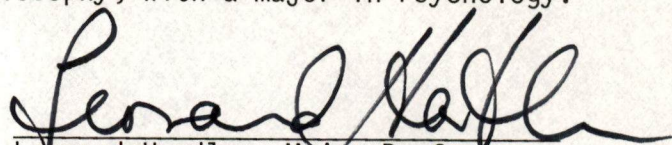
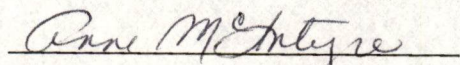


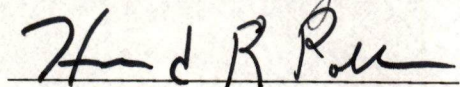
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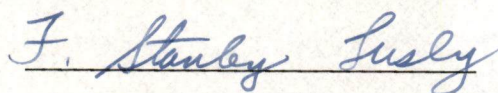
I am submitting herewith a dissertation written by Merrilea Lois Brunell entitled "Play Interactions Between Mothers Identified as Having Obsessional or Hysteroid Character-Styles and Their Preschool Children." I recommend that it be accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, with a major in Psychology.


Leonard Handler, Major Professor

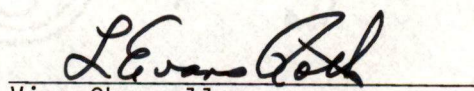
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PLAY INTERACTIONS BETWEEN MOTHERS IDENTIFIED AS HAVING
OBSESSIONAL OR HYSTEROID CHARACTER-STYLES AND
THEIR PRESCHOOL CHILDREN

A Dissertation
Presented for the
Doctor of Philosophy
Degree
The University of Tennessee, Knoxville

Merrilea Lois Brunell

August 1979

1398033

DEDICATION

To my grandmother, Freada Fisher, who taught me the value of education, and to my parents, who made my education possible in so many ways. And to my sister, who has always been there--with great love to all of them.

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My thanks must go first to the members of my doctoral committee. I thank Len Handler, my teacher and my friend; his support and encouragement during the past 4 years have always been warmly offered. Len's ability to translate wisdom in the feelings of children into his play with them has been my admiration and my model in learning about play therapy, sparking the interest which led to this study. I also thank Anne McIntyre, who has been more than generous with her time and encouragement in the past months, freely sharing her knowledge and her playroom. Her expertise as a researcher and her interest in the play of children helped tremendously in focusing this product in a manageable, meaningful way. Thanks also to Howard Pollio, who has taught me much with his creativity and enthusiasm and his talent in combining real scholarship with good sense. And I offer my warm thanks to Stan Lusby, who well deserves his reputation as a rare and giving person. His consistent support was deeply appreciated, as was his ability to provide a broad and meaningful perspective in looking at human relationships.

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ABSTRACT

Forty mothers of 3 and 4 year olds, 20 mothers identified as having obsessional personality-styles and 20 identified as having hysteroid personality-styles, were videotaped in 30-minute free-play sessions in a playroom setting. Identification of personality-style was made on the basis of scores on the Hysteroid-Obsessoid Questionnaire (HOQ). Statistical analysis and qualitative evaluation of the tapes indicated significant differences in directiveness, style of play, and expression of affect between the groups. The data indicate that differences in mother-child interactions are influenced in specific ways by both the personality-style of the mother and the sex of the child. Hysteroid mothers were observed to initiate more play activities with their children and to give more directions in nontask situations than obsessional mothers. Trends toward engaging in more teaching and pretend play were also observed in hysteroid mothers, but these did not reach significance. Hysteroid mothers were rated as expressing more overt affect than obsessional mothers. An interaction between group and sex was observed for hysteroid mothers and their male children, with these mothers initiating significantly more play activities with their sons and giving them significantly more directions. Obsessional mothers were seen to be quite attentive to their children but less directive than hysteroid mothers. They were observed to do more coaching with their male children in task situations than did hysterics. Possible ways the mother's personality-style may influence

the development of cognitive and personality-styles in the child are discussed, and directions for further research in this area are outlined. The use of free-play sessions to provide information for the child-therapist about the mother-child relationship is suggested.

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INTRODUCTION

The study to follow examines the impact of personality-style on the play interactions of mothers with their children. A number of considerations were involved in the choice of this subject for research. The first interpersonal relationship of the infant is with its mother. Much of this first interaction takes place in the form of play. As such, play between the mother and her baby is seen by authors as crucial in the developing emotional bond between mother and child (Spitz, in Piers, 1972) and to reflect the general quality of the relationship between the two (Winnicott, 1971; Erikson, 1972; Stern, 1971). The play of mother and child is also felt to foster the child's emotional and psychological development (Winnicott, 1971; Erikson, 1972; Milner, 1957; Frank, 1955) as well as the socialization of the child (Singer, 1971; Rubin and Maoni, 1976) and the child's general learning (Goodall, in Bruner, Jolly, and Sylva, 1976; Reynolds, in Bruner, 1976). Because mothers are thus felt to influence the development of their children through play and because the play interaction is felt to reflect the quality of the mother-child relationship as a whole, it becomes important for the psychologist to understand the factors which influence mothers' behavior in play interactions.

One factor which influences mothers' behavior is their character-style. For this and for reasons to be enlarged upon later, character-style was chosen as a point of reference in examining mothers' play interactions with their children. With this aspect of the mothers'

functioning as a point of reference, therefore, the following study is offered in an attempt to better understand the role of the mother in play interactions, which are felt to be of such importance in the mother-child relationship and in the child's general development.

CHAPTER I

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE: THE IMPORTANCE OF PLAY

One of the assumptions on which the following study is based is that play is important in the development of the child. The review of literature presented here outlines the bases for this assumption in theory and research. It is prefaced by a discussion of the nature of the behavior under investigation and the difficulties inherent in its study. The literature on play and development is then examined in three major areas: (1) learning and cognitive development, (2) socialization, and (3) emotional development.

I. OPERATIONS AND DEFINITIONS

A continuing difficulty in functional considerations of play which has figured in the studies to follow has been the lack of comprehensive and clear operational definitions. One of the problems here is in providing an objective differentiation between play and exploration: When can the activity of the child or infant be labeled as purely investigative and when should it be properly seen as purely playful? A summary of definitions and characteristics of play and exploration addressed to this problem is provided by Weisler and McCall (1976). They find the two behaviors to be presented in the literature as distinct from one another, although empirical observation has indicated their simultaneous or vacillating occurrence within particular situations. The utility of such a distinction is therefore questioned by these authors.

Exploratory behavior is defined as "a relatively stereotyped perceptual-motor examination of an object, situation, or event, the function of which is to reduce subjective uncertainty (i.e., to acquire information)" (Weisler & McCall, p. 493). The principal feature here is that the behavior is externally dominated by the current stimulus situation. Exploration is seen as an adaptive sequence of behaviors with high priority in novel situations, taking precedence over such essential behaviors as eating and drinking. Such behavior will occur in the presence of moderately novel levels of stimulation but will disappear where stimulation is too low or too high. The organism is businesslike and task-oriented and affect is neutral or even mildly negative or tense.

Play, on the other hand,

consists of behaviors and behavior sequences that are organism dominated, behaviors that appear to be intrinsically motivated and apparently performed for their own sake, and that are conducted with relative relaxation and positive affect. (p. 494)

Compared to exploratory behavior, play behavior is less consistent from organism to organism and from situation to situation. It is not principally governed by appetitive drives or extrinsic goals and does not occur in the presence of high subjective uncertainty or fear or in situations providing minimal stimulation. There is an element of pleasure in play, and while affect is at times negative, involving tension and anxiety, such activity is regularly sought out by the organism.

It is precisely the affective elements mentioned above which although seemingly central to the identification of playful states,

present the major difficulty in empirical observations. Klinger (1969) proposes that part of the difficulty in defining and identifying play "may be the subjective recognition that play is normally accompanied by certain hard-to-measure central states of playfulness" (p. 279). Sutton-Smith, too, finds the significance of play in its expressive aspects: "Play is remarkable in cognitive terms for its uniqueness, in affective terms for its personal expression, and in conative terms for its autonomy" (p. 336). Weisler and McCall believe that while the often-used concepts of intrinsic motivation and subjective uncertainty in describing play and exploration are vague, S-R terms appear to be even less adequate. They state:

The point is that, although we could stand to be more empirical in our conceptualizations, it is not clear to many researchers that a traditional S-R approach will extricate these concepts of what many scholars feel to be their essence. It is precisely those presumed, subjective, organismic processes and attributes that constitute the source of fascination in these behaviors for many scholars. (p. 496)

Because the lack of a single, acceptable definition of play has resulted in little uniformity in the literature concerning the behaviors which comprise it or the parameters through which to study it, these authors suggest that it is more heuristic to continue research in the field without such a definition. They feel that the concept in question may be genuinely pluralistic and that continued investigation of specified dimensions, without a standardized, comprehensive operational definition, will prove to be most fruitful.

The literature on play has linked it with four major spheres of development: (1) learning and skill acquisition, (2) cognitive development, (3) socialization, and (4) emotional development. A discussion of each of these areas follows.

II. LEARNING AND COGNITIVE DEVELOPMENT

Practice Play and Problem Solving

Play has been associated with two major facets of learning:

(1) mastery and practice of physical and cognitive skills, a process which is termed "practice play" and (2) problem solving, with play seen in this area as an "optimal mode for general learning."

In its earliest conceptual models, play was viewed almost exclusively as a mechanism of learning. As early as 1898, Karl Groos discussed play as an educative medium. The emphasis here as in most theories to follow was upon "practice play," in which basic physical and cognitive skills were repeated and mastered. Groos regarded play as continuing the education of the child where instinct left off, leading to complex skill mastery and constructions which fell beyond the realm of instinctual behavior.

Practice play has been divided into three distinct stages:

(1) exploration, regarded by many as a precursor of and not necessarily distinct from actual play activity, (2) manipulation, and (3) repetition (Miller, 1968). Through non-goal-directed activity, the child thus gains both cognitive familiarity with the elements of his environment and physical dexterity. Obviously, object play will form the bulk of such activity. The focus here is on concrete physical and technical skill such as that which leads to efficient tool use.

Although empirical data in the area are scanty with few actual human studies (Weisler & McCall, 1976), the rationale for the above conceptions are logically obvious. Dansky and Silverman (1975) found

that a group of children permitted free play with a set of objects verbally generated significantly more uses for a second set than did children who merely imitated various uses of the first set or children who engaged only in intellectual exercises involving the characteristics of the first set. They attributed these results to the capacity of play to create a set or attitude in which to generate associations to a variety of objects, facilitating imaginative adaptation to future situations. Goodall (in Bruner, Jolly, & Sylva, 1976) found the use of tools by chimpanzees in foraging for termites to be seriously impaired in socially withdrawn, playless infants. These infants, although exhibiting the knowledge of the appropriate use of tools in early life, later became listless and apathetic as the result of the loss of the mother. They were observed to cease the practice play observed in other infants and were subsequently seen to be awkward and immature in their use of tools. Eiferman (in Bruner et al., 1976) provides some evidence for the importance of mastery in play in the form of observations indicating that children's games are specifically sought out for the element of challenge they provide. In a large-scale, 5-year study of children's games in freely formed groups, she found that the cyclical popularity of certain games was directly dependent upon the degree of mastery necessary for the play of each.

In addition to its role in the mastery of physical skills, play has been accorded a role in the development of problem solving capacities. Manipulatory play has been hypothesized to aid in an animal's ability to discriminate salient environmental features as well as providing a medium for the assimilation and generalization of experience

(Bruner, 1976). The discriminative capacities involved in such activity, with the dissociation and rearrangement of various constructions and events into their component parts, provides the basis for both language and abstract thinking.

Play, here, has been described as "optimal learning by experimentation in a relaxed field" (Fagen, in Bruner et al., 1976). Fagen sees play as similar to the mathematical information-gathering and identification models found to best solve learning problems in engineering. The disequilibrium of play, with its lack of goal direction and inefficiency, is optimal for information-gathering purposes. In play, therefore, the child can learn what a system can do and what he can do with the system. Köhler (1925) described a similar process in chimpanzees, who learned to connect two sticks to reach for a banana by playing with them.

Bruner gave empirical support to the role of play in facilitating problem solving in children (in Bruner et al., 1976). He found that children who had initial play exposure to construction materials were as adept at solving a subsequent construction problem as children who first observed the solution being performed. Play was found here to be more effective in training systematic, step-by-step problem solving than were detailed instructions for solving the specific task. Play appears to provide more information and more efficient cognitive assimilation.

Early in this century, G. Stanley Hall put forth the hypothesis that in the developing play of the child the stages of the evolution of the species are recapitulated. While this rather literal theory was

quickly discredited, recent authors have shown considerable interest in the role of play in the evolution of the adaptive, problem-solving capacities of the species. Reynolds (in Bruner et al., 1976) sees the adaptive nature of play as the result of the "flexibility complex" which characterizes contemporary anthropoid apes. The bases of this flexibility are an extended period of immaturity, the capacity for observational learning, and an independence of activity from appetitive drives. These contribute to the creation in play of a system uniquely appropriate for the transmission of information between the environment and nonplay systems. Thus, the novel behavior generated by the young playing primate can be transmitted through observational learning to the culture at large. The relaxed field of play is uniquely suited to the generation of novel combinations, and it is, therefore, adaptive for the species at large.

Lorenz (in Bruner et al., 1976) also sees play as a mode of maintaining openness in higher species. He sees the increased play of the human as opposed to other animals as the result of domestication-induced neotony. Play, which is primarily the province of the infant in subprimates, is a neotenous feature extending in the human into adult life. It is adaptive in its information-eliciting capacity, since in contrast to serious, appetitive behavior in play everything is treated as of potential biological significance, and the quantity of information elicited is vastly increased.

Representational and Imaginative Thought

Play has been implicated in two major areas of cognitive development: (1) representational thought and (2) imaginative thought. The

bulk of the theoretical work in the former area is provided by Jean Piaget, with a focus on the sequential development of "adapted intelligence"; in the latter area, the work of Jerome Singer figures most prominently. Ramifications in the areas of problem solving, planning capacity, abstract-symbolic thinking, creativity, and linguistic development are discussed by various authors. Empirical data come from a variety of sources, including both human and primate ethology.

Piaget: play and representational thought. Although approaching play from a cognitive perspective, Piaget (1962) achieves an endpoint strikingly similar to that of the ego-analytic theorists, whose work will be discussed in a later section. Both Piaget and these authors feel that the child develops basic ego functions through play. Piaget further states that it is through a creative interplay with its environment that the child develops what he terms "adapted intelligence." "Adapted intelligence" here is the internalized representation of concrete and symbolic images and of abstract concepts, which Piaget views to be characteristic of mature thinking and problem solving.

Because references to the work of Piaget are standard in functional considerations of play, his theoretical formulations will be detailed below. Two points are necessary to preface the discussion of these concepts.

First, Piaget deals with play both as a product and a process. Play is the product and expression of the immature cognitive structure. It is also the process by which the increasing interiorization of images and structuralization of thought take place. Second, although he would

seem to present the reader with a unified theory of play, Piaget actually deals with play in two separate spheres: the cognitive-intellectual and the emotional. While he does appear to see some connections between the two, Piaget provides no extensive elaboration of these linkages. In this respect, he seems to experience the difficulty common to formulations of play: The functions of play seem to be various, often connected only by the somewhat tenuous thread of its fluidity as a medium.

Piaget's unique contribution to theories of play is his conceptualization of play as inherent in the developing structure of the child's thought (1962). He views play as intrinsic to immature thought rather than as a discrete, additive function. It is the mode through which information is processed in the child, integrated in the cognitive processes as "a continuation of understanding." Piaget (1962) sees the child as integrating information from the world via two basic processes: assimilation and accommodation. In assimilation, the child molds the information to fit his own, preexisting cognitive structures. It is interpreted and utilized subjectively; he adapts the world to himself. In accommodation, conversely, the child modifies his cognitive schemas to conform to the information provided by the external environment: He adapts himself to the world. The child's cognitive development occurs through the interplay of these two processes. Utilizing these concepts, Piaget further differentiates two aspects of the child's early playful activity: imitation and actual "ludic" activity. He sees imitation as involving a primacy of accommodation over assimilation: The child is attempting to reproduce external events with as much accuracy as he is able to muster. Play, however, is seen as a primacy of assimilation

over accommodation. The assimilation here occurs in the phase, after imitation has been perfected, when the mastered activity is practiced for its own sake, with no end other than pure functional pleasure. It should be noted that Piaget sees both assimilation and accommodation in both imitative and "ludic" activity; cognitive activity is never exclusively the product of one or the other.

Not only does Piaget (1962) differentiate between imitation and actual play, but also he makes a further distinction between these activities and the nonpurposive, sensory-motor accommodations of the primary and secondary circular reactions in early infancy. Here, he takes issue with classical theorists such as Groos (1901), who see play as any autotelic activity whatsoever, terming it "pre-exercise." What is important here is Piaget's conception of cognitive development as sequential, with play viewed not only as an activity practiced for itself but as a distinct cognitive achievement; all activity practiced for itself is not viewed by Piaget as being ludic. The sequence here begins with the primary and secondary circular reactions which precede interior image formation; imitation follows, with the first mental images regarded as interiorized imitations; as these are developed, true play evolves, reaching its highest level with the development of representational and abstract thought.

Play is regarded as progressing as the child develops from initial practice play into an activity Piaget (1962) sees as crucial to the evolving ego, symbolic play. He states, "Symbolic play will consolidate, through representational assimilation of the whole of reality to the ego, what practice play has already achieved through

functional assimilation" (Piaget, 1962, p. 121). This achievement is, in a nutshell, the mastery of various life situations by the immature ego. Play facilitates emotional functioning here by providing the opportunity to create imaginary companions which, as Piaget states, "mirror and comfort the ego," softening the necessary acceptance of reality. These images provided the precursors of adult interiorized thought and interiorized moral authority. Play also serves to liquidate disagreeable situations by reliving them, to reproduce scenes where the ego ran the risk of failure, assimilating them and emerging victorious and to intensify the awareness of newly acquired powers, extending them through make-believe.

Piaget is thus in agreement with Freud (in Strachey, 1948) who hypothesizes that play provides an opportunity for catharsis and wish fulfillment or mastery of uncontrollable situations. However, he feels that Freud missed the point of such symbolism by searching for its meaning in the content rather than in the structure of thought. He states,

The formation of the symbol is due not to its content, but to the very structure of the child's thought. Wherever there is symbolism, in dreams, in the images of the half-waking state, in children's play, it is because thought, in its states of low psychological tension or in its elementary stages, proceeds by egocentric assimilation, not by logical concepts. (1952, p. 156)

Piaget finds validation in his observations of the theorized progression of image formation from the concrete to the symbolic. The representation of activities by children in play has been observed to proceed from strictly self-referential to increasingly decentrated representations (Piaget, 1952; Lowe, 1975). Such play has also been

observed to become progressively less concrete with symbolic representation replacing material props in the enactment of various situations (Piaget, 1952; Lowe, 1975; Overton & Jackson, 1973).

Symbolic play is felt by Piaget to be transformed by socialization into objective imitation of reality. The symbol becomes an image whose purpose is no longer assimilation to the ego but adaptation to reality. As the symbol replaces practice play, so does the rule replace the symbol with the appearance of representational thought and social relationships. Piaget feels that symbolic play ends with childhood with only rule-governed play extending into adulthood. Symbolic capacity merges with intellectual and artistic creativity in activities which no longer merely represent private fantasy but reflect socialized goals.

In this respect, Eiferman (in Singer, 1971) confirmed Piaget's observations of a decline of symbolic play at ages 6 to 8 in large-scale observations of Israeli school children; however, she observed a decline rather than an increase in games with rules after age 11. Such play appears to be replaced by a return of unstructured practice play engendered by an increased interest in sports. Singer (1971), on the other hand, does not see a decrease in symbolic activity but rather views such activity as becoming more covert due to social pressure. A lack of empirical observation of adult play limits theorizing in this area. With the exception of psychoanalytic studies of humor, drama, and the graphic arts, some minimal speculation as to the regressive nature of sex-play (Freud, in Strachey, 1955; Abraham, 1966) and hypotheses concerning the cultural impact of games with rules (Huizinga, 1950) in the form of ritual, the literature in the area of adult play is almost nonexistent.

A criticism of Piaget's epistemology, worthy of note here, is Brian Sutton-Smith's objection (1966) to the attempt to integrate play with cognitive structure. He feels this integration obscures the structural aspects of play itself. He views play as having a primarily expressive function. Sutton-Smith views Piaget as having attempted to construe play as a function of thought without ascribing to it any necessary function in intellectual development stating, "The existence of such parallels between the operations of thought and the contents of play conveys nothing in itself about the function of play" (Sutton-Smith, 1966, p. 335). Another objection comes from the work of El'Konin (1966), who states that the development of symbolism in play is not the result of cognitive developments but of the direct teaching of adults in the form of modeling or through information exchanged via speech.

Singer and sociodramatic play: play and imaginative thought.

Drawing on the formulations of Piaget, the psychoanalytic theorists, and Bandura's modeling theory, Singer and his associates find further theoretical and empirical support for the role of play in information processing in the form of sociodramatic play (Singer, 1973; Marshall, 1961; Marshall & Hahn, 1967; Smilansky, 1968; Rosen, 1974; Rubin & Maoni, 1975, 1976; Goodson & Greenfield, 1975). The reprocessing of information used in make-believe play requires the exercise of the basic cognitive skills of memory, image formation, and verbal coding. The portrayal of characters and activities necessitates a discrimination of the elements of various roles and is therefore seen as developing

planning skills in the child, as well as an openness toward new possibilities and assimilation of new material. These aspects of play are felt to facilitate general and academic learning (Smilansky, 1968; Singer, 1966, 1973; Rosen, 1974). Research has shown a greater capacity for sociodramatic play in children with a high predisposition to fantasy (Singer, 1966). This capacity has been found to correlate with an increased capacity to wait and delay gratification (Singer, 1973) and with originality, spontaneity, verbal fluency, and flexibility in adapting to new situations (Pulaski, in Singer, 1973).

Both American and Israeli children of lower socioeconomic classes have been found to engage in significantly less sociodramatic play than their peers of higher socioeconomic status (Smilansky, 1968; Rosen, 1974). Eiferman, however, failed to duplicate these findings, indicating an issue of cultural specificity may be involved (in Herron & Sutton-Smith, 1971). The amount of spontaneous sociodramatic play has been increased in children exposed to discussion and modeling of the elements of such play by adults (Marshall, 1961; Marshall & Hahn, 1967; Freyberg, 1971; Rosen, 1974; Salz & Johnson, 1974). Increases in problem-solving skills, the capacity for concentration, and the capacity for integrated, imaginative activity have been reported in these studies. Imaginative activity is also felt to foster the development of abstract thinking (Singer, 1973), leading to increased success in formal education. In addition, the capacity for imaginative and playful activity of the type outlined above has been linked by a number of authors to creativity and divergent thinking (Wallach & Kogan, 1965; Lowe, 1975; Lieberman, 1965, 1967; D. Singer & J. Rummo, 1973).

Singer (1971) examines possible factors leading to a high pre-disposition to sociodramatic play, taking his cue from the observed effects of modeling and from the role of maternal identification posited by psychodynamic theory. Maternal acceptance of fantasy play and the occurrence of a high degree of playful interaction between mother and child in the home were found to be positively correlated with the amount and quality of sociodramatic play exhibited by the child (1971). However, findings with direct reference to maternal identification have been equivocal. Role playing was hypothesized in this study to foster identification with the mother. In an initial study (Singer, 1966), the self-reports of children exhibiting a high level of sociodramatic play did indicate that they felt closer to the mother than the father, whereas the children exhibiting a low level of sociodramatic play did not indicate that they felt closer to either parent. A second study (Singer, 1966), however, indicated that while the high-level children tended to feel closer to one parent than the other, neither the mother nor the father was consistently targeted as the closer parent.

Finally, sociodramatic play is felt to foster ego differentiation, self-awareness, and social aptitude by sharpening the child's ability to discriminate role requirements. In theoretical terms, successful role play involves the capacity of the child to utilize fantasy and to defer action, two basic elements in ego formation (Wälder, 1933). To imitate, the child must be able to differentiate between his actions and those of another. Empirically, the capacity to role play has been associated with an awareness of the details and consequences of actions as well as the perspective and potential

reactions of the other, which is regarded as a precursor to the development of empathy (Goodson & Greenfield, 1975; Rubin & Maoni, 1975, 1976).

Language development. Another aspect of cognitive functioning in which play has been implicated is language development. Piaget details the analogy between language and action (1932). Language has been hypothesized to have originated to support action (Bruner et al., 1976). Parallels have also been drawn between the cognitive, structural principles of manipulative play outlined by Piaget and the underlying structural organization of language development in the child (Goodson & Greenfield, 1975). The latter authors found that three strategies seen to evolve in manipulative play of 3- to 5-year-old children were closely related to language development. These strategies were: (1) the ability to organize constructional components in hierarchies of complexity, (2) the ability to interrupt ongoing action and intercede new components in an efficient, organized, goal-directed manner, and (3) role reversal. A similar sequence was seen to evolve in children's grammatical constructions, although the development of specific functions in manipulative and linguistic spheres was not found to be simultaneous in time.

The object play of nonhuman primates has also been seen as an analogue for the phylogenetic study of human language (Reynolds, in Bruner et al., 1976). Play-like schemas are attributed to the "unconstrained combinatorial" activity of language, with the similarity of play and language viewed as resulting from their common status as analogues for goal-directed activity. As Reynolds (in Bruner et al., 1976) states:

By virtue of being unconstrained by the prior goals of instrumental activity, the vocal channel is free to employ the play-like schemas of vocal pregames. The presence of behavior structurally similar to play helps to define the channel as simulation, just as behavior patterns differing from their normal execution help define the play context. (p. 631)

The relationship of this free combinatorial activity to the efficient mastery of the principles of linguistic structure has been seen in the vocal "pregames" of the developing infant (Weir, in Bruner et al., 1976).

Still another model, taken from ethology and communications theory, links play and language development. This is the model provided by the "play face" observed during the ludic interactions of primates. A relaxed, slack-mouthed, wide-eyed expression effectively signals the approaches of the animal as playful rather than aggressive; it places activities such as wrestling and mock biting in a play-frame. Such a "play face" has been observed not only in primate interactions but also in the playful approaches of the human mother toward her infant (Stern, 1974). The novel and stimulating activities of the mother can thus be received without fear or distress by the infant, who seems able to appreciate the nature of the facial meta-communication conveying that "this is not a threat." Thus, for example, Bateson states, "We therefore meet in play with an instance of signals standing for events, and it appears, therefore, that the evolution of play may have been an important step in the evolution of communication" (in Bruner et al., 1976, p. 191). The meta-communication, or the communication about the nature of the message which is to follow, is basic to

language and social intercourse. In such communication, the child develops language skills and the capacity to anticipate the intentions and potential reactions of others. Thus, social functioning has the same basis in the cognitive constructions of play as does language development.

III. SOCIALIZATION

In the area of social functioning, play has been implicated in the learning and appropriate discrimination of social signs and symbols; in the transmission of social roles and cultural information; and in the appropriate performance of socially, biologically, and emotionally adaptive behaviors, particularly in the realms of sexual, maternal, and interpersonal behavior.

The capacity to read the signals of another, anticipating his reactions, is a necessary component of socialization. With the achievement of abstract and symbolic thought, these skills can be practiced and perfected in role-play. For effective role-play, the child must be able to assume the perspective of another, discriminating the behaviors appropriate to his role and anticipating the appropriate reactions of others with respect to the assumed role (Rubin & Maoni, 1976; Singer, 1971; Rosen, 1974). The appropriate signals must be made and received or the game will fall apart. For the successful execution of the game, there must be an awareness of social conventions, as well as an awareness of the other people in the social environment as being separate, with distinct viewpoints and perspectives. Thus role play is an "experiment with culture"; in it, social conventions are transmitted and social skills perfected.

In addition to discriminative capacities, play facilitates the socialization of the child by establishing limits and rules. Huizinga (1950) sees fair play as a culture-creating force, expressing good faith through play. He sees games with rules as essential to the existence of real civilization because they provide the experience of self-discipline and -mastery. In play as in culture, there is an implicit agreement to adhere to specific, if somewhat arbitrary, rules. When these rules are violated by an individual, the play frame is broken: In play, the game ends; in culture, social cohesion and contact are lost. Culture is seen here as a particular form of play, providing an arbitrarily agreed upon medium for interpersonal contact and social coalescence. Children's play thus provides the knowledge of rules and exercise of self-possession necessary to function effectively within the culture and to maintain interpersonal contact (Huizinga, 1950).

Piaget sees play as reflecting and facilitating moral development in the child. In his study of the development of rules in the game of marbles (Piaget, in Bruner et al., 1976), he traces the socialization of the child in the combination of cooperation and autonomy observed in rule-bound play. Piaget sees the transition of egocentrism to self-constraint as observable in the progression of the child's mode of play and his developing perception of the origins of rules. Originally playing alone or in parallel, the children observe only egocentric, idiosyncratic rules. In the next stage, they begin to play in small groups, establishing cooperative rules which are nevertheless unique to each particular group and change from one round to the next. In the third stage, codified, constant, culturally transmitted rules are

observed. Simultaneous with this progression in the modes of play is the transition of the child's perception of the source of rules. In the initial awareness of extrinsic rules, they are regarded as static and God-given. As familiarity with the workings and practice of rules increases and cognition moves from the concrete and literal to the abstract, the child realizes that rules are arbitrarily invented and agreed upon by individuals. Thus in play, genuine moral development, which Piaget regards as akin to internalization in the affective realm, is attained.

The social cohesion seen in spontaneous play is codified in ritual. Erikson (1972) sees ritual as a stable, patterned ground into which novel experience can be assimilated. The players in this cultural game have agreed upon an arbitrary set of rules which once established are a source of comfort and orientation. Erikson (1972) further characterizes such activity as a source of engagement and commitment in its symbolic, meaning-creating function. Lack of ritual leads to disengagement and anomie. Opie and Opie (in Bruner, Jolly, & Sylva, 1976) find an instance of such engagement on a smaller scale in peer group play. Here, repetition of accepted formulas in the form of rules, chants, and rituals are a source of reassurance for the child. Frank (1955) has seen the ritual of children's play as forming an internal order in which the child establishes relationships with the world in terms of time, space, cycle, and rhythm.

In the social arena, Erikson (1972) regards the capacity to play as permitting the individual to experiment with a variety of roles. In this way a mixture of subjective creativity and social reality basic to

a viable individual identity is perfected. An obvious and specialized instance of this activity is the child's acquired skill in a sex-role. Empirical evidence for the rehearsal of sex-roles in children's play is plentiful. Sex-typed behavior has been observed in the play of infants as young as 1 year of age, with girls' play less vigorous and more focused on fine motor activity, while boys played more vigorously and employed more gross motor activity (Goldberg & Lewis, 1969). Putting aside the question of biologically based levels and rhythms of activity, studies such as the one conducted by Goldberg and Lewis suggest that maternally fostered sex differences are seen in the play of young infants. Erikson (1972) found that boys are more likely than girls to produce intrusive structures in their construction play and to express aggressive themes in symbolic play; girls were found more typically to produce inclusive structures and passive themes. Cramer and Hogan (1975), following Erikson's model, replicated these findings with a group of 5 year olds, finding intrusive structures and "deprivation" themes (collapse, explosion) in boys and inclusive structures and "enhancement" themes (happy ending, material and emotional gain) in girls. Greif (1974) observed pervasive rehearsal of socially stereotyped sex-roles in the spontaneous play of preschool children.

Primate studies also show evidence of sex differences in the play behavior of juvenile monkeys. Suomi and Harlow (in Bruner et al., 1976) observed sex differences along passive-aggressive dimensions to be exhibited very early in the play of monkey infants. Females were found to exhibit more sedentary, grooming activity and males, more aggressive, rough and tumble play. In tandem with the early, sex-

appropriate sexual gestures of these infants toward one another, these authors believe this finding to indicate sex differences in play to be in a large part biologically determined. Social influences are also believed to have an importance here, however. In addition, nurturant behaviors which are felt to develop skills which can be later utilized in parenting have been observed in both female and male juvenile monkeys in their play with young infants (Lancaster, 1971; Burton, 1972).

Several additional empirical studies show a relationship between play and social adjustment. In Rosen's 1974 study, problem solving in cooperative, group tasks was found to improve significantly after children were tutored in sociodramatic play. Subjects were drawn from a group of disadvantaged children and were exposed to modeling and coaching in role-taking by adult experimenters. Task groups subsequently showed greater cooperation and productivity, a more accurate perception of others' preferences, and more proficient interpretation of roles. Hutt (1966) found a failure to engage in exploratory play in early childhood to be correlated with difficulties in personality and social adjustment in girls and lack of curiosity and adventure in boys. Harlow and Suomi (in Bruner et al., 1976) found that the play behaviors of infants were accurate predictors of adult social capabilities. Both monkeys raised with peers but without mothers and monkeys raised with mothers but without peers showed abnormalities in play. The play of the former was timid and immature, while the play of the latter was withdrawn and hyperaggressive. While sexual and mothering behavior was relatively normal at maturity, the former group remained timid and were often attacked and victimized; the latter group, by contrast, remained

hyperaggressive, attacking inappropriate members of the social hierarchy.

IV. EMOTIONAL DEVELOPMENT

The role of play in emotional development has been primarily dealt with utilizing psychodynamic models. As initially treated by the Freudian-analytic theorists, the functions of play were seen as: (1) wish fulfillment, (2) catharsis, and (3) transformation in fantasy of passive victimization to active control (Freud, in Strachey, 1948; Peller, 1959; Riesman, 1950; Walder, 1933). Later and more extensive formulations were made by theorists of the ego analytic-object relations schools, who saw play as functioning in the establishment of (1) object constancy, differentiation, and ego autonomy; (2) self-definition and identity; and (3) flexibility of social adjustment. Early maternal responsiveness is stressed by this latter group of theorists as the key to the child's development of a capacity to play.

Freudian-Analytic Theory

Freudian theory makes rather short shrift of the role of play in development, confining it to childhood and to the frivolity of the undeveloped psychic structure and conceptualizing this role largely in terms of an energy model. Freud himself (in Strachey, 1948) sees play as the child's borrowing of tangible objects and situations from the real world and investing them with affect. In this way the child creates a fantasy world which although remaining separate from reality is taken quite seriously. "The opposite of play," says Freud, "is not serious occupation, but--reality" (Collected Papers, 1955, p. 174).

Play for Freud is the precursor of the daydream and the joke; it is sublimatory activity through which the immature psychic structure achieves wish-fulfillment and catharsis. In the child, where structuralization is as yet incomplete, fantasy and reality overlap and play occurs; when structuralization increases, play is replaced by wit and by humor. This view is in many ways congruent with that of Piaget. Rational criticism is believed to dam up the capacity for play. Thus, Freud sees the comic as invariably infantile. It is "the comparison of the ego of the adult with that of the child." In child's play, he sees the wish to be grown up; in adult play, the wish to be a child (Wälder, 1933).

Freud thus sees play as the legal tender of an immature psychic economy. Because of this, he rejects Groos' conception of mastery as the basis of play, stating that the pleasure in play is due not to the child's recognition of his own powers but to the economy of psychic expenditure. Play is seen as a "cheap" substitute for reasoning, since in play the child need not expend the energy which would be required for reality testing.

Reisman, in an interesting critique of the Freudian treatment of play (1950), has placed Freud's views in the context of the "work-morality" of nineteenth century Europe. In this world, work and play were seen as sharply separated. Frivolity was believed to exact its toll in sorrow and pain and, of course, work. Here even sexual intercourse was viewed as work rather than as something free or spontaneous, or, at least, this was the public platform. Thus, Freud could view foreplay as a tension-increasing function which led, or shall I say

seduced, its hapless victims on to the work of propagation. Thus says Reisman, "Freud's world of play . . . is a world of children, of artists, and, only surreptitiously, of adults--that is, those adults who are real men, not idlers or escapists" (p. 111). Interestingly enough, Erik Erikson sees Freud's tool of free association as a "method of playful communication . . . which has taught man to play back and forth between what is most conscious to him and what has remained un verbalized or has become repressed" (Erikson, 1972). He sees Freud as having contributed to the increased freedom of play in modern society by teaching

man to give freer play to his fantasies and impulses which if not realized in sexual foreplay or "sublimated" in actuality, serve only to narrow his Spielraum (play space) to the point of explosion in symptomatic actions. (p. 163)

Psychoanalytic theorists other than Freud have been more willing to accord mastery a place in the functioning of play. Wälder (1933) summarizes the functions of play, defined as "fantasy woven about a real object," as: satisfaction of the instinct of mastery; wish fulfillment; assimilation of traumatic experiences according to the repetition compulsion, with a concomitant discharge or assimilation of affect; transformation from passive victim to active perpetrator; and a "leave of absence" from the super-ego and reality. Peller (1954) adds several functions to this list, among them: the symbolic expression of conflict material (after A. Freud and Klein); deflected vengeance; anticipatory retaliation; omnipotent-magical thinking as compensation for the deficiencies of immaturity; incognito indulgence in forbidden roles; and learning to think and solve problems. She sees play as an immature mediator between the id and super-ego in a primitive version of the

ego activity represented by Nunberg's "synthetic functions" and Hartmann's "integrative functions."

Data for the above formulations have come primarily from the clinical observations of those therapists involved with play-therapy, particularly those of Anna Freud and Melanie Klein. As these are based on individuals with significant pathology, their value is circumscribed. There is at least one significant empirical study in the area however. Gilmore (1966) attempted to test the hypothesis that anxiety is mastered in play. He assessed the correlation of children's preference for anxiety-relevant toys with increases in measured anxiety. The anxiety situations used were a naturalistic setting, using children hospitalized for tonsillectomy, with a nonhospitalized control group; and two experimental settings, in which anxiety was artificially induced by creating the expectation of a painful initiation, and utilizing an appropriate control group. The presence of anxiety was found to correlate with differences in children's preference for anxiety-relevant toys, but the change was found to be either an increase or a decrease depending upon "as yet unspecified additional factors."

Ego-Analytic and Object Relations Theory

The play of the infant comprises much of his first interactions with the world. As such, play is seen by numerous ego-analytic authors as crucial in ego-formation (Winnicott, 1972; Erikson, 1972; Milner, 1957; Frank, 1955). It is seen as taking place in the area between primary process and reality, the borderland which is believed by many authors to form the infant's first experience of the world. Play has

therefore been regarded as a transitional phenomenon and as the ground from which transitional objects develop (Winnicott, 1971). Play, says Winnicott,

is not inside by any use of the word (and it is unfortunately true that the word "inside" has many and various uses in psycho-analytic discussion). Nor is it outside, that is to say, it is not a part of the repudiated world, the not-me, that which the individual has decided to recognize (with whatever difficulty and even pain) as truly external, outside of magical control. (p. 41)

Play thus provides an intermediate area which facilitates the infant's initial movement into the world. It serves as a medium for the transition from purely autistic perception while simultaneously protecting the integrity of internal processes.

In transition Winnicott sees movement and potential for growth. Movement here is movement into the world and must be based upon action, and the first arena of action is play. "To control what is outside, one has to do things, not simply to think, or to wish . . . playing is doing" (p. 41). This doing provides a vehicle for the differentiation of the infant. In play, the child moves out of the purely autistic sphere: The other is no longer accepted as synonymous with the self. Here the child not only becomes aware of the existence of others as separate and distinct, but also of his own existence as a person. In this way separation, individuation, and the growing sense of self, which are rudiments of autonomy and identity, have their roots in play.

Play is regarded by theorists such as Erikson as providing flexibility or "Spielraum." In the context of the adequate, supportive mother, the child is able to explore boundaries. These boundaries are those between fantasy and reality, social limits, and interpersonal

limits. Erikson sees these limits as actually defining play: Bounded by the poles of fantasy and reality, play oscillates between carefree flightiness and serious engagement. Language, he states, "conveys any number of destructive and self-destructive nuances, such as playing at something or with somebody, or playing oneself out; all these and other kinds of play connote the limits which end all play." Play is, in other words, "free movement within prescribed limits . . . where the freedom is gone, or the limits, play ends" (p. 133). In play the child learns to move flexibly within the prescribed boundaries of reality, society, and his own capacities. He is provided with the room to move into the world trying out various roles and forming for himself a creative identity between the polarities of hopelessly nonfunctional fantasy and the standardized, lifeless conformity of social reality. The child who plays successfully is thus much like the artist who is able to play freely and creatively: He is able to overstep rigid boundaries without fearing engulfment or insanity (Milner, 1957). Play is thus once again regarded as an achievement of the ego. It permits the child to discriminate boundaries and then move beyond them, fully capable of returning at any point in the game.

The appropriate development of play with its associated cognitive and emotional gains is felt by these theorists to be based upon early maternal responsiveness. The mother provides the first interpersonal contact for the infant. Play, in its structural similarity to language, provides the initial mode of communication between the two. The earliest interaction here is felt to be the initial visual scanning and rescanning by the infant of the mother's face. This evolves as play

through the response and playful encouragement of the mother (Spitz, in Piers, 1972; Erikson, 1972) confirming a sense of mutuality in the partners and providing the ground for early object relations. Object wholeness, subject wholeness, and the coherence and continuity of the object world are based upon this interaction. The experience of the self as subject and the external as object are simultaneous here; there can be no experience of a "self" without the experience of something which is perceived as being outside of the self. Thus the formation of the ego nucleus literally takes place in an "interplay" between the mother and child. This interplay is believed to provide the ground for the experience of the self and later for self-definition and identity.

Play here is seen as occurring in the fragile space between primary and secondary process, in the "potential space between mother and child" (Winnicott, 1971). It is felt by Winnicott to involve "the precarious interplay of personal psychic reality and the control of actual objects" (p. 51). Because of its connection with internal processes, play is seen as having a peculiar potential for the fostering of interpersonal intimacy not present in other spheres of activity. This entails a degree of risk for the child, who must maintain the precarious balance between primary and secondary processes. The basis of the capacity to risk this interplay and the capacity to evolve the concomitant intimacy is felt to lie in the trust engendered by "good enough mothering" or the initial, adequate adaptation of the mother to the needs of the infant. The mother who can provide this initial, reliable relationship and can then move away from this fully adapted state enables the child to find pleasure in imaginative play. He is

able to fill the gap left by the mother's gradual withdrawal with play which is creative, symbolic, and object seeking. In this way, the openness and the capacity for flexible adjustment and compromise necessary to successful interpersonal relationships have their ground in early mother-infant play.

Primate observations bear out the relationship between play and social development and the central role of the mother as facilitator. Harlow and Harlow (1962) found abnormalities in both the play and social behavior of infant monkeys. These abnormalities occurred both with and without exposure to peer play, although the anomalies in each case were different. Goodall (in Bruner, 1977) found that orphaned chimpanzee infants who were deprived of peer play became listless, emaciated, and asocial. While peer play did ameliorate these conditions to some extent, the mother seems to have a unique capacity to bring the child into inter-relationships, enabling him to venture onto ground where he otherwise fears to tread. In this respect Stroufe and Wunsch (1972), observing human infants, found that actions which produced tears when performed by a stranger evoked laughter when performed by the mother. The ability of the presence of the mother to reduce fear of novel stimuli has been observed in both birds and mammals (King, 1966; Ainsworth & Bell, 1970; Passmann & Weisberg, 1975).

There also seems to be some conviction that the close infant-mother interaction is necessary for the occurrence of the play necessary to the mastery of complex tool skills. Goodall found motherless chimp infants to be seriously retarded in their tool use even when they had progressed normally before the mother's death. Observations of the

practice play of the great apes indicated that the occurrence of such play and its application to extended tasks takes place "very often in response to an observing adult in a stable and relaxed setting" (Bruner, 1977, p. 43).

The consistent mother, who provides a pole of reality while simultaneously sanctioning and allowing the child's initiative, is the advocate of growth-facilitating play. Where the mother is able to set limits but deprives the child of the freedom of initiative, play ends. This is illustrated very clearly in the findings of Bruner and Sherwood (in Bruner et al., 1976), who observed the game of peek-a-boo in mother-infant dyads. In a dyad where the mother repeatedly took the initiative from the infant, the game disappeared. The infant subsequently originated another type of game in which it was impossible for the mother to usurp initiative. A longitudinal result of the usurping mother is a child who is timid and limited in his playfulness, refusing to move out into the world (Stern, 1974). Another case in point is the oft-cited schizophrenogenic mother, whose inconsistency limits both the child's capacity for movement and reality testing. Play in such children is also markedly deficient, consisting primarily of self-stimulatory behaviors. Where too much anxiety exists, play ends.

Where the mother is able to allow the child initiative while keeping anxiety within limits which are manageable for him, a sense of existence as an autonomous unit, or a sense of self, can develop in creative play, leading to an identity which is more than merely "a neurotic defense against anxiety" (Erikson, 1962). Initiative in play, backed by the achievement of cognitive, intellectual, and interpersonal

mastery, is thus the basis of genuine autonomy. Deprivation of play therefore stifles autonomy. Erikson sees disruption of play as having results similar to the anxiety dream: Just as the anxiety dream prevents the child from sleeping, disrupted play may keep him from playing and from attaining that degree of social and emotional mastery which it offers. Regression to self-stimulatory behavior such as daydreaming, thumbsucking, and masturbation may take place in lieu of genuine play. Interruption of play threatens the child's sense of his existence as an autonomous unit; this in turn makes further play impossible, since some sense of autonomy is necessary for action.

Play and Psychotherapy

The effects of the incapacity to play seem to be the basis of a recent interest, primarily in ego-analytic circles, of the role of play in psychotherapy. Winnicott, who stresses the importance of the growth-facilitating aspects of play, sees play as a form of communication in psychotherapy. Psychoanalysis itself, he states, "has been developed as a highly specialized form of playing in the service of communication with oneself and others" (Winnicott, 1971, p. 41). Play is seen here as a capacity necessary for growth even in the adult:

When a patient cannot play, the therapist must attend to this major symptom before interpreting fragments of behavior Resistance arises out of interpretation given outside of the area of the overlap of the patient's and the analyst's playing together. Interpretation where the patient has no capacity to play is simply not useful, or causes confusion. (Winnicott, 1971, p. 51)

For Winnicott there can be no therapeutic relationship without play, as play is the ground for trust, intimacy, and the creative assimilation

of information and experience. This view originates in Winnicott's conception of analysis as involving the recapitulation of the early mother-infant relationship. The therapist thus provides the patient with a "specialized setting" for the nonpurposive, formless, play activity which comprises a benign regression. The therapist provides a stable, relaxed, "holding" environment, giving the patient the opportunity to play in the presence of another, much as the infant plays in the benign presence of the mother. The therapist, in his interpretations, reflects back the patient's own creativity, helping the patient to organize and integrate the material. From this the patient achieves the feeling of existence as a "self," or an autonomous being that would originally have arisen in the healthy play activity of the child had an adequate holding environment been present.

Harold Searles presents a similar conceptualization of the role of play in the healing process of psychotherapy:

It has been my recurrent experience that one of the necessary developments in a long-delusional patient's eventual relinquishment of his delusions is for these to become productions which the therapist sees no longer as essentially ominous and the subject for either serious therapeutic investigation or argumentation, or any other form of opposition; rather, the therapist comes to react to these as being essentially playful, unmalignant, creatively imaginative, and he comes to respond to them with playfully imaginative comments of his own. Nothing helps more finally to detoxicate a patient's previously self-isolating delusional state than to find in his therapist a capacity to engage with him in a delightfully crazy playfulness--a kind of relatedness which the schizophrenic patient never had a chance to have during his childhood. Typically, such early-childhood playfulness was subjected to massive repression due to familial circumstances. (1963, p. 275)

Both Winnicott and Searles emphasize the healing power of the creative aspects of play. Play is seen both as a mode of relatedness

drawing the patient out of his self-isolation and as a creative, synthetic process or a means for regeneration. Play is viewed as an arena in which both child and adult can experience more freely those aspects of themselves that have been cut off and isolated and are inaccessible to words (Dorn, 1974). For the patient in psychotherapy, there is a regression and reliving of earlier experiences in play, a flexible realm which enables him to integrate them into his current experience in a healthier way. Dorn sees the analyst as thus allowed to be present as a healthy force in a very real way in the patient's early experience. Analysis itself is regarded as a game with rules which permits the analyst to step outside of the ongoing processes and make interpretations. These interpretations are acceptable because of the common ground established between patient and therapist with the help of the playful interaction.

CHAPTER II

CHARACTER-STYLE

The following section presents a consideration of those aspects of character-style whose impact will be explored in the current study.

Character is an abstract, organizing concept which has served in attempts to discern some coherence in individual functioning. It is described in the literature as a structure (Reich, 1972; Abraham, 1966; Kernberg, 1969), reflecting the organizing function of the psychological processes represented by the term. The functions referred to are those of perception, cognition, intellect, and affect. Their integration shows itself in both internal experience and external behavior, the covert and overt manifestations of "character" (Reich, 1972; Abraham, 1966).

Modern considerations of character-style have inevitably been based on the formulations of Freud, who saw character as the result of the elaboration of defense mechanisms. The character "trait" was thus closely linked to the symptom: Both served impulse control, although the trait was not viewed as pathological. Such traits were conceived of by Freud as channeling instinctual energy via regression to pregenital phases of development.

The trend has been toward broadened considerations of character, with emphasis on its functional aspects in the patterning of perception and behavior. This is a trend originating with those psychoanalysts who, with Wilhelm Reich (1972), believed that the presence of typical

individual modes of defensive functioning, or "character armor," necessitated the practice of character analysis focusing on the form rather than the content of the therapy communication. Fenichel further broadened the concept of character-style by pointing to its operation in realms beyond defensive functioning, albeit still in instinctual terms. Fenichel's structural definition is a good example of the psychoanalytic conception of character, which he viewed as "the ego's habitual modes of adjustment to the external world, the id, and the super-ego, and the characteristic types of combining these modes with one another" (Fenichel, in Kernberg, 1969).

The revised conception of character as a style of functioning rather than as a libido-binding structure is well articulated by David Shapiro (1965). He described character-style as being composed of "formal consistencies" across broad areas of human functioning. Shapiro states that "such stable and general forms of functioning are responsible for the individual's personal transformation of instinctual impulse or external stimulus into conscious subjective experience, manifest behavior, or overt symptom" (1965, p. 17). In sum, character-style has come to connote those patterns of functioning--of thinking, perceiving, experiencing, feeling, and behaving--that are characteristic of an individual across a range of experiences.

Two character-styles have been found to be prevalent in descriptions of white, middle-class individuals in our society as well as in individuals of other demographic groups. These are the obsessional and the hysteroid character-styles.

I. THE OBSESSIONAL STYLE

The obsessional has been characterized as an individual who is formal, distant, and reserved. He is objective, emotionally controlled, rational, and, above all, precise (Shapiro, 1965; Angyal, 1965; Salzman, 1968). These characteristics are felt to stem from the desire of the obsessional to achieve a type of omniscient, omnipotent perfection. Complete control, with the elimination of uncertainty and risk, is felt to be the goal of the obsessional individual (Angyal, 1965). Attempts to achieve control are seen in both the obsessional and the compulsive poles of this character-style. The obsessional individual attempts to achieve control primarily through rumination, and the compulsive individual through perfectionistic productivity.

Because the obsessional feels a need to be constantly in control of his situation, he is seen to be rather rigid. This rigidity is evidenced both in a rather dogmatic, pedantic attitude and a restricted, sharply focal attention. The obsessional emphasizes details and the accumulation of facts (Shapiro, 1965). This narrowed focus and restricted range leaves the obsessional individual untouched by the impressionistic, the tangential, or the transitory. There is in such people a rigidity of cognition which is part of a general constriction in all spheres. This rigidity is seen as an attempt to limit risk and maintain control (Shapiro, 1965; Angyal, 1965; Salzman, 1968).

The desire of the obsessional to maintain control over his situation leads to a difficulty in the initiation of activity. This leads to a passivity labeled by Angyal (1965) as the "pattern of non-commitment." Fearing the surrender to uncertainty, the obsessional is

unable to take action and attempts to ensure a "correct" decision through his dogmatism.

A last important characteristic of the obsessional is his relatively free expression of hostility and his difficulty in expressing positive or affectionate feelings (Angyal, 1965). His interactions are characterized by a contentiousness, a joy in covert insubordination, and oppositionalism. It seems that the obsessional acts on the assumption that where there is risk involved, as there is in emotional expression which entails the risk of rejection and humiliation, the attack is the best defense.

II. THE HYSTEROID STYLE

Hysteroid cognition can be characterized by three adjectives: impressionistic, global, and diffuse. Such cognition has been described by Shapiro as reflecting a "relative absence of active concentration, a susceptibility to transient, impressive influences, and a relatively non-factual subjective world" (1969, p. 116). Cognition and intellect are thus barren, devoid of sharp discrimination, focal attention, intense concentration, or concrete fact. Functioning is passive, receptive, and uncritical. It is a style which fosters the classic defense mechanism of hysteria, repression, in a peculiar way: Content is lost, or suppressed, through sheer oblivion (Farber, 1976). The hysteric fails to notice.

As framed by Farber (1976), the hysteric willfully constructs a world of his liking by focusing only on subjective impressions. This subjectivity is also characteristic of the affective component of

hysteria. The hysteric sees the world in shades of black and white with affect heavily skewed toward the positive, in a manner which is exaggerated, theatrical, and flamboyant. Lability is the hallmark of the hysteric.

These dramatics and bids for attention described above convey an egocentricity in the hysteric, as does his insistence upon living in a world of his own creation. It is felt, however, that this behavior is the product of an intense orientation toward the other person (Angyal, 1965; Farber, 1976) which is based upon a feeling of emptiness. The hysteric is seen as feeling that his real attitudes and emotions are worthless, depending on the other person to fill the resulting void (Angyal, 1965). He has, therefore, developed what Angyal (1965) has termed the "pattern of vicarious living." Continuous contact with the other person becomes necessary for the hysteric to have a feeling of existence, and continuous agreement with the other person is necessary for his reassurance. This is seen to be the basis for the accommodating behavior observed in the hysteric. He feels that he must comply uncritically or he will risk the loss of the other person.

III. IMPLICATIONS FOR PLAY

In the light of the characteristics of the hysteric and the obsessional described above, some hypotheses can be drawn about the implications of character-style for the play of mother and child. The obsessional individual has been seen to be constricted in a number of areas of functioning, and the obsessional mother may therefore be expected to be constricted in her experience of play. The free mobility

and responsivity of childhood, characteristic of play, may be lost to the obsessional individual (Shapiro, 1965). With her highly focalized attention, the obsessional mother may therefore be likely to lose the elements of playfulness and spontaneity which breed delight and joy. Wholehearted abandonment to activity and to fantasy, and engagement and commitment to the moment are lost (Angyal, 1965), and the fluidity of play may therefore become impossible. The theme of control in the life of the obsessional, with the emphasis on effort, deliberateness, and work might also cause a discomfort with play as "purposeless" activity. These are people who "work at play" because recreation is considered to be beneficial (Shapiro, 1965).

The rigid, obsessional mother may be unresponsive to activity initiated by her child, expecting her own, locked-in patterns to set the pace. She may be highly directive with her child, telling him what to do and how to do it, in an effort to have him conform to her rigid standards (Angyal, 1965). Limit-setting may therefore be relatively easy for the obsessional mother, as she can be expected to have many standards and rules she expects her child to follow. This picture of directiveness, however, may be tempered by the obsessional individual's ambivalence (Shapiro, 1965), which may also make it possible that initiation of activity and giving of directions would be difficult for the obsessional mother.

When she does initiate activity, the obsessional mother may be likely to engage in very little fantasy or pretend play and to choose activities of a more structured or academic nature. She may be more comfortable in the role of teacher than that of playmate. She may also

find the expression of affection toward her child to be difficult (Angyal, 1965).

The hysteroid mother, on the other hand, in her capacity for spontaneity, expressiveness, and responsivity to the nuances and impressions of the environment, is likely to take great delight in play. Discharge of emotion is appropriate and the positive affect is abundant in play. It is therefore congruent with the style of the hysteric: vivid, immediate, and dramatic (Shapiro, 1965). However, while she is likely to have little difficulty in the fluid, spontaneous expression in play, the hysteric may have difficulty in regulating and modulating such expressiveness and in defining appropriate limits (Shapiro, 1965). The engagement of the hysteric in play may be likely therefore to take the form of an immediate, wholehearted discharge. Play may thus have an explosive, transient character. Because of her transient attention and distractibility (Shapiro, 1965), the hysteroid individual is likely to have difficulty becoming involved in activities which do not capture her attention and interest or which she finds boring.

The hysteric, in her need for continual contact with the other person (Angyal, 1965), may be likely to continue the play interaction after her child has lost interest or wishes to terminate the activity. Her dramatics and constant activity may overstimulate the child. In addition, with her need for "togetherness" and her subjective, ego-centric style (Shapiro, 1965), the hysteroid mother is also likely to project her own interpretation of "fun" on her child, expecting him to enjoy what she herself enjoys. The activities she is likely to enjoy are probably fantasy play, dramatic play, and pretend games. An

additional characteristic of the hysteroid mother, caused by her need for acceptance (Angyal, 1965), may be a difficulty in setting limits and disciplining her child; the hysteric may have trouble making rules stick. Paired with this behavior may be a free, and perhaps even at times smothering, expression of affection on the part of the hysteroid mother.

IV. THE ASSESSMENT OF CHARACTER-STYLE

The subjects for this study were chosen from among mothers assessed as representing two different character-styles, the obsessional and the hysteroid, because these two patterns are readily measurable and felt to be highly represented in the group of people under consideration.

A number of personality measures purport to tap hysterical and obsessional symptoms. The Hs and Pt scales of the Minnesota Multiphasic Personality Inventory are perhaps the best known and most widely used such measures. However, this instrument is based upon symptoms of pathology, and the present study was conducted to examine differences in normal individuals who differ in terms of style rather than in terms of symptomatology. There is only one instrument reported in the literature which is directly based on the traits comprising obsessional and hysteroid character-styles rather than on symptoms of pathology and which is validated against external criteria. This is the Hysteroid-Obsessoid Questionnaire (HOQ) published by Hope and Caine (University of London Press, 1965). The HOQ is a questionnaire composed of 48 forced-choice items tapping 11 subscales which represent hysteroid and obsessoid personality traits. Subscales are composed of such items as

"vivid day-dreams vs. inability to indulge in fanciful thinking" and "makes superficial friendships vs. makes deep lasting friendships." Examples of questionnaire items are "I like to wear eye-catching clothes" and "It pleases me to be the center of a lively group" (see Appendix 8 for questionnaire items). Each item is represented by one subscale with no overlap. The scale is scored in the hysteroid direction with items endorsed in the hysteroid direction scored as "one" and items endorsed in the obsessoid direction scored as "zero." The total score thus reflects the number of hysteroid personality traits endorsed by the individual as being typical of his or her style of interaction.

The authors cite clinical utility as the primary reason for the use of their questionnaire. They state that the distinction between pathological symptom and underlying character-style

is of relevance to the therapist, since there is evidence to suggest that psychological tests related to symptomatology change more readily with treatment than do tests related to personality trait constellations, with the personality trait measure here to be described more stable than symptom and attitude tests. (Caine and Hawkins, 1962)

For the purpose of the present study, the distinction between character-style and symptomatology is of importance, as the impact of the mother's character-style upon the child is being assessed rather than the impact of her pathology. Validity for the claim of the questionnaire to distinguish between trait and symptom is indicated by its lack of significant correlation with MMPI subscales, which are largely composed of items based on pathological symptomatology.

Reliability of the HOQ reported in terms of test-retest coefficients appears to be adequate, reported as ranging from .74 to .93. A

sample of 48 neurotic psychiatric hospital inpatients retested 1 year after discharge gave a coefficient of .74; 30 normal subjects also retested at a 1-year interval gave a coefficient of .85; and a coefficient of .75 was found in a sample of 24 psychotic and neurotic depressives retested at a 6-week interval (Caine & Hope, 1965). In addition, a sample of 22 normal volunteers drawn from the psychiatric and administrative branches of a psychiatric hospital gave a test-retest coefficient of .93 after a 3-month interval (Caine & Smail, 1969), and a sample of 62 individuals on a community ward for neurotic patients in a psychiatric hospital is reported as yielding a coefficient of .77 after an interval of 6 weeks of treatment (Caine & Hawkins, 1962).

Two validity studies for the HOQ are reported, correlating questionnaire scores with independent ratings of patients made by hospital staff members. In the first study, the HOQ was administered to 93 patients on a community hospital ward for neurotics, with independent ratings of these patients made by members of the medical, nursing, and occupational therapy staff. Each patient received from 3 to 11 ratings, with a mean of 7.5 ratings. A correlation coefficient of .68, significant at the .001 level, was derived (Hope & Caine, 1968). In a second study, 20 patients on a similar community hospital ward for neurotics were surveyed via independent ratings made by three members of the ward nursing staff who had observed the patients for at least 2 weeks. The correlation coefficient between the two measures was .78, significant at the .001 level. In a third, unpublished study (Berez, unpublished doctoral dissertation, The University of Tennessee, Knoxville, 1976), an attempt was made to assess the validity of the HOQ

for a nonhospitalized population. Clinical ratings of 10 subjects were made on the basis of Rorschach Inkblot tests individually administered by two Ph.D. clinical psychologists. These 10 subjects were drawn randomly from a sample of 80 male and female undergraduate students obtained from introductory psychology classes at The University of Tennessee, Knoxville, chosen to participate in research on the basis of their extreme scores at either pole of the HOQ questionnaire. A 78 percent agreement with the HOQ was reported for each rater, significant at the .05 level. In addition, this study found that significantly more students with academic majors in engineering, a field noted for an emphasis on precision which is considered to be an obsessoid trait, fell into the obsessoid group compared with the hysteroid group, as rated by the questionnaire. By contrast, significantly more students with majors in broadcasting, a field which emphasizes the flamboyant and dramatic traits associated with the hysteroid style, fell in the hysteroid group than in the obsessoid group. A further validation for the use of the HOQ with a normal population was cited as the significant correlation of character-style with the Hanley Defensiveness Scale, which was developed to differentiate those individuals able to represent themselves accurately from those who exaggerate desirable or undesirable traits. Those subjects in the hysteroid group were rated by this measure as significantly more defensive, or less capable of accurate critical introspection, which is consistent with descriptions of the global, impressionistic character-style.

Interitem correlations on the HOQ are as yet unreported, although high test-retest reliability of the test probably indicates good internal

consistency (Lorr, in Buros, Oscar (Ed.), Mental Measurements Yearbook, 6, 1968).

CHAPTER III

THE PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

I. SUMMARY OF PURPOSE

As indicated in the previous section, the playful interaction between mother and child is stressed in the literature as being highly significant for both the child's development and the overall relationship of the mother and child. This raises the question of the nature of the mother's influence on such interactions. Previous research on free-play in pairs of mothers and children has indicated that one way the mother influences these interactions is through her directiveness (Baldwin & Baldwin, 1973). As differences in the amount and type of control preferred by an individual have been associated in the literature with character-style (Angyal, 1965; Shapiro, 1965; Farber, 1976), the differences in directiveness which have been observed between mothers could be linked to their character-styles. In the light of the above findings, the current study attempts to evaluate whether the character-style of the mother does in fact influence the way in which mothers play with their children, with particular attention to directiveness and mode of play.

II. PERTINENT RESEARCH

Some of the most extensive research on mother-child play has been done by Alfred and Clara Baldwin (Baldwin & Baldwin, 1973; Baldwin, Baldwin, & Cole, 1976; Baldwin & Baldwin, unpublished report provided

by Clara Baldwin). In these studies, play interactions between mothers and children were assessed in both normal and pathological samples. A complex, computerized system was developed to analyze the audio-taped verbal interactions, and a running narrative was provided by an observer, both of which were transcribed from tape and coded. The authors' objective in the development of this technique was to provide a method precise enough to allow the detection, through quantitative analysis, of patterns of verbal behavior and of sequences of action. They also wished to utilize a technique which would be efficient for the analysis of large numbers of interactions. A further basis for the development of the technique described was the initial unavailability of videotape (Baldwin & Baldwin, 1973).

In the first study cited (Baldwin & Baldwin, 1975), several hundred pairs of mothers and 2-1/2- to 5-year-old children were drawn from normal populations differing in racial, socioeconomic, and educational composition. Free-play sessions lasting 30 minutes were videotaped through a one-way mirror with the observer simultaneously recording a narrative description on a dictating machine. Toys were provided which were chosen to maximize mother-child interaction. Items were provided such as magnetized letters and numbers, jigsaw puzzles, a train with tracks which required assembling, a dollhouse with a doll family, and a miniature farm.

Data analysis was focused on the distribution of verbalizations in the pairs. Analysis was made of the total number of utterances of both mothers and children, of the number of questions asked by each, and of the number of times each one requested a behavior on the part

of the other. Attentiveness was measured in terms of the general number of utterances to which each partner responded, and a measure of syntactic complexity was utilized.

Results showed much similarity between mothers across all groups. The mothers generally let the children choose activities, shifting with the children when they changed toys. Once the child was engaged in playing with a toy, the mothers participated actively in the play, while maintaining a markedly permissive role. Exceptions to this permissiveness occurred in limit-setting situations or when the child appeared to be unhappy and frustrated.

In addition to the behaviors described above, the authors report that many mothers took the opportunity to teach their children at some point in the sessions. Some were observed to enforce clean-up rules, requiring the child to put away one toy before playing with another. Most mothers were found to adjust the syntactic complexity of their speech to the level of their children.

The Baldwins feel these results indicate a responsive, attentive, "child-centered" attitude on the part of mothers in normal samples. Mothers were felt to be quite similar across racial, socioeconomic, and educational groups. While some age differences were seen and some differences were noted between normal and pathological samples, the authors felt these to be "variations on a theme rather than a different tune" (1973, p. 720).

Some variations were noted by the authors, however. These appeared primarily to lie in the degree of directiveness of the mother and in the degree to which she assumed a teaching role. They state that

mothers differed markedly in how much they took the lead and made suggestions; some played the role of an assistant, trying to help the child do what he wanted to; others took more of a lead, suggesting what to do, asking leading questions, and perhaps instructing. (1972, p. 717)

While these differences appeared dramatically in between-groups comparisons, they appeared within groups as well. In subsequent research, however, the Baldwins chose to pursue various intergroup trends rather than the intragroup differences which suggested themselves.

A subsequent study (reported in an unpublished paper provided by Clara Baldwin) revealed differences in directiveness similar to those described above in play interactions between mothers of normal and of disturbed children. The coding technique developed in the previously mentioned study (Baldwin & Baldwin, 1973) was utilized with 24 categories of behavior chosen for analysis. Such items as reciprocal acts, seeking proximity to the other person, and initiating contact with the other person were scored. The amount of support (attentiveness, help, love, praise) and coerciveness on the part of the mother was also examined, as well as the amount of gross motor activity, competence, and compliance of the child. These behaviors were chosen because they were felt to differentiate normal from pathological samples.

Factor analysis showed normal and pathological pairs to be differentiated by two independent dimensions. Mutual verbal and social interaction were found to be greater for the normal pairs than for the pathological pairs. For the pathological pairs, however, a greater amount of nonsocial, gross motor activity was observed on the part of the child, accompanied by high coerciveness in the mother and low

compliance in the child. The authors feel that these findings point to dimensions through which change via therapeutic intervention can be assessed.

In a third study (Baldwin, Baldwin, & Cole, 1976), the coding system described was used to assess the degree of social interaction in normal families and families in which one spouse was a psychiatric patient. The number of contacts initiated by each family member was scored, as well as the amount of positive affect expressed. Both behaviors were found to be significantly related to the social competence of the child (defined as the ability to make friends at school and assessed via a structured interview). Children with a parent who initiated significantly greater or significantly fewer contacts within the family relative to the total sample were rated as significantly less socially competent. Children whose parents expressed significantly less positive affect relative to the total sample were also rated as lower in social competence. The findings described above suggest two additional dimensions of variance in parent-child interaction: the amount of contact initiated and the amount of positive affect expressed. Although the latter two studies deal with pathological samples, they do indicate lines along which mother-child interactions may vary. They support the impression of the authors in their research with normal dyads (Baldwin & Baldwin, 1973) that mothers vary in the dimension of directiveness in their interactions with their children. These studies further suggest that the amount of interaction, activity level, and amount of positive affect expressed are also elements which differ with respect to the characteristics of the pairs being examined.

The existence of differences between mothers' play interactions which are related to directiveness has been corroborated by observers other than the Baldwins. For example, instances of variation in styles of playful interaction have been noted in clinical settings in both interview and treatment situations. In addition, indications of variations along the lines of maternal directiveness suggested by the Baldwins have been reported in observations of small groups homogeneous for race and socioeconomic class (Stern, 1971; Bruner, 1973). Stern (1971) and Bruner (1973) each report an instance of atypically directive play observed in a white, middle-class mother. In both instances, play between mother and child was disrupted. Stern further reports longitudinal observations revealing disturbances in autonomy in the child in question. These studies not only indicate that mothers vary in their directiveness when playing with their children but also that the degree of directiveness offered may have long-range effects on the development of the child.

The feasibility of the assessment of mother-child play interaction in terms of maternal directiveness has been indicated by a number of previous studies. These studies have utilized playroom settings and categories which rated the number of suggestions and directions delivered by the mother (Merrill-Bishop, 1946, 1951; Moustakas, Sigel, & Shalock, 1956; Bee, Van Egeren, Streissguth, Nyman, & Leckie, 1969; Baldwin & Baldwin, 1973; and Loeb, 1975). Considerable variability along the dimension of directiveness has been reported among individuals in these studies.

It seems, therefore, that further study of the play of mothers and children in normal, socioeconomically homogeneous samples, sharpening the focus on possible sources of variation, is indicated and that the approach of such an investigation in terms of maternal directiveness may be a fruitful one.

One possible way of highlighting differences in the play of such dyads would be to observe mothers known to differ in personality-style. Differences in individual interactions would be expected to show up clearly in such individuals. Personality-style is particularly pertinent here because differences in individual capacities for autonomous activity and need for intrapersonal and interpersonal control have been central in many considerations of this dimension of functioning (Angyal, 1965; Shapiro, 1965; Farber, 1976). Therefore, if variations in play are in fact reflected in differences in maternal directiveness or in differences in the degree of autonomy permitted the child, this approach would be relevant. An approach utilizing the hysteroid and obsessional character-styles, two patterns which are readily measurable and which are likely to be highly represented in a group of average, middle-class mothers, would be appropriate here.

III. HYPOTHESES

I. Obsessional and hysteroid mothers will differ in both their directiveness toward their children and the amount of initiative allowed the child. Differences will appear quantitatively in the amount of direction and qualitatively in the manner in which these directions are delivered. It is expected that the obsessionally oriented mothers will

show greater directiveness compared with the hysterically oriented mothers.

II. Hysteroid mothers will be more comfortable in fantasy and pretend play and will engage in more of this type of play with their children than obsessional mothers. Hysteroid mothers will be more adept at such play than will obsessional mothers.

III. Obsessional mothers will be more at home in a teaching role than in the role of playmate and will engage in more academic, instructing types of activities with their children than will hysteroid mothers.

IV. Hysteroid mothers will be freer and more open in their expression of affection toward their children than will obsessional mothers.

V. Obsessional mothers will be more effective limit setters than hysteroid mothers.

CHAPTER IV

METHOD

I. SUBJECTS

The subjects for this study consisted of 40 white, middle-class mothers and their 3- and 4-year-old children. Mothers were volunteers who were contacted in person by the experimenter at Sunday schools, nursery schools, day care centers, and "Mothers' Day Out" programs, or they were contacted by telephone through referrals originating from the above sources and from other participants. Of the mothers contacted, 101 mothers with first- or only-born 3- and 4-year-olds agreed to participate in the study. Mothers with first- or only-born children were selected here because it was felt that the experience of a mother with older children would influence her style in the play interactions to be observed.

The 40 final participants were selected from this population on the basis of their scores on the HOQ. As indicated previously, the HOQ is scored with one point assigned for each item endorsed in the "hysteroid" direction, with a possible total of 48 points. The population sampled in this study had a mean score of 26.48 (SD = 4.59; N = 101). The group selected consisted of 20 women whose scores fell one standard deviation above the population mean (the hysteroid, or HYS group) and 20 women whose HOQ scores fell one standard deviation below the population mean (the obsessional, or OBS group). Therefore, the HYS

group consisted of 20 individuals scoring 30 and above ($\bar{X} = 29.8$; $SD = 2.6$), and the OBS consisted of 20 individuals scoring 23 and below ($\bar{X} = 22.1$; $SD = 2.6$).¹

It should be noted that the mean scores for the two groups in the present study were somewhat less extreme than those of the individuals comprising the female OBS and HYS groups in the previously cited study by Berez (1976).² Because the participants in the present study were limited to mothers with children of a specific age and birth order, it was not possible to obtain sufficient numbers for more extreme groups. The means for the sample used by Berez (1976) and the current sample are similar, however, indicating that the samples were relatively close in composition.³

II. PROCEDURE

Mothers were contacted and requested to participate in a study of mother-child play which was to be the basis of the researcher's doctoral thesis in psychology. The explanation provided can be found in Appendix 1. Mothers who agreed to participate were asked to complete a release

¹For the present population, +1.00 and -1.00 standard deviations were marked by scores of 31.10 and 21.90, respectively. Since the questionnaire is scored in whole numbers, the rounded limits were 31 and 22. These limits were extended by one point in either direction to include the desired number of 40 subjects in the study.

²Berez was able to detect clear differences in body image between a group of OBS women with a mean score on the HOQ of 18.25 ($SD = 2.8$) and a group of HYS women with a mean HOQ score of 34.40 ($SD = 1.91$).

³The mean for the selected sample in the present study was 26.4 ($SD = 6.29$; $N = 40$). The mean for the sample selected by Berez (1976) was 26.27 ($SD = 8.45$; $N = 40$).

of information and the HOQ questionnaire (Appendix 8). Attempts were made to have the questionnaire completed on the spot if possible in order to ensure returns and to prevent consultation with spouses while responding. Those who could not complete the questionnaire immediately were specifically requested to answer the questions without consulting other people. Of the 40 individuals finally selected, 30 completed the HOQ on the spot, and 10 completed the questionnaire at home. A t -test comparing the scores of the latter 10 individuals and 10 individuals randomly selected from the group completing the HOQ immediately proved to be nonsignificant ($t = .06$, NS).

Mothers whose scores fell in the appropriate ranges on the HOQ were telephoned, and appointments for the playroom sessions were made. Of the 42 mothers contacted, 41 agreed to schedule sessions. One mother declined due to serious illness in the family. Forty mothers brought their child for the play session. One mother rescheduled several times and was finally dropped from the study. Six mothers scoring in the midranges of the HOQ were also contacted, and individual play sessions were recorded with these mothers and children for use as training tapes for observers.

Mothers were given no specific explanation of the session for the child; they were told to explain it in whatever way they felt the child would be most comfortable. Most mothers told the child that he or she and "mommy" were going to play in a "nice playroom." Some informed the child that the experimenter wanted to watch them play; only one or two placed an emphasis on this aspect. Differences here will be discussed later.

Mothers and children were met by the experimenter in the waiting room of The University of Tennessee Psychological Clinic. The experimenter greeted the pair and brought them to the playroom. Most of the children were anxious to see the playroom, greeting the prospect with excited anticipation.

The playroom was equipped with an observation booth containing a one-way mirror flanked by two screened openings. The screens permitted the sessions to be easily heard and recorded but were difficult for subjects to see through. The room contained three tables, chairs, and a small rug, all positioned so that activity would tend to center in the front third of the room to facilitate videotaping. Most pairs positioned themselves at the table or on the rug. However, a few did sit on the floor behind the table. It was noted that these seemed to be pairs who evidenced some discomfort about the taping.

Toys were provided and were arranged identically for each session. They were chosen with reference to a list of toys indicated by Baldwin and Baldwin (1973) to promote interaction between mothers and children of similar ages in play sessions. They were also chosen to provide a range of toys interesting to both sexes and the range of ages spanned by the participating children.⁴

⁴The playroom was equipped with the following toys: (1) a small plastic rocking-boat, large enough for a child to sit in. An inflatable clown with a squeaking nose was seated inside; (2) a small plastic "buggy" which most of the pairs identified as a shopping cart, with three baby dolls inside; (3) a family of flexible, miniature dolls; (4) a family of Childcraft rubber puppets; (5) a Milton Bradley Educational Toy Form-Fitter, consisting of geometric forms made to be inserted in appropriately shaped openings in a plastic cube; (6) a set of Playskool Animals and Letters, consisting of flat, plastic animal shapes, each

The table on the front wall of the playroom had several crumpled paper bags containing toys from an unrelated preschool project. These were left intact, and the mothers were instructed that the child could play with anything in the room except those toys. This was done in an effort to create a potential limit-setting situation for observation.

Most children began to play immediately upon entering the room. The mother was asked to sign a release consenting to the videotaping (Appendix 7) and was given the following instructions (Baldwin & Baldwin, 1973):

Please just play as if you had 30 minutes free at home without interruptions. (Name of child) can play with anything he (or she) wants to, except for the things on that table, because I don't know whose they are.

The experimenter then entered the observation booth. Many children asked their mother where the experimenter had gone and whether she would be back, indicating that they were not aware that they were being observed.

The sessions were timed to last 30 minutes, with the experimenter interrupting activity at the end of this time. Each mother was then interviewed. Interview questions appear in Appendix 2. Mothers' questions were answered, and they were told they would be given feedback on findings.

constructed to interlock with the first letter of its name; (7) a zoo set consisting of miniature, plastic animals and plastic grilles that could be connected to form fences and cages, contained in a box with pictures identifying each; (8) two containers of brightly colored Playskool wooden blocks; (9) a set of cars and trucks; (10) a set of four preschool puzzles; (11) a box of crayons and a stack of paper.

III. DATA ANALYSIS

All 40 videotapes were rated by three observers, the experimenter, and two undergraduate psychology majors (a sample rating sheet appears in Appendix 4). While the experimenter had access to the HOQ scores during subject selection, they were not reexamined before the ratings were made. The subjects' group was frequently not obvious from the tapes, and the experimenter was in most cases unaware of the group assignment during the rating process.

The initial 3 minutes of each tape were not rated to allow mother and child to become engaged in activity and to allow the observers a warm-up period. This was found to be necessary to enable them to discern what was happening on the tape. After this initial period, 25 minutes of each tape were rated. A continuous observation period was used, with observations recorded in the last 30 seconds of each minute. Observation for at least 30 seconds before recording was found to be a good interval for the rating of videotape for several reasons. As previously mentioned, it is difficult to immediately perceive what is happening on the tape. This difficulty occurs because action is at times unclear; the observer is limited by a two-dimensional medium and a single vantage point; conversation is at times unclear; and time is necessary to refocus attention after the recording periods. Since no period without observation was used, adjustment for resulting overlap or desynchronization between observers was made in the scoring process.

The two undergraduate raters were naive with respect to the hypothesis of the study. They were unaware that there were two groups

of individuals under observation, and they were unfamiliar with the HOQ. Tapes were observed in a random order. Categories were designed to assess directiveness and style of play. Categories appear in Table 1.

The raters were trained by the experimenter, using nine initial tapes, as follows: Tapes of four nonexperimental subjects were viewed, and an attempt was made to point out instances of each behavior category. Tapes of five experimental subjects were then rated independently by the three raters, with interrater agreement examined after each rating. Disagreements were discussed, and category definitions refined. A criterion of 100 percent agreement on all behavior occurrences in 80 percent (20 out of 25) of the observed intervals was met, with three tapes rerated independently one time to achieve criterion. These initial five experimental tapes were all rerated after a 4-week interval, to allow for the use of the refined category definitions in their rating.

Interrater reliability was computed between each pair of observers for each tape, using the percentage of intervals in which there was 100 percent agreement on all behavior occurrences. Due to the previously mentioned difficulties inherent in making observations from videotape, to the rather long time intervals necessary and the lack of a "no observe" period, some overlap and desynchronization was noted between the observers. However, the object of this study was an evaluation of the nature of the interactions under observation, rather than any modification of specific instances of a target behavior, as is often the case in instances in which the time sampling technique of behavior analysis is employed. In the light of these considerations, it was felt appropriate in computing interrater reliability to score the recording by two

Table 1. Categories Rated by Observers and Category Definitions

Variable	Category Definition
Non-Task-Oriented Categories	
Mother Initiates Activity (MINIT)	Mother suggests a toy or an activity to the child.
Child Plays Mother's Activity (CPLAM)	Child plays with a toy suggested by the mother.
Child Initiates Activity (CINIT)	Child starts an activity or plays with a toy on his own.
Mother Makes a Suggestion (SUG)	Mother makes a statement or asks a question in such a way that the child has the option not to comply. Compliance on the part of the child is not unequivocally expected.
Mother Gives a Direction (DIR)	Mother makes a statement in a manner indicating that compliance is definitely expected from the child.
Task-Oriented Categories	
Child Attempts a Task (CAT)	Scored when the child is clearly engaged in attempting to perform a task, defined as a goal-directed physical manipulation. Removing a toy from its box was not included.

Table 1, continued

Variable	Category Definition
Task-Oriented Categories	
Mother Coaches (COACH)	Mother helps child to perform task, giving direction but leaving some part of the task open-ended. She does not give the whole solution to the child, leaving something up to the child to solve. The child must think or explore. Cues are given, clues are given, strategies are suggested. Examples: "Why don't you try this side?"; "Find the one that looks like . . .", etc. The mother's intent seems to be to let the child learn to do something for himself.
Mother Tells (TELL)	The mother clearly indicates just what to do next, leaving nothing up to the child to solve. Examples: "Use this piece" or "Put it in that hole." The mother does the task without letting the child try it for himself. Her intent seems to be to get the task accomplished rather than for the child to learn to do something for himself.
Mother Teaches (TEACH)	The mother conveys an academic-type piece of information, or a piece of factual information she expects the child to retain, or she attempts to get the child to respond with this type of information. Examples: "What color is this?"; "What is that animal called?"; "Those are the kind of trailers you use to haul boats."
Mother Plays on Child's Level (MPLAY)	The mother plays on the child's level as if she were another child. Examples: fantasy play, role play, getting into the rocking-boat with the child.

raters of an identical behavior in different but adjacent intervals as an agreement. This was most often necessary in those intervals where the initiation or termination of an activity was being scored and less frequently elsewhere.

An additional measure of interrater reliability was computed for 10 randomly selected tapes, calculating the Pearson product moment correlation coefficient between behavior occurrences totaled across intervals for each pair of observers. Interrater reliability is reported in Appendix 3.

Directiveness was assessed using three independent measures:

- (1) The behaviors recorded by the three observers in rating the videotapes (Table 1). A behavior occurrence was defined as any instance of a behavior recorded by two observers in the same time interval. The correction used in the computation of interrater reliability was not found to be necessary here, as at least two individuals usually recorded a behavior simultaneously, even in instances when the third recorded it in an adjacent time interval.
- (2) A postobservation multiple choice questionnaire generated by the experimenter (Appendix 5) was completed by each rater, assessing both directiveness and quality of the interaction observed. This questionnaire was generated in an attempt to tap aspects of the interactions which might not be apparent from the ratings of the videotapes alone.
- (3) Scale number 3.21 of the Fels Parent Behavior Rating Scale (Baldwin, 1945) was completed by each rater as an additional, global postobservation measure of directiveness (Appendix 6). This is a scale designed to systematize judgments of parent behavior in unstructured settings, with a relatively extensive history of use in

research and interrater reliabilities which are generally felt to be adequate.

Variables Analyzed

Table 2 lists the variables statistically analyzed with their definitions and the acronyms which will be used in referring to them in the remainder of the text. Variables derived from the postobservation questionnaire are listed by number and will be referred to in this way in the following pages.

As seen in Table 2, ratios were used for the variables COACAT and TELCAT to adjust for those pairs in which the child spent much time in task related activity, providing more opportunity for coaching and telling on the part of the mother than was present in other pairs. A ratio was also used for the variable CPLAM to adjust for these pairs in which the mother seldom initiated an activity, giving the child little opportunity to play a mother-initiated game.

IV. THE VALIDITY OF THE PROCEDURE: NATURAL VS.

NATURALISTIC STUDY

Most of the mothers reported that their behavior in the playroom setting had been a relatively "natural" sample of their interactions with their children. Most reported some initial unease at being videotaped, but they indicated that they adapted quite quickly and readily. There seemed to be no difference between the two groups in terms of awareness of the taping. However, their reactions differed markedly. Where the taping was obviously unpleasant for several mothers

Table 2. Variables Used for Statistical Analysis

Variable	
Derived From Ratings of Videotapes	
MINIT	Number of intervals in which the mother initiates an activity.
CINIT	Number of intervals in which the child initiates an activity.
CPLAY	Amount of time spent by child in an activity initiated by the mother.
SUG	Number of suggestions made by mother.
DIR	Number of directions given by mother.
CPLAM	Ratio of number of time intervals child spent playing an activity initiated by mother to the number of time intervals in which mother initiated an activity.
COACAT	Ratio of the number of times mother coached to number of times child attempted a task.
TELCAT	Ratio of number of times the mother told child how to do a task to number of times child attempted a task.
TEACH	Number of time intervals in which mother taught the child something.
MPLAY	Number of time intervals in which mother played on child's level.
Derived From Postobservation Questionnaire	
V 1	Amount of overt affection shown by mother.
V 2	Level of animation of mother.
V 3	Level of animation of child.
V 4	Level of encouragement offered by mother.
V 5	Approach of mother toward child (confining vs. expansive).
V 6	Activity level in session (general assessment of both partners).
V 7	Ability of mother to gear her conversation to child's level.
V 8	Presence of clean-up as you go rules.
V 9	Effectiveness of limit-setting.
V 10	Mother's level of participation in session.

in the OBS group, at least one HYS mother (a theater major) obviously enjoyed being videotaped, as did her child, who wanted to be certain she was being watched before beginning to play. Both of the latter pair watched themselves in the one-way mirror as they played. No other mothers were observed to do this, and most children gave the mirror only an amused, passing glance. In the OBS group, mothers handled their discomfort by hiding; at least three of those who were obviously ill at ease wore sunglasses, and two played on the floor behind the table, where the observer's view was obscured. No other mothers were observed to do this. The HYS mothers, by contrast, seemed to handle unease with an exaggeration of animation and "staginess." In at least two cases, obviously uncomfortable HYS mothers seemed to have an air of "performing" in their interactions.

When they were aware of being watched, children seemed to take their cues from the mother, reacting in much the same manner as she did. Three or four of the HYS children expressed some pleasure at being watched. One inquired whether the observer, who was nowhere to be seen, had "special eyes." One boy in the OBS group, after checking the room out very carefully, initially refused to play. It was clear that he did not like or understand the set-up and did not like being watched. After his mother succeeded in breaking the ice, this little boy came into the observation booth (as did several children in both groups) to fill the observer in on what was going on outside--in this case, the proud completion of a puzzle he had shown his mother how to work. One OBS mother who seemed somewhat uncomfortable spent an atypical amount of time explaining the taping to her daughter, an antianxiety tactic which

seemed to increase the child's discomfort. The child then positioned herself behind two canisters of blocks where she could not be seen. Most of the children, however, seemed not to understand that they could be seen, and when the observer reentered the room, would typically greet her with "Hi, we're playing!" and tell her what they were doing.

While most mothers felt the interaction had been representative, they remarked that it was a narrow sample of their activities. They also almost uniformly stated that they do not sit down and play with the child but that the interactions take place in the context of other activities. When specific time is set aside, it seems to be occupied with structured activities; reading was mentioned most frequently by both groups, with games seeming to be next in popularity. Children most frequently "play" with other children. However, while this study was not "naturalistic" in an ecological sense, it was not intended as such. Its object was to sample the style of the interactions, and as style is conceptualized as generalized across situations, it was necessary only for the interactions to be representative and relatively natural.

V. THE VALIDITY OF THE HOQ

It should be noted that a wide variety of styles and behavior were encompassed by the mothers observed, and there were exceptions in each group to every generalization. However, when the tapes were divided according to group and viewed together in this manner, a coherence and a pattern could be discerned. This pattern was so marked that in viewing one tape grouped with the OBS interactions, the subdued but distinctly HYS pattern of the mother-child relationship was quite

puzzling. A rechecking of its classification proved the tape to belong in the HYS group.

This observable division of style attests to the validity of the HOQ as an instrument for detecting character-style and the adequacy of the criterion scores chosen. Further substantiation was found in the observation of several instances of behaviors typically identified with the hysteroid and obsessional character-styles. One hysteroid mother, in a fantasy game with the doll family, had the husband say to his wife, "Now Jennifer, father knows best!" This mother made much of this statement, laughing in a somewhat embarrassed manner and drawing her son's attention to it. The hysterics, characteristically thought of as less rigid about matters of authority, were also more relaxed than the obsessional about the university parking regulations; one put an old parking ticket on her windshield to forestall any zealous university police; another said she had "made a deal with the cop" before coming in. Where one obsessional mother helped her son for a good 5 to 6 minutes in his efforts to rebox the cars and trucks in their proper niches, a HYS mother told her son, "Just put them anywhere they'll go, J.B.!" And one obsessional mother, lacking a waste basket, found it impossible to empty several grains of sand from her son's shoe onto the floor even after she was assured that the janitor would be in to sweep very shortly.

VI. PRELIMINARY ANALYSIS OF NONCONTROLLED SUBJECT VARIABLES

Because of the many qualifications necessary in the selection of the participating mothers, it was not possible to control for all potentially significant variables related to the mothers and the children and still obtain adequate numbers of participants. It was therefore decided not to control for the age of the mother nor to control for their educational level beyond the minimum requirement of high school graduation. With respect to the children, birth-order was controlled only insofar as requiring that the child be a first-born or an only child; number of younger siblings was not controlled. Because it was therefore necessary to determine that the variables of primary interest in the study (character-style of mother and sex of child) were responsible for the results observed rather than the three noncontrolled variables described above, a preliminary statistical analysis was performed with respect to the noncontrolled variables.

The ages of the mothers range from 22 to 39 years, with a mean age of 29.4 years ($SD = 3.4$). For the HYS group, the mean age was 31.0 ($SD = 2.9$); for the OBS group the mean age was 27.85 ($SD = 3.2$). A t -test between the groups showed the HYS mothers to be significantly older than the OBS mothers ($t = 3.24$; $p < .01$). The mothers' educational background ranged from 4 years of high school to the Ph.D. level, with a mean of 15.78 ($SD = 2.23$) years. The mean number of years of school was 16.5 ($SD = 1.96$) for the OBS group. A t -test showed the HYS group to have completed significantly more years of school ($t = 2.48$; $p < .01$). Nineteen mothers reported holding jobs outside of the home (including

students). Fourteen of these were in the HYS group; five were in the OBS group.

The children observed consisted of 18 boys (10 in the OBS group and 8 in the HYS group) and 22 girls (10 in the OBS group and 12 in the HYS group). The ages of the children ranged from 33 to 60 months. The mean age of the children was 47.79 months ($SD = 7.19$). The mean age of the HYS children was 49.0 ($SD = 8.3$) months; female HYS = 47.6 ($SD = 8.9$); male HYS = 51.0 ($SD = 7.4$). The mean age of the OBS children was 48.8 ($SD = 6.5$); female OBS = 49.4 ($SD = 7.1$); male OBS = 48.2 ($SD = 6.4$). Demographic data for the mothers and children is summarized in Tables 3 and 4.

All children were first-borns. However, some of them had siblings and some of them were only children. There were a total of 21 children with sibs and 19 only children. Fifteen of the males were only-borns; only four had sibs. Of those with sibs, three were in the OBS group, and one was in the HYS group. Only-born males were divided evenly between the two groups. Of the females, 12 had sibs and 10 were only-borns, with 5 only-borns and 5 girls with sibs in the OBS group and 7 only-borns and 5 girls with sibs in the HYS group. The distribution of the children by group, sex, and number of sibs is summarized in Table 5.

Table 3. Distribution of Children by Group and Sex, With Mean Ages of Children

Group	Children			SD
	Sex	No. Ss	$\bar{X}$ Age ^a	
HYS	Female	12	47.6	8.9
	Male	8	51.0	7.4
	Total	20	49.0	8.3
OBS	Female	10	49.4	7.1
	Male	10	48.2	6.4
	Total	20	48.8	6.5

^aAge in monthsTable 4. Mean Ages and Educational Levels of Mothers and t -Tests Between Groups for These Variables

Group	Mothers		t
	HYS	OBS	
$\bar{X}$ Age (SD)	31.0 (2.9)	27.85 (3.2)	3.24*
$\bar{X}$ Education (SD)	16.5 (1.96)	14.85 (2.3)	2.48*

* $p < .01$

Table 5. Distribution of Children by Group, Sex, and Number of Siblings

Group	Sib Status	Female	Male	Total
HYS	Sibs	7	1	8
	No sibs	5	7	12
OBS	Sibs	5	3	8
	No sibs	5	7	12

CHAPTER V

RESULTS

I. VARIABLES RELATED TO DIRECTIVENESS

Means for variables related to directiveness (five observed variables and one global postobservation measure) are shown in Table 6. The significance of the means was assessed through two-way (Group X Sex) analyses of variance (ANOVA), which appear in Appendix 3. In addition, Pearson product moment correlations were performed for all variables (Appendix 3). Where a Pearson correlation showed the child's age in months (CA) to be correlated with a specific variable, an additional ANOVA was performed with CA as a covariate (Appendix 3). Direction of main effects and interactions for these measures were determined by examination of group means and Pearson correlations.

In addition, due to the unequal distribution of mothers' ages between the two groups, a partial correlation was performed for those variables which showed both a significant main effect for group and a significant Pearson r with mother's age. The partial correlation showed the correlation between the specified variable and the HOQ score of the mother, adjusted for the linear regression of each on mother's age (Appendix 3).

Two variables related to directiveness, mother initiates task (MINIT) and mother gives direction (DIR), showed significant main effects for group. For MINIT, the main effect for group ($F = 4.79$; $p < .03$) showed mothers in the HYS group to have initiated a greater

Table 6. Means and Standard Deviations for Observed Variables for Each Group Divided by Sex and for Sexes Combined

Variable	Sex	HYS		OBS	
		$\bar{X}$	SD	$\bar{X}$	SD
Mother Initiates Activity (MINIT)	M	1.0	1.1	2.4	1.3
	F	.7	.82	.92	.99
	(Total)	(1.3)	(1.3)	(.85)	(.93)
Child Initiates Activity (CINIT)	M	3.6	1.2	4.0	2.7
	F	3.4	1.3	4.5	2.5
	(Total)	(4.3)	(2.5)	(3.5)	(1.2)
Mother Makes Suggestion (SUG)	M	3.0	2.0	6.6	2.9
	F	4.1	4.4	4.2	4.0
	(Total)	(5.2)	(3.8)	(3.6)	(2.9)
Mother Gives Direction (DIR)	M	4.1	4.4	3.1	3.6
	F	1.3	1.5	2.3	1.9
	(Total)	(2.6)	(2.6)	(1.35)	(1.6)
Child Attempts Task (CAT)	M	8.0	5.4	5.0	4.1
	F	6.9	5.3	7.8	6.4
	(Total)	(6.6)	(5.7)	(7.5)	(5.3)
Mother Coaches/Child Attempts Task (COACAT)	M	.54	.50	.15	.22
	F	.27	.33	.33	.30
	(Total)	(.29)	(.29)	(.47)	(.43)
Mother Tells/Child Attempts Task (TELCAT)	M	.16	.20	.13	.35
	F	.09	.57	.10	.12
	(Total)	(.13)	(.24)	(.15)	(.19)
Mother Teaches (TEACH)	M	3.8	2.9	6.2	5.7
	F	3.8	2.9	5.6	4.5
	(Total)	(3.4)	(4.5)	(2.1)	(3.1)
Mother Plays on Child's Level (MPLAY)	M	.52	.85	3.3	6.2
	F	2.1	2.9	3.3	4.5
	(Total)	(2.9)	(4.9)	(3.8)	(2.9)
Child Plays Mother's Activity/ Mother Initiates Activity (CPLAM)	M	1.5	2.3	5.3	6.5
	F	2.0	3.5	1.2	1.7
	(Total)	(5.8)	(4.4)	(1.3)	(2.3)

number of activities in the sessions. A main effect for sex of child ($F = 6.8$; $p < .013$) indicated that mothers initiated activities more frequently with male than with female children. Finally, a trend toward an interaction of group and sex was observed for MINIT ($F = 3.04$; $p < .09$). Examination of mean initiations for the sample divided by group and sex indicates a greater number of initiations by hysteroid mothers with their male children than with either hysteroid mothers and female children or obsessional mothers and children of either sex (Table 6).

A trend toward a correlation of MINIT and birth order (number of younger sibs) was seen ($r = -.20$; $p < .10$), suggesting an influence of birth-order on the effects observed for sex. Because of the unequal numbers of male first- and only-borns, an influence of birth order on the effects observed for sex could not be ruled out.

For DIR, a trend toward a main effect for group ($F = 3.38$; $p < .07$) reached significance when a covariance with child's age (CA) was performed ($F = 3.98$; $p < .05$). Results here indicate that more commands and directions are delivered by hysteroid mothers to their children regardless of the sex of the child. No significant correlation with either birth order or mother's age was found for this variable nor did the main effect for sex or the interaction reach significance.

While MINIT and DIR were the only variables related to directiveness in which main effects for group proved to be significant, marked trends were observed for both the number of suggestions made by the mother (SUG) and the amount of coaching done by the mother when the child attempted a task (COACAT). The results for SUG ($F = 2.61$; $p < .115$)

indicated that a greater number of suggestions was made by hysteroid mothers. Trends toward an interaction of group with sex were also observed for SUG, suggesting that hysteroid mothers made more suggestions to their male than to their female children ($F = 2.67$; $p < .11$; covaried with CA, $F = 3.51$, $p < .069$). The covariance indicates that younger children received more suggestions. Because of a significant Pearson r with mother's age ($r = .32$; $p < .02$), a partial correlation was performed. The initial correlation of SUG and HOQ score ($r = -.34$; $p < .01$) was reduced ($r = -.25$, NS), indicating that MAGE was a contributing factor in the number of suggestions made, with older mothers tending to make a greater number of suggestions. Again, a trend toward correlation with birth order ($r = .20$; $p < .10$) could not be assessed and cannot therefore be ruled out as a contributing factor. Analysis of covariance with CA showed no reduction in the main effects observed for MINIT or the trends observed for SUG, thus indicating that child's age was not a significant contributing factor in the effects observed for these variables.

Trends for COACAT, the ratio of mother's coaching to the number of intervals in which the child attempted a task ($F = 2.10$; $p < .16$) suggest that obsessional mothers did more coaching of their children in task situations than did hysteroid mothers, although the difference was not significant. However, an analysis of covariance with CA decreased the trend appreciably ($F = 1.52$; $p < .23$), with younger children apparently receiving more coaching from their mothers when they attempted a task. Trends in the interaction of group and sex ($F = 3.49$; $p < .07$; covaried with CA, $F = 3.86$; $p < .059$) point to more coaching in pairs

of OBS mothers and their male children than in any other type of dyad observed.

Finally, a trend toward an interaction of group and sex was observed for CPLAM, the amount of time spent by the child in activities initiated by its mother ($F = 1.89$; $p < .18$; covaried with CA, $F = 2.61$, $p < .119$). These results seem to point toward a tendency of younger children and of the male children of hysterics to have spent more of the session in activities initiated by their mothers. Most of the variance here, however, was contributed by five cases, and in particular by one male only-child of an HYS mother who continued an activity initiated by his mother for the entire session. The trend here, as well as the correlation with birth order ($r = -.33$; $p < .04$), must be raised as possibly contributing to the obtained findings, as they cannot be clarified or ruled out in the present study.

No significant main effects or interactions were observed for TELCAT, the more coercive measure of directiveness in task situations or for the global postobservation measure of directiveness.

II. VARIABLES RELATED TO STYLE OF PLAY

Two observed variables (TEACH and MPLAY) and 9 of the 10 variables covered by the postobservation questionnaire were related to the general style of the mother. The two observed variables both showed trends toward significant effects for group. The trend for TEACH ($F = 2.51$; $p < .12$; covaried with CA, $F = 2.71$, $p < .109$) suggested that hysteroid mothers engaged in more teaching with their children than did obsessional mothers regardless of age or sex of child. When covaried with CA, a

trend ($F = 2.24$; $p < .14$) was also observed toward a main effect for sex, suggesting that mothers may do more teaching with their boys and with younger children.

The trend for MPLAY, the amount of play on the child's level by the mother ($F = 2.59$; $p < .116$; covaried with CA, $F = 2.5$, $p < .123$) suggests that hysteroid mothers engaged in more play on the child's level than did obsessional mothers.

III. QUESTIONNAIRE VARIABLES

Five of the questionnaire variables showed significant main effects for group: V 1, expression of affection by mother; V 2, level of animation of mother; V 4, level of encouragement offered by mother; V 6, activity level in session; and V 10, level of mother's participation in the session. V 4 also showed a trend toward an effect for sex, and V 5, mother's approach toward the child (confining vs. expansive), showed a significant main effect for sex. No interactions reached significance. Means for questionnaire variables appear in Table 7.

The main effect for group for V 1, overt affection ($F = 5.23$; $p < .028$), showed hysteroid mothers to be more overtly affectionate with both male and female children. A correlation with mother's age was significant ($r = -.28$; $p < .04$), and a partial correlation of V 1, HOQ score, and MAGE was performed, proving to be slightly lower than the initial Pearson correlation for V 1 and HOQ score (Pearson $r = -.35$; $p < .01$; partial $r = -.27$, NS). Age of mother can therefore not be ruled out as a factor here, but its influence would appear to be small.

Table 7. Means and Standard Deviations for Questionnaire Variables for Each Group Divided by Sex of Child and for Sexes Combined

Variable	Sex	HYS		OBS	
		$\bar{X}$	SD	$\bar{X}$	SD
V 1	M	2.0	0.0	2.2	.42
Affection	F	1.9	.29	2.2	.42
	(Total)	(1.9)	(.23)	(2.2)	(.41)
V 2	M	2.0	.75	2.8	.63
Mother's	F	1.8	.83	2.4	.52
Animation	(Total)	(2.0)	(.77)	(2.6)	(.59)
V 3	M	1.8	.71	1.7	.48
Child's	F	1.4	.52	1.6	.70
Animation	(Total)	(1.6)	(.62)	(1.6)	(.59)
V 4	M	2.0	.53	2.2	.63
Encouragement	F	1.6	.52	2.1	.32
	(Total)	(1.8)	(.55)	(2.2)	(.48)
V 5	M	1.8	.71	1.7	.48
Mother's	F	2.3	.62	1.9	.32
Approach	(Total)	(2.0)	(.69)	(1.8)	(.41)
V 6	M	1.8	.71	2.3	.82
Activity	F	1.8	.62	2.1	.57
Level	(Total)	(1.8)	(.64)	(2.2)	(.69)
V 7	M	1.1	.35	1.2	.42
Speech on	F	1.1	.29	1.1	.32
Child's Level	(Total)	(1.1)	(.31)	(1.2)	(.37)
V 8	M	1.0	.75	1.1	.73
Clean-Up Rules	F	.92	.66	.90	.57
	(Total)	(.95)	(.68)	(1.0)	(.65)
V 9	M	1.0	.93	.20	.63
Limit-Setting	F	.17	.39	.30	.68
	(Total)	(.50)	(.76)	(.25)	(.63)
V 10	M	2.2	.71	3.6	.97
Mother's	F	2.5	.90	3.3	.82
Participation	(Total)	(2.4)	(.82)	(3.5)	(.89)
V 11	M	2.9	.84	3.1	1.3
Global Measure	F	3.3	.49	3.4	.52
of Directiveness	(Total)	(3.1)	(.68)	(3.3)	(.96)

The main effect for V 2, animation ($F = 9.04$; $p < .005$), showed hysteroid mothers to be rated as much more animated and lively than obsessional mothers. Again, a Pearson r with mother's age proved significant ($r = -.37$; $p < .01$). A partial correlation showed the relationship between V 2 and HQQ to remain significantly correlated, however ($r = -.37$; $p < .05$).

V 4, encouragement, showed a main effect for group ($F = 5.31$; $p < .027$) and a trend for sex ($F = 2.44$; $p < .127$). Results here showed that hysteroid mothers offered their children more encouragement and suggested that mothers may tend to be somewhat more encouraging of their girls.

A main effect for sex of child seen for V 5, approach of mother ($F = 3.45$; $p < .05$) assessed mothers as being significantly more confining and restrictive of boys than of girls. Again, a Pearson correlation with MAGE proved significant ($r = 3.2$; $p < .02$). No appreciable differences were seen when the above variables were covaried with CA, thus indicating that child's age was not a significant contributing factor to the results observed.

The main effect for group for V 6, activity level, reached significance only when the covariance with CA was performed ($F = 1.93$; $p < .045$). As predictable, the activity level of the sessions was highly influenced by the age of the child, with the younger children being more active. The analysis of covariance showed hysteroid mothers to contribute significantly more to the activity level of the session than did the obsessional mothers, and this higher activity level does

not appear to be correlated with the age of the mother (Pearson $r = .049$; $p < .40$).

A significant main effect for group for V 10, mother's participation ($F = 7.13$; $p < .001$), was congruent with the results for V 6, activity level. Hysteroid mothers were rated here as dramatically more active participants in the sessions than obsessional mothers, regardless of the age of the child. However, it can be seen once again that younger children generated more activity in the sessions. A partial correlation of V 10, HOQ score, and MAGE proved the relationship to remain highly significant ($r = -.51$; $p < .01$) despite a significant Pearson correlation of V 10 with MAGE ($r = -.32$; $p < .02$).

When the variable CINIT, child initiates activity, was covaried with CA, the children of hysteroid mothers were seen to show a slight trend ($F = 1.96$; $p < .17$) toward the initiation of more different activities within the sessions than the children of the OBS mothers. Thus, there is some possibility that the children as well as the mothers contributed to the higher activity level observed in V 6.

No differences were observed for either group or sex in V 3, the level of animation of the children; V 7, the ability of the mother to gear her conversation to the child's level of understanding; or V 8, the mother's enforcement of a "clean-up as you go" rule. V 9, effectiveness of limit setting, also showed no statistical differences. However, this behavior was rarely observed within the sessions.

IV. TOYS

Some additional effects were observed for the type of toy played with by the pairs. Hysteroid mothers were more likely to play with their children using the doll family ($F = 3.4$; $p < .07$) and the cars and trucks ($F = 5.59$; $p < .02$) compared with obsessional mothers. A correlation with MAGE was seen in the instance of both toys, however (doll family, $r = -.36$, $p < .01$; trucks, $r = .24$, $p < .06$), indicating that older mothers also played more frequently with these toys with their children. This makes the differences observed between HYS and OBS mothers less clear-cut.

The puzzles seemed to be chosen most frequently by hysteroid mothers and their daughters ($F = .08$; $p < .01$). Boys chose the trucks more frequently than girls ($F = 12.8$; $p < .001$), and girls chose the baby dolls more frequently than boys ($F = 10.65$; $p < .002$), with the occurrence of typical sex-typed behavior providing support for the naturalness of the setting for the children. Correlation with child's age was found only for the baby dolls ($r = -.199$; $p < .108$) where a trend was seen toward younger children playing more frequently with the dolls. No trends were observed for obsessional mothers in terms of toy preference. These results are summarized in Table 8.

V. SUMMARY OF RESULTS

Hysteroid mothers were found to be more active and directive in the sessions compared with obsessional mothers. They were found to initiate more activities compared with obsessional mothers, particularly

Table 8. Means and Standard Deviations for Toys Played with by Each Group Divided by Sex of Child and for Sexes Combined

Variable	Sex	HYS		OBS	
		$\bar{X}$	SD	$\bar{X}$	SD
Boat	M	.75	.46	.50	.53
	F	.42	.51	.70	.48
	(Total)	(.50)	(.5)	(.60)	(.5)
Doll Family	M	.63	.52	1.0	.32
	F	.58	.51	.50	.53
	(Total)	(.60)	(.5)	(.30)	(.5)
Baby Dolls	M	.13	.35	0.0	0.0
	F	.50	.52	.50	.53
	(Total)	(.35)	(.5)	(.25)	(.4)
Puppets	M	.25	.46	.10	.32
	F	.42	.52	.50	.53
	(Total)	(.35)	(.5)	(.30)	(.5)
Blocks	M	.63	.52	.50	.53
	F	.33	.50	.30	.48
	(Total)	(.45)	(.5)	(.40)	(.5)
Form-Fitter	M	.13	.35	.40	.52
	F	.17	.39	.30	.48
	(Total)	(.15)	(.4)	(.35)	(.5)
Animals & Letters	M	.62	.52	.10	.32
	F	.33	.49	.40	.52
	(Total)	(.45)	(.5)	(.25)	(.4)
Crayons	M	0.0	0.0	.30	.48
	F	.08	.29	.30	.48
	(Total)	(.05)	(.3)	(.30)	(.5)
Zoo Set	M	.25	.46	.50	.53
	F	.13	.49	.30	.48
	(Total)	(.30)	(.5)	(.40)	(.5)
Cars	M	.88	.35	.30	.48
	F	.17	.39	.10	.32
	(Total)	(.45)	(.5)	(.20)	(.4)
Puzzles	M	.13	.35	.40	.51
	F	.75	.45	.30	.48
	(Total)	(.50)	(.5)	(.35)	(.5)

with their male children. The younger male children of the HYS group may have had a slight tendency to play more at tasks initiated by their mothers than did other children. HYS mothers were seen to deliver more directions to their children regardless of sex, and trends were observed toward a greater number of suggestions made by HYS mothers, again particularly to the boys. HYS mothers may also have tended to do slightly less coaching in task situations than did OBS mothers.

Compared with obsessional mothers, hysteroid mothers were rated as being more overtly expressive of affection toward their children. They were rated as being more lively and animated in manner and to offer more encouragement to their children as a whole, possibly being more encouraging to the girls. HYS mothers were rated as being more active in the sessions, both in terms of general activity level and the amount of their direct participation with the child.

The children of HYS mothers may have tended to initiate slightly more different activities within the sessions. Dyads consisting of hysteroid mothers and their children tended to play more often with the doll family, the cars and trucks, and the puzzles than did dyads in the OBS group.

The OBS mothers, by contrast, tended to be more passive than the HYS mothers, largely following the child's lead in the sessions. They initiated fewer activities, gave fewer directions, and may have made slightly fewer suggestions to their children. Unlike the HYS mothers, when the OBS mothers did make suggestions, they tended to make them in task situations as opposed to other play situations. They may have done slightly more coaching in these task situations than did the hysteroid

mothers, particularly with their male children. They also tended to do less teaching with their children and to engage in less play on the child's level.

Obsessional mothers were rated as expressing somewhat less overt affection toward their children. They were seen to be less animated and less encouraging of their children as compared with hysteroid mothers. Their general activity level and their level of participation with the child was rated as being lower than that of the hysteroid mothers.

Mothers in general tended to more intrusive and restrictive with male children than with female children. They initiated more activities with their boys than with their girls and were more confining and restrictive to boys compared with girls. Mothers tended to make more suggestions to younger children and to give them more directions. They also tended to coach and to teach more with younger children. Sessions with younger children were rated as being more active than those with the slightly older children. Finally, older mothers may have tended to make more suggestions, to be somewhat more overt in their expression of affection, and somewhat more confining of their children compared with younger mothers.

CHAPTER VI

DISCUSSION

I. SUBJECTS

It is not clear why the mothers of the HYS group were somewhat more educated and somewhat older than those of the OBS group. Several of them came from a graduate student population, and women who pursue graduate studies tend to have their children at a later age. Why the students who volunteered tended to fall into the HYS group is not clear either; they may be more active, outgoing individuals who tend to participate in activities other than just studying. They also said that they wanted to help another student out, knowing that they would be (or had been) in the same position themselves.

The higher educational level of the HYS group appears to be correlated with age: Older mothers in the age range sampled would have had more time to complete college or to go back for graduate courses. It is possible that less educated HYS individuals are less likely to become involved in academic activities and research, which may be more foreign to their interests than they would be to those of OBS individuals of a similar educational level, and hence the difference in the education of the sample participating in the study.

The discrepancy between the groups in the number of mothers employed outside of the home may be attributable to educational level as well, with more educated mothers more likely to have outside employment or to be in school. This is particularly true since these were

middle-class mothers who probably would not have had to seek work unless they chose to do so. HYS mothers may also have felt the need for more stimulation and activity than OBS mothers, and they may therefore have sought outside activity.

It is unclear why so few mothers of males with sibs participated in the study. It was somewhat harder to get mothers of males who would participate in the study, however, perhaps because the higher activity level of boys makes it more difficult to take them anywhere. Perhaps mothers of boys with sibs felt that they had their hands full.

II. SOURCES OF VARIATION

To recapitulate the sources of variation examined: Differences between the groups were examined in three areas: (1) general differences in personality-style of the mother, (2) differences in style of response based on sex of the child, and (3) the differential response of a particular style of mother to a child of one or the other sex.

These differences were examined in three major areas: (1) directiveness of the mother, (2) expression of affect by the mother, and (3) the type of play engaged in by the pair. Generally, differences between the groups showed not in what they did but in how they did it. These differences were readily apparent in a qualitative evaluation of the tapes.

It should be stressed that these are differences in the interactions of "normal" mothers distinguished from one another by style and not by pathology. Both adaptive and maladaptive features are present in each personality-style. Therefore, if the following discussion

appears to stress the maladaptive aspects of the hysteroid interactions, it is because aspects of this style tended to be maladaptive in the particular sphere of behavior under scrutiny and not because of a general maladaptive quality of the style.

In the following section differences between the groups are discussed with an attempt made to clarify statistical results with descriptive and anecdotal material. Several characteristics which presented themselves statistically only as trends are impressionistically apparent in qualitative assessment. In addition, a qualitative examination of the tapes suggested that patterns of interaction are so clearly a function of the mother's style in combination with the sex of the child, that possible confounding effects of the unequal distribution of mothers' age and child's number of siblings would appear to be minimal. It might also be noted at this point that the differences observed appeared in groups differing by only one standard deviation from the mean population score on the HOQ. Had a more disparate sample been available, the results may have been even more dramatic.

Variables Related to Directiveness

Suggestion. Quantity of suggestion seemed to be about the same for the two groups. Three factors seem to be responsible here: (1) generally accepted child-centered parenting practices, in which the child is encouraged to take the lead, and his suggestions are allowed to take precedence; (2) the structure of the experimental situation; and (3) the developmental level of the children, who by the age of 3 are equipped for a relative degree of independence.

These three factors appear to have transcended the particular personality-style of the mother in this situation. As the situation was interpreted by the mothers as requiring interaction between them and the children and as interaction is often achieved through suggestion, the amount of suggestions offered by the mothers in these sessions may have been even greater than is normally the case. This was in fact reported by one or two mothers. In general, however, the level of suggestion was moderate, and the wishes of the child were allowed to be dominant. Older mothers, who may be more sure of themselves, both with the child and with the situation, and who may be somewhat more set in their ways, seemed to make more suggestions. None of these trends, however, reached significance.

Direction. The OBS style is presumed to be more rigid and perfectionistic, with greater emphasis placed upon control. OBS mothers were therefore hypothesized to be more directive of their children. Results pointed in the opposite direction, however: The HYS group was seen to distinctly surpass the OBS group in the number of activities they initiated and in the number of directions given. Several factors appeared to combine to produce these results. These contributing factors appeared to be: (1) the mother's style of responding to the demands of the situation, (2) the activity level and attention span of the children, (3) the activity level and attention span of the mother, (4) the type of activity chosen as a result of these characteristics, and (5) the more egocentric and assertive style of the hysteric as opposed to the more ambivalent and self-effacing style of the obsessional.

Both groups of mothers reported interpreting their task as one of playing in tandem with their children. They made efforts to play as a pair and discouraged their children from merely wandering around the room or from investigating the observation booth and the mirror. Where the HYS mothers were likely to suggest an activity by picking up a toy and actually beginning to play with it, the OBS mothers were more likely to make suggestions without actually beginning to play. Occasionally, a mother would be seen to begin an activity on her own in an effort to capture the child's interest. Only HYS mothers, however, were seen to continue to play with a toy in which they seemed to be interested after the child had expressed disinterest.

With a few exceptions, which will be noted, both groups were attentive to the children. However, the attention of some of the HYS mothers was frequently distracted by the other toys on the table or around the room. An HYS mother could be seen to pick up another toy and examine it, drawing the child's attention to it, even at times in mid-activity. The attention of the OBS mothers, on the other hand, was never seen to wander in this particular way. Many of the directions HYS mothers gave to their children therefore took the form of an exclamation of "Look at this!" Thus, where the OBS mother was more likely to maintain contact with the child by following him from place to place, the HYS mother was equally likely to call the child over to come and look at a toy. For the HYS mother, the focus seemed in many cases to be the activity, whereas for the OBS mother, the focus was almost invariably the child.

The most dramatic difference, here, was in the HYS mother-male child dyad. Where in every other dyad both mother and child were seen to begin to play together as a pair immediately and with evident satisfaction, the hysteroid mothers were frequently seen to have some difficulty in getting their boys to play with them. These interactions often appeared to be frustrating to both partners, particularly to the child. The HYS boys were much more motoric, expansive, and louder than were the other children. They would typically enter the room and begin to knock about, whereupon the mother would start to explore various toys and attempt to get her child involved with her with one of the toys. When seated, the HYS mother and son seemed more likely to be facing one another or to be sitting at right angles at the table rather than side by side. Much of the session was spent with the mother seated and the son some distance across the room, moving back and forth, usually between his mother and the rocking boat.

Pairs of OBS mothers and sons, on the other hand, would typically seat themselves immediately at the table and pick up a toy, usually the zoo set. They spent most of the session in close proximity to one another, usually affectionately seated side by side.

The high activity level of the sons, coupled with the difficulty (spontaneously mentioned in a number of cases) of HYS mothers in becoming involved in activities which did not interest them, precipitated many initiations of activities by the mother in an effort to get the child to play with her or to play with a different toy, as well as many directions to come and play or to come and look. Where the OBS mother was more often content to watch and comment as the child explored the

room or a particular toy (playing the role of an attentive assistant or participant observer), the HYS mother would keep trying to "get something going" with the child, who often initially ignored her. Several of these little boys were heard to respond to their mothers' attempts to draw their attention with, "You play with your toys, Mommy, and I'm gonna play with my own toys." No other group of children was heard to make this request. The children here were often observed to become exasperated, and there seemed to be two somewhat polar sources for their frustration: the bored mother and the overintrusive mother.

Following are illustrative vignettes of each type of mother:

1. The HYS mother is yawning, inattentive. The little boy wants her to watch him build a block tower: "Mommy, look!" Mother: "Well, I get tired, I'd rather do something else than watch." She hitches up the trailer and plays with the trucks by herself. "Watch, Mommy, watch this!" The child draws her attention back to the blocks. She builds her own tower, even taller than his, ignoring his request that she stop: "That's tall enough, Mommy, it's gonna fall! It's gonna fall, that's enough, Mommy, that's enough!!" The child turns away, grabs the inflatable clown and slings him around the room frustratedly, pounding him against the floor.

2. A little boy, a bright, precocious, 4-1/2-year-old, is having trouble finding something of interest among the toys in the playroom. The HYS mother tries to interest him in the doll family; he briefly picks up the trucks. Both have an air of politely cooperating with the researcher. The boy then requests that the mother build a block tower just like the one pictured on the container. Mother responds

with a cursory but well meant attempt, criticized by the child. She responds in surprise, "I didn't think you were such an exacting person! I'm not used to being so exact! I think it looks pretty good, Robbie!"

She then grabs him, tickling him, and tousling his hair. He squirms away, unamused, and returns to the blocks. Mother: "O.K., let's have a race, you build one as tall as you can and I'll build one as tall as I can." The child tries to build onto hers, cooperatively, and she stops him. He looks around, grouchy. She asks, "Does this bore you? Are you scared?" The boy responds, pointing to the picture on the canister, "I want a tower like that!" Mother: "Yeah, but it's hard for me to do one exactly like that. You do it--you can do it as much as I can." The blocks keep falling. The mother giggles, but the child is unamused. She keeps trying to relieve the tension, to change the child's mood. She reports later that the child found the playroom uninteresting. However, she also stated, "It's hard for me to play with him when I'm not interested in a toy." While the child seems to have been genuinely uninterested in the playroom, it did appear that he may have been able to settle down with the blocks, which often sustain a 4-year-old's attention for well over a 20-minute play period, had his mother been more interested.

It is noteworthy that the HYS mothers in general did not like the confinement and structure of the playroom setting. Many spontaneously reported that they preferred to be out and around when with their children, with walks and shopping trips often named as preferred activities. Active, externally stimulating situations where the pair has things to look at seem to be preferred.

An HYS mother need not necessarily have been bored to have been frustrating to her son: The overly aggressive, intrusive mother seemed to have been equally irritating to the child. The following example illustrates such a situation:

An HYS mother suggests animals and letters, but the boy is not interested. She tries to attract his attention by manipulating puppets, but the boy is still not interested: "You do your game and I'll do mine." Mother laughs, "Well, what if we're supposed to do them together?" (This was heard several times in the HYS-son dyads. While other mothers were seen to attempt to engage the child in an activity with them, no others were heard to state this so directly.)

The child cooperates, looking at the animals and letters with the mother. He starts to play with the trucks, and the mother begins to make numerous suggestions about the game: "Are they going camping? This can be the lake, here. Here, drive around the lake." She picks up a truck and starts around the lake. "Ma, let me have that one." Sounding frustrated, he states, "Let me park behind." The child diplomatically steers the mother away from his game by assigning her a part: "Here, you take your two cars and go to home." The mother does not take the hint; she begins to drive away and then, with much animation, says, "Oh-oh, my car has a flat tire, ooh! Mr. Fix-it! Come and help me, oh it fell down the hill, ooh!" Her attention is then attracted by the zoo set: "Ooh, look at this!" She reports that she likes to be out and around with her son, to "do things I enjoy doing with him."

These interactions, which are responsible for a good proportion of the differences observed in directiveness, appear to be the product of several stylistic factors. The mother's inability to become involved with activities that bore her was a major factor, as was a disinterest in sedentary, focused activities. With little boys, this was coupled with a style that was even more motoric than the mother's style and interests which were incompatible with those of their mothers. The result was often a choice of toys such as the trucks or blocks, which were likely to elicit action and direction on the part of the mother.

Where OBS mothers and both their sons and daughters frequently sat for long periods of time examining the zoo set and grouping the animals as their activity of first choice, the impression was that the hysteroid mothers and sons seemed to come upon the zoo after exhausting other possibilities and to play with it for slightly briefer periods. The general impression was that the children of the OBS group were slightly more focused, less motoric, and had a somewhat longer attention span than those of the HYS group.

The above findings indicate that the major feature which distinguished the hysteroid from the obsessional mothers was their interaction with their male children. This is interesting in the light of the predictions of traditional, Freudian psychoanalytic theory. Although much of the current work on character-style has moved away from the more traditional psychoanalytic tenets (Angyal, 1965; Farber, 1976), Freudian theory would predict the observed difficulty in the interaction of a hysterical mother and her son. Such a prediction would arise from Freud's description of the female hysteric as a woman who simultaneously

places high value upon the male and represses all aspects of sexuality, as the result of unresolved Oedipal issues (Freud, in Strachey, 1948). Thus, conflict in her relationships with males and therefore with her son can be expected.

The HYS mothers did convey a closer sense of companionship with their daughters than with their sons. However, this may simply be the result of a compatibility of interests, a factor which has been seen to be necessary for the HYS mother to sustain an interaction. In addition, it may be easier for such a mother to see a daughter, who is more similar to her than is a son, as an extension of herself. This would be compatible with the somewhat egocentric perspective of the hysteric, making it easier for her to relate to a daughter.

While some aspects of the interactions described above may be highly specific to the HYS mothers and their male only-children, some characteristics were seen with female children as well. For example, one mother who had become inattentive during a doll game with her daughter failed to respond to a question asked five times and was searching the room for an interesting toy. She responded to her daughter's suggestion that they switch activities with, "Good idea! I was getting bored."

The tendency of the HYS mothers to project their interests onto the child presented itself in still another aspect of the interactions. Several of the HYS mothers conversed with their children about topics external to the play session and often about things which did not appear to interest the child. One mother wondered to her disinterested 3-year-old son about the sex of a new baby of a neighbor who had moved

away. Another told her daughter that she had made a pillow that day, repeating her statement when the little girl failed to respond until the child said in exasperation, "I know you did." Some of these mothers seemed to keep up a constant flow of conversation. Mothers in the OBS group, by contrast, were more often silent. They seemed to confine their comments to the activity at hand and spent more time in just watching.

In the light of the negative cast to some of the above descriptions, it seems important to note that these HYS mothers and sons all showed an affectionate liking for one another. Although the sons seemed to attempt to limit their mother's intrusiveness, real trouble seemed to occur more often when the mother was inattentive. Children in both groups seemed to respond to inattentiveness in the mother with a highly motoric style. This was especially noted in the small son of an OBS mother. He had been previously observed in his home when the experimenter administered the HQQ to his mother. Both of his parents were observed to place few limits on him but were rather unattentive, usually preoccupied with one family crisis or another. The child was labeled by the nursery school staff as a problem. In the play session, his mother was passive and lifeless; her attention at times seemed to wander. The child was by far the noisiest and most motoric of the OBS group. It may be, therefore, that the apparently higher level of motoric activity on the part of the HYS boys also has a basis in the commotion needed to attract the notice of a mother whose attention may be likely to wander (as well as in the modeling of a particular style).

Affect. The source of the findings with respect to affective style is apparent in the above interactions. As predicted, the HYS mothers were rated as being more active and animated and more overtly demonstrative of enthusiasm and, to some degree, of affection. Again, this provides validation of the ability of the HQQ to identify two groups distinguished by these characteristics. While affect in the OBS group was rated as being more constrained and subdued, their interactions were nonetheless characterized by a quiet, affectionate interest. A positive acceptance was conveyed by the mother's manner as she watched her child of either sex. Thus, while affection was not demonstrated by the overt enthusiasm and freedom of the HYS mother, it was clearly apparent in the OBS group. The average, nonneurotic OBS mother seems able to get her message across despite a more inhibited style.

Coaching. The results for the ratio of coaching to the number of intervals in which the child attempted a task (COACAT) were in the predicted direction, at least in terms of boys. OBS mothers, who were expected to be more concerned with getting tasks done efficiently and correctly, were found to do more coaching than hysteroid mothers when their sons attempted a task. Results for the two groups of mothers and their daughters appear to be about the same.

The role of mother's character-style in the significant interaction observed may have been due to the nature of the OBS mother's perceptions of the task situation. She did not appear to see intrusion in other areas of play as appropriate, and for this reason she rarely

interceded. However, the OBS mother may have perceived the task situation as one in which the goal was to get things done efficiently and accurately and therefore felt that suggestions were appropriate when the child was engaged in a task.

The effect of the child's sex may have had various sources. While it is not well documented in recent literature, early studies indicate that the fine-motor coordination of the male preschool child is not as well developed as that of the female (Gesell, 1940; McNemar, 1942; Anastasi, 1958). If this is actually the case, males may be clumsier than females and require more help on tasks requiring such skills. The OBS mother could have been more attentive to the level of frustration thereby in the child, and the clumsier male child may have become more frustrated, eliciting more help from his mother.

The slightly higher level of encouragement offered to the girls may have been due to their more skilled performance which elicited more positive comments. However, the widely cited superiority of the male on tasks requiring spatial perception (Anastasi, 1958) and the tendency in recent literature to view the fine motor coordination of preschool children as equivalent between the sexes in most areas (Koppitz, 1975) make the above hypothesis quite tentative. Another possibility is that in a culture which has traditionally put a higher premium on achievement in the male, a mother who is initially task oriented would be even more so with a son.

Children generally appeared to spend similar amounts of time engaged in task-type activities. No differences were detected between the HYS and OBS mothers in terms of encouraging the child to complete

a task once it had been begun. Mothers of both groups tended to encourage this behavior, although some were seen to be more adamant about it than others. More systematic observation and a larger number of instances would be needed to determine if significant differences actually exist. In addition, the possibility that differences exist in the length of time the children of the two types of mothers persevere on a task may bear examination.

In almost all cases, the level of coaching was moderate, and attempts were made to allow the child to do things for him or herself. Only one mother, an OBS mother with a 3-year-old male child, was seen to be so compulsive and perfectionistic about the completion of the task so that she usurped the child completely. The task here was the building of a house of blocks. The mother built most of the house placing the blocks precisely and efficiently, with such rapidity and determination that the child could hardly get a block in edgewise. When he did succeed in placing a block, she quickly tidied its alignment.

This mother was also seen to be continually tidying her own efforts. The child, an otherwise active and lively little boy who was reported by his mother to engage in much fantasy play at home, sat passively and watched for much of the session. If the mother's report of the large amount of her son's fantasy play at home is accurate, this raises the question of the nature of the effect of the mothers' differential approach on their children. For example, the child described above may engage in fantasy play in a compensatory way (Walder, 1933) to regain the control usurped by an overbearing mother. Thus, a high-fantasy child might be seen even with a mother who is herself

constricted in this area. On the other hand, where a mother adept in fantasy play may provide much stimulation for her child in this area by encouraging make-believe play, a more constricted mother may not provide this atmosphere. The effect of the mother's personality on these aspects of the child's development remains an open question.

While the manner of coaching was relatively similar in the two groups, some stylistic differences were observed in a few instances. The following interactions illustrate two different styles of coaching:

1. An OBS mother coached her 3-year-old with the Form-Fitter, having him verbally identify and search for the shapes: "Which one is the semicircle? Right! And what's this? Right, a parallelogram!" The child had obviously been taught to identify many shapes by name. While many of the HYS mothers also requested the child to identify the shapes, none of the other children could do so this successfully.

2. An HYS mother, on the other hand, coached her 4-year-old girl with the Form-Fitter: "Now look at the shape of it, Caroline. Look at the shape Real Good. I think you're better at this than I am. I'll be really humiliated if you can do this and I can't. Where does that one go? Look at the shape real good"

The child moves the block around, trying to fit it into the holes; as she moves it toward a hole, she looks at the mother rather than the hole to see if she is correct. As she moves the block, the mother cues her with her tone of voice: "Ho-Ho-Ho-Ho . . . Oh-Oh-Oh-Oh! . . . Ah-Ha-Ha-Ha!! . . . AH-HA!!!" In this way, the child learns to listen to the tone, not the words, and to depend on the cues of the other person to gauge her own effectiveness.

Variables Related to Style of Play

Pretend play. Results here were in the predicted direction, with the HYS mothers showing a preference for and ease in dramatic play not shown by the OBS mothers. HYS mothers usually engaged in pretend play with their girls, typically a story-game with the family of small dolls. The little girl (only one boy was observed in this type of play with the game initiated by his mother) set the stage, and the mother then followed her lead, contributing to the game in an easy, animated manner and seeming to enjoy herself tremendously. While boys were less likely to engage the mother in this type of play, they were reported to engage in much role-playing at home, usually astride a bicycle as "Batman" or "Spiderman."

Examples of pretend play. Both mother and child became highly involved in these games. In one pair, the little boy became so invested in the adventures of "Roller-Bonner" that he cried when he was unable to take the turtle home. The OBS mothers were never seen to help the child generate a story with the dolls in this way. They frequently picked the dolls up and examined them, usually commenting about the family relationships, much as they would comment about the trucks or the zoo set, but they did not actively participate.

Compare an HYS and an OBS mother playing "fishing" with their little girls who were seated in the rocking-boat. (It is interesting to note that while HYS mothers frequently got into the boat with the child when requested to do so, only one OBS mother complied with this request.)

1. OBS mother (manner straight-forward and factual):

Where are you going in the boat? Do you want to dock the boat? How do you do that? You row very slowly, then you tie it to the pier then you get out slowly and the boat will tilt a little. Do you think you can get to work faster if you row? Do you know what your Daddy does when he goes in the boat? Are you fishing? Do you feel a nibble? Do you know what your fishing pole does when you get a nibble? It quivers. Then what do you do? You jerk it back like this. Jerk it back when he nibbles! How big is your fish?

2. HYS mother (highly enthusiastic, crawling on the floor):

I'm a big fish! You fish for me! Here I come! GLOM-GLOM-GLOM . . . ARRGH! You caught me!

(She gets half-way into the boat, nuzzling the child with her head.)

Now I'll fish. I'm fishing! Fishing, Fishing, Fishing!
I need a fishy! Fishing, Fishing. Where's a fishy?

Child: "Here I come, I'm a big one!"

Despite the differences between the HYS and the OBS mothers, it is important to note that there were HYS mothers who seemed unable to engage in fantasy play. The two instances observed were both with mothers of boys who elicited comments such as:

Child: "You play, too, Mommy!"

Mother: "Mommy doesn't know what to play."

Child: "Here's a boat. I'm gonna make water."

Mother: "Mommy doesn't know how to do that."

Child: "Give me a Coke."

Mother: "I don't know what to give" (child picks up a block and pretends to drink it).

Child: "This is a Sad-Daddy. He's sad because he doesn't want to go to work. He wants to play with you!"

Mother: "He wants to play with me? He wants to play with you" (she builds her own block tower).

Another HYS mother insisted on building a block tower while trying to get her son involved in conversation. The boy held one of the blocks like a trumpet, saying, "See, while you're talking, I'm gonna be playing." Only one OBS mother was seen to engage in role-taking and pretend play with her daughter. It is possible, however, that the fact of being observed constrained the OBS mothers more than the HYS mothers, thereby inhibiting them from engaging in fantasy play. One or two did mention that they play more on the child's level at home.

In the previous section, it was noted that only a trend was present statistically between mothers on the pretend-play variable, MPLAY, defined as "mother plays on child's level." The loose interpretation of this variable during the rating procedure probably accounts for this finding. Any time a mother manipulated the dolls, the behavior was scored as MPLAY, whether she participated in developing a story-line or merely hopped the dolls around. Had scoring been more rigorous, differences would probably have been significant, as observations indicate that role play and pretend play occurred unilaterally in the HYS group.

Teaching. A statistical trend was observed toward a greater amount of teaching by HYS mothers, particularly with boys. The trend, however, was not strong, and differences in quantity of teaching were not readily apparent in viewing the tapes. The predicted higher degree of teaching by OBS mothers, who would be expected to have more of an interest in the accumulation of factual and academic information, was

thus not seen in the data. Mothers of both groups seemed to take many opportunities to teach; this seems to be a function of mothering which overrides personality-style. However, mothers of both groups reported that they make conscious efforts not to teach with the child when playing. They seemed to feel teaching is inappropriate in a play situation. Again, popular notions of child rearing may take precedence over personality-style.

The trend that was observed may have been the result of the higher educational level of the HYS mothers which may have inclined them toward the intellectual and academic, therefore making them slightly more inclined to teach with their children compared with less educated counterparts. The biggest factor which seemed to be responsible for the slight trend observed seems, once again, to be the general level of intrusiveness of the HYS mother. A higher level of activity and interaction and more active attempts to be constantly involved with the child seem to be factors here. Male children, who at this age are less verbal and less academically advanced, may elicit more such teaching. In addition, academic-type teaching may have provided one of the only sources of interaction for HYS mothers and their boys; it is often active, stimulating, and engaging for both partners.

The big difference, however, was seen in the style of teaching of some of the pairs, rather than in its quantity. With some HYS mothers, teaching had the quality of a performance, in this case the child's performance. While the HYS mother at times seemed to be trying to get the child to perform, the OBS seemed merely to convey a fact. In extended, academic-type teaching--as in matching the animals and

letters or color naming--the HYS mother seemed more intent on having the child demonstrate his brilliance while the OBS mother seemed more concerned that the child learn a fact.

HYS mothers were also seen to be skilled at incorporating teaching into fantasy play as well as in academic activities, while the teaching of the OBS mothers seemed to occur primarily in situations involving academic or task-type activities. The following vignettes illustrate such teaching:

1. "Oh, the people in this boat need something. Do you know what it is? Life-jackets!"
2. "Oh, a Mommy wouldn't walk away like that and leave the baby alone in the bathtub, Jennifer!"
3. "Are you going to let your baby have candy and Coke and ice cream? That's not good for her, is it?"

Nondifferentiating Variables

Five variables failed to differentiate between the groups: TELCAT, the mother telling the child how to accomplish a task, leaving no part of it for the child to solve independently; V 7, the ability of mother to gear her conversation to the child's level; V 8, the enforcement of a "clean-up as you go" rule; V 9, the effectiveness of limit-setting; and V 11, the global measure of directiveness.

TELCAT was rarely observed in either group. This is an expectable result. It is a behavior which is in opposition to the popular, middle-class notions of child rearing likely to be present in the sample observed. With respect to V 7, both groups seemed able to converse in

a manner which was understandable, if not always interesting, to the child; obsessional mothers were not, as predicted, observed to converse with their children in a more intellectualized manner compared with HYS mothers. In fact, the HYS mothers, who at times seemed out to impress, may have been somewhat more likely to use difficult words; however, this may have been more closely related to their higher educational level. Finally, both sets of mothers tended to have "clean-up as you go" rules, which they enforced with varying effectiveness. This effectiveness did not appear to be linked to group membership. The above three variables seem to be so imbedded in generally accepted practices of "healthy" mothering as to be little effected by personality variables.

Of the remaining two variables which did not differentiate between groups, V 9, limit-setting, was very rarely observed in the sessions; no conclusions can therefore be drawn. V 11 proved to be too global a measure of directiveness to differentiate between these mothers. Differences in directiveness appeared to be linked to the specific behaviors discussed above, rather than to a general level of control.

III. PLAY AND DEVELOPMENT

The observations outlined above support both the literature on mother-child play interactions and that on character-style. In terms of character-style, hysteroid mothers were found to fit the traditional picture of the animated, less inhibited individual with a distinct dramatic flair. Obsessional mothers, on the other hand, fit the picture of the more restrained, inhibited, and emotionally controlled individual.

The theoretically more egocentric and demanding hysteric was seen to be more likely than the obsessional to assert her own wishes in the play interactions. The theoretically more inhibited and conscientious obsessional was more passive in these interactions than the hysteric.

With respect to the play interactions themselves, the trends observed by the Baldwins (1973) characterized the present group as well. Mother-child pairs were generally quite similar in their interactions, with the mothers exhibiting the "child-centered" attitude and the moderate levels of directiveness noted by the Baldwins. The moderate levels of teaching and attempts to have the child solve problems independently observed by the Baldwins were also seen in the current study. Overall, the mothers seemed to be able to maintain a balance in their interactions which appeared to make the relationship effective and satisfying to both partners. As the Baldwins noted, variation, when it appeared, was largely in terms of directiveness. The current study further suggests that this behavior is in fact linked to character-style.

Interviews with the mothers revealed that by the age of 3 little structured play goes on between mother and child as such; play is more likely to be interspersed with other daily activities, with structured play taking place within the peer group. Thus, while the bulk of the interpersonal interactions of the infant may take the form of play, those of the 3-year-old, with his increased repertoire and greater independence, do not. Because play is such a fluid part of the mother-child interaction as the two move in and out of various activities, the interactions observed in the present study are likely to be highly reflective of the overall relationship of the pair. Therefore, while

realizing that the playroom observations outlined above are a "special" situation, it seems reasonable to draw some tentative conclusions about the mother-child relationships involved.

The expansive, free-wheeling hysteroid mother who is more imaginative and spontaneous in her play, may also be more confining in her mothering. She is able to engage the child on his own level. In addition, she is also somewhat intrusive, easily bored, and at times more in tune with her own needs than those of the child. The more inhibited, more passive obsessional may also be more attentive in her mothering. What she loses in imaginativeness and flexibility, she may compensate for with an ability to wait, watch, and attend to the child. By virtue of this, the obsessional mother may be more able to sustain a relationship with her child. Hers may be a style of mothering which the child grows into, whereas the hysteroid approach may be a style of mothering the child grows out of. The 3-year-old wants a mother who will climb into the rocking boat with him; the 16-year-old does not want a mother who will rummage around in his drawers. The hysteric, with her apparently more intrusive style, may be likely to do both.

The obsessional, who may not be as stimulating a playmate, is also likely to give the child more room for independence. The ability of different types of mothers to separate from their children as they become better equipped for independence and effects on the individuation of the children are in question here. If the hysteroid mother does in fact have a closer and narcissistic identification with her daughter, does this entail some rejection of the child as she grows older and separates? Do the highly directive and intrusive attempts of the

hysteroid mother to maintain contact with her son persist as he grows older? How is this style apparent in other aspects of their relationship? What is the effect of obsessional mothering on the child's capacity for direct expression? What are the effects of the two styles on internalization and intimacy in the child? Further research with respect to these questions and with respect to the capacity of mothers of different styles to adapt to their children as they develop appears to be necessary to deal with these important issues.

What other things seem to be learned by the children of the different mothers in these interactions? It would appear that a link exists between the cognitive styles of the children and of the mothers observed. The general impression was that the children of the hysterics, particularly the boys, were more motoric and less focused than those of the obsessional group. It cannot be determined here whether the attention span of the HYS children is in fact shorter or if the cognition of these children is actually more global than that of the children of OBS mothers. Further research here would be interesting. It is reasonable, however, to assume that attentiveness and ability to focus in the mother will have a number of effects on the child. Among other things, it is possible that modeling of an approach to a situation may have been involved in the differences in directiveness observed. OBS mothers may have been less directive because their children, modeling their mothers, tended to wait and take their cues from the other person, rather than catapulting themselves into activity. Less direction would be necessary in such a situation.

The situation here appears to be far more complex than the simple modeling of a personality-style. For example, the child in the OBS dyad may be responding to implicit but clear expectations on the part of the OBS mother that he behave in a certain manner. This may lead to a personality-style which is at once more internalizing and less forthright than that developed by the children of the more externally directive and overtly demanding HYS mothers. The obsessional style, with its reticence of expression and reliance on tacit cues, may thus develop in response to unspoken expectations on the part of an obsessional mother.

HYS children, on the other hand, may learn to rely on external cues and direction. They may also learn to rely on the affective tone rather than the factual content of a communication, as seemed to be the case of the child whose mother coached her through her tone of voice, rather than through verbal cues. Still further complications arise from clinical observations which show that the personality-style of the child is not necessarily the same as that of the mother, or of the father. Personality-style appears to be the product of a complex series of interactions which need to be researched much more fully.

A mode of relating to other people is also conveyed in these interactions. The passive, watching role of the OBS mother conveys a quiet type of attentiveness to the other person. The child learns he or she need not make a big splash to be heard. The HYS mother, on the other hand, may be more likely to attend to the child through a solicitousness, constantly checking his needs ("Are you scared? Are you hungry? Are you tired?"). She wants to be told of the child's

needs. However, the child of the hysteric still must assert himself to be actually heard, since the HYS mother may project her own feelings onto him in much the way that some of the HYS mothers seemed to project their own interests onto the child (one HYS mother said of her son, "We're like two peas in a pod!"). This narcissistic component is an aspect of many styles, however, and the child in his need to assert himself with an HYS mother may learn how to express his wishes overtly and effectively. He may also learn that such expression of one's wishes is acceptable and that one need not be constantly inhibited and controlled.

Problems may develop when the father, who might ordinarily aid in the assertion and separation described above, is not physically or psychologically available to do so. Father's availability would be particularly significant for boys in the preschool age ranges where sex-role identification is important. It may not be as significant for girls of this age as the literature indicates that the effect of the father's availability appears to become most overt in girls at puberty rather than at this early age (Hetherington & Deur, in Bronfenbrenner & Mahoney, 1975). Preschool boys in father-absent families have been found to be less masculine in their interests (Biller, 1969) and less aggressive in their play (Sears, 1951) than boys whose fathers are available to them. Maternal encouragement of masculine behavior has been found to have a significant influence on the behavior of these boys (Biller, 1969) with more masculine behavior seen in father-absent boys whose mothers were supportive of such behavior as compared with father-absent boys whose mothers did not support such behavior.

The effect of the intrusiveness of the mother also comes into question here. The high level of intrusiveness and of overt encouragement seen in the hysteroid mothers in the present study would appear to have the potential either to discourage separation and "masculine" behaviors in their sons or to encourage such behaviors, depending upon other personality factors. The effect on separation of less intrusive and overtly expressive obsessional mothers on their sons could also operate in either direction. For example, the son may attempt to evoke a response in the obsessional mother by modeling her interests, or conversely he may find greater freedom in the relationship with an obsessional mother to pursue his own interests than he would in a relationship with a hysteroid mother.

An example of the interaction of a rather passive obsessional mother and her son, who appeared to be involved in defining a sex-role for himself, was seen in the present study. The following illustration is an excerpt from this interaction:

Son: "Mom, which baby would you like?"

OBS mother: "I don't know" (the HYS mothers almost always expressed an immediate preference).

Son: "I'll get a baby, I'll be the mother . . . I'm a mother and you're a mother. I caught a fish. This one is for the baby and this one is for me and I'm a boy-mama."

Where an HYS mother would be likely to correct the boy here or at least to comment, as did the HYS mother who asked, "A girl-baby named Jacob?", the OBS mother said nothing. The questions underlying the child's play seemed to be about his identity as a male. He appeared to

be asking his mother: "Am I a boy? Am I like you? Can boys fish and take care of babies, too?" The nondirectiveness of the obsessional mother thus may have the potential to breed ambiguity for the child.

It therefore appears that the interaction of the dynamics of the mother and the availability and style of the father would interact in determining the overall effect of the mother on the son.

Similar questions could be raised as to the effect of the mothers' style on separation and on assertiveness in their daughters. The intrusiveness of the mother, in combination with her attitude toward the separation of her daughter and her perception of acceptable "feminine" behavior, are all likely to influence the separation and individuation of the girl. Thus, a highly assertive mother could create either a highly assertive or a rather compliant daughter, depending upon a variety of other factors.

Two additional facets of personality, the capacity for empathy and the capacity for a sense of humor, were seen to be evolving in the playful interactions of the mothers and children observed. The function of role-playing in developing an ability to assume the perspective of another, which is felt to be the basis of empathy (Bruner, in Bruner, Jolly, & Sylva, 1976), was clearly seen in several instances. The child, here in the parent-role, was heard to echo a phrase she had obviously heard the parent use many times. These phrases indicated a capacity on the part of the child to identify the attitudes appropriate for assuming the parent-role. In addition, the content of the phrases suggested a beginning awareness of the feelings of the other person and an affectionate concern for her.

The following excerpts illustrate these interactions:

1. Mother: "Mommy! Mommy!"

Child: "What is it, doll-ing?"

2. Mother: "Daddy, Daddy, you're home!"

Child: "Yes, did you miss me?"

3. Mother: "Oh, look, Mom, I caught the ball!"

Child: "Good for you!!"

4. Mother: "Oh, look at this baby, Jenny!"

Child: "Why, she's a sweet little thing, bless her heart, bless her heart!"

These were all children of HYS mothers. Both groups of mothers reported role-playing as an activity of the children and peers at home. The question of the effect of the personality-style of the mother on the role play of the child, previously mentioned above, comes to the fore once again here. It would be interesting, in the light of the greater amount of role-playing observed in the HYS mothers, to know if more role-playing goes on with their children in other contexts, both with the mother and with peers. This could be connected, whether as cause or effect, to the greater social skill of the hysteric as compared to the obsessional.

As indicated above, the child's capacity for a sense of humor, which is both a psychological development and a social skill, was also seen to be evolving in the play interactions observed. This is illustrated in the humorous interaction of an HYS mother and her daughter:

The pair pick up the zoo set:

Child: "Look, a kangaroo!"

Mother: "Yeah! He'll hop on you! (hop-hop-hop-hop) Do you remember what you call a baby kangaroo?"

Child: (laughing) "A Billy!"

Mother: "Noooo, silly, a Joey!"

This becomes a running joke which is repeated several times; each time the child responds "Billy!" and laughs uproariously. The child then assembles a section of the fence:

Mother:

That's pretty good, sport! Here, which animals do you want? (they divide them up; the child giggling, reaches for the mother's pile) No, go away, kid, play with your own! Give me back my penguin! You have enough, I want my penguin! I'm gonna play with something else. Oh, I get the lion? I wanted the penguin, myself. Roaaaarrr!! What, do you want everything I have?

The child thinks this is very funny, giggling throughout and sustaining the interaction; the mother is obviously enjoying herself and the little girl's laughter, keeping up the act. The teasing, tickling, and buffoonery of this pair were rarely seen in the sample as a whole, a fact which is probably attributable to the setting. The influence of the mother's personality-style on the development of her child's sense of humour would appear to be quite important. Again, a significant area for further research is suggested by the data.

IV. THE CHILD AND THE PROFESSIONAL

The Primary School Teacher

The findings indicate that mothers of different personality-styles interact differently with children of the two sexes. This raises the

question of the influence on the child of the personality-style of the primary school teacher, who is often a female functioning as a surrogate mother for the child during school hours. Previous research indicates that classroom teachers interact differently with children of the two sexes. Teachers appear to have more overall contacts with the boys, offering both more praise and more criticism to the boys as compared with the girls (Brophy & Good, in Bronfenbrenner & Mahoney, 1975). Much of the criticism appears to stem from the boys' more disruptive behavior (Meyer & Thompson, 1956). The possibility that not only the objective behavior of the boys but also the personality-style of the teacher is a factor in these increased interactions is raised here. Does the hysteroid teacher relate with the male children, who tend to be less attentive and cooperative, by behaving in an intrusive manner as does the hysteroid mother? How does the more obsessionally oriented teacher react in the classroom situation? Are the differences in directiveness observed in the two character-styles of mothers carried over in the behavior of the classroom teacher? The question of the differences in the interactions of male and female teachers with the children and the possibility that personality-style plays a role in these differences must also be raised. Finally, what are the effects of all of the above factors on the school achievement of children of the two sexes? Girls are well known to surpass boys in school achievement in the primary grades. Does the personality-style of the teacher contribute to this greater achievement or is it merely the product of more docile behavior or greater cognitive maturity on the part of the girls?

The Psychotherapist

The personality-style of the therapist, like the teacher, is also likely to be an important factor in her interaction with the child. The difficulties of a child who is reacting to a highly intrusive hysteroid mother may be intensified by a highly intrusive therapist. Similarly, a very inhibited therapist may serve to feed the restrictive atmosphere experienced by the child of an affectively controlled, obsessional mother. It seems important for the therapist to have a knowledge of the nature of the mother-child interaction and of her own personality-style in choosing and modulating her therapeutic tactics. The current study suggests that one effective way to obtain such knowledge would be the observation of free-play interactions similar to those described above but between mothers and children who are patients. Both the researcher's observations and the reports of the mothers in the present study indicated that the 30-minute segments observed were reasonable representations of the general interactions of the mothers and their children. Clear stylistic patterns and elements both of stress and satisfaction in the relationships were detectable in these sessions. For the child therapist, who most often must work adjunctively with the mother, the playroom session therefore provides a convenient and telling mode of understanding the relationship of the mother and child. An intake interview including a similar set-up could prove to be valuable.

The therapist provided with the information described above can gear the therapeutic interaction to the needs of the child, helping to make play therapy an effective and satisfying mode of expression for

him. An illustration of this was seen in the interaction of a daughter and a mother who is a psychiatric social worker, which was very similar to a play-therapy interaction.

The following is an excerpt from this play interaction:

Child: "The little girl is going to visit the baby in the hospital."

Mother: "She's too young. Kids can't go into hospitals. But she could talk on the phone in the lobby. But the baby's too young, she can't talk on the phone."

Child: "Only boys could go in."

Mother: "I never heard that before."

Child: "That's the rule."

Mother: "Then how come I could go in?"

Child: "Only small people could go, big people have to drive. The mom is smaller than the dad. She can't go, she's too small--seems like she's smaller than the kids."

Mother: "You're gonna switch the rules around? It's not fair kids can't go? Sounds like you were frustrated you couldn't go see Mommy in the hospital."

The mother described above was an OBS mother, and her "therapeutic" style was rather obsessionally oriented. Her emphasis was on the rules and the reality of the situation proposed by the child. This interaction was one between a normal mother and child, however. If a therapist were to see the child of a neurotically disturbed, obsessional mother as a patient, she might choose a different tactic, based upon her awareness of the mother's style. A therapist in this situation might

choose to encourage the child's fantasies by adding even more elaborate embellishments to the child's alterations of the rules, encouraging an increased freedom in a child inhibited by this hypothetical constricted mother.

V. NONCONTROLLED VARIABLES

Age of the mother and number of siblings of the child were not controlled in this study. They are certainly contributing variables and suggest directions for further research. If, however, character-style is so circumscribed that its effects only become obvious in a highly controlled sample and situation, the concept itself becomes meaningless. The results reported in this study clearly indicate that personality-style influences the ways mothers and children play together and generally relate to one another and that it is one of many valid contributing factors in a complex human relationship.

VI. DIRECTIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

Several areas for further research have suggested themselves in this study. The age of the mother and the birth order or number of siblings of the child are variables which have already been suggested as ground for investigation. The flexibility of the different types of mothers in adapting to the maturing child is an important issue, as is the question of the effect of the personality-style of the mother on the cognitive style and interpersonal style of the child. As previously mentioned, the effect on school achievement of the personality-styles of both mothers and teachers bears further examination. In addition,

the investigation of the behavior of mothers and children in a naturalistic situation would be of interest, as would the interaction of mothers with personality-styles other than the two investigated in this study. The personality of the mother would appear to be quite influential in shaping the 3-year-old child. But what about the latency age child? And at what age does personality-style begin to define itself in the child?

Another very obvious area for investigation is father-child play as well as the more complex pattern of the mother-father-child triad. When requested to participate in the study, a number of mothers commented, "Oh you should get my husband! He's the one that plays with the kids!" This may have something to do with the way "play" is popularly defined (as rough-housing) or with the role of the dad who works all day as the special guest on the evening show. Whatever the reason, several fathers actively expressed disappointment that they could not participate: A pool of willing subjects seems to be out there!

To add to a list which could be extended indefinitely, a follow-up study of the differences observed, particularly of the interaction of HYS mothers with their male children, would seem to be in order, as well as a closer study of teaching and coaching behavior.

VII. CONCLUSION

The factors which shape a human relationship are many. It is possible that the preceding pages have missed one or two. However, if some of the richness of the "simple" play interactions observed has been conveyed, any omissions will have been well redressed. And if

there is one aspect of these interactions which must not be overlooked, if a single facet must be conveyed, it is the absolute delight of them. The spontaneity of the children and the pleasure of their mothers were as contagious as the chicken pox which were the proud possession of one young participant. If anything is indicated by the results of this study, it is perhaps that the ingredients of a "healthy" mother-child relationship are a playful child and a mother, of any character-style, who can enjoy his playfulness.

An illustration of this follows: (the child is drawing)

"This is rain."

. . . .
 . .

"And this is snow."

+ + + +
 + + + +

"What's that?"

"A booger."

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APPENDIXES

APPENDIX 1

EXPLANATION OF THE STUDY PROVIDED TO POTENTIAL PARTICIPANTS¹

Hello, my name is Merrilea Brunell, and I am a graduate student in the psychology department at The University of Tennessee. I am doing a study of play between mothers and their 3 and 4 year olds for my doctoral thesis, and I understand you have a child this age. Would you and your child ("little boy" or "little girl" if the sex of the child was known; the child's name was used if this was known) be interested in participating in my study? It would involve your filling out a brief, true-false questionnaire which would take about 15 minutes to complete and would help me to know a little more about you. I'll be asking some of the mothers who fill out the questionnaire to come to the playroom at The University of Tennessee psychology department with their child so that I can make a videotape of a play period. This would take about 30 minutes. I won't be needing all of the mothers who fill out questionnaires to come in for play sessions, so you may not need to do this; but I do need a fair number of mothers for my study, and I would really appreciate it if you could help me out.

¹The explanation stressed that more mothers were being requested to complete the questionnaire than would be needed for the play observation sessions. This was done to avoid any feeling by those mothers not later contacted that this reflected poorly upon them. Emphasis in the explanation was placed on the interactive aspect of the study and no specific mention of character-style was made. There were two reasons for this: The first was the desire to minimize the mothers' self-consciousness and to maximize the naturalness of the sessions. The second reason was that many people make an association of the idea of "character" or "personality" with moral or psychological value-judgments. The experimenter did not wish the mothers to feel that they were selected for study on the basis of pathology or that the object of the study was to ferret out any such pathology.

APPENDIX 2

POST-PLAY-SESSION INTERVIEW QUESTIONS FOR MOTHERS

1. What differences did you find between the way you and X played here and the way you would usually play at home?
2. Were the activities X chose the same he (or she) usually plays at home or were they different?
3. What kinds of things do you and X typically like to do together?
4. Did you feel either one of you was very distracted or uncomfortable with the taping or with being observed?
5. What ideas did you come in with as to what I might be looking for or what would be important for me to see?

APPENDIX 3

DATA TABLES

Table A-1. Interrater Reliability: Percentage of Intervals with 100 Percent Agreement Between Raters on All Behavior Occurrences

S#	Date	1&2	1&3	2&3
67	4-11	88	68	56
15	4-11	92	92	92
103	4-09	100	92	92
22	4-09	80	96	96
26	4-09	100	96	96
61	4-09	100	92	92
102	4-09	96	84	80
3	4-09	92	92	80
53	4-01	84	64	64
4	4-01	72	68	76
108	4-10	84	84	76
101	4-12	84	72	68
28	4-12	84	88	88
52	4-12	84	80	88
98	4-12	80	72	72
93	4-17	56	72	72
90	4-17	68	68	64
91	4-17	68	80	76
14	4-20	96	92	88
119	4-20	92	92	84
96	4-20	72	76	52
99	4-21	88	80	92
25	4-20	88	80	80
31	4-25	76	80	92

Table A-1, continued

S#	Date	1&2	1&3	2&3
94	4-25	80	98	98
1	4-25	84	84	88
97	4-24	80	92	72
69	4-24	100	92	92
68	4-24	98	98	100
49	4-30	92	92	92
110	4-30	92	88	80
9	4-30	76	80	76
12	4-30	76	92	72
43	4-30	84	88	72
45	4-30	80	68	68
56	4-30	100	100	100

Table A-2. Interrater Reliability: Percentage of Agreement on Behavior Occurrences for 10 Randomly Selected Tapes, Totaled Across Intervals for Each Rater

S#	Date	1&2	1&3	2&3
91	4-17	68	80	76
15	4-11	92	92	92
73	4-16	80	84	76
26	4-09	100	96	96
53	4-10	84	64	64
28	4-12	84	88	88
14	4-20	96	92	92
99	4-19	88	80	92
3	4-09	92	92	80
65	4-05	80	88	80

Table A-3. Analysis of Variance and Covariance, Observed and Postobservation Variables

Variable	ANOVA		Covaried with CA	
	F	p	F	p
Mother Initiates Activity (MINIT)				
Group	4.973	.03	4.850	.03
Sex	6.824	.01	6.35	.02
Interaction	3.042	.09	2.46	.13
Child's Age in Mos.(CA)			1.60	NS
Child Initiates Activity (CINIT)				
Group	1.51	NS	1.95	.17
Sex	0.05	NS	.002	NS
Interaction	0.296	NS	.024	NS
Child's Age in Mos.(CA)			8.19	.007
Child Plays Mother's Activity (CPLAM)				
Group	0.829	NS	.720	NS
Sex	0.541	NS	.537	NS
Interaction	1.89	.18	2.612	.07
Child's Age in Mos.(CA)			.957	NS
Suggestions (SUG)				
Group	2.61	.115	2.78	.10
Sex	.320	NS	.435	NS
Interaction	2.67	.111	3.51	.07
Child's Age in Mos.(CA)			1.51	NS
Directions (DIR)				
Group	3.38	.07	3.98	.05
Sex	.457	NS	.755	NS
Interaction	.298	NS	.870	NS
Child's Age in Mos.(CA)			4.615	.04
Coaching (COACAT)				
Group	2.1	.16	1.5	NS
Sex	.07	NS	.04	NS
Interaction	3.49	.07	3.87	.059
Child's Age in Mos.(CA)			2.24	.14
Telling (TELCAT)				
Group	.03	NS	.004	NS
Sex	.39	NS	.30	NS
Interaction	.06	NS	.24	NS
Child's Age in Mos.(CA)			.11	NS

Table A-3, continued

Variable	ANOVA		Covaried with CA	
	F	p	F	p
Teaching (TEACH)				
Group	2.5	.12	2.7	.10
Sex	.06	NS	.13	NS
Interaction	.06	NS	.24	NS
Child's Age in Mos.(CA)			2.23	.14
Mother Plays on Child's Level (MPLAY)				
Group	2.6	.12	2.5	.12
Sex	.49	NS	.51	NS
Interaction	.47	NS	.39	NS
Child's Age in Mos.(CA)			.16	NS
Affection (V 1)				
Group	5.24	.028	5.09	.03
Sex	.14	NS	.13	NS
Interaction	.15	NS	.14	NS
Child's Age in Mos.(CA)			.008	NS
Animation of Mother (V 2)				
Group	9.09	.005	8.86	.005
Sex	1.63	NS	1.56	NS
Interaction	.27	NS	.29	NS
Child's Age in Mos.(CA)			.012	NS
Animation of Child (V 3)				
Group	.17	NS	.18	NS
Sex	1.25	NS	1.12	NS
Interaction	.37	NS	.25	NS
Child's Age in Mos.(CA)			.48	NS
Encouragement (V 4)				
Group	5.3	.03	5.15	.03
Sex	2.43	.127	2.435	.13
Interaction	.93	NS	1.03	NS
Child's Age in Mos.(CA)			.085	NS
Approach of Mother (V 5)				
Group	3.02	NS	1.38	NS
Sex	1.53	.055	4.09	.05
Interaction	3.95	NS	.95	NS
Child's Age in Mos.(CA)			.487	NS
Activity Level (V 6)				
Group	1.925	NS	4.335	.045
Sex	.034	NS	.146	NS
Interaction	.016	NS	.455	NS
Child's Age in Mos.(CA)			1.72	NS

Table A-3, continued

Variable	ANOVA		Covaried with CA	
	F	p	F	p
Speech on Child's Level (V 7)				
Group	0.0	NS	.225	NS
Sex	0.0	NS	.247	NS
Interaction	0.0	NS	.06	NS
Child's Age in Mos.(CA)			1.13	
Clean-Up Rules (V 8)				
Group	1.33	NS	.02	NS
Sex	.03	NS	.544	NS
Interaction	.016	NS	.008	NS
Child's Age in Mos.(CA)			1.35	NS
Limit-Setting (V 9)*				
Group	7.12	NS		
Sex	2.39	NS		
Interaction	.016	NS		
Child's Age in Mos.(CA)				
Mother's Participation (V 10)				
Group	7.12	.04	14.169	.001
Sex	1.27	NS	.008	NS
Interaction	.273	NS	1.07	NS
Child's Age in Mos.(CA)			.067	NS
Global Measure of Directiveness (V 11)*				
Group	.27	NS		
Sex	2.20	.16		
Interaction	.089	NS		
Child's Age in Mos.(CA)				
Doll Family*				
Group	3.45	.07		
Sex	1.45	NS		
Interaction	2.09	.16		

*Covariance with CA not performed.

Table A-4. Pearson Product-Moment Correlations, Independent and Dependent Variables

	CA		MAGE		No. of Sibs		HOQ	
	<u>r</u>	<u>p</u>	<u>r</u>	<u>p</u>	<u>r</u>	<u>p</u>	<u>r</u>	<u>p</u>
MINIT	.21	.09	-.01	NS	-.20	.10	.29	.032
CINIT	-.42	.003	.16	NS	-.15	NS	.28	.04
CPLAM	-.18	.17	.18	.16	-.33	.04	-.17	.19
SUG	-.18	.14	.32	.02	-.21	.10	.35	.01
DIR	-.04	NS	-.06	NS	.30	.03	.06	NS
COACAT	-.18	.15	.05	NS	-.15	NS	.25	.08
TELCAT	-.04	NS	.23	.08	-.23	.09	.05	NS
MPLAY	.06	NS	.14	NS	-.29	.04	.33	.02
TEACH	-.23	.07	.13	NS	-.29	.04	.21	.09
V 1	.03	NS	-.28	.04	.35	.01	-.35	.01
V 2	.02	NS	-.36	.01	.05	NS	-.47	.001
V 3	.13	NS	-.03	NS	.12	NS	-.17	.14
V 4	-.03	NS	-.16	NS	.004	NS	-.32	.02
V 5	.09	NS	-.32	.02	-.21	.09	.19	.11
V 6	.20	NS	-.05	NS	.18	.13	-.37	.01
V 7	.16	.10	.18	NS	-.25	.06	-.01	NS
V 8	.20	.13	-.15	NS	-.06	NS	.04	NS
V 9	-.11	NS	-.69	.01	.22	NS	-.20	NS
V 10	.03	NS	-.33	.02	.28	.03	-.58	.001

Table A-5. Partial Correlations: HQQ Scores and Mothers' Age with
SUG, V 1, V 2, and V 10, and Pearson Product-Moment
Correlations

Partial Correlation			Pearson Product-Moment r		
Variable	r	p	Variable	r	p
Mother Makes a Suggestion (SUG)	.25	NS	SUG	.32	.02
Amount of Overt Affection of Mother (V 1)	-.27	NS	V 1	-.28	.04
Level of Animation of Mother (V 2)	-.37	.05	V 2	-.36	.01
Mother's Level of Participation in Session (V 10)	-.51	.01	V 10	-.33	.02

APPENDIX 4

RATING SHEET FOR OBSERVATION OF VIDEOTAPES

#	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
M suggests activity																
C plays M's activity																
C initiates own activity																

M makes suggestion																
M gives direction																

C attempts task																
M coaches																
M tells																

M teaches																
M plays on C's level																

APPENDIX 5

POSTOBSERVATION QUESTIONNAIRE

1. Rate the expression of affection by this mother
 - (a) very demonstrative
 - (b) moderate
 - (c) inhibited
2. Rate the level of animation of the mother
 - (a) lively & expressive
 - (b) moderate
 - (c) low-key, subdued
3. Rate the level of animation of the child
 - (a) lively & expressive
 - (b) moderate
 - (c) low-key & subdued
4. Rate the level of encouragement offered by this mother
 - (a) high
 - (b) moderate
 - (c) low
5. Which of the following most closely characterizes this mother's approach toward her child?
 - (a) confining & limiting
 - (b) moderate
 - (c) stimulating & expansive
6. Rate the level of activity in this session
 - (a) high
 - (b) moderate
 - (c) low
7. Does this mother gear her conversation to the child's level?
 - (a) yes
 - (b) no

8. Does this mother have clean-up as you go rules?
- (a) yes
 - (b) no
9. Is this mother effective in setting limits, enforcing her rules?
- (a) yes
 - (b) no
10. Rate this mother's level of participation in the play session from 1 to 5, with 1 being very active and 5 being very passive

1 2 3 4 5

APPENDIX 6

GLOBAL POSTOBSERVATION MEASURE OF DIRECTIVENESS*

Rate the parent's tendency to make suggestions to the child. Is the parent constantly offering requests, commands, hints, or other attempts to direct the child's immediate behavior? Or does the parent withhold suggestions, giving the child's initiative full sway?

This does not apply to routine regulations and their enforcement. Rate only where there is opportunity for suggestion. Note that "suggestions" is defined broadly, including direct and indirect, positive and negative, verbal and nonverbal, mandatory and optional.

1. Parent continually attempting to direct the minute details of the child's functioning and "free play" as well
2. Occasionally withholds suggestions, but more often indicates what to do next or how to do it
3. Parent's tendency to allow child's initiative full scope is about equal to tendency to interfere by making suggestions
4. Makes general suggestions now and then, but allows child large measure of freedom to do things own way
5. Parents not only consistently avoid volunteering suggestions, but tend to withhold them when they are requested or when they are the obvious reaction to the immediate situation

*From Baldwin, Alfred L. Patterns of parent behavior. Psychological Monographs, 1948, 58 (3, whole number 268).

APPENDIX 7

RELEASE OF INFORMATION FOR VIDEOTAPING

Release of Information for Research Purposes

I agree to participate freely in a 30-minute play period with my child. I understand that this play period will be videotaped from behind a one-way mirror in the playroom. I understand that any information that could identify me will be deleted from the tape and that the tape will be viewed by no one who is not directly involved with the study. I understand the tape will be erased upon the completion of the study.

Participant

Date

Witness

APPENDIX 8

QUESTIONNAIRE PACKET FOR SUBJECTS: RELEASE OF INFORMATION, DEMOGRAPHIC DATA SHEET, AND HOQ QUESTIONNAIRE

Release of Information for Research Purposes

I agree to participate freely in filling out the attached questionnaire. I realize that any information provided here, or as to my age, income, educational level, or occupational status, or religious affiliation is voluntary. I also agree to come to the playroom at The University of Tennessee Psychology Department with my child, if requested, to tape a 30-minute play period.

I understand that no information that could be used to identify me will be used in the analysis of the data or in any publication of the results. I understand that any tapes made during the study will be erased upon completion of the study.

I understand that I am free to withdraw at any time during the study.

Participant

Date

Witness

NUMBER:

NAME _____

AGE _____

ADDRESS _____

EDUCATION _____

Street

City _____

State/Zip _____

OCCUPATION _____

TELEPHONE _____

SPOUSE'S AGE _____

EDUCATION _____

OCCUPATION _____

APPROXIMATE ANNUAL INCOME (Circle One)

\$0 to \$9,900

\$9,900 to \$20,000

\$20,000 and above

Do both parents reside in the home?

Yes _____ No _____

AGE & SEX OF EACH CHILD:

AGE

SEX

1

2

3

4

5

RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION (Optional) _____

CODE # _____

P. AND P. I. QUESTIONNAIRES

SELF-DESCRIPTION QUESTIONNAIRE (HOQ)

By T. M. Caine

INSTRUCTIONS:

Read over each question and decide whether it is a true description of how you usually act or feel, then put a circle around "True" if the statement describes you or around "False" if it does not. Do not spend too much time over any question. Take your first reaction, bearing in mind your usual way of acting or feeling. Do not miss any question. There are no right or wrong answers.

- | | | |
|--|------|-------|
| 1. I find it hard to think up stories | True | False |
| 2. I like to wear eye-catching clothes | True | False |
| 3. I keep my feelings to myself | True | False |
| 4. I am slow in making up my mind about things because
I weigh up all the pros and cons | True | False |
| 5. I am a moody sort of person, with lasting moods | True | False |
| 6. I have rigid standards I feel I should stick to | True | False |
| 7. When I am working, I like a job which calls for
speed rather than close attention to details | True | False |
| 8. I like to ask for other people's opinions and
advice about myself | True | False |
| 9. I don't feel awkward when meeting people because I
know how to behave | True | False |
| 10. I prefer to be popular with everyone than to have
a few deep lasting friendships | True | False |
| 11. I cannot shake off my troubles easily even if I
get the opportunity | True | False |
| 12. I have a good imagination | True | False |

- | | | | |
|-----|---|------|-------|
| 13. | I keep quiet at parties or meetings | True | False |
| 14. | I feel better after I've had a good row and got it off my chest | True | False |
| 15. | I am quick in sizing up people and situations | True | False |
| 16. | My mood is easily changed by what happens around me | True | False |
| 17. | My conscience seldom bothers me | True | False |
| 18. | I keep a place for everything and everything in its place | True | False |
| 19. | I'm rather lacking in the social graces | True | False |
| 20. | I have the same friends now as I had years ago | True | False |
| 21. | It pleases me to be the center of a lively group | True | False |
| 22. | I like to show people exactly how I feel about things | True | False |
| 23. | The first impressions or reactions are usually the right ones in the end | True | False |
| 24. | I do not mind if things turn out badly as long as I know I've done the right thing | True | False |
| 25. | I can lead more than one life in my imagination | True | False |
| 26. | I like discussing myself with other people | True | False |
| 27. | I do not show my emotions in front of people | True | False |
| 28. | When someone asks me a question, I give a quick answer and look for the reasons later | True | False |
| 29. | If I am not in the right mood for something, it takes a lot to make me feel differently | True | False |
| 30. | I usually get by without having to worry about whether I've done the right thing morally or not | True | False |
| 31. | One can understand most things without having to go into all the details | True | False |
| 32. | It is important to be fashionable in your opinions, clothes, etc. | True | False |
| 33. | My party manners are pretty good | True | False |

- | | | |
|--|------|-------|
| 34. The only friends I make, I keep | True | False |
| 35. If I happen to be upset about something, it seems
to carry over into all I do for a long time . . . | True | False |
| 36. I cannot completely lose myself in a book or story . . . | True | False |
| 37. I like to sit in the background or in an
inconspicuous place at socials, meetings, etc. . . | True | False |
| 38. I act out my feelings | True | False |
| 39. I wait until I am sure of all my facts before I
make a decision | True | False |
| 40. I spend a good deal of time worrying about the
rights and wrongs of conduct | True | False |
| 41. When going into a room or meeting someone for the
first time, I get a strong general impression first
and only gradually take in the details | True | False |
| 42. When meeting people I haven't met before, I usually
feel I make a rather poor impression | True | False |
| 43. It upsets me to leave friends and make new ones even
if I have to | True | False |
| 44. When watching a play, I identify myself with the
characters | True | False |
| 45. My feelings about things and towards other people
seldom change | True | False |
| 46. I do not like taking a leading part in group
activities | True | False |
| 47. Mistakes are usually made when people make
snap decisions | True | False |
| 48. If two people find they disagree about things, they
shouldn't try to carry on being close friends . . . | True | False |

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VITA

Merrilea Lois Brunell was born in New York City in 1952. She attended school in New Jersey, graduating from Livingston High School in 1970. From 1970 to 1974, she attended Syracuse University where she was enrolled in the honors program in psychology. After attending school for one semester in Amsterdam, the Netherlands, Ms. Brunell completed her B.A. degree at Syracuse, beginning her work in the clinical psychology program at The University of Tennessee, Knoxville, in 1974. Upon the completion of her academic work at The University of Tennessee, Knoxville, she will pursue a clinical internship at the Northwestern University Medical School in Chicago. She will receive her Ph.D. degree from The University of Tennessee, Knoxville, upon completing this internship in August 1979.