In this situation, the Younger Person feels critical of the Older Person for trying to control the Younger Person's thoughts and actions too much, and the Younger Person starts resisting all such efforts on the part of the Older Person.

23. In this situation, the Younger Person feels secure about the basic affection of the Older Person even without much visible display and the relationship between them is pleasant but not very personal.

24. In this situation, the Older Person provides a steadying influence in the Younger Person's life, especially at times when the Younger Person cannot resist being distracted from the important goals.

25. In this situation, the Younger Person feels that the Older could quickly and easily demolish the accomplishments of the Younger Person, showing up their flaws without caring about the Younger Person's wounded pride.

26. In this situation, the Younger Person feels critical of the Older Person for providing too much attention and support, and the Younger Person refuses to accept any further overtures along those lines.

27. In this situation, the Younger Person feels free enough and strong enough to be able to exercise self-control, which makes it possible for the Younger Person to discuss goals with the Older Person without fearing any loss of autonomy.

28. In this situation, the Older Person seems to bring out the best in the Younger Person, and for that reason the Younger Person feels that being around the Older Person is like "having the batteries recharged."

29. In this situation, the Younger Person feels that the Older Person might be quite vindictive and mean if the Younger Person challenged the Older Person's authority and rights.

30. In this situation, the Younger Person feels incompetent and inexperienced in relation to the Older Person's skills and qualifications.

31. In this situation, the Younger Person feels secure and independent and able to relate to the Older Person without making any extreme demands for support or protection.

32. In this situation, the Younger Person feels uncertain and distressed at having to make the right decision in a matter and expresses these feelings to the Older Person.

33. In this situation, the Younger Person senses some personal dislike or rejection from the Older Person, and this results in a certain uneasiness around the Older Person.

34. In this situation, the Younger Person feels that the desirable qualities or charms of the Older Person set a very high standard for the Younger Person, a standard which can only be reached after a long time, if at all.

35. In this situation, the Younger Person feels that the process of learning from the Older Person involves a commitment to understanding the Older Person's whole way of looking at things.

36. In this situation, the Younger Person feels distressed at the difficulty of some new task and turns to the Older Person for encouragement and assistance in "braving the world."

37. In this situation, the Younger Person fears the judgments or criticisms of the Older Person.

38. In this situation, the Younger Person feels deficient in whatever personal qualities the Older Person finds appealing.

39. In this situation, the Younger Person spends a fair amount of time thinking about the Older Person, even though the relationship between them is just as often unpleasant as pleasant.

40. In this situation, the Younger Person tries to keep the relationship with the Older Person as impersonal as possible, limiting it mainly to technical matters where the Older Person is more experienced.

41. In this situation, the Younger Person feels mistrustful of the Older Person, and, as a result, the Younger Person feels tense in the presence of the Older Person.

42. In this situation, the Younger Person feels badly about how often the Older Person's suggestions and requests are neglected in favor of more selfish activities.

43. In this situation, the Younger Person feels able to see and to appreciate the Older Person as a fellow human being, and the relationship between them is both warm and genuine.

44. In this situation, the Younger Person feels that the Older Person would take advantage of any personal information about the Younger Person, and so the Younger Person simply keeps all such thoughts away from the Older Person.

45. In this situation, the Younger Person admires the skills or talents of the Older Person so much that the Younger Person uses the Older Person as a model of what to become.

46. In this situation, the Younger Person feels rather lost and discouraged, but the Younger Person feels it hard to get much attention or support from the Older Person.

47. In this situation, the Younger Person tries hard to make sure that the relationship with the Older Person does not slip back from the current, friendly relationship into one where the Older Person has all the power, and where the Younger Person feels like a child.

48. In this situation, the Younger Person feels that the best way to handle the Older Person is not get too involved and to keep everything as much on the surface as possible.

49. In this situation, the Younger Person feels a sense of rivalry with the Older Person and tries to excel in those areas where the Older Person seems superior to the Younger Person.

50. In this situation, the Younger Person feels disappointed because the Older Person tends to hold back on demonstrating the knowledge and skills which the Younger Person wants to acquire.

51. In this situation, the Younger Person takes great pleasure in being able to turn the tables on the Older Person and provide the Older Person with something of value which only the Younger Person can provide.

52. In this situation, the Younger Person finds it necessary to lead something of a double life, going along with the Older Person on the surface and keeping any hostile or rebellious thoughts completely private.

53. In this situation, the Younger Person feels so warmly toward the Older Person that it gives the Younger Person pleasure to do things the same way as the Older Person and to take the same position on things.

54. In this situation, the Younger Person feels that the Older Person has failed to insist upon a serious, or moral, attitude on the part of Younger People.

55. In this situation, the Younger Person expresses an eagerness to learn from the Older Person in areas where the Older Person is something of an Expert.

56. In this situation, the Younger Person feels uninvolved and bored, as if the Older Person had nothing of value to offer to the Younger Person.

57. In this situation, the Younger Person learns the standards of the Older Person so well that the Younger Person can adjust to meet those standards without specific directions or comments from the Older Person.

58. In this situation, the Younger Person finds it hard to feel any warmth toward the Older Person because the Older Person conceals those characteristics which might make the Younger Person feel some warmth or interest.

59. In this situation, the Younger Person is careful not to violate the Older Person's standards of mature and dignified behavior.

60. In this situation, the Younger Person feels irritated at all the senseless tasks assigned by the Older Person and feels sure that some other system of instruction would lead to a greater gain in knowledge and skill.

INTERPERSONAL OUTCOME INVENTORY

ANSWER SHEET

Name _____
First Last

Course Name _____

Instructor's Name _____

The Interpersonal Outcome Inventory Booklet presents a series of interpersonal situations. Each one describes the relationship between a Younger Person and an Older Person, and the emphasis is on how the Younger Person feels about the Older Person. After each situation there are four questions, two asking how often such a situation arose with your parents, and one asking you to indicate how often the situation occurred with your instructor in this course. In all of these questions try to remember that in any relationship lots of different things happen, and we are interested not in what you would have liked to happen, but what actually happened. The important element, then, is your accuracy in recalling the various situations which may have arisen with different people. In the fourth question you are asked to indicate how much you liked or disliked each situation, or how much you would have liked or disliked it if it had occurred. Please be sure to answer each question carefully, and do not skip any.

INTERPERSONAL OUTCOME INVENTORY

Answer Sheet

Read the description of each situation contained in the booklet. Then answer each question by placing a number between 1 and 9 in the appropriate box on the answer sheet. Questions A, B, and C ask how often the particular situation occurred with your father (Question A), your mother (Question B), and your teacher in this course (Question C). For example, if situation #1 occured frequently with your father, put a 9 in the box under father (A) for situation 1. If the situation never happened, put a 1 in the box. If it occurred, but not frequently, put some number between 2 and 8 in the box. The more often the situation occurred, the higher the number in the box.

Question D asks how much you liked (or would have liked) such a situation. Enter your answer in the box under D, where 9 means you liked it very much and 1 means you disliked it very much.

KEY	9 = Frequently 1 = Never	9 = Like very much 1 = Dislike very much
	How often did such a situation occur when the Younger Person was you and the Older Person was your	How much did you like (or would you have liked) such a situation?

	A	B	C	D
Situation	Father	Mother	Instructor in this course	
1				
2				
3				
4				
5				
6				
7				
8				
9				
10				
11				

KEY	9 = Frequently 1 = Never	9 = Like very much 1 = Dislike very much

	How often did such a situation occur when the Younger Person was you and the Older Person was your			How much did you like (or would you have liked) such a situation?
Situation	A Father	B Mother	C Instructor in this course	D
12				
13				
14				
15				
16				
17				
18				
19				
20				
21				
22				
23				
24				
25				
26				
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41				
42				
43				
44				
45				

KEY	9 = Frequently 1 = Never	9 = Like very much 1 = Dislike very much

	How often did such a situation occur when the Younger Person was you and the Older Person was your			How much did you like (or would you have liked) such a situation?
Situation	A Father	B Mother	C Instructor in this course	D
46				
47				
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60				

APPENDIX O

ANALYTIC GROUP SAMPLE: COURSE PROSPECTUS, READING LIST LOG ASSIGNMENT DESCRIPTION AND FINAL EXAMINATION

Psychology 454 Course

Prospectus

Nature and Purpose of the Course

This is an unstructured group discussion course the general purpose of which is the study of interpersonal behavior and group processes as they evolve over time. The assumption here--and it has been proven to be a valid one--is that the group culture which is generated by the participation of the group members in this relatively open and free situation will be both enjoyable and educational. We have also found that the various group cultures which develop in this way are exceedingly complex, difficult to untangle, and more involving than the group members may initially anticipate. The success of such a group is a reflection of the collective efforts of the group members.

It is more difficult to be much more specific than this about the nature and purpose of the course, as each group begins to make its own unique set of priorities. The goals of each group thus arise out of and are defined by the evolving group culture.

But one can expect that, given the academic context in which the group unfolds and the interests of both the members and the leader, some balance and synthesis of "academic" and "personal" issues will result. The readings and written

assignments are intended to provide the student with an opportunity to become acquainted with psychological theory pertaining to interpersonal behavior and group psychology and to integrate these more traditional academic approaches with his more immediate and personal involvement in the group. Hopefully, the student will begin to feel free to alternate between an exploration of psychological theory and an examination of events in the group. In this way, the theoretical and personal aspects of the course will become mutually enriching and the experience as a whole more meaningful.

Thus if one were to imagine a somewhat artificial continuum extending from a totally "cognitive" to a totally "emotional" involvement in the group, one could also predict that different individuals might operate more confortably at one point than another and that they might choose different positions at different times. The same could be said of the group as a whole. So again it is not a question of establishing clearcut goals and procedures but of indicating the alternatives and the integration of objectives that most members find most valuable.

One implication of this is that this course is not intended to provide the kind of help that one would expect from a psychotherapy or counseling relationship. It has been our experience that students who are looking primarily for an opportunity to overcome difficulties in their relationships with others become somewhat disappointed and disenchanted as they find that the structure of the course and the goals of other members make it unlikely that the major outcome for the student will be therapeutic. This is not to say that the personal goals are inappropriate--on the contrary, many students find that they learn a great deal about themselves as well as about interpersonal relationships in general. Nor is it to be expected that the

outcome for such a student will be "untherapeutic." Most frequently, he is simply disappointed and decides to look elsewhere for the kind of help he is seeking.

Despite the essential differences between this course and psychotherapy a student who is currently in psychotherapy or is considering entering therapy may have additional questions about the advisability of taking the course at this time. It might be useful to talk this over with one's therapist, though you should feel free to consult the instructors of the course on this or any other questions about the course.

The Role of the Group Leader

The instructor will not lecture or lead group discussions. Instead, he will attempt to bring to the group's attention aspects of the group process of which others may be unaware. His role entails clarifying and interpreting events in the group rather than directing discussion and establishing goals and limits.

Tapes:

Each session will be tape recorded. These tapes are for the use of the students in the course but for no one else. The secretary at 332 South State Street will show you how to operate the tape recorder.

Course Outline

The University of Michigan
Department of Psychology
Psychology 454

MWF 9: Mr. Graham Gibbard
MWF 10: Mr. John Hartman
MWF 11: Dr. Richard Mann

Week	M	W	F	Cases for Discussion	Other Assignments
1	X	X	1		***
2	X	6	8	6) Jane (mimeo)	8) Erikson (a); Whyte, 3-14, 279-309, 356-358.
3	11	13	15	13) Lord of the Flies (Golding)	
4	18	20	22	* * *	22) Freud (a), Chs. 2-5, Ch. 6 (sections A-E and I); Erikson (b).
5	25	27	29	25) Allen Jennings (mimeo)	29) Flugel, Chs. 1-12
6	2	4	6	* * *	6) Searles, Chs. 7 & 12
7	9	11	13	29) A Long Day's Journey (O'Neill)	* * *
8	16	18	20	* * *	20) Slater (a); Douvan and Adelson, Chs. 1, 2, 4, 5, 6, 7, 10
9	23	25	27	23) Soc Rel 120 (Mann, Ch. 2)	27) Bibring; Mann, Chs. 1, 3, 4.
10	30	1	3	* * *	3) Jacques; Bion, 29-91.
11	6	8	10	* * *	10) Whyte, 14-25, 255-276; Mills.
12	13	15	17	13) Joseph (mimeo)	17) Slater (b), 1-166.
13	20	22	X	* * *	Mann, Chs. 5-8.
14	27	29	1	27) Harlequin Complex (McClelland)	1) Freud (b)
15	4	6	8	* * *	* * *

Reading List

r Bibring, E. The mechanisms of depression. In Phyllis Greenacre (Ed.), Affective Disorders. New York: International Universities Press, 1953, 13-48.

rb Bion, W.R. Experiences in groups. New York: Basic Books, 1961.

rb Douvan, E. & Adelson, J. The Adolescent Experience. New York: John Wiley, 1966.

r Erikson, E. (a) The nature of clinical evidence. In Erikson's Insight and Responsibility. New York: Norton, 1964, 49-80. (also in paperback).

r Erikson, E. (b) The dream specimen of psychoanalysis. Journal of the American Psychoanalytic Association, 1954, 2, 5-56.

r Flugel, J.C., The Psycho-Analytic Study of the Family. London: Hogarth Press, 1921 (1960).

b Freud, S. (a) The Interpretation of Dreams. Science Editions paperback (James Strachey, trans.)

r Freud, S. (b) Analysis terminable and interminable. In Freud's Collected Papers, V, 316-357 and Standard Edition, 23, 211-253.

b Golding, W. Lord of the Flies. Capricorn or other paperback edition.

r Jacques, E. Social systems as a defense against persecutory and depressive anxiety. In Melanie Klein, et al. (Eds.), New Directions in Psychoanalysis.

rb Mann, R.D. Interpersonal Styles and Group Development. New York: John Wiley, 1967.

r McClelland, D.C. The harlequin complex. In R.W. White (Ed.), The Study of Lives. New York: Atherton, 1964, 95-119.

rb Mills, T.M. Group Transformation: An analysis of a learning group. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1964.

b O'Neill, E. Long Day's Journey into Night. Any paperback edition.

r Searles, H.F. Collected Papers on Schizophrenia and Related Subjects. New York: International Universities Press, 1965.

r Slater, P.E. (a) On social regression. American Sociological Review, 1963, 23, 339-364.

rb Slater, P.E. (b) Microcosm: structural, psychological, and religious evolution in groups. New York: John Wiley, 1966.

r Whyte, W.F. Street Corner Society. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1960.

r: on reserve in undergraduate library

b: available at bookstores and student book service.

Psychology 454 Log Assignment

Dr. Mann
Mr. Gibbard
Mr. Hartman

"The aim of the course is to improve the student's ability to observe, analyze, and understand behavior in interpersonal situations." (From the course description).

Each week throughout the term you are asked to write a brief analysis of the week's sessions in the form of a short series of comments. The analysis for the week should be written as soon as possible after the Friday session, and should be handed in at the session on the following Monday. Please hand in an original and a carbon copy, using--if you wish--the forms provided.

It is expected that this continuing exercise will prove helpful to you in realizing the aims of the course. The analyses will be read currently by the instructor and will be used as the basis of a commentary to be handed back to you periodically. The quality of the analyses will be taken into account in the final grade.

Please limit your writing to not more than about 250 words per report, or one page of double-spaced typing. Please type if you can. Be sure to include your name and the date of the appropriate Friday on each analysis.

You may find the following suggestions helpful:

1. Try to examine your own feelings and their effects on other people.

2. Try to discover the motives and concerns underlying the behavior of group members, by inference from the content and manner of the discussion.

3. Try to detect any issues that are being avoided in the discussion and to find the reasons for avoidance.

4. Try to trace the connections between what is now happening in the group and what has nappened in the past.

5. Try to consider whether some more general concept or theory will help to illuminate or make more generally significant the particular situation or case. The reading may be relevant for this purpose.

Psychology 454 Final Exam

December, 1967

This exam is due on Friday, December 15 at 4:00 at 332 South State. No papers will be accepted after this time.

The page limit for each of the two questions is six (6) double-spaced typewritten pages, 12 pages in total.

I.a.

Compare and contrast the thematic content of Joseph and Long Day's Journey into Night. Where relevant, indicate how these themes have been treated in the writings of Flugel, Douvan and Adelson, Slater, and Mann, Gibbard, and Hartman.

I.b.

Consider the relevance of these themes for the actions and feelings of both male and female members of your group.

II. Consider the natural history of your group. How would you analyze the changes over time with respect to:

a. The definition of and attitude toward analysis, interpretation, and insight.

b. The definition of and attitude toward warmth, intimacy, and closeness.

c. The definition of and attitude toward hostility.

Discuss, when relevant, the perspectives of Erikson, Golding, Freud, Searles, Slater, Mills, Bion, and Jacques.

APPENDIX P

THE CLUSTER ANALYSIS PROCEDURE

In an attempt to provide a typology of student behavior (actually, of student affective communication toward the teacher--see Chapter III), the verbal output of the entire sample, as coded in the analysis system, was analyzed, using a computerized procedure developed by M. C. Johnson at the University of Michigan (1967). This program computes the correlation coefficients between all pairs of individuals in the sample using all the interaction analysis data. For the purposes of this analysis (and for other similar analyses which were carried out during the larger study) a data point was defined as that period of time within which both the teachers and students, taken as a whole, initiated twenty scorable acts. This time unit appears to be the one which yields stable enough data for both teachers and students without at the same time throwing together dynamically disparate units that are necessary for conceptual and practical research purposes (see Mann, 1967; Mann et al, 1970). These coefficients represent the degree of linear association between the sets of scores corresponding to any pair of individuals, and are employed as indices of similarity of similarity coefficients. The clustering procedure involves successive iterations through the data, during which each individual is scanned to see with whom he shares mutually high similarity coefficients. On successive iterations individuals with mutually high similarity coefficients are considered as one individual, and the procedure of searching for other individuals with mutually high similarity coefficients is again carried out. In combining similarity coefficients for clusters of size three or

for clusters of unequal size, a weighted average of the coefficients is computed. A cluster of size three could result on the second iteration, for example, if one individual and a cluster of size two were found to have mutually high coefficients. The program continues the iterations until the criterion of mutually high number of coefficients is satisfied.

Since the number of clusters revealed at each iteration is of no specified practical or theoretical significance, the number of clusters with which one ends up is at the discretion of the experimenter. In this study, we found that 7 clusters (plus those individuals who were not included because they had too few acts) were most meaningful.

APPENDIX Q

RESULTS OF FACTOR ANALYSIS OF AUTOBIOGRAPHY-TAT-IMAGES DATA

In the course of this study, we carried out a factor analysis of the Autobiography-Early Memories-Images data. The procedure of factor analysis employed was the UCLA/Biomedical method with varimax rotation, using the estimate of the multiple R as the diagonal. Only when an individual had 20 or more acts coded toward one of the 6 "Objects" (see Chapter V) were these acts included in the analsis.

Four factors were rotated. These factors and the loadings of the variables on them are listed below:

	I	II	III	IV
MOVING AGAINST	.13	-.10	.57	.08
DISAGREEING	-.72	.04	.07	-.02
WITHDRAWAL	.01	.36	.23	-.04
GUILT-INDUCING	-.28	-.39	.18	-.21
REPARATION	-.57	-.13	.28	-.20
IDENTIFICATION	-.38	-.10	.08	-.57
AGREEING	-.79	.02	.08	-.17
MOVING TOWARD	.09	.42	-.31	-.38
SUBMISSION	.41	-.28	.16	-.22
EQUALITY	-.47	.21	-.11	.07
DOMINANCE	.08	-.11	-.13	.46
EXPRESSING ANXIETY	.02	.01	.54	.11

	I	II	III	IV
DENYING ANXIETY	.13	.02	-.86	.27
EXPRESSING DEPRESSION	.68	-.08	.10	.27
DENYING DEPRESSION	.30	-.11	-.75	.41
EXPRESSING GUILT	.32	.11	.16	.31
DENYING GUILT	-.05	.23	.02	.36
SELF-ESTEEM	-.05	.43	.12	.07
NURTURANCE	.15	-.61	.06	-.41
CONTROL	.27	-.65	.08	.29
SEXUALITY	-.10	.86	-.20	.06
COMPETENCE	-.28	.10	.12	.18

For purposes of analysis, these factors were manipulated to alter slightly the weights of the variables as they loaded on the factors. That is, these factors were used as a basis to form what we may call factor scales. In addition to the four bipolar scales defined above, a fifth scale was created which defines an authority relations axis. This scale has at one end the categories loading on the negative end of factor IV and on the negative end of factor I. The factor scales represent "idealized" factors in the sense that a) they decrease somewhat the weights of infrequently scored and/or relatively less reliably scored categories and b) eliminate categories which did not correlate very highly with a particular factor pattern. This idealization, although having some obvious disadvantages, has the advantage of focusing one's attention on a few categories which have for the most part been scored with reasonable reliability. In addition, this kind of scaling keeps the data in proportion form and is, from a statistical point of view, compatible with percentage profiles which are the basis for our other analyses.

We will now discuss each scale pattern in turn. In doing so, we will first describe the categories which define the positive and negative pole of the pattern and then, looking at performances which are high and low on the pattern, try to ascertain basic interpersonal issues underlying the patterns.

Scale 1: Response to the threatening other

I+: Defensive Ambivalence

I-: Realistic Depression

Scale 2: Response to the other as attractive or rejecting

II+: Intimacy and Closeness

II-: Critical evaluation and disappointment

Scale 3: Response to the depriving other

III+: Anxious Hostility

III-: Defensive Admiration

Scale 4: Response to other as object of identification

IV+: Fusion and Identification

IV-: Distance through superiority

Scale 5: Response to the authority of the other

V+: Dominance

V-: Submission

Scale 1: Response to the threatening other

The positive side of this scale, defensive ambivalence, has as major (.45 or above) loading categories: Disagreeing, Agreeing and Making Reparation and a minor (.44 or below) loading on Expressing Equality. The negative side of the scale has major loadings of Depression and Submission and no significant minor

loadings. In general, this scale sketches out two ways of handling the feelings which are stirred up by being in the presence of some person stronger than the self who could be potentially, or who is, a threat to the self. The two primary feelings which seemed to be stirred up are hostility and despair at being able to move close. Defensive Ambivalence frequently seems associated with a tendency to idealize the other person, primarily the parent. For instance, Chris begins a discussion of her home life by describing how infrequently there were any negative feelings, how rational her parents (especially her father) were in disciplining the kids. She then describes how her father would hold the threat of not sending her or her sister to college over them in order to get them to behave properly. She admits she didn't like this threatening very much. In the very next paragraph she launches into a lengthy description of the competence of her father vis-a-vis the world and how closely she feels identified with him, both in terms of personality traits and attitudes toward the world. Many Defensive Ambivalence performances have this "back and forth" quality: highly positive, then somewhat critical, quickly moving to a display of identification and collegiality: "we're all on the same wavelength in this household, all right!" For some people, this pattern seems to reflect a fear of the consequences to the self of acting in a directly hostile way to the older person. The quality of this fear seems to have to do with intimidation and perhaps losing some precarious but gratifying relationship with the other.

Realistic Depression, on the other hand, reflects a much more open admission on the person's part that he is intimidated but too weak or helpless at the moment to do much about it, except to submit to the other's dictates. Bert (described in Chapter V), represents an extreme of this in relation to the father. In response to the

father's threats and somewhat brutal discipline, Bert describes himself as having learned to live with it by adhering to the "straight and narrow," submitting to the rules and regulations of the house, no matter how meaningless. A more positive expression of Realistic Depression is found especially in some high participator protocols and seems to reflect a realistic perception that, when one is a child, there are certain things one cannot do. One cannot be as strong as the parental figure nor do all the things that adults do. In some sense, this pattern reflects the kind of perception which Erikson (1950) sees as so important in resolving Oedipal issues.

Scale 2: Response to the other as attractive or rejecting.

The positive size of this scale, Intimacy and Closeness, has as major loadings, Sexuality, and as minor loadings, Moving Toward, Expressing Self-esteem and Withdrawing. The negative side of this scale, Critical Evaluation and Disappointment, has major loadings on Nurturance and Control and a minor loading on Guilt-Inducing. The positive side of this scale seems to reflect, in a fairly straight-forward way, one's relationships to others as sexual objects. Indeed, as one might expect, the highest performances are toward opposite-sex peers, boyfriends, girlfriends, and so on. The loadings on Moving Toward and Withdrawing reflect the flirtatious and seductive quality of the relationship. This quality may explain why the pattern seems more typical of females toward fathers than males toward mothers. It's clearly one of those sex-role appropriate kinds of responses.

The other quality reflected by this side of the scale is the perception of other as primarily attractive. Intimacy and Closeness "performances" occur often in the context of idealization, as when a daughter is saying about her father (to

paraphrase): "Gosh, he's so wonderful; I want to marry a man just like him!"

The negative end of this scale usually occurs in the context of feeling rejected by someone to whom the person would like to get close. This scale pattern is high for those females whose fathers were particularly brutalizing. This pattern seems to reflect a combination of moral indignation and personal pain or hurt. It is as if the person is saying, "how can you do this to me? especially considering how much I want to love you and be loved by you." There is a quality of violation of role prescriptions here, as if the person is being critical, e.g., of the father for not meeting the standard for appropriate and desirable "father behavior." More central, however, is the sense of rejection, of personal loss or pain.

Scale 3: Response to the depriving other

The positive side of this scale, Anxious Hostility, has major loadings of Moving Against and Expressing Anxiety and no minor loadings of importance. The negative side of this scale, Defensive Admiration, has Denying Anxiety and Denying Depression as major categories and Moving Toward as a minor category. The direct hostility expressed here (and its denial) seem to indicate responses to others who could deprive the person of something he wants or of which he is in need. Much of this hostility gets directed at siblings and seems to be a manifestation of sibling rivalry. The anxiety seems to stem both from a fear of retaliation and from ambivalence. This strong hostility is more clearly expressed by people who have already given indications of a positive or supportive relationship with another. This fact seems to make it possible for the individual to express the hostility more freely, but also arouses anxiety associated with expressing angry feelings toward a loved other.

The defensive side of this scale, Defensive Admiration, seems to be about fears centering around the expression of hostility, as was Defensive Ambivalence. Here, however, the defense seems much sturdier; very little resentment, irritation, aggressive feelings seep through. Rather, the person avoids confronting his own feelings of dissatisfaction by focusing entirely on a laudatory description of the character and behavior of the other (frequently a same-sex parent). Little is said about the person's own responses to the "magnificent" other. The impression one gets is a much more powerful repression operating. It will be remembered in our discussion of Defensive Ambivalence that when the other does something irritating or frustrating, some mild disapproval (if nothing else) is voiced. Here one finds descriptions of events or behaviors on the part of the other which would seem, on the face of it, to be frustrating, irritating, depriving--and yet the person doesn't seem to respond. It is as if the person is not very much in touch with important parts of the self.

Scale 4: Response to the other as loving partner

IV+: Fusion and identification

IV-: Distance through superiority

The major loadings on the positive end of this scale fusion and identification are Nurturance and Identification with a minor loading for Moving Toward. The major loadings on the negative end of this scale, Distance through Superiority, is Dominance with minor loadings of Denying Depression and Denying Guilt. The positive end of this scale represents a special kind of closeness which is different from that closeness reflected in II+. Here closeness refers to modeling and merging, to becoming like the other either through doing or being what the other does or is or

through a confusion, desired or otherwise, with the "boundaries" separating persons. This latter pattern appears frequently among men toward their mothers and seems to reflect one pole of the struggle with a maternal identification. For instance, Lester, described in Chapter V, is a person struggling with a very confused, ambivalent relationship to a mother described as overprotective and dominating, but to whom the young male child is sexually attracted, and to whom he wants to submit in a somewhat castrated way. But of course to become submissive, to give in to the castrating mother, implies that one is taking on a more feminine identification which must be resisted. It is most fascinating that high or low scores on this scale are all associated with males toward their mothers; this would strengthen our interpretation of the meaning of this factor.

The scale seems to have a different meaning for females. Here the issue seems to evolve around the question of uniqueness. The two females with twin sisters score exactly opposite on this scale in relation to this sibling, since one explores how much of a mirror image one twin is of the other, while the other goes to some pains to show how different she is from her twin. The issue then is a repudiation of similarity or identification and an assertion of uniqueness and independence. The denial quality of the negative end of this dimension seems to reflect a fear that one, in fact, will not be able to carve out an identity that is unique. Particularly for men toward mothers, one gets the impression that the depression (which is denied) reflects the scary feeling that one will not be able to escape the identification with that person, e.g., unable to escape becoming like the mother.

Scale 5: Response to the power of the other

This scale is not based on an empirically derived factor, but instead is

an amalgam of IV- and I-. This hybrid was constructed to capture some of the more straight-forward authority-related power concerns in familial relationships. The choice was primarily based on the occurrence of Dominance in IV- and Submission in IV+. It was of interest that Dominance was associated with the denial of depression (where the latter presumably reflects a sense of being unable to effect desired changes in oneself or the environment) while Submission was associated with the expression of depression.

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