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A DEVELOPMENTAL STUDY OF THE
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DISSERTATION
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the Degree Doctor of Philosophy in the Graduate
School of The Ohio State University

By
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* * * * * * *

The Ohio State University
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I dedicate this dissertation to my wife Peggy Ann. It was her inspiration on which this work is based.
VITA

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Theoretical considerations

In a recent work, Anna Freud (1965) discusses the concept of "developmental lines" and their relationship to the assessment of normal and pathological growth in childhood.

Here we can trace the combinations which lead from the infant's complete emotional dependence to the adult's comparative self-reliance and mature sex and object relationships, a graduated developmental line which provides the indispensable basis for any assessment of emotional maturity or immaturity, normality or abnormality. . . . there are similar lines of development which can be shown to be valid for almost every other area of the individual's personality. In every instance they trace the child's gradual outgrowing of dependent, irrational, id- and object-determined attitudes to an increasing ego mastery of his internal and external world. (p. 63)

Every theory of development presupposes a growth from primitive and uninformed modes of adaptation to more differentiated and specific areas of function. The assumption of differentiation applies to basic and fundamental personality characteristics such as sex and aggression. The classical psychoanalytic view of the sexual drive, for example, traces the developmental line from the oral stage through the anal, phallic and genital stages. Similarly, the "biting, spitting, devouring, sadistic torturing with orality; and hitting and kicking, destroying with anality," etc. (Anna Freud, 1965), relate to the developmental view of the aggressive instincts.
The crucial developmental line in the present study is that aspect of personality which may be termed "object relations." The term "object relations" refers to the individual's relationship to the people in his environment. More specifically, this study will examine those relationships which the child forms with the significant people to whom he is most attached and with whom he is most involved, his family and his friends.

In this study, which examines the interpersonal aspects of object relations, the following kinds of questions seem most appropriate. First, is there in fact a developmental line specifically relevant to this dimension of personality? Second, if such a developmental aspect does exist, what are the critical variables which must be considered? And, third, in what way can these variables be measured empirically? In other words, what methods and techniques of observation will yield relevant objective forms of measurement?

The development of object relations: a psychoanalytic point of view

The theory of the development of object relations dates from Freud (cf. 1923) to the present work of such authors as Bowlby (1960) and Jacobson (1964). Freud's view of the early ego-id relationship was that the two agencies are initially undifferentiated, and only through experience do they separate into their component functions. "At the very beginning, in the individual's primitive oral phase, object-cathexis and identification are no doubt indistinguishable from each other"; and again (1926), "The biological factor is the long period of time during which the young of the human species is in a condition of helplessness
and dependence. . . . As a result, the influence of the real external world upon it is intensified and an early differentiation between the ego and id is promoted" (1926, 154ff).

Infancy

The child's early attachment to and dependence on the mother forms the paradigm of later interpersonal relationships. As such, this early relationship has been the focus of many theorists and competing theories. Melanie Klein (1932), for example, views this early stage as the period during which the super ego is formed by the mechanisms of "introjection" and "projection." "In consequence of the interaction of introjection and projection—a process which corresponds to the interaction of super ego formation and object relationship—the child finds a refutation of its fears in the outer world, and at the same time allays its anxiety by introjecting its real, 'good' objects" (1932, p. 248).

Bowlby (1960) has also focused on the period of early mother-child relationships with special attention paid to their potential pathological features. His studies on "separation anxiety" and the "mourning" and "depression" in infants due to early loss of objects (the mother) have, in spite of theoretical complications (Jacobson, 1964), pointed clearly to the importance of this basic human relationship.

In spite of wide differences in interpretation there are fundamental features of this early mother-child interaction in all theories. Anna Freud (1965) lists the following characteristics of the first stage:

The biological unity between the mother-infant couple, with the mother's narcissism extending to the child, and the child including the mother in his internal "narcissistic milieu" (Hoffer, 1952), the whole period being further subdivided
(according to Margaret Mahler, 1952) into the autistic symbiotic, and separation-individuation phases with significant danger points for developmental disturbances lodged in each individual phase;

The second stage may, according to Anna Freud (1965), be viewed as "the part object (Melanie Klein), or need fulfilling, anaclitic relationship, which is based on the urgency of the child's body needs and drive derivatives and is intermittent and frustrating." (1965, p. 65).

In these first months of life, the child is, as it were, at the mercy of his surroundings. In most cases his needs, both biological and psychological, are met with little, if any, delay and his mother is merely part of the undifferentiated surroundings which provide either pleasure or pain. "... Egocentricity governs the infant's relations with the object world. Before the phase of object constancy has been reached, the object, i.e., the mothering person, is not perceived by the child as having an existence of her own; she is perceived only in terms of a role assigned to her within the framework of the child's needs and wishes" (Anna Freud, 1965, p. 58).

To the young child, the mother is either good or bad, never both. The transition from mutually exclusive perception to the tolerance of ambiguity in the object prepares the child for the next stage, that of object constancy. Until this level of development is reached, "every preoccupation of the mother, her concerns with other members of the family, with work or outside interests ... are transformed thereby into experiences of rejection and desertion" (Anna Freud, 1965, p. 59).

Once the stage of object constancy is reached, the child is capable of maintaining a "positive inner image of the object, ... irrespective of either satisfactions or dissatisfactions" (Anna Freud,
1965, p. 65). From this level of development, the child is then capable of beginning the establishment of his own ego skills independent of the mothering figure. The attempt to establish independence is, however, complicated by the simultaneous wish to remain dependent and preserve the "narcissistic milieu." These early attempts to relinquish the need gratifying aspects of infancy in favor of identification with those objects whom he aspires to emulate, propel the child even further in his growth. Jacobson (1964) states the problem clearly:

Evidently, this new and advanced type of identification represents a compromise between the child's need to retain the symbiotic situation, to depend and lean on the need-gratifying, protective, and supportive love objects; and opposing tendencies to loosen the symbiotic-ties by way of aggressive, narcissistic expansion and independent ego functioning. Under the influence of Oedipal rivalry, this conflict will reach its first climax toward the end of the Oedipal period and will then be resolved by super ego formation. But it will be intensely revived during adolescence and come to its final peak and find its definite solution in the adolescent's rupture of his Oedipal ties and the establishment of ego and super ego autonomy. (Jacobson, 1964, p. 50)

The passage from the stage of object constancy into the Oedipal period proper presupposes the tolerance of the ambivalent aspects of the emotional tie to the parent. Thus, the mother not only does not "die" when she goes away--object constancy--but she is perceived, at this stage, as "sometimes good, sometimes bad." The ability to tolerate the "depressive" aspect of the painful limitations on one's wishes and thoughts is a sign of normal growth.

However slight its overt expression may be, the experience of depression is a prerequisite for optimal maturation. . . . Let us suppose that the healthy, mature individual has worked through certain crucial experiences leading to the acceptance both of his own and reality's limitations. This enhances the capacity to tolerate, without significant ego regression, depressive affect attributable to real experiences of loss, disappointment, and frustration. (Zetzel, 1965, p. 253)
The Oedipal period proper is well described by Anna Freud (1965) as "the completely object-centered phallic-oedipal phase, characterized by possessiveness of the parent of the opposite sex (or vice versa), jealousy of and rivalry with the parent of the same sex, protectiveness, curiosity, bids for admiration, and exhibitionistic attitudes; in girls a phallic-oedipal (masculine) relationship to the mother preceding the oedipal relationship to the father" (p. 66).

The Oedipal period ends, according to Freud (1924), as a result of the threat of castration in males and the threat of loss of love in females, and "the ego ideal (super-ego) is the heir to the Oedipus Complex" (1923). The super-ego which is formed at the close of the Oedipal period has developed out of various and disconnected components originating in self and object imagery of different instinctual and ego stages and levels. ... there is archaic imagery ... derived from the child's own instinctual strivings which induce irrational, physical retaliation fears ... (being castrated); ... there is imagery more closely related to reality, to verbally expressed parental prohibitions and demands; this imagery arouses fears and expectations first at a primitive, then at a more advanced emotional level (fears of separation and loss of the object, of abandonment and loss of love, fears of disapproval, exposure, rejections, criticisms ...). And, finally, there is the imagery derived from the child's narcissistic, omnipotent and eventually moral-perfectionistic strivings: the idealized object and self images from which the ego ideal, the moral guide of the ego, is coined. (Jacobson, 1964, p. 124)

**Latency**

The latency period arising from the establishment of the super-ego and the close of the Oedipal period has been variously described by several theorists (Elos, 1962; Jacobson, 1964; Anna Freud, 1965). Common to all these points of view is the fact that the latency period is for the child, the period of ego maturation. This maturation consists of the growth of
social skills, thought processes, and the establishment of object relationships beyond those of the immediate family to contemporaries and new objects such as teachers, group leaders, etc.

No new instinctual aim appears at this stage. What does change in the latency period is the growing control of the ego and super-ego over the instinctual life. . . . The consequences of more stringent inner controls becomes apparent in the emergence of behavior and by attitudes which are motivated by logic and oriented toward values. This general development brings higher mental functions into play. . . . (Blos, 1962, p. 54)

The latency period [is] the postoedipal lessening of drive urgency and the transfer of libido from the parental figures to contemporaries, community groups, teachers, leaders, impersonal ideals, and aim-inhibited sublimated interests, with fantasy manifestations giving evidence of disillusionment with and denigration of the parents. . . . (Anna Freud, 1965, p. 66)

As development progresses, the equilibrium of the personality which is a characteristic of the latency period, is challenged by the profound physiological and psychological upheavals of adolescence. While it may be true that the major features of the personality are established in pre-adolescence, the threat of dissolution of the personality in adolescence may necessitate a total regrouping of defenses and modes of adaptation. "We know that during the adolescent's struggle the defenses established during latency become so badly battered that they may partly break down under the onslaught of instinctual impulses" (Jacobson, 1964, p. 170).

Adolescence

In adolescence, as in the Oedipal period, there is conflict between further maturation by relinquishing family bonds, and the maintenance of those bonds in the face of reawakened Oedipal and
preoedipal strivings. Helene Deutsch (1944) has termed this conflict a "clash" between progressive and regressive forces. Anna Freud (1936) speaks of puberty as "the first recapitulation of the infantile sexual period. Each of the sexual periods is a revival and resuscitation of that which has gone before" (1936, p. 152).

In spite of similarities with the Oedipal conflict, however, the conflicts which the adolescent must master differ in significant ways. The fundamental difference lies in the fact that for the Oedipal child, it is sufficient to repress or in some way defend against incestuous and aggressive strivings toward the parents. It is not necessary at the Oedipal stage to relinquish the object. In adolescence, these bonds must be finally dissolved if further development is to take place. Consequently, the reality of loss and the "mourning" (Blos, 1962) of separation constitute a crucial qualitative distinction between adolescence and all previous levels of development.

The oedipal child has to repress his sexual and hostile impulses in favor of affectionate attachments to his parents. In adolescence, the sexual maturation process leads to a temporary revival of pre-oedipal and oedipal instinctual strivings, thus reviving the infantile struggle. But now the incestuous sexual and hostile wishes must be finally relinquished. Moreover, the adolescent’s affectionate ties to the parents must also be sufficiently loosened to guarantee his future freedom of object choice and to permit him a sound reorientation toward his own generation and a normal adjustment to adult social reality. This is the cause of his grief reactions which have no parallel in childhood. (Jacobson, 1964, p. 170)

Once the adolescent has managed to negotiate his way between the regressive pull away from independence back to immature relationships to his parents, and the progressive push of "falling in love" (Blos, 1962), i.e., the establishment of new and consistent object relationships, he establishes a firm sense of himself necessary for entrance to the adult
world. This stage of development has been well described by Erikson (1963) as the stage of "ego integrity."

Lacking a clear definition, I shall point to a few constituents of this state of mind. It is the ego's accrued assurance of its proclivity for order and meaning. It is a post-narcissistic love of the human ego—not of the self—as an experience which conveys some world order and spiritual sense, no matter how dearly paid for. . . . it thus means a new, a different love of one's parents. (Erikson, 1963, p. 268)

This rapid sketch of the development of object relations will serve as the foundation for the more specific questions to be examined. Insofar as the concept of a "developmental line" for the growth of interpersonal relationships has been established, there are certain aspects of that development which are the focus of the present investigation and which must be discussed in some detail.
CHAPTER II

STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

Structural changes in interpersonal perception

The focus of this study is the child's relationship to significant people in his life. There are, to be sure, many dimensions of the child's interpersonal relationships which can be and have been studied. Situations such as the early mother-child interaction and its potentials for the creation of pathological as well as healthy personality development have been extensively researched (cf. Erikson, 1963; Bowlby, 1960; Spitz, 1965; Mahler, 1952; Anna Freud, 1965, 1936; Freud, 1923, 1905, etc.). Similarly, each of the other stages of development, from pre-oedipal through adolescence, have received considerable attention (Jacobson, 1964; Blos, 1962, Anna Freud, 1965, 1958, 1936; Bornstein, 1951, etc.).

The problems upon which these writers have focused may be termed primarily "problems of content," i.e., those questions which pertain to the conditions under which certain aspects of personality may or may not arise and the factors which influence their growth and/or retardation.

In the present study, however, the interesting and important questions of "content" will be set aside. In other words, the questions which pertain to the quality of object relations under various conditions—whether it be presence or absence of the mother figure, traumatic sexual experiences in childhood, etc.—questions of this kind will not be examined. Rather, the present study will be concerned exclusively with
the "structural" question of object relations, a question prior to the problem of the conditions for the formation of different qualities of relationships. The focus of this study, therefore, will be on the developmental changes which take place in the child's perceptions of the significant people in his life.

In a recent study of the development of the definitions of words, Wolman and Barker (1965) demonstrated that the manner in which children define simple nouns changes gradually as a function of, among other things, age. The younger children define simple nouns in terms of "use," namely, some function related to the word defined. Thus, the definition in terms of "use" of the word "orange" is "to eat." At advanced ages, children's definitions change from "use" definitions to definitions in terms of more "essential" properties of the word defined. Thus, the definition of "orange" becomes "a fruit."

One implication of this study is the hypothesis that if children change their definitions of simple nouns as a function of age, they might also change their definitions (perception?) of significant people in their lives along similar dimensions. This hypothesis would state therefore, that at an early age children tend to view significant people in their lives in terms of "use," i.e., functions which those individuals perform; while at later stages of development these significant people would be defined in terms of more "essential" characteristics, for example, as people in their own right with their own qualities and attributes, relatively independent of the child himself.

The implication of the Wolman and Barker study is clear, namely, that there is a developmental progression in the child's perception of
significant people. It is necessary, however, to explicate the quality of this change in more precise terms than simple "use" and "essential" characteristics. A bridge between the empirical findings to follow and the theoretical outline presented above will now be constructed.

**Post-Oedipal period**

In the early stages of the child's life, the parents fit into his "narcissistic milieu." They care for the child, meet his demands and, from the point of view of the child, are available to administer to him, take care of him, and do things for him. As the child enters the Oedipal stage, his own wishes and desires have met with the frustrations and limitations of reality. At this point parental prohibitions and threats of fantasied or realistic retaliation come to play a role in determining his behavior. His perception of the parental figures at this level continues to be in terms of what he may expect to receive as a result of his socially acceptable or unacceptable behavior. At this stage, therefore, the child would be expected to view his parents in terms of "use" and his perception would have the quality of self-reference. In other words, the child would perceive his parents almost exclusively in terms of what they might do to him, for him, or with him. In addition, he is a passive agent insofar as his own initiation of behavior is subject to the approval or disapproval of his parents. This mode of perception may, therefore, be termed "narcissistic" or "ego-centric."

In her discussion of the growth from "ego-centricity to companionship," Anna Freud describes this self-referent, functional mode as

1. A selfish narcissistically oriented outlook on the object world, in which other children either do not figure at all or are perceived only in their roles as disturbers of the mother-child relationship and rivals for the parents' love.
2. Other children related to as lifeless objects, i.e.,
toys which can be handled, pushed around, sought out
and discarded as the mood demands. . . . (Anna Freud,
1965, p. 76)

In this statement Anna Freud does not deal explicitly with the
child's perception of his parents. It seems clear, however, that at
these early stages the relationship of the child to the world is basically
"functional," i.e., what he can use objects and people for, and what
objects and people may do to him or for him.

Latency

The schematic outline of the latency period showed this stage to
be a time of "lessening of drive urgency . . . and sublimated interests"
(Anna Freud, 1965), with "growing control of the ego and super-ego over
the instinctual life" (Blos, 1962). At this point the "essentially human
experience of latency" (Blos, 1962) takes place and the child begins to
solidify his processes of adaptation through, among other things, the
socialization process of schools, group activities, etc.

It would be expected, therefore, that during the latency period
the child will begin to develop a sense of himself as more of an inde­
dependent and autonomous agent than previous experience would have
permitted.

The influence of the moral system on the establishment of
consolidated defenses and sublimated activities and the con­
comitant development of realistic ego goals gives the identi­
fication process, during the period of latency, very specific
guidance and direction. In conjunction with the further
maturation of the ego and the object relations, these processes
tremendously widen the scope of personal and social invest­
ments and of ego interests . . . these continuous cathetic
redistributions and displacements . . . and the corresponding
increasing multitude and variety of coordinated activities
immensely fortify the child's experience of his self as a
composite and coherent identity. (Jacobson, 1964, p. 136)
As a result of the child's increasing sense of himself, it would follow that his perception of others in his life would undergo a similar transformation. In other words, once the child begins to regard himself as an active agent with skills and abilities appropriate to his age, and sees himself, to a greater degree, more independent of external controls, he will begin to view adults and contemporaries as more and more separate from himself. Anna Freud (1965) makes a similar point in her discussion of the child's relationship to his peers. "The third stage represents the minimum requirement for socialization... other children related to as helpmates in carrying out a desired task... the fourth stage equips the child for companionship, enmities and friendships of any type and duration... other children as partners and objects in their own right, whom the child can admire, fear, or compete with..." (1965, p. 78).

Consequently, during the latency stage, the child's perception of his parents would begin to change from the essentially passive and self-involved functional mode to a more "active" self-involved functional mode and to a sense of his parents as separate and distinct people with their own qualities and attributes. During the early latency period, then, the child becomes more concerned with what he can or might do to or for the significant people than the reverse. And, toward the end of the latency stage, the child would begin to perceive his parents and family as people in their own right with various aspects of their lives totally segregated from his own, and as people who may, in some essential way, be different from himself.

It has been stated above that during the Oedipal period and in the early stages of latency, the child's perception of significant people
in his life is determined by his rather considerable investment in his own wishes and bodily concern. If this assumption can be granted, it would follow that in adolescence, "the first recapitulation of the infantile sexual period" (Anna Freud, 1965), a similar phenomenon would, *mutatis mutandis*, take place.

**Adolescence**

During the adolescent period when the revival of the Oedipal and pre-Oedipal strivings occur, the adolescent is once again forced back upon himself in order to master the necessary disengagement, both hostile and affectionate, of family ties. "The narcissistic quality of the adolescent's personality is well known. The withdrawal of object cathexis leads to an overevaluation of the self, to heightened self-perception at the expense of reality testing, to an extreme touchiness and self-absorption, and generally to self-centeredness and self-aggrandizement" (Blos, 1962, p. 90).

It is true that there is a potential for pathological outcomes during this period of adolescence when defenses are threatened from within and from without by revived instinctual activity. It would be a mistake, however, to assume that the various mood fluctuations and apparently contradictory behavior of the adolescent are indications of a pathological process. On the contrary, such activity represents the essence of the process of restructuring the object world which is necessary for successful maturation. "I take it that it is normal for an adolescent to behave for a considerable length of time in an inconsistent and unpredictable manner. . . . adolescence is by its nature an interruption of peaceful
growth, and . . . the upholding of a steady equilibrium during the adolescent process is in itself abnormal" (Anna Freud, 1958, p. 275).

During adolescence preparations are made for the eventual establishment of "ego-integrity." The adolescent's narcissism and self-absorption, therefore, play a major role in establishing and redefining the self in terms of new, age and sex-appropriate objects.

The narcissistic stage is not only a delaying or holding action caused by reluctance to renounce definitely the early love objects, quite to the contrary, it also represents a positive stage in the disengagement process. . . . Once the source of narcissistic gratification derived from parental love has ceased to flow, the ego becomes invested with narcissistic libido which is withdrawn from the internalized parent. The ultimate result of this cathetic shift must be that the ego develops the capacity to secure on the basis of realistic achievement that amount of narcissistic supply which is essential for the maintenance of self-esteem. (Blos, 1962, p. 91)

As a result of the heightened self-awareness and preoccupation (the narcissism) of adolescence, it may be inferred that a corresponding adjustment will be made during this period of the adolescent's view of his parents and siblings. The parent of the adolescent becomes, once again, the major external source of limitations against which rebellion takes place and toward which conflict is directed. In spite of the fact that the adolescent has achieved considerable cognitive progress, the underlying affective issues are remarkably similar to, and perhaps even more intense than, those of the Oedipal and early latency child.

Consequently, it seems reasonable to expect that while the adolescent's definitions of his parents and peers may not, except in particular cases, "regress" to the passive, self-referent, and functional level of the Oedipal child, his definitions would reveal a subjective
involvement to a greater degree than the latency child who has achieved a relative psychological equilibrium.

Toward the end of adolescence, when a firm identity has begun to be established and a "new, a different love of one's parents" has taken place, the final shift of perception would occur. At this time the young adult will have a sufficiently stable self-concept to be able to disengage himself from his parents and family and be able to view them as independent and separate from himself.

Structural changes in formal cognitive processes

In addition to the theorists who have emphasized personality development and traced this development through various critical periods, there is also a large body of work representing the analysis of the development of cognitive processes. Piaget, for example, has studied the development of logical thought from the earliest "sensori-motor" relationships through the final stages of "formal operations." Each level of cognitive development, according to Piaget, is rooted in, yet qualitatively different from that which has preceded it. Thus, each new stage requires a "complete regrouping" (Piaget, 1929) of thought processes in order to make the necessary forward progress.

Piaget also states that as each new level of thought is approached, a heightening of "ego-centrism" takes place. "It is this lack of differentiation between another and the ego that characterizes ego-centrism" (Piaget, 1959). Following the ego-centrism appropriate to each stage, the child then begins to formulate the forms of thought and logical operations which meet the developmental schedule. In their book, The
Growth of Logical Thinking from Childhood to Adolescence, Piaget and Inhelder (1958) summarize this process as follows:

At first he [the infant] lives in a world without permanent objects and without awareness of the self or of any internal subjective life. Later he differentiates his own ego and situates his body in a spatially and causally organized field composed of permanent objects and other persons similar to himself. This is the first decentering process; its result is the gradual coordination of sensori-motor behavior. But when symbolic functioning appears, language, representation, and communication with others expand this field to unheard of proportions and a new type of structure is required. For a second time ego-centrism appears but this time on another plane. It still takes the form of an initial relative lack of differentiation both between ego's and alter's point of view, between subjective and objective, but this time the lack of differentiation is representational rather than sensori-motor. When the child reaches the stage of concrete operations (7-8 years), the decentering process has gone far enough for him to be able to structure relationships between classes, relations, and numbers objectively. At the same stage, he acquires skill in interindividual relations in a cooperative framework. Furthermore, the acquisition of social cooperation and the structuring of cognitive operations can be seen as two aspects of the same developmental process. But when the cognitive field is again enlarged by the structuring of formal thought, a third form of ego-centrism comes into view. This ego-centrism is one of the most enduring features of adolescence; it persists until the new and later decentering which makes possible the true beginnings of adult work. (Piaget and Inhelder, 1958, p. 342)

Using different presuppositions, methods of analysis, and empirical data, Piaget's developmental theory resembles the outline above in several critical features. First, there is the notion that as the child matures, his representations of the world become more and more a function of symbolic processes, relatively independent of external stimuli. Second, there is the idea that each new stage carries with it new developmental tasks which the child is, at first, at a loss to master. With the growth of more advanced forms of thought, however, the child attains the capacity to "decenter" his perceptions in order to maintain
the necessary equilibrium between perception and the perceived, internal representation and objective reality, in order to guarantee progressive movement.

According to the presentation of the development of object relations described by Anna Freud (1965), Blos (1962), Jacobson (1964), et al., a process logically similar to that described by Piaget takes place in personality development. It has been discussed how the young child gradually disengages himself from the complete psychological domination of his parents, and how this sequence undergoes transformations appropriate to the level of development. For example, after having won a certain measure of autonomy and established more socially oriented object relations during latency, the child "recapitulates" his affective involvement of early childhood at the beginning of adolescence. Corrections must, of course, be made for the higher cognitive level of the adolescent and of the new stage of thought toward which he aims. Nevertheless, the principles of change in both cases appear to be very much the same.

In addition to the work of Piaget, recent studies on the growth of concept formation demonstrate changes in conceptual organization over time. For example, Kagan and Moss (1963) demonstrated that age was a critical factor in forming concepts of relationship. Their subjects were asked to relate human figures which appeared on a card. They found that the "basic orientation" was to conceptualize either in "ego-centric" or "stimulus centered" terms. An example of the "ego-centric" mode was "people who like me"; while an example of the "stimulus centered" mode was "happy people."

Kagan and Moss point out three "conceptual classes" which the subjects tend to use. The first of these classes is the "analytic
descriptive" class, e.g., "people holding something"; the second is the
"inferential categorical" class, e.g., "people who help others"; while
the third class is termed "relational," e.g., "married people."

One of the main findings in their study was that "analytic" type
responses increase with age, grades one through six, while ego-centric
and stimulus centered responses decrease with age. Other findings con-
sisted of behavioral correlates of the various conceptual styles: the
analytic style was associated with "a reflective attitude, a tendency to
differentiate experience, and an ability to resist detracting stimuli."
The nonanalytic style tends to reflect opposite behavioral character-
istics, i.e., more impulsive and aggressive behavior, more reactivity to
external stimuli, etc.

In a similar study, Bruner and Oliver (1963) examined the various
"groupings" of conceptualization used in forming concepts of disparate
objects, e.g., "bell, horn, radio, etc." They found that subjects
ranging from first to sixth grade showed a marked increase in "functional"
responses, i.e., responses of this type: "they make noise," "you can turn
them on," etc. Correspondingly, they found a decrease in the use of
perceptible qualities as a basis of conceptualization. The authors inter-
pret their findings in terms of functional types of grouping being the
"first major shift in the economy of grouping. Is it not reasonable to
suppose that functionalism is perhaps the first major step along the
way toward being free of the diversity of impressions that environment
loads on us."

The authors say that the level of function-type concepts "seems
to be the link between perception and higher order conceptualization."
Functional responses may, therefore, be seen as "one step away from egocentrism" by which the child is freed of changing appearances (Bruner and Oliver, 1963).

The present study differs from those of Kagan and Moss (1963) and Bruner and Oliver (1963) insofar as the tasks required of the subjects presuppose not only a different locus of relationship, but also a different quality of relationship. The locus is different because, rather than ask subjects to perceive a relationship between two or more objective stimuli, the present study required that the subjects define the stimuli. From these definitions, an inference was made of the subject's perception of his own relationship to the objective stimuli. The quality of the task differs inasmuch as the objective stimuli to which the child is required to relate himself are neither independent of nor uninvolved with him. On the contrary, the stimuli in the present study are highly cathected objects in his life.

The methods by which these types of relationships were examined is the subject of the following section.
CHAPTER III

PROCEDURES

Subject selection and administration

In order to examine developmental changes in the child's perception of his parents, it was necessary to construct a new instrument designed specifically for this purpose. As a result of a pilot study, the method was refined for the study proper. In the pilot study several forms of the scale were used and various methods of analysis were tried in order to gain the maximum amount of information from the data. The results of the pilot study were then incorporated into the final method to be described.

The method consisted of the administration of the scale developed for this study and several validation scales to one hundred and eighty children and young adults ranging in age from five to twenty-two years. The sample of subjects was drawn from a middle-class school, and those subjects who had advanced beyond high school were taken from a sample of undergraduate psychology students at the Ohio State University.

The scales were administered to children from the kindergarten through the sixth grade in a face-to-face situation because they were not capable of adequately answering the questions on the scales independently. Those subjects from the eighth grade and higher were capable of writing their answers by themselves and were, therefore, administered the scales in a group setting.
The first scale was given to all subjects. It consisted of the vocabulary subtest of the Wechsler Intelligence Scale for Children. Embedded in the scale were six key words which denote significant others in the life of the child, namely, "father," "mother," "brother," "sister," "friend," and "teacher." The subjects were required, in the standard way, to define each word to the best of their ability with the following question: "What does X mean?" The responses were recorded verbatim and scored (Appendix A).

Scoring

The scoring of the words in the Wechsler list was performed according to the standard procedure. These words were used in order to obtain a verbal I.Q. estimate on each child with a good deal of reliability. The correlation of the verbal I.Q. with the vocabulary subtest is over .85.

The scoring of the responses to the key words, "father," "mother," etc., was developed specifically for this study. Rather than divide the responses into the simple dichotomy of "use" or "function" versus "non-use" or "essential characteristics," as Wolman and Barker did in their study (1965), analysis of the data of the pilot study revealed that a more complex scoring system was required.

As a result, the scoring of the responses to the key words was divided into five categories. These categories were then assigned weights for purposes of statistical analysis.

The first scoring category was labeled "passive, self-referent function." Included in this category were all those responses which defined the person in terms of an interpersonal relationship in which the
subject himself was the recipient or object of some action performed on
him, to him, with him, or for him. An example of the kind of responses
included in this category would be, "father: someone who takes me places
and buys me things."

The second category was termed "active, self-referent function."
Included in this category were all those responses in which the child
defines the person in terms of an interpersonal relationship in which he
is an active, rather than passive agent in terms of the initiation of
action. In other words, this category would include responses in which
the subject perceives himself as the one who performs actions on, for,
with, or to another person. An example of the active, self-referent
function response would be, therefore, "father: someone I like and do
erands for."

It may be pointed out that the progression from "passive, self-
referent function" type responses to "active, self-referent function"
responses corresponds to the development of ego skills and social compe-
tence. For the young child, with a relatively weak ego, therefore, the
predominant mode of his relationships would be not only functional and in
terms of himself, but in passive-receptive terms as well, i.e., being done
to or given to through little or no active participation on his part.¹

¹There exists the possibility that the young child may in fact
participate more actively than would be readily noticed. For example,
the child may, at some level, be aware of the fact that in order for
people to respond to him in a particular way, e.g., "buy him things," it
is necessary for him to have first acted in a way that would promote such
attention, e.g., he has to have been a "good boy." The fact, however,
that the child may act in this way is different from his conscious aware-
ness of the process and his ability to verbalize the quality of inter-
action. For purposes of this study, the important factor was the child's
perception of the relationship, a perception which was inferred from his
verbal response.
As the ego develops, however, the child becomes more and more aware of the effect he has on the world, and while still viewing people in terms of himself and functionally, he begins to perceive himself as an active participant capable of giving on his own terms.

When the child has developed still further, and the beginnings of a stable self-concept take place, he begins to disengage himself from his perception of others. At this point he will be able to view other people more independently insofar as he recognizes that they possess functions and qualities separate from himself. This new ability is reflected in the third scoring category—the category which combines objective qualities and subjective involvement. An example of the third category would be, "father: the person who married your mother" (the action does not directly involve the subject).

In this third category, it can be seen that the independent qualities and functions are personalized by the possessive pronoun "your." In scoring all responses, whenever a possessive pronoun was used, it was interpreted to be the first person. This interpretation was supported by the fact that during administration further inquiry of such responses as "the oldest man in your family" invariably consisted of statements to the effect that "well, in my family . . . such and such is the case."

The fourth and fifth categories reflect the quality of perception which indicates that the child has ceased to personalize his definitions, and now views the significant others in his life as having truly independent functions and/or attributes. An example of the fourth category, labeled "functional," is "father: someone who makes a living and supports a family." The fifth, "essential characteristics," category would be a response such as, "father: the male parent."
With few exceptions, all responses were scorable in one of the five categories. Occasionally, a very young child who did not verbalize well would respond with a statement like, "father: my daddy." Such responses were considered unscorable and excluded in computing the child's score, inasmuch as these responses do not even approximate a reasonable definition of the term. Young children have such difficulty in defining these terms that the use of the scale is appropriate only above the age of four years.

Once the scoring categories for this first scale were clarified, reliability approaching ninety per cent with an independent judge was straightforward and readily achieved. In a reliability check across grade levels and including responses from "passive, self-referent function" to "essential characteristics" type responses, thirty-five out of forty responses were agreed upon for a reliability of 87.5 per cent agreement.

Validating instruments

In order to test the validity of this first scale and at the same time check for possible behavioral correlates of the construct being investigated, two additional scales and a peer and teacher rating were used. If, in fact, the first scale was a measure of narcissism or egocentrism, defined in terms of the individual's lack of differentiation between subjective and objective and of heightened self-involvement, it was hypothesized that constructs which might be relevant would be those of "self-esteem" and "somatic complaints."

The relationship between the constructs of narcissism and egocentrism to the construct of self-esteem may be understood in almost
causal terms. That is to say, that self-esteem, "... the harmony or discrepancy between the self representation and the wishful concept of the self" (Jacobson, 1964, p. 31), is a product of the quality of the individual's self-involvement.

The critical complication of the relationship between narcissism and self-esteem arises from the fact of an abnormal amount of narcissism in depression and loss of self-esteem: "narcissistic gratifications through suffering usually lead to moods of depression connected with feelings of inferiority ..." (Helene Deutsch, 1944). At the same time, however, the role of narcissism and the apparently heightened self-esteem of megalomania has been extensively discussed since Freud's early paper (1914) on the subject.

In spite of the complexity of the relationship between narcissism, ego-centrism, and self-esteem, it was decided for the purpose of this study that a scale designed to measure self-esteem might be shown to correlate significantly in either direction with the scale designed to measure narcissistic or ego-centric perception of significant others. The self-esteem scale chosen for this purpose was the scale developed by Rosenberg (1965) and presented in his book on adolescents in which he discusses the manner in which this scale relates to such things as depressive affect, psychopathological symptoms, leadership abilities, stability of "self-picture," "sensitivity to criticism," loneliness, etc.

The Rosenberg scale (1965) consists of thirteen items alternating between positive and negative statements such as "Sometimes I feel I am no good at all"; and "I have a generally good opinion of myself." The scale is a Likert-type scale and the subject is presented with four
choices to each test item ranging from "strongly agree" to "strongly disagree" (Appendix B).

Because the wording of the self-esteem scale presupposed a certain level of cognitive maturity, the scale was administered only to that portion of the sample from the sixth grade up to the college group. Previous research in which the Rosenberg scale was used, had, in addition, established that sixth-grade students were the youngest age group that were capable of responding to the validated form of the scale (LeBlanc, 1966).

The second validation scale used in the study was a shortened form of the Wahler "physical symptoms inventory" which has been a part of a screening battery in an outpatient psychiatric setting. The Wahler Scale was also used by LeBlanc (1966) in his research and found to correlate, .73 (.01 level), with the Rosenberg (1965) self-esteem scale. Rosenberg (1965) also found a correlation between his self-esteem scale and physical symptoms, but his physical symptoms scale contained only two items and lacked face validity.

The relationship between narcissism and physical symptomatology has been well described by Reich (1960) in her article on "Pathological Forms of Self-Esteem Regulation." Reich states that "compensatory narcissistic self-inflation" produces, instead of the expected, "narcissistic bliss" of early childhood, severe symptomatology of self-consciousness and "hypochondriacal anxiety." "The need for narcissistic inflation arises from a striving to overcome threats of one's body intactness" (Reich, 1960).
The physical symptoms scale, therefore, was included in the study to test for the possible interaction of narcissistic or ego-centric perception of significant others on the one hand, and heightened bodily preoccupation on the other.

Like the Rosenberg scale, the Wahler scale presupposes a level of intellectual development and self-awareness. Consequently, only those subjects at the sixth-grade level and older were asked to complete the questionnaire. This questionnaire consisted of rating the frequency, from "almost never" to "nearly every week," of the occurrence of such physical symptoms as "feel like fainting," "backaches," "don't sleep well," etc. (Appendix C).

In addition to the construct validation scales of self-esteem and physical symptoms, it was decided to try to relate the narcissism-ego-centrism scale to global ratings of behavior. For this purpose teacher ratings and peer ratings were employed.

The specific behavior which would be associated with a narcissistic, ego-centric view of the world and significant people is both varied and, in some ways, contradictory. The process is further complicated by the fact that at certain stages of development narcissism is, as has been discussed, a sign of normal maturation. The contradictory forms of behavior are in themselves products of the two forms which heightened self-involvement can assume, i.e., the depressive and megalomaniac. For example, at the early stages of development when the narcissistic "functional self-referent" mode is predominant, it is difficult to isolate atypical behaviors except in severe pathological circumstances.
Nevertheless, it was assumed that certain forms of behavior would be part of the behavioral repertoire of those individuals scoring "high" and "low" on the narcissism-ego-centrism scale and would be reflected in teacher and peer ratings (Appendixes D and E).

The behaviors which were included in the peer ratings consisted of such items as, "Name the three people in your class who are good sports and never quit even when they don't get their own way." This item was included to tap the narcissistic influences on behavior in the form of tolerance for frustration.

The second item included in the peer rating was, "Name the three people in your class who are the most considerate of others." This item was relevant to the narcissistic view of others insofar as it would appear to discriminate individuals who were capable of assuming the point of view of another and would be less inclined to confuse "subjective with objective" (Piaget, 1959; Piaget and Inhelder, 1958).

Item number three of the peer rating was designed to include narcissistic perception of objects in terms of selfishness and self-centered interest (Anna Freud, 1965) and was presented in the form of "Name the three people in your class who are the most willing to share their things."

The final item of the peer rating was similar to the third with regard to impersonal objects, but with the focus now on the individual's perception of other people in relation to their possessions. "Name the three people in your class who are the most careful with other people's things."

The peer rating was administered only to that portion of the total sample in which two conditions were met, namely that (1) the
subjects were familiar with each other and (2) the subjects were intel-
lectually capable of understanding and responding appropriately to the
questions.

The first condition of familiarity was easily met by all but the
college group. All of the subjects except the college group were students
of a small, progressive, university-sponsored and affiliated school, and,
in the majority of cases, had been together in the same class for several
years. The sample of college students, however, was a typical college
class population, i.e., students who had been together only for three
hours a week. It was decided, therefore, to exclude a peer rating from
this group.

The second condition of intellectual capacity was met only by
those subjects from the sixth-grade level through the high-school level.
Thus, on the same basis that the self-esteem scale and the physical
symptoms inventory were not administered below the sixth-grade level, the
peer rating was also ruled out.

It may be noted that the peer rating consists of only positive
items, and would, therefore, correspond (hypothetically) to subjects
whose scores located them at only one extreme of the other measures.
This feature of the peer rating is a result of the fact that research in
which subjects are required to give unfavorable opinions of each other is
open to serious questions of ethical acceptability.

In the teacher rating, however, negative items were included
along with the positive items just described. In this case, it was felt
that confidentiality on the part of the teachers could be easily obtained
and the procedure posed no ethical problems. From the teacher rating, it
was hoped that ratings would relate to both extremes of the other scales. The teacher rating was administered to all the subjects with the exception of the college group. The college professors were not included because of the obvious lack of familiarity with their students, a lack which might have undermined the usefulness of the rating itself.

The procedures which have been described were created in order to test the following hypotheses:

1. That a reliable measure of narcissistic or ego-centric perception can be constructed for ages five through twenty-two in the form of a scale.

2. That scores on this scale increase regularly with an increase in age until the onset of puberty, approximately ages twelve and thirteen.

3. That scores on this scale after the onset of puberty drop below the level achieved at the age just prior to puberty, approximate age ten.

4. That after the early phases of puberty the scores on this scale climb to their highest point, approximately ages fifteen and sixteen, and maintain that peak into early adulthood.

5. That the mean proportion of responses of the type "self-referent function" decrease with an increase in age.

6. That the mean proportion of "essential characteristics" type responses increase with an increase in age.

7. That there exists little, if any, relationship between estimated verbal I.Q. and the mean total scale score.

8. That subjects scoring in the "high" range on peer ratings will be related to high scores on the narcissism-ego-centrism scale.

9. That subjects scoring "high," i.e., positively, on the teacher rating will be "high" on the narcissism-ego-centrism scale.

10. That subjects scoring "low," i.e., negatively, on the teacher rating will be "low" on the narcissism-ego-centrism scale.
Because of the possibility that the measures of self-esteem and physical symptoms may have a curvilinear relationship to the constructs of narcissism and ego-centrism, no specific directional hypothesis for the interrelationship of the three scales, narcissism-ego-centrism, self-esteem, and physical symptoms inventory was made. Hypotheses for possible correlations of these scales was further complicated by the fact that the self-esteem scale and the physical symptoms inventory may, when given to a predominantly adolescent group of subjects, be contaminated by a prevalence of socially desirable response sets. These two scales, therefore, were included only for the purposes of exploration.
CHAPTER IV

RESULTS

Findings related to narcissism-ego-centrism scale

The results of the study will be described below and are presented graphically in Appendix F.

The most general finding of the study was that the mean total score on the narcissism-ego-centrism scale increases as a function of age (Figure 1). The mean total score represents the mean score of all responses to all "key words" denoting significant figures, i.e., "father," "mother," "brother," "sister," "friend," and "teacher." The responses to each of the key words was assigned a value from one to five, with one point given for the most primitive response, "passive, self-referent function"; and five points given for the highest order conceptualization, the "essential characteristics" response.

Inspection of Figure 1 reveals that the increase in the total scale score is in the predicted direction (although not statistically significant) up to the age of the onset of puberty with the typical "growth spurt" between grades two and four. This sudden increase at about age eight appears to be in accord with the findings in the Wolman and Barker study (1965) in which a similar change took place in the shift from "use" to "non-use" types of definitions of simple nouns.

In Figure 1, it should also be noted that the onset of puberty (eighth grade, ages twelve and thirteen) brings on a tendency of a shift
in the scale score in the predicted direction. After puberty has crossed its peak (eleventh grade, ages sixteen and seventeen), the scores once again begin their predicted upward trend.

Interestingly, the predicted directional changes in the total score seem to occur only for males; for females the progression is continuous without the expected changes in direction. For neither group, however, are the directional changes statistically significant. This unexpected sex-differentiation was not predicted and the interpretation of this distinction will be examined in the discussion section.

Figure 2 shows the graphic representation of the relationship between age and the "primitive" passive, self-referent functional type responses. As predicted, the use of this type of response decreases with an increase in age, with the biggest apparent changes taking place between the second and fourth grades for both sexes, and only for males between grades nine and eleven. With regard to the predicted changes in direction during puberty, neither males nor females "regressed" all the way to this primitive form of conceptualization during puberty. This result was expected. What was not expected, however, was that males would make their final shift later than females. This "delay" could be accounted for by the well-established finding that the onset of puberty and, therefore, its subsequent quiescence is somewhat earlier for females, even though the results were not significant.

The graph of the relationship between age and "active, self-referent function" responses (Figure 3) shows descriptively that during adolescence both males and females reverse the decreasing trend of the use of this category at puberty—a reversal which was predicted. In this
there is also an apparent discrepancy between the sexes during early latency, with males showing a higher level of "active" type responses than females. This result would not be surprising insofar as the high activity of males during this period has been widely recognized and discussed.

Figure 4 depicts the relationship between age and "personalized," or "self-referent," objective responses. From the graph, it seems clear that there exists an unexpected disparity in the curves of males and females. The females may be described in terms of an early "growth spurt" to a plateau, a maintenance of this position until they are well into puberty, and then the beginning of an abrupt downward trend. The males, however, show a gradual progression in the use of this category and, with the onset of adolescence, jump to an extremely high point from which they begin their downward movement.

The graph which shows the relationship of age to "function" responses (Figure 5) suggests that during adolescence there exists a reversal of direction for both sexes. Even if the shift were statistically significant, however, it would not be particularly striking because, among other things, this category was the least used of any of the categories and reveals, therefore, only slight emphasis of the main effect. Nevertheless, prior to the sixth-grade level, the males seem to exceed the females in the proportion of functional type responses. This difference may, as in Figure 3, be a result of greater expression and encouragement of "activity" in males at this age.

The highest of the categories, that of "essential characteristics," and its relation to age is contained in Figure 6. The expected
growth spurt for both males and females seems to occur between second and fourth grades. From the beginning of adolescence on, however, the curve of the females continues its smooth and uninterrupted progress. Only the males demonstrate the predicted directional change, and do so in a rather dramatic way. A one-tailed T-test of the significance between the mean scores for males of the sixth grade and the males of the eighth and ninth grades, respectively, was significant at the .05 level in both cases. The T-test for females was not statistically significant. A possible explanation for this unusual difference between the sexes will be discussed in the next section.

The Figures 1 through 6 also suggest one additional fact which deserves consideration. In spite of wide apparent differences across grades between male and female, the mean total scores for each category are essentially the same at grade six. Grade six, eleven years, is the age just before the onset of puberty in both sexes. The fact that the differences between the sexes seems to even out just prior to adolescence lends support to the hypothesis that the sex differences which occur during adolescence may be viewed as relevant to and generated by the adolescent process itself. This implication will be examined more thoroughly below.

The relationships between the mean score and the age for each of the key words are presented graphically in Figures 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, and 12. It can be seen that for the words "father," "mother," "brother," and "sister," the curves for both males and females rise and fall according to the predicted "peaks" of latency and post-adolescence, and the "valleys" of pre-latency and adolescence proper.
Although there is statistical significance (.05) for the combined groups, males and females, it is of note that the males are responsible for the majority of the predicted change of direction. It is also probable that because of the size of the sample of males and of females in each group, T-tests computed for the means between grades six, eight and nine were primarily in the predicted direction, but not statistically significant. With regard to the relationship between scale scores for "teacher" and "friend" and age (Figures 11 and 12), only males seem to exhibit the downward trend during the adolescent period. The curve for females appears to be relatively smooth in its progression.

The additional graphs in Appendix F present the data in a slightly different manner. Figures 13 through 20 show, by grade, the mean proportion of each type of response used. Figures 21 through 28 show, by grade, the mean scale score for each of the key words to which responses were considered.

**Findings related to the validation instruments**

The scores on the other scales were also correlated to determine whether or not the narcissism-ego-centrism scale was significantly related to any other measures.

The prediction that the scores on the narcissism-ego-centrism scale would not be related to the subjects' estimated verbal I.Q. was supported by the fact that in no grade was the Pearson product moment correlation of these two sets of scores either above $r = .30$ or statistically significant.

Neither the self-esteem scale nor the physical symptoms inventory correlated significantly with total score on the narcissism-ego-centrism
scale, except in two of the four grades tested (sixth and ninth) where the relationship between self-esteem and physical symptoms was above .50 and significant at the .05 level. All of the correlations were, however, in the expected negative direction, i.e., high self-esteem was related to low physical symptoms.

The teacher and peer ratings also proved to be inconsistently related to the total scores on the narcissism-ego-centrism scale. In two grades, the teacher and peer ratings correlated significantly with each other at the .05 level. These grades were six (.60) and nine (.74). In the other two grades in which correlations of teacher and peer ratings were made, i.e., grades eight and eleven, the correlations were both low and insignificant, although in the predicted direction.
CHAPTER V

DISCUSSION

The results of the study indicate that a reliable scale of narcissistic ego-centric perception can be constructed, and that scores on this scale differ across age groups. The study also provides some support for the hypotheses that during certain developmental periods the affective life of an individual will influence his general cognitive performance. Consequently, even though the results for the interaction of emotions and cognition are not conclusive, this study does initiate methods of investigation which could prove valuable in further research.

The potential reflection of affective involvement in cognitive tasks is strengthened by consideration of the particular methods used in the study. For example, the "response set" which was created for the subjects was designed to elicit the highest level of cognitive performance of which they were capable. The subjects were asked to give the "best" response that they could. Evidence for the fact that such a set had been in effect was given, anecdotally, by some of the subjects when they were questioned after completing the various scales. The eighth-grade subjects said that they had given "literal definitions" to the key words. When asked what this term meant to them, one subject replied, "Well, I was going to say that 'brother' was someone who jumped all over me and stuff like that. But I thought you wanted literal definitions like, 'the boy in your family.'" Thus, even though the study worked
against itself by emphasizing the highest level of cognitive responses, the affective involvement of some of the subjects prevented them from giving the highest level of response on the narcissism-ego-centrism scale. For example, the response stated above would be placed in the "objective self-referent" category, rather than "essential characteristics" category.

Another way in which the design of the study supports the general hypothesis that affective life influences cognitive functioning was the elimination of "socially desirable" response sets. In this case, the desire of a subject to "look good" in his performance was controlled by scoring only the formal structure of his response to the key words. Whether a subject responded to a key word in a positive or negative manner was not considered. His score to the key word was based solely on the structural quality of his response, e.g., "father: someone who takes me places," and "father: someone who never takes me places" are both placed in the "passive, self-referent" category.

The results of the study also suggest that the developmental changes in the perception of people are different for different people. Inspection of Figures 7 through 12 shows that the curves for members of the immediate family do follow the predicted directional changes, even though these changes were not statistically significant in all cases. The curves for people outside the family, however, do not appear to follow the predicted sequence.

The possibility that the level of cognitive performance is influenced by the emotional life at various developmental stages, and the apparent changes which occur in relation to "significant others" in the
child's life lend empirical support to the underlying theoretical rationale for the study. It is psychoanalytic theory which provides not only for the cognitive effects of the emotional upheavals of adolescence, but also for the people involved.

Other theories such as Piaget's theory of cognitive development do account for the "ego-centrism" of adolescence, for example, but such a theory is applicable only by implication. Piaget's notion of the "restructuring" of thought processes at various stages of development is based on the growth of the child's ability to form symbolic relationships between abstract and impersonal concepts like space, time, causality, etc. Piaget does not discuss concrete, interpersonal relationships. Furthermore, the ego-centrism at each stage described by Piaget does not account for the hypothesis in this study that a child will use developmentally earlier modes of perception during a period of heightened ego-centrism.

Psychoanalytic theory does appear to be the most useful theory for explaining the results of this study. Many theories of development focus on the growth of cognitive functions and view this growth as essentially uninterrupted and progressive from early life to maturity. Psychoanalytic theory, however, provides for the interaction of affect and cognition and, most important, does not view development in terms of a rigid monotonic function, but allows for, even requires, the inter-relationship of all aspects of personality at each level of development.

One of the most interesting and at the same time puzzling results of the study was the wide sex differences which occurred on almost every dimension of the narcissism-ego-centrism scale. It is true that these differences were not uniformly statistically significant at each grade
level. Thus, while there are positive findings insofar as development in
general is concerned, the specific hypotheses of directional changes
(which were expected) and sex differences (which were not expected)
await further verification.

In the present study, it seems clear that by the time both males
and females have reached the sixth-grade level, whatever differences may
exist in their linguistic ability and formal thought processes have
evened out. It is reasonable to suppose, therefore, that any disparity
between the sexes during the adolescent process would be a function of
that process itself, related to but qualitatively different from the
processes which have gone before.

It also seems reasonable, therefore, to interpret the curves for
responses to the key words "father," "mother," "brother," and "sister"
in terms of the adolescent's relation to his immediate family. If the
narcissism-ego-centrism scale is, in fact, a function of the degree of
subjectivity or objectivity present in perception; and if the objective
nature of perception of significant others in latency is challenged by
the subjective involvement during adolescence; then the scores on the
scale should reflect this change as well. This process is shown clearly
in the curves in Figures 7, 8, 9, and 10. In each case where a member
of the immediate family was concerned, the objectivity of perception
dropped during adolescence.

Similar curves did not result for the perception of people out-
side the immediate family (Figures 11 and 12). The implication of this
finding is that the most significant changes in the quality of one's
interpersonal perception take place with reference to the most significant
people in one's life. While this statement appears to be a truism, it is one which has resisted empirical verification.

It is interesting that for one key figure, that of "mother," females did not reverse the direction of their total scores as predicted, and as did the males (Figure 8). The interpretation of this finding will be discussed below.

The most striking difference in the responses of males and females was in the "essential characteristics" category. Inspection of Figure 6 in Appendix F reveals that both sexes reach a peak at the sixth grade and then drop below that peak at the beginning of adolescence. The change in direction for the males, however, is radically dissimilar from that of the females. Statistically, the female mean might have occurred by chance alone, while it is unlikely (.05) that the mean for the males would have dropped on the basis of chance. Finally, after the adolescent period both males and females reach essentially the same point, and when the adolescent "crisis" has passed, they both maintain this peak well into the college years.

The category of "essential characteristics" has been defined as that quality of interpersonal perception in which the object is perceived as "a person in his own right," with qualities and attributes independent of and separate from the subject himself. It is this aspect of "separateness" which underlies the interpretation of objectivity by which definitions in this category have been described. It would seem, then, that the different qualities of the male and female responses on this dimension might reflect some fundamental psychological difference between the sexes.
Possible explanations of this phenomenon may be revealed by reconsidering the particular, sex-specific crises which the adolescent faces. While the underlying conflicts of separation from parental figures, the establishment of new object relations, and the resolution of identity formation might be the same for both sexes, these conflicts will be resolved differently by males and females.

For the female, the physiological transformations of adolescence which finally mould her personality are predominantly internal. The menarche presents the female with the problem of having to come to terms, at some level, with what is happening inside her and what the process means. Erikson (1963) points to this particularly feminine problem when he states:

"The fear of remaining empty (oral) or being empty (anal) has a special quality in girls, since the body image of the girl (even before she "knows" her inner anatomic arrangement) includes a valuable inside, an inside on which depends her fulfillment as an organism, a person, and as a role bearer. This fear of being left empty, and, more simply, that of being left, seems to be the most basic feminine fear, extending over the whole of a woman's existence. It is normally intensified with every menstruation and takes its final toll during the menopause. (Erikson, 1963, p. 410)

It is true, of course, that there exist wide individual differences to the "trauma" (Deutsch, 1944) of the menarche as well as many interpretations of the possible psychological impact of menstruation itself, e.g., injury to the genitals, being unclean and impure, etc. Nevertheless, a fundamental significance for the female seems to be in the terms that Erikson has discussed, namely, the awareness of an internal state, the perception of which leads to feelings of self worth or self depreciation.

Deutsch (1944) discusses an additional difference between males and females during adolescence which seems particularly relevant here.
This difference is the "phase of intensified identifications" in which "the feminine ego seems to remain longer" as a result of the female's more pervasive use of fantasy.

The fact that females do not show the deviations which males show in their use of the "essential characteristics" category may be a function of the two processes, one physiological, the other psychological, mentioned above. In other words, it could be hypothesized that as a result of her increased emphasis on the perception of "internal" attributes and her greater proneness to identify with, rather than rebel against, significant objects—the female subjects would employ increasingly more definitions of the "essential characteristics" type, rather than less. This hypothesis would account not only for the curve in Figure 6, but similarly, for the lack of directional change—for females only—in Figure 8, i.e., "mother."

If it can be accepted that males "turn more toward reality" during adolescence (Deutsch, 1944) insofar as their identity becomes a function of what they are able to "do" rather than what they internally "are," then the interpretation of their reversal of direction on the scale during adolescence becomes clear. The major factor which accounts for the downward trend of "essential characteristics" responses (Figure 6) is the increase for the males of the "objective self-referent" category (Figure 4). In addition, the main type of response to the latter category consisted of examples such as, "someone . . . in your family," i.e., responses which employ a possessive pronoun.

It might be hypothesized, therefore, that the adolescent male is vitally concerned with establishing his identity, not only in terms of
what he can "do," but also in terms of his "sphere of influence," i.e., by understanding what belongs to him through his sense of active possession. This need may be reflected in his use of "possessive" pronouns during this period.

The result that scores on the narcissism-ego-centrism scale failed to correlate with the other measures used can be understood in terms of methodological inadequacies, theoretical confusion, or perhaps a combination of these aspects.

For the purpose of discussion, let it be assumed that the self-esteem scale and the physical symptoms inventory correlate significantly for all grades, even though this significance held for only two grades out of four. It does not follow from this assumption that the two scales would then necessarily correlate with the narcissism-ego-centrism scale. Rather, a high correlation between the two scales only indicates that they are measuring the same construct, one which might be far removed from the construct the first scale attempts to measure. Further research on these scales would be necessary for a more precise explication of their validity and relevance to one another.

Given the nature of the self-esteem scale, the physical symptoms inventory, and of the sample used, however, it seems plausible that both scales may be measuring what might be termed a "defensive or socially desirable response set." For example, the items on the scales are rather transparent in their intent, unlike the items on the narcissism-ego-centrism scale. With an adolescent population the desire to "look good" on the scales could very easily have precluded an accurate statement of the subjects' underlying affect and awareness of the items.
The results also reveal that the narcissism-ego-centrism scale does not relate significantly to the peer ratings or teacher ratings used in the study. In two grades, however, teacher ratings did in fact correlate significantly (grades six and nine) while in the other two grades (eight and eleven) there was no relationship found whatsoever.

It is possible that the peer ratings and teacher ratings reflect a variable different from that of the narcissism-ego-centrism scale. This hypothesis would receive more support if the peer and teacher ratings had correlated well with each other in all four grades which took them. The fact that they did not correlate may be a result of the fact that the eighth grade teacher was relatively unfamiliar with her students as a result of her having taught them for less than a month. On the other hand, the low level of relationship between the peer rating and the teacher rating in the eleventh grade might be due to other factors, e.g., the more "resolved" aspect at this age of the students' personalities which would therefore tend to make their behavior and attitudes less conspicuous, especially to an adult.

Once again, however, let it be assumed that for all grades the relationship between the peer ratings and the teacher ratings was strong, and that even under these conditions there was no relationship to the scores on the narcissism-ego-centrism scale. What hypotheses may be advanced in this situation to clarify the nature of the constructs that each scale measures?

Once the results were clear that there existed no relationship between peer ratings and teacher ratings, and total score on the narcissism-ego-centrism scale, an ad hoc experiment was informally performed to try to explicate the underlying variable of the former scale,
inasmuch as the latter scales (or the self-esteem and physical symptoms inventory, for that matter) were of little help in this regard.

Fortunately, an independent judge for one of the grades was available. This judge, an experienced and highly trained clinical psychologist and practicing psychotherapist was, on the basis of previous experience, familiar with most of the children and their parents in the fourth-grade group.

This independent judge without prior knowledge of any child's total scale score on the narcissism-ego-centrism scale, proceeded to rate informally each child and that child's parents along clinical dimensions. The mean total score for the fourth-grade level was 2.96, and it was felt that if the ratings of the judge corresponded to subjects who fell above and/or below the mean score, a rough index of the personality characteristics under consideration would be revealed.

The following statements are representative ratings of the judge, first of the high scoring subjects, and then for the low scoring subjects:

1. "More mature than average" (scale score 4.47)
2. "Well disciplined, polite, mature, considerate of others" (scale score 4.53)
3. "Highly disciplined, similar to number two" (scale score 4.30)
4. "Father deserted the family, mother psychopathic, narcissistic, child is from a disorganized home" (scale score 1.83)
5. "Cannot take responsibility, emotionally immature, parents divorced, child likely to be selfish" (scale score 1.83)
6. "Physically and psychologically in the bottom four or five of the class" (scale score 1.71)
While the ratings of the judge were not conceptualized further, it seems clear that the relevant variables represent behavior which belies an immature, self-involved, and somewhat infantile personality structure. The fact that these subjects correspond prima facie to the end points of the narcissism-ego-centrism scale suggests the possibility, for further research to validate, that the scale is in fact a measure of narcissistic and ego-centric perception and/or behavior.

One possible explanation for the fact that the ratings of the independent judge seem to relate to the scale while the ratings of the teachers do not is, of course, that they are measuring different things. Just what the teachers' ratings are measuring, at this point, is unclear. It may be, however, that a particular child would be perceived differently by the teacher than by the judge as a result of the interference of the teacher's own needs. For example, a teacher may judge a child to be "mature," "unselfish," etc., if the child behaves in an obsequious manner toward her and causes little or no disturbance in the classroom. The trained clinician, however, would quickly assess this behavior as dependent, clinging, and correspondingly "immature." Thus, it may be possible that the narcissism-ego-centrism scale measures underlying personality characteristics which are manifest only to a trained observer. In further research it would seem reasonable to employ such judges, rather than the scales used, in order to validate the narcissism-ego-centrism scale.

Other hypotheses which may be worth investigating, along with the male and female differences on the narcissism-ego-centrism scale, are the possibilities of social class differences. The sample used in this study
was predominantly middle class. It would be useful to test the scale on lower socio-economic populations, delinquent populations, etc. It might be that in spite of less facility with abstract concepts and/or their verbal expression in these populations, there would be little or no difference in their performance on the scale.

There are, however, certain populations in which scores on the scale should be out of phase with expected maturation. One such population would be a pathological one in which the scale would reflect, for example, a primitive personality structure; this scale could then be useful as a diagnostic instrument to determine developmental arrests or regression.

Finally, there are opportunities for further research on a cross-cultural basis. In her article on "Dominant and Variant Value Orientations," Kluckhohn (1956) points out that one of the "basic human problems for which all people at all times in all places must find some solution" is the question of the "valued personality type." Kluckhohn goes on to say that solutions to this problem can be in one of three forms: "being," "being in becoming," and "doing." The "being" orientation reflects "what is conceived to be 'given' in the personality"; the "being in becoming" mode consists of an emphasis on "self-realization--self-development of all aspects of the self as an integrated whole"; while the "doing" orientation is the "demand for action in the sense of accomplishment and in accord with standards which are conceived as being external to the acting individual" (Kluckhohn, 1956).

It is reasonable to assume that certain cultures with different emphases on the "valued personality type" would have a correspondingly
different perception of significant others. But it is also reasonable to suppose that a universality of certain core interpersonal conflicts would reflect a change in the perception of people similar to that found in this investigation. The narcissism-ego-centrism scale would be a valuable instrument in furthering research, not only at the cultural level, but research at virtually every level of human interaction.
APPENDIX A

NARCISSISM-EGO-CENTRISM SCALE
AND SCORING INSTRUCTIONS
The following questions are part of a research project being conducted at the Ohio State University. All answers will be kept completely confidential. Please answer the questions as well and as honestly as you can. Be sure to write clearly so that your answers will be understood. Your assistance in this project is valuable, and we appreciate your cooperation.
Answer the following questions:

Name:

Age Birthday Sex

Grade

Do you have any brothers? If you do, how old are they?

Do you have any sisters? If you do, how old are they?

Below is a list of words. In the space following each word, write what the word means. Do not skip any word, unless you do not know what the word means. Do the words in order. If you come to a word you do not know, go right on to the next word until the end of the list. It is not expected that you will know the meaning of every word—just do as many as you can. You may write as many answers to each word as you wish. Begin with "Bicycle." In the space opposite "Bicycle" write what "Bicycle" means.

Bicycle

Knife

Father

Hat

Letter

Mother

Umbrella

Cushion

Brother

Nail

Donkey
Sister
Fur
Diamond
Friend
Join
Spade
Teacher
Sword
Nuisance
Brave
Nonsense
Hero
Gamble
Nitroglycerine
Microscope
Shilling
Fable
Belfry
Espionage
Stanza
Seclude
Spangle
Hari-kiri
Rcede
Affliction
Ballast
Catacomb
Imminent
Kantis
Vesper
Aseptic
Chattel
Dilatory
Flout
Traduce
The Narcissism-Ego-Centrism Scale is a combination of the vocabulary sub-test of the Wechsler Intelligence Scale for Children and the six "key words." Scoring procedures for the Wechsler words will be found in the scoring manual which accompanies the Wechsler test. The six key words, "mother," "father," "brother," "sister," "friend," and "teacher" are scored as follows:

1 point ................................ passive self-referent function

Included in this category are those responses which define the perception of the interpersonal relationship as one in which the subject himself is the recipient or object of some action performed on him, to him, with him, or for him.

Examples: father: someone who takes me places and buys me things
friend: someone who plays with me

2 points ................................ active self-referent function

Included in this category are those responses which define the perception of the interpersonal relationship as one in which the subject is an active agent in terms of the initiation of action which he performs on, to, with, or for another person.

Examples: father: someone I like and do errands for
teacher: someone I learn things from

3 points ................................ objective self-referent

Included in this category are those responses which combine (a) independent functions or essential characteristics with (b) the personalization of these independent functions or essential characteristics.

Examples: father: the oldest male in my family
mother: someone who cooks my food
4 points ........................................ functional

Included in this category are those responses in which the definition signifies some function being performed independent of the subject himself.

Examples: father: someone who makes money and supports a family
mother: the person who cleans a house

5 points ........................................ essential

Included in this category are those responses in which the definition signifies some characteristic or attribute which is not a function and exists independently of the subject himself.

Examples: father: head of the family
mother: female parent

Additional instructions

All responses are to be recorded verbatim. This includes not only the actual words used by the subject, but also any indications of the points at which the ideas are separated. Each separation of ideas represents a scorable response for the key word. The total score for each key word is the mean of all responses to that word.

Examples: friend: someone you like and go places with (two responses)
sister: takes care of me and is in my family (two responses)

Whenever the personal pronouns "you," "we" (as subjects), "you," "us" (as objects) and "your," "our" (as possessives) are found, they are interpreted as meaning "I," "me," and "my."  

Examples: mother: someone you (I) love
teacher: someone who teaches you (me) things
father: someone in your (my) family
APPENDIX B

SELF-ESTEEM SCALE
Below is a list of statements dealing with your general feelings about yourself. If you AGREE with the statement, circle A.

If you STRONGLY AGREE, circle SA.

If you DISAGREE, circle D.

If you STRONGLY DISAGREE, circle SD.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Strongly Agree</td>
<td>Agree</td>
<td>Disagree</td>
<td>Strongly Disagree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>On the whole, I am satisfied with myself.</td>
<td>SA</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>D</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>At times, I think that I am no good at all.</td>
<td>SA</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>D</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I feel that I have a number of good qualities.</td>
<td>SA</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>D</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I wish I could believe in myself more than I do.</td>
<td>SA</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>D</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I am able to do things as well as most other people.</td>
<td>SA</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>D</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I feel I do not have much to be proud of.</td>
<td>SA</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>D</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I do not like to put my abilities to the test.</td>
<td>SA</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>D</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I certainly feel useless at times.</td>
<td>SA</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>D</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I feel that I'm a person of worth, at least on an equal plane with others.</td>
<td>SA</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>D</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I wish I could have more respect for myself.</td>
<td>SA</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>D</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All in all, I am inclined to feel that I am a failure.</td>
<td>SA</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>D</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I take a positive attitude toward myself.</td>
<td>SA</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>D</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I seem to have feelings of inferiority.</td>
<td>SA</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>D</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
APPENDIX C

PHYSICAL SYMPTOMS INVENTORY
Below are a list of troubles from which many people suffer. Draw a circle around the number in front of each item which tells best how often you are bothered by that trouble.

Circle "0" if you almost never suffer from that trouble.
Circle "1" if it bothers you about once a year.
Circle "2" if it bothers you about once a month.
Circle "3" if it bothers you about once a week.
Circle "4" if it bothers you about two or three times a week.
Circle "5" if it bothers you nearly every day.

0 1 2 3 4 5 Feel like throwing up
0 1 2 3 4 5 Headaches
0 1 2 3 4 5 Cannot sleep well
0 1 2 3 4 5 Stomach pains
0 1 2 3 4 5 Backaches
0 1 2 3 4 5 Fainting
0 1 2 3 4 5 Feeling real tired
0 1 2 3 4 5 Hard to breathe
0 1 2 3 4 5 Can't eat
0 1 2 3 4 5 Colds
APPENDIX D

TEACHER RATING
Please list the students in your class who best fit each of the descriptions below. The same student's name may be used in more than one question.

Name the three students who would be most likely to give up when confronted with even minimum frustration.

Name the three students who would be most likely to finish a difficult task even if it meant repeated frustration before final success.

Name the three students who are the least considerate of the feelings of others.

Name the three students who are the most considerate of the feelings of others.

Name the three students who are the least willing to give of themselves or their possessions, ideas, etc.

Name the three students who are the most willing to share their possessions, ideas, etc.

Name the three students who are usually careless with, and show little concern for, other people's things.

Name the three students who are the most careful about taking care of other people's things.
APPENDIX E

PEER RATING
Below is a list of questions about people. For each question, choose the three people in your class who best fit the description in the question. Answer all the questions by writing in the names. Don't forget to put in the first and last name.

You may use any person's name as often as you like. Just make sure that he or she fits the question.

Name the three people who are good sports and never quit even when they do not get their own way.

1.
2.
3.

Name the three people who are the most considerate of others.

1.
2.
3.

Name the three people who are the most willing to share their things.

1.
2.
3.

Name the three people who are the most careful with other people's things.

1.
2.
3.
APPENDIX F

FIGURES
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<tr>
<th>Grade</th>
<th>PSRF</th>
<th>ASRF</th>
<th>OBJSR</th>
<th>Functional</th>
<th>Essential</th>
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GRADE 9

#18

PSRF

ASRF

OBJSR

FUNCTIONAL

ESSENTIAL
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<tr>
<th>Score</th>
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<th>Mother</th>
<th>Brother</th>
<th>Sister</th>
<th>Friend</th>
<th>Teacher</th>
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