

THE UNIVERSITY OF MANITOBA  
SELF, OTHER AND MEANING: THE DIFFERENTIAL  
EFFECT OF POWER AND AFFECTION IN AN INSTITUTIONAL SETTING

by

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## ABSTRACT

The symbolic interactionist perspective suggests that individuals interpret situations in terms of the meaning these situations possess for them, and then act accordingly. Meaning is acquired through interaction with others. These others are seen as being of differential significance in the degree to which they influence the individual, and a common distinction is between those others whose evaluations are incorporated into the individual's Self identity and thus exert a generalized, enduring effect upon the individual (primary others), and those whose evaluations are not incorporated and who therefore exert influence only in a limited or role specific sense (secondary others).

An examination of the literature concerning the circumstances under which an individual comes to see others as either primary or secondary indicates that two important variables to be considered are power and affection, and furthermore, that their effects are dissimilar. The present study suggests that primary and secondary others can be distinguished by the degree to which the individual holds them in high positive regard. Those others regarded most positively are considered to be of primary significance in that their evaluations of objects will more likely be accepted or incorporated by the individual than will imputations received from others held in less positive regard. Moreover, the influence of others regarded positively by the individual

will exert itself across many varied situations, while the influence of others, who are salient primarily due to power considerations, will exert itself in specific situations only.

On this basis it is hypothesized that, while both affection and power will correlate positively with overt conformity, internalization or inner acceptance of others' influence will tend to be related primarily to affection. In general, the results support the hypothesis.

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

| CHAPTER |   | <u>Page</u> |
|---------|---|-------------|
| I       | THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK . . . . .                         | 1           |
|         | Introduction . . . . .                                  | 1           |
|         | Review of the Literature . . . . .                      | 2           |
|         | Significance of Self . . . . .                          | 8           |
|         | Others . . . . .  | 9           |
|         | Factors Affecting<br>Incorporation of Meaning . . . . . | 14          |
|         | Emotional Disturbance . . . . .                         | 22          |
|         | Problem . . . . .                                       | 26          |
|         | Hypothesis 1 . . . . .                                  | 28          |
|         | Hypothesis 2 . . . . .                                  | 29          |
|         | Hypothesis 3 . . . . .                                  | 30          |
|         | Hypothesis 4 . . . . .                                  | 30          |
| II      | METHODOLOGY . . . . .                                   | 32          |
|         | Sample . . . . .  | 32          |
|         | The Residential Treatment Centres . . . . .             | 33          |
|         | Method of Data Collection . . . . .                     | 34          |
|         | Scales . . . . .  | 36          |
|         | Self Concept . . . . .                                  | 37          |
|         | View of Staff . . . . .                                 | 37          |
|         | Perceived Staff . . . . .                               | 37          |
|         | Conformity of Institutional Expectations . . . . .      | 37          |
|         | Internalization of Salient Norms . . . . .              | 38          |

| CHAPTER |   | <u>Page</u> |
|---------|---|-------------|
| III     | ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION OF DATA . . . . . | 40          |
|         | Total Sample Results . . . . .                | 40          |
|         | Hypothesis 1 . . . . .                        | 40          |
|         | Hypothesis 2 . . . . .                        | 41          |
|         | Hypothesis 3 . . . . .                        | 42          |
|         | Hypothesis 4 . . . . .                        | 44          |
|         | Inter-Institutional Differences . . . . .     | 46          |
|         | Interpretation of Results . . . . .           | 47          |
| IV      | CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS . . . . .        | 52          |
|         | SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY . . . . .               |             |
|         | APPENDIX 1 . . . . .                          |             |
|         | APPENDIX 2 . . . . .                          |             |
|         | APPENDIX 3 . . . . .                          |             |
|         | APPENDIX 4 . . . . .                          |             |

LIST OF TABLES

| TABLE   | <u>Page</u> |
|---|-------------|
| 1. Characteristics of the Sample by Age and Length of Time in Care . . . . .  | 33          |
| 2. Correlations among Conformity and Perception of Staff as Powerful and as Good (Hypothesis 1) . .   | 41          |
| 3. Changes in Perception of Staff as Good and Self Discrepancy, Time 1 to Time 2 . . . . .  | 43          |
| 4. Changes in Perception of Staff as Powerful and Self Discrepancy, Time 1 to Time 2 . . . . .  | 43          |
| 5. Correlations between Perception of Staff as Powerful and Self Discrepancy Controlling for Perception of Staff as Good, Total Sample (Hypothesis 3) . . | 43          |
| 6. Self Scores and Involvement in the Disturbed Role (Hypothesis 4) . . . . .   | 45          |
| 7. F Values for Differences among Institutional Means . . . . .   | 45          |
| 8. Correlations between Conformity to Institutional Expectations and Perception of Staff as Powerful (Hypothesis 1A) . . . . .                            | 48          |
| 9. Correlations between Conformity to Institutional Expectations and Perception of Staff as Good (Hypothesis 1B) . . . . .                                | 48          |
| 10. Correlations between Perception of Staff as Good and Self Discrepancy (Hypothesis 2) . . . . .  | 48          |
| 11. Correlations between Perception of Staff as Powerful and Self Discrepancy (Hypothesis 3) . . . . .  | 50          |
| 12. Correlations between Perception of Staff as Powerful and Self Discrepancy Controlling for Perception of Staff as Good (Hypothesis 3) . . . . .        | 50          |

LIST OF FIGURES

| FIGURE |  | <u>Page</u> |
|--------|--|-------------|
| 1.     | Subscale Profile - Institutional Atmosphere<br>Scale . . . . . | 35          |

## CHAPTER I

### THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

#### Introduction

The study that follows is an examination of change in emotionally disturbed children, conducted during the fall and winter of 1971-1972, in three Winnipeg residential treatment centres. It was designed to examine, within a symbolic interactionist framework, the differential effect others have upon an individual.

While most personality theorists would recognize that individual development is a continuing process, they would also recognize that the process is usually gradual, and as a consequence, it is often difficult to detect meaningful changes within a time span that is convenient for study. Two major difficulties encountered in research of this type are finding populations that are undergoing relatively rapid change and identifying the sources of this change. Thus, the writer welcomed the opportunity to study a group of emotionally disturbed children engaged in a residential treatment program in a controlled atmosphere where the focus is upon the induction of personality changes in specified directions.

The study will hopefully serve two major purposes. It will allow the researcher to test certain hypotheses drawn from interactionist theory - propositions that can possibly be integrated with

existing knowledge to provide a more complete understanding of personality development. In addition, it is hoped that the study may prove of value to the participating institutions and others engaged in similar work.

### Review of the Literature

Many approaches exist from which human behavior may be viewed. The model used in this study is the symbolic interactionist approach developed primarily from the writings of G. H. Mead (1934). The following review will seek to clarify, from an interactionist position, two major concepts used in this study, namely, self and other, as well as briefly examine the topic of individual receptivity to influence from others.

#### Self

A crucial point which must be noted about the social behaviorism of G. H. Mead is that it is formulated so as to take into account both the social nature of the individual's behavior and the individual's contribution to that behavior.

What one must insist upon is that objectively observable behavior finds expression within the individual, not in the sense of being in another world, a subjective world, but in the sense of being within the organism. ... The external act which we do observe is a part of the process which has started within. (Mead, 1934:5)

That is, Mead's behaviorism is concerned with both the ongoing social process and the rise of inner experience and meaning that occurs with this process. Meanings arise within the context of social experience, taking the role of the other, and are continually modified by further experience within the social process. However, simultaneously, action

taken by the individual with respect to a situation or an object is also a product of the values that object has for him, values developed through the relationship of the object to the person. Any account of behavior must include both the environmental object and the individual's values with respect to that object.

Mead presents a processual, interactive view of human behavior, a view of behavior based on both the social situation and the individual's inner experience. Individuals are seen as acting in situations in terms of the meanings these situations have for them. Action is not, therefore, merely the unfolding of a prearranged pattern, but rather, stimuli are mediated by the definitions and interpretations placed on them by the individual's inner experience (Blumer, 1969).

These definitions or meanings arise as the individual participates in an ongoing social process. The key to man's development within this process is his ability to communicate in significant symbols. With this ability, the individual actor is able to take the role of the other - to perceive objects as he imagines others see them - and thus to develop meanings of his own.

The nature of an object - of any object and every object - consists of the meaning that it has for the person for whom it is an object. This meaning sets the way in which he sees the object, the way in which he is ready to talk about it. ... The meaning of objects for a person arises fundamentally out of the way they are defined to him by others with whom he interacts. (Blumer, 1969:11)

Thus, meanings of objects - a grouping which includes concrete, social, and abstract categories - arise through social interaction and serve to influence behavior with respect to the objects in question. Included among the objects which have meaning for the

individual is the self, which, like other objects, "emerges from the process of social interaction in which other people are defining a person to himself." (Blumer, 1969:12)

The concept of the reflective self lies at the core of Mead's social psychology. Mead states as follows:

[The self] has a character which is different from that of the physiological organism proper. The self is something which has a development; it is not initially there at birth, but arises in the process of social experience and activity, that is, develops in the given individual as a result of his relation to that process as a whole and to other individuals within that process. (1934:135)

[People come to experience themselves] not directly, but only indirectly from the particular standpoints of other individual members of the same social group or from the generalized standpoint of the social group as a whole to which he belongs. (1934:138)

In other words, the sense of self - the meaning of the self-object - develops in social interaction as the individual takes the role of the other, first in the stage of play, and then in the game. (Mead, 1934:150-164) The individual places himself in the position of others and, thus, views himself as he imagines others see him.

Self arises in interaction with others through the process of role taking, or what Sullivan (1953) refers to as the "incorporation of reflected appraisals".<sup>1</sup> In so far as we interact with numerous others in diverse situations, it follows that there are varied aspects to the self, and that the aspect of self most prominent in a given

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1. Gergen (1971) and Fitts (1971) provide brief summaries of self-development within the above general framework.

transaction is in part called out by the interaction itself.

There are all sorts of different selves answering to all sorts of different social reactions. It is the social process itself that is responsible for the appearance of the self; it is not there as a self apart from this type of experience. (Mead, 1934:142)

One situation may give rise to one aspect of self, to one role-identity; another may produce quite different results. Certain selves may be called out in many circumstances, others in only limited situations. Similarly, just as there is an organization or correspondence of self with respect to specific situations, so can it be said that there is an organization of self with respect to the social process in general - what Mead (1934:142) refers to as "an organization of the whole self with reference to the community to which we belong" - the individual's view of himself with reference to the whole course of his interactions. Just as the individual who has experienced different encounters with various dogs, some of which were friendly, some vicious, develops a composite orientation towards dogs composed in a complex fashion of elements from these experiences, so also can the individual, from numerous interactions of differential importance, come to see himself as an object from the perspective of the social process as a whole.

Another way of looking at this is to say that a situation or interaction will call up in the actor aspects of self that are related only or primarily to that situation, as well as aspects of self common to many situations. Thus, a man may be speaking with a policeman, for example, or making an expensive purchase, and each

situation elicits a different view of self. Common elements may also exist, however, for in each situation the actor may expect to be victimized, perhaps through a ticket he did not deserve or by being over-charged, and thus, both may serve to reinforce a particular view of self as a participant in the general social process. Although the extent to which the actor's view of self in a particular situation is composed of situational and generalized factors is at best very difficult to determine, it is of conceptual value to remember that both are operational in the formation of the actor's view of self at any particular time.

It has been said that self refers to the individual's view of himself as an actor, both in specific situations and with respect to the social process as a whole. Like other objects, a sense of self arises during interaction with others. Mead's view presented above, is an extended version of Cooley's writings (1902) on the reflected or looking-glass self. Cooley's formulation, however, makes explicit certain ideas lost, or only implicit in Mead's presentation, namely, the concept of self-feeling or emotion.

In a very large and interesting class of cases the social reference takes the form of a somewhat definite imagination of how one's self - that is, any idea he appropriates - appears in a particular mind, and the kind of self-feeling one has is determined by the attitude toward this attributed to that other mind. A social self of this sort might be called the reflected or looking glass self.

A self-idea of this sort seems to have three principal elements; the imagination of our appearance to the other person; the imagination of his judgement of the appearance, and some sort of self-feeling, such as pride or mortification. (Cooley, 1902:183-184)

Thus, in addition to the denotative meanings acquired in taking the role of other, affective or evaluative overtones are also acquired. In interaction with others the individual comes to identify himself as a particular type of object or performer who engages in particular behaviors (e.g., student, person) as well as affectively qualifying the adequacy or appropriateness of that type of object (e.g., good person, poor student).<sup>1</sup> That is, during interaction with others the individual acquires affectively qualified views of himself both as actor within specific situations and as a composite performer within the general social process. It is to these affective aspects of self that much of the remainder of our review of the literature is addressed.

For the purpose of this study, self will be conceptualized as the individual's general affective view of himself; in other words, as the attitudes held by the individual toward himself as an actor in the social process. The emphasis will be placed on the individual's overall view of himself, rather than on his view of himself as an actor in a particular situation, although it is recognized that different situations do tend to evoke differentially evaluated identities or performances. By eliminating reference to situations what remains are those relatively enduring, recurrent evaluations of self used by the individual to give direction and meaning to his performances in a general way in many situations.

Thus it has been suggested that individuals possess views about themselves as actors in specific situations and as actors in a general or trans-situational sense. Behavior can be seen as a product of orienta-

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1. This distinction is similar to that advanced by Fitts (1971). He distinguishes between the identity Self (self as object) and the judging Self (self as evaluator); but also sees a third component in Self, the behavioral Self (self as doer).

tions evoked by a situation, included in which are both aspects of the actor mentioned above. In so far as situations vary infinitely, while human behavior tends to exhibit striking commonalities over time, it would appear advantageous, in order to gain a greater understanding of such behavior, to examine elements common to these situations, one of which is the actor's affective view or evaluation of himself as a participant in the general social process. It is to this that the label "Self" has been attached in the present study.

### Significance of Self

Through the course of interaction with others the individual acquires definitions of numerous objects that serve to guide and influence his behavior. These may be considered to be of differential significance to the individual. It is the writer's contention that among the most important definitions held by an individual are those that define for him his generalized Self concept or Self image. This view is widely shared. The significance of Self in the work of Mead has already been mentioned. Murphy (1947:529) writes:

Like the childhood rag doll, the self, scarred and tattered as it is, becomes a deeply treasured possession; for most of humanity, at least in competitive cultures, it is probably the central value of existence. However poor, confused, and incoherent it is, it is central, and must be defended not only against outer attacks but against a perception of its unloveliness.

Foote (1951) sees doubt of self-identity as serving to drain action of its meaning and limit mobilization of the organism. Combs and Snygg (1959) also give a central role to the Self in their theoretical formulations, as does Rogers (1951). Garretson suggests:

[The] self-conception is the core conception in the person's organization of objects into a coherent whole or total view of himself and the world around him.  
(1962:113)

Neo-Freudians such as Erikson (1959) and Hartmann (1964) see "self" or identity as central constructs in the understanding of human behavior. The work of Reckless and associates<sup>1</sup> (1956, 1967) assigns a significant role to Self in the understanding of delinquent behavior. More recently Fitts (1969, 1970, 1971) has engaged in extensive research with Self as the crucial variable. He writes:

Probably the most salient feature of each person's phenomenal world is his own self - the self as seen, perceived, and experienced by him. (1971:3)

Although it is recognized that there are extreme difficulties in both theoretical and methodological approaches to the Self - Wylie (1961) provides an excellent summary of these - this researcher feels that the significance of the construct for an understanding of human behavior is such that it cannot be ignored. Anyone seeking to study human conduct from an interactionist perspective must realize that this conduct is strongly influenced by the meanings brought to the situation by the individual, prominent among which is his view of himself. Thus, in this study the focus is on changes in Self meanings, rather than in other definitions held by the individual, and the relation of these changes to the individual's interactions with others.

### Others

It has been suggested that Self meanings, besides being of central importance to the individual and to an understanding of his behavior, arise in a fashion similar to the meanings of other objects, namely, through the process of "role-taking". Only through inter-

1. The elaboration of Reckless' work by Tangri and Schwartz (1965) and its later criticism by Orcutt (1970) reveal the difficulties encountered in pursuing empirical work in this area. Such criticisms do not mean that the area is immune to scientific inquiry, however, only that the researcher must exercise extreme care in both his theoretical and methodological formulations.

action with others can the meanings of Self and other objects come into being. It follows then that changes in Self should arise in response to different reactions from other. Furthermore, changes that occur should be in a direction that results in greater similarity with the view of Self that others are perceived to hold. Included among those whose work substantiates this idea are Miyamoto and Dornbusch (1956), Videbeck (1960), Reeder, Donohue, and Biblarz (1960), Maehr, Mensing, and Nafziger (1962), Sherwood (1965), and Quarantelli and Cooper (1966). Sherwood (1965), in showing that Self identity moves closer to perceived view of Self held by others ('subjective public identity'), also suggests that there is a close relationship between perceived and actual view of Self held by others ('objective public identity'), and that over time Self identity moves closer to the view actually held by others.

Mead clearly spells out the fact that the meanings attributed to objects by an individual are a product of social interaction. For example, "It is impossible to conceive a self arising outside of social experience." (1934:140). Elsewhere he states:

Only in so far as he takes the attitudes of the organized social group to which he belongs toward the organized cooperative social activity or set of such activities in which that group as such is engaged, does he develop a complete self. (1934:155)

However, the relationship between the individual and those with whom he interacts, and who as a consequence shape the meanings he holds, is only vaguely delineated.

It has long been recognized that others are of differential significance for the individual; that they possess varying degrees of influence over his behavior. For example, all theorists recognize the

significance of early family environment for the development of the child. Lacking comparisons or alternatives, and placed in a dependent relationship with a limited number of powerful others, the child is forced to incorporate into his developing image of Self the only meanings available in the environment - those supplied by his parents. Once the child matures and leaves the close embrace of the family for school and other community activities, the monolithic nature of parental influence diminishes, and the relationship between the individual's Self definitions and the others with whom he interacts becomes increasingly problematic.<sup>1</sup> While certain developmental periods are of greater import in the development of autonomous<sup>2</sup> definitions of Self, changes in Self meanings, often of a dramatic nature, do occur throughout the life cycle. Any attempt to account for these changes must deal with the relationship between the individual and those with whom he interacts.

Various formulations have been devised to deal with the differential import that others have upon an individual. Sullivan (1953:34) speaks of the "significant other" as:

1. This is not to suggest that the family is the only influence impinging on the preschool child, or that its influence disappears at age six, but rather, that for the preschooler, the family is dominant and the entrance into school marks a dramatic increase in the range of others competing for control over the child.
2. Autonomous refers here to the fact that once established, meanings direct or influence the actor, usually in a fashion that leads to the reinforcement of pre-existing conceptions; or as Mead (1934:140) states, "After a self has arisen, it in a certain sense provides for itself its social experiences."

A source of satisfaction, as an agency of acculturation, and finally as a source of anxiety and insecurity in the development of social habits which is the basis of development of the self system.

Rose (1962:11) writes about "reference relationships", a term he deems preferable to reference groups in that:

It permits the "other" to be a single individual, a group, or even oneself in the case of a narcissistic individual. It also permits one to have degrees of "reference" or "significance" in the relationship, even down to a negative value.

Brim (1967:16-17) uses the term "reference set" to identify "those persons to whom an individual refers his behavior to check on its appropriateness and its value". He also suggests that although the actual relationship may be forgotten, it has been "generalized into 'I-me' relationships" and thus, exerts a continuing influence on the individual's behavior. Rotenberg and Sarbin (1971:98) suggest:

The term "primary other" be used to refer to audiences whose valuations are incorporated into self-identity and the term "secondary other" to stand for audiences who have prestige, power over ego, etc., and whose valuations are situationally significant but not necessarily incorporated into the self-identity.

Kuhn (1964) in his analysis of the concept of reference group and the "others" of Mead and Sullivan distinguishes between "orientational others" and the remainder, which Denzin (1966) labels "role specific others".

The orientational other has four defining attributes. (1) The term refers to the others to whom the individual is most fully, broadly, and basically committed, emotionally and psychologically; (2) it refers to the others who have provided him with his general vocabulary, including his most basic and crucial concepts and categories; (3) it refers to the others who have provided and continue to provide him with his categories of self and other and with the meaningful roles to which such assignments refer; (4) it refers to the others in communication with whom his self-conception is basically sustained and/or changed. (Kuhn, 1964:18)

Essentially, then, orientational or primary others are those persons or groups that are of importance to the individual regardless of the role or situation that he is in at any particular moment.<sup>1</sup>

Role specific others, on the other hand, are those others important to the individual in his performance of a particular role.

These formulations have certain common characteristics. They all attempt to clarify the relationship between the individual and those with whom he interacts. They recognize that the others with whom an actor comes into contact vary in significance for him, and as a result have different effects upon the way he interprets and responds to his environment. Directly or indirectly, they seek to relate the effect of others to the individual's most crucial definitions - his view of Self. Others are divided into two ideal categories, those whose evaluations are incorporated into the individual's Self-concept, and as a consequence may be said to exert a general, lasting influence over his behavior; and those whose evaluations are not incorporated. These latter may be seen as exerting little or no influence over the individual, or as influencing him only in the performance of specific limited roles.<sup>2</sup>

To summarize, it has been shown that the others with whom an individual interacts are of differential significance to him in the process

1. This use of the term primary differs from that originally advanced by Cooley (1909:23) in that primary others need not be found only in close physical proximity to the individual for whom they are primary. It does, however, convey the crucial aspect of Cooley's definition, namely, that these others are primary or "fundamental in forming the social nature and ideals of the individual."

2. It might be argued that research conducted with these ideas in mind is likely to have only limited usefulness because of the tautological way in which these concepts are formulated; that is, orientational or primary others are both defined and identified through their effect on the Self concept. The fact that propositions contain tautological elements, however, does not invalidate their usefulness in social science research, as Liska (1969) has shown. What is required is a restatement or reorganization of the basic idea and problem.

whereby he comes to formulate meanings about objects, including the Self object. Recognition of this fact, however, is but a first step, and serves to raise a more important issue, namely, the circumstances under which an individual enters into a 'reference relationship' with another. What factors enter into the placement of a particular other in the orientational or primary, as opposed to the role specific or secondary, classification? Under what circumstances are relatively enduring and stable meanings acquired by the individual? The problem cannot be dismissed by simply stating that the actor acquires meaning through taking the role of the other, for in his interactions with many others the actor 'takes their roles' in that he is able to perceive fairly accurately their orientations towards objects, yet at the same time these definitions are not incorporated or internalized by that individual as his own. The question remains, under what circumstances will an individual come to incorporate as his own the perceived meanings attributed to objects, especially the Self, by a particular other?

#### Factors Affecting The Incorporation Of Meaning

Studies concerned with the degree to which influence can be exerted over an individual have tended to examine three related variables - characteristics of the audience, the source, and of the situation in which attempts to influence others are made. Videbeck (1960) for example, related the effect of the other to the actor's motivation with respect to the issue, the qualifications possessed by the other, the intensity of his response and the frequency of reinforcement. (See also Gergen (1971)).

A crucial factor in determining the degree to which an individual is inclined to see the other's orientations as applicable for his own use is the quality or type of relationship that exists between the individual and the other in question. It is this relationship that must be examined if a greater understanding is to be acquired of the processes whereby an individual comes to possess the orientations he has, or the means by which they will change. Furthermore, the study of these relationships should be directed at the interpretation placed on them by the individuals involved - especially the actor in whom we are anxious to observe change - rather than at the objective content of the relationship as perceived by the other or experimenter. For example, the child's view of mother's behavior may differ considerably from that of mother or the researcher; it cannot be assumed that because the researcher identifies certain behavior patterns as either rejecting or nurturant that his subjects have also experienced them similarly.

The actual process whereby the child comes to accept the orientations of others as his own have usually been approached through discussions of "identification". Whether it is necessary to postulate a process of identification to explain the acquisition of behaviors and meanings from others, however, has been questioned. Bandura and Walters (1963: 89-90), for example, suggest that it is not necessary:

Observational learning is generally labeled "imitation" in experimental psychology and "identification" in theories of personality. Both concepts, however, encompass the same behavioral phenomenon, namely, the tendency for a person to reproduce the actions, attitudes, or emotional responses exhibited by real-life or symbolized models. ... Therefore, it is in the interests of clarity, precision, and parsimony to employ the single term, imitation, to refer to the occurrence of matching responses.

Nevertheless this writer feels that identification may indeed be distinguished from imitation, and may be defined as:

A hypothesized process, accounting for the child's imitation of a model's complex, integrated patterns of behavior - rather than discrete reaction or simple responses - emitted spontaneously without specific training or direct reward for emulation. ... Identification responses are assumed to be relatively stable and enduring rather than transient. Moreover, while a child may imitate the behavior of a model with whom he has only the most casual relationship, identification rests upon an intimate, personal attachment to the model.  
(Mussen, 1967:81)

Similar distinctions are also made by Parsons and Shils (1951) and Brofenbrenner (1960).<sup>1</sup>

The concept of identification was first developed in the writings of Sigmund Freud. Two distinct types or processes can be identified; identification with the aggressor, or defensive identification, and anaclitic, or developmental identification (Bronfenbrenner, 1960). The former is based on the boy's fear of punishment:

[The boy fears] that his father will castrate him in retaliation for his aggression and rivalry as well as for his sexual feelings towards his mother. The boy's envy of his father, his hostility toward him, and his consequent fear of punishment and retaliation constitute the primary forces for the resolution of the Oedipus complex and, subsequently, for the boy's identification with the father.  
(Mussen, 1967:82)

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1. In-so-far as the central role played by the individual in organizing and interpreting environmental stimuli is accepted, it is necessary to account for that individual in any explanation of the process, whether it is called imitation or identification, in which selective behaviors and evaluations are acquired. To attribute these only to reinforcement contingencies seems insufficient when one is dealing with a symbol-manipulating organism. In addition, it should be noted that the "intimate, personal attachment to the model" or primary other need not involve physical proximity.

The latter (that is, developmental identification), developed to explain the unfortunate fact that fear of castration fails to provide the rationale for the internalization of moral norms among females, suggests that for girls identification is rooted in a different mechanism.

[It] is rooted in her anaclitic relationship to her mother, that is, her original love and attachment to the mother, and her need to insure the continuation of this relationship. More specifically, the girl's identification with the mother is motivated by her fear of loss of the mother's love, which would inevitably entail frustration and deprivation of care and protection. (Mussen, 1967:84)

Thus, the child is seen as identifying with the other either in response to the fear induced by the all powerful, threatening other, or as the result of having established satisfying contacts with a nurturant other which he desires to retain. Although it is true that an element of fear can be seen in each, the processes leading to identification differ. As Mowrer notes:

It is true that in both developmental and defensive identification the subject is 'frustrated', but the different nature of the frustration in the two instances is noteworthy. In one case it arises from a sense of helplessness and loneliness; the parent or parent-person is absent and the infant wishes he were present. In the other case the frustration arises rather from interference and punishment; the parent or parent-person is present, and the infant wishes he were absent. But the latter wish brings the average child into intolerable conflict; while he hates the parent for his disciplinary actions, he also loves the parent, and experiences acute anxiety at the prospect of his really being separated, physically or emotionally, from him (or her). (Mowrer, 1950:572)

These formulations suggest that two central variables influencing the process of identification - the acceptance of others' standards and

evaluations as one's own - are power and affection.

Other writers, looking at the socialization of the child from the concept of role, have arrived at similar conclusions. Identification is explained by the model's ability to control the administration of both positive and negative sanctions in his relationship with the child. That is, both affectionate and power variables are taken into account. Thus, Mussen and Distler (1959) see a combination of control and nurturance as leading to the greatest social influence, while Winch (1962) feels that the functional and affective ties that bind a relationship are the most conducive to identification. Brim writes:

In the life of every person, there are a number of people directly involved in socialization who have great influence because of their frequency of contact, their primacy, and their control over rewards and punishment. (1966:8)

Lofland (1969:260) takes a slightly different stance when he suggests:

It can be said that Actor is most 'vulnerable' to accepting as true the imputations which emanate from those Others for whom he has a strong and positive regard.

However, he also feels that one of the major facilitants of affective bonds is the existence of power considerations - in the form of practical aid. Similar conclusions are reached by Gecas (1971).

Thus, it may be said that the relationships an individual has with others in his social environment significantly affect the orientations and definitions he comes to accept. These relationships

may be viewed along two major dimensions, affection and power.<sup>1</sup>

Many methods of describing the parent-child relationship have been used, and in the past two decades a number of factor analyses, intended to reduce the various descriptions to their common elements, have shown that power and affectivity are the two major dimensions underlying the various ways of describing relationships. This empirical discovery points to the importance of these two dimensions. The first indicates the degree to which the socializing agent (the parent in these particular studies) exerts dominance or authority in relationship to his child, as against being permissive or democratic or even, in some cases, submissive. The second indicates the degree to which there is a highly affective relationship between parent and child, in contrast with one of low affectivity or "affective neutrality", to use Parsons' term. (Brim, 1966:36)

Studies of identification have usually been conducted on young children within the context of the family, a situation in which both high levels of affectivity and power predominate between model and child. Once the child leaves the immediate confines of the family he enters into a series of relationships in which the simultaneous existence of both high affect and high power becomes less frequent. In some relationships affective bonds predominate, while in others, power is primary. Adult socialization, for example, usually occurs in situations of "affective neutrality and little power differentiation" (Brim, 1966:37), circumstances not conducive to the internalization of basic values or the modification of existing orientations. According to Brim, only in relationships possessing the characteristics of those encountered in childhood

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1. The writer realizes that the terms affection and power (particularly power) have numerous specialized meanings. No attempt is being made to deny the validity of these usages. It is of importance here only to recognize that individuals tend to perceive interpersonal relationships along two major dimensions, variously designated as power, authority, control, nurturance, affection, or support. For the purpose of this study, the first dimension will be referred to as power, while the second will be called affection or goodness.

socialization are basic changes to be expected in adults. However, it should be noted that numerous individuals, for example prisoners in correctional facilities, are placed in situations of great power differentiation without appreciable modification of basic values; while other individuals, in what appear to be situations of little power differentiation, show great modification in their value orientations. It would appear that the two dimensions in question possess somewhat different consequences; that they are not equally effective in producing personality changes.

Considering the influence that others are able to exert, Festinger (1953), while accepting the significance of affective and power variables in a relationship, suggests that somewhat different outcomes will arise from interactions based on each. Thus, relationships based on power or utilitarian considerations will be successful in inducing changes in overt behaviors only, while the original behaviors will be reverted to upon the removal of the individual from the situation, an example of public conformity without private acceptance. However, relationships based upon affectional ties are more liable to result in stable and enduring changes, changes in internal perspectives as well as in overt behaviors - public conformity with private acceptance.

Winch (1962), in his discussion of positional and personal identification, makes a similar distinction. In the former, the other is regarded as powerful or functional for a specific task or situation, and as a result is able to influence the individual only in that situation

or others like it. The latter applies to relationships in which the other is held in high personal regard and, consequently, exerts a generalized influence over the individual across a wide variety of role positions. In the former situation a role specific relationship exists; in-so-far as the individual occupies a role he is under the influence of certain others whose effect on him largely disappears when he no longer occupies that role. Although he may conform to their expectations the influence they exert is temporary. In the latter situation, a transrole relationship exists in that the effect of the other is felt beyond the confines of the particular role-relationship that first gave rise to the effect in question; that is, the actor has incorporated the evaluations or imputations of the other. As Rotenberg and Sarbin express it:

The effects on the self of a valuation by a primary other should become independent of the role-taking relationship which originally gave rise to it. That is, the 'self-other pattern' becomes stabilized so that role taking ceases to modify self-role behavior and hence role behavior stemming from interaction with a primary other should persist at all times and situations, whether the specific primary other is physically present or not. On the other hand, role-taking behavior valued by a secondary other should persist only as long as the specific situation exists in which the other is relevant by virtue of his power to dispense reinforcements. (1971:99)

Although other variables are present, the writer contends that the crucial element which distinguishes others as either primary or secondary is the individual's perception of the relationship he shares with that other. If the individual sees the other primarily in terms of a power dimension and sees himself as engaging in a specific relationship with that other, it is doubtful that the influence exerted by

the other will be permanent. But if the individual perceives himself as participating in a relationship with a warm, good other (i.e., if he perceives the other with high positive affect), it can be anticipated that he will be most vulnerable to accepting the perceived evaluations of the other as his own, and such an other may therefore be said to be of orientational or primary significance to the individual.

From this perspective, it is somewhat misleading to state that individuals acquire their basic orientations through accepting the perceived views of others as their own, because such a view tends to oversimplify the situation. It is more accurate to say that individuals tend to incorporate as their own primarily those meanings imputed by those others whom they perceive with strong positive affect. It is this idea that will be tested in this study, using as subjects a group of "emotionally disturbed" boys.

### Emotional Disturbance

Subjects for this study were a group of boys undergoing residential treatment for emotional disorders. For this reason it is best to clarify somewhat the meaning of emotional disturbance, or to use a more general term, mental illness.

Mental illness can be viewed from various perspectives. For example, Rimland (1969) makes an excellent case for the proposition that possibly all disorders presently attributed to psychic causes, and at the very least the more severe "illnesses" commonly referred to as the psychoses, will eventually be found to be caused by physio-

logical factors. For him, mental illness is a myth, not in the sense suggested by Szasz (1960, 1961), but with the meaning that behaviors so classified result from as yet undiscovered biogenetic origins.

Another viewpoint tends to see mental illness in terms of identifiable personality disorders, a perspective that owes much of its thrust to the voluminous writings of Sigmund Freud and his disciples. Although there is nothing wrong in expanding the disease model of physical illness to cover emotional problems, and inferring as a consequence that the individual "suffers from some condition that permeates his whole being, rather than from a more specific defect in learning or interpersonal relations" (Mechanic, 1969:3), it is perhaps regrettable that the only evidence of a particular mental disorder or disease often lies in the very symptoms by which it was identified.<sup>1</sup>

A third orientation towards the problem of mental illness can be seen in the writings of Lemert (1951, 1967), Becker (1963), Mechanic (1969), and Scheff (1966), the societal reaction theorists. Working with Lemert's distinction between primary and secondary deviation, they all seek to explain mental illness by using essentially the same framework, one of the most comprehensive expositions of which has been provided by Scheff. Following Becker (1963), Scheff distinguishes between rule breaking and deviance, the former being the violation of social

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1. For a defense of this position see Ausubel (1961).

norms, while the latter is defined as acts which have been publicly labeled as norm violations. It is the violation of residual rules, diverse rules left after all others have been categorized, that leads to the labelling of someone as mentally ill. The primary significance of this approach lies in the fact that the locus of abnormal behavior is removed from the individual and is placed within the social context, within the network of significant others with whom the individual interacts. It would appear, however, in view of the harsh criticism leveled against this perspective by Gove (1970) and Mankoff (1971), that in the future societal reaction theorists will have to be more circumspect in their formulations, particularly in their assumptions about the willingness of others to impute the label of mentally ill to an individual.

The view taken here with regard to emotional disturbance is one which recognizes the significance of the social context in the formation of behavior, as does labeling theory, while also recognizing the profound effects interaction with others may have in creating personality maladjustment prior to any awareness of that maladjustment by others.

The emotionally disturbed child is seen as one who, in his interactions with others (usually parents), has acquired orientations towards, or definitions of, objects (including Self) which, despite their suitability or survival value within the family setting (Bell and Vogel, 1960), are such that his behavior in response to environmental stimuli outside the family context is maladaptive both to himself and for others. Within the context of interactionist

theory, the child can be seen as having acquired a set of definitions about the world which lead him to interact with the world in ways that are usually neither rewarding nor satisfying, both to himself or others. Indeed, a central characteristic of emotionally disturbed children is their inability to engage in mutually satisfying relationships with others.<sup>1</sup> It is this difficulty which at time leads to the selection of certain of these children as emotionally disturbed and their placement in available facilities for treatment.<sup>2</sup> The type of facilities available to deal with the disturbed child vary considerably. Our concern here, however, is not with specific organizations,<sup>3</sup> but with some of the elements of social interaction which may lead to changes in individuals.

The decision to utilize emotionally disturbed children as subjects was based on two major considerations. In so far as they are participating in an intensive care program it was hoped that personality changes would occur to a measurable extent within the time available for completion of the study. Furthermore, the general direction in which changes should be occurring was known, in that the emotionally disturbed child is usually seen as possessing a very negative Self image,

1. This is not to imply that all those who have difficulty engaging in mutually satisfying relationships are emotionally disturbed. It may be that the others with whom an individual interacts are disturbed. The mentally retarded and those with learning and perceptual disabilities may have the same problems. It should be noted that learning disabilities are often accompanied by problems of an emotional nature; it is often difficult to tell whether it was the learning disorder that led to the emotional disturbance, or whether the reverse is true.
2. Obviously not all individuals requiring help for emotional problems receive treatment. Although the process whereby some are judged fit for assistance, while others are rejected, is an interesting problem, it is beyond the scope of this study.
3. For those interested in organizational typologies see Organization for Treatment (Street, Vinter, and Perrow, 1966).

which gradually improves during successful treatment (Fitts, 1971). Secondly, placement in residential treatment drastically reduces, for most of the children involved, the number of influence sources acting on the child, thus simplifying the interpretation of results.

### Problem

From an interactionist perspective it can be said that individuals act toward the world on the basis of the meanings that the world has for them; they interpret situations in terms of the meaning these situations possess and then act accordingly. Meaning is acquired through interaction with others. Among the objects about which meaning develops is the Self. Indeed, Self can be shown to be among the most crucial of meanings available to the individual. The others with whom an individual interacts are of differential significance in the degree to which they influence the individual, and a common distinction is between those others whose evaluations are incorporated into the individual's Self identity and thus exert a generalized enduring effect upon the individual (primary others), and those whose evaluations are not incorporated, and as a result exert influence only in a limited or role specific sense (secondary others).

Interactionists have been relatively silent concerning the circumstances under which one comes to see others as primary or secondary. A review of the literature suggests that two variables of importance in this regard are affection and power; and furthermore, that their effects are dissimilar. A consideration of the effect of these variables

could lead to a clearer distinction between primary and secondary others and a better understanding of the processes by which changes occur in an individual's basic orientations. The present study proposes that primary and secondary others can be distinguished on the basis of the degree to which the individual holds them in high positive regard. Those others regarded most positively will be considered to be of primary significance, and their evaluations of objects will, therefore, tend to be accepted or incorporated by the individual to a greater extent than imputations received from others held in less positive regard. Moreover, the influence of others regarded positively by the individual will exert itself across varied situations, while the influence of others who are salient primarily due to power considerations will exert itself in specific situations only.

The emotionally disturbed child has been defined as one who has acquired definitions of Self and other objects such that his interactions with others are unrewarding both to himself and others. Successful "treatment" presumably requires that the child comes to perceive himself and the world differently, and one way in which these changes can be brought about is through the provision of new others who will provide a different set of imputations about Self and world for the child to incorporate. This is precisely what institutional care attempts to achieve. The institution provides different others - staff - with whom the child is expected to identify, and as a result, to incorporate their orientations of the world as his own. This does not always occur, of course, and in these cases it is suggested that the child perceives the staff as secondary or role-specific others only, whose evalua-

tions of Self and world are not incorporated. Although such a child may still conform overtly while in the institution, due to a recognition of the power held by staff, the conformity is "without private acceptance". He has not come to accept staff views as his own (even though he may perceive them accurately) and consequently their influence is very limited and transitory. However, in those cases where the child perceives staff with high positive affect, it would be expected that he would come to accept staff views as his own to a greater extent, and as a result the influence of the other would be of a general, enduring significance.

### Hypotheses

Hypothesis 1. In general, the greater the degree to which X holds Y in high regard, and perceives him as powerful, the more inclined X will be to conform to the behavioral expectations held by Y for X.

Specifically: (A) The greater the child's perception of others as powerful, the greater his conformity.

(B) The greater the child's perception of others as good, the greater his conformity.

Since the sample is composed of emotionally disturbed children in residential care, the "others" referred to are staff working with the children, while conformity will be measured in terms of institutional expectations. In the remaining hypotheses, "others" will similiarly refer to staff members.

In-so-far as the child perceives the staff as being powerful he will tend to overtly conform to their expectations. In-so-far as he likes the staff (i.e., perceives them as good), he will value his relationship to them and tend to recognize the legitimacy of their expectations, both of which will make him susceptible to their influence. The assumption is being made that the children are aware of what the institutional rules and regulations are - an assumption which we regard as valid for the sample in question.

Hypothesis 2. In general, the greater the degree to which X holds Y in high regard, the closer X's evaluations of Self should be to those he perceives Y holds of him.

Specifically: The greater the child's perception of others as good the more closely his evaluations of Self are to those he perceives others hold of him.

In other words, the stronger the affective bond perceived by the child as existing in his relationship with the staff, the greater his tendency to incorporate as his own the "reflected appraisals" emanating from these others. In cases where this bond is lacking, this tendency would be less pronounced. Although it is primarily Self meanings that are being examined here, the preceding theoretical framework suggests that the same mechanism or process also applies to the acquisition of meaning with respect to other objects. Accordingly, ratings of the degree to which the child has internalized norms particularly salient to his situation have been obtained. Since these are norms held by the staff and conveyed to the child, it is anticipated that the degree of internalization is positively related to the strength

of the affective bond in the child-staff relationship.

Hypothesis 3. In general, the degree to which X perceives Y as powerful will not affect the relationship between X's evaluations of Self and the evaluations he perceives Y holds of him.

Specifically: The extent to which the child perceives others as powerful will not affect the relationship between his evaluations of Self, and the evaluations he perceives others hold of him.

It is suggested that there exists no relationship between the perception of an other as powerful and the degree to which the individual accepts the perceived evaluations and meanings of that other as his own.<sup>1</sup> Although the hypothesis is phrased in terms of Self evaluation, the same processes are again felt to be operating with respect to other meanings. It is proposed, therefore, that there would exist no relationship (or at most a spurious one) between degree of internalization and the perception of staff as powerful.

The aim of the preceding hypotheses is to show that although both affection and power variables contribute to overt conformity - they both exert a situational influence - affection is of greater or primary significance in the process whereby the individual incorporates the views of others as his own. The following hypothesis is not directly related to the preceding ones, but is an attempt to partially replicate work done by Schwartz, Fearn, and Stryker (1966).

Hypothesis 4. Children most involved with the disturbed role will

1. Any relationship that does exist is most likely a spurious relationship that has arisen from a correlation between perception of staff as good and as powerful, and thus, would tend to disappear by controlling for 'goodness' in the analysis of the data.

evaluate themselves more positively, and with less intra-individual variability, than children less involved with the disturbed role.

Schwartz, Fearn, and Stryker base the preceding hypothesis on the fact that:

Human beings seek to create and to maintain a stable identity. Given rewards for disturbed behavior, that disturbed behavior may become integral to a role-making process out of which an identity as a disturbed child may be reinforced. Such reinforcement may, then, lead the child to form a coherent, stable identity as a disturbed child, and to value that identity positively. This in turn implies a high degree of commitment to a disturbed role. (1966:300)

Although recognizing that children do at times receive rewards for disturbed behavior, it is our contention that the negative sanctions attached to the role of disturbed child are of greater potency, and that disturbed behavior is maintained not through "commitment" to a highly valued role identity (with consequent positive Self feelings), but is more likely to be a reflection of negative Self attitudes. Consequently, we would expect, contrary to Schwartz, Fearn, and Stryker, that among institutionalized children those who tend to play the role of the disturbed child most often (i.e., are most involved with the disturbed role) would also tend to exhibit more negative Self evaluations than those children less involved in the role. In addition, the more disturbed groups should reveal less stable Self identities, in the sense that they could exhibit greater intra-individual variability than the less disturbed groups.

## CHAPTER 2

### METHODOLOGY

Information to test the preceding hypotheses was gathered using a survey research design. The main instrument used in obtaining the data was a modified form of the Semantic Differential, administered to the subjects by the researcher in individual interviews.

#### Sample

The subjects used in the study were fifty-one boys undergoing intensive care for the treatment of "emotional disorders" in three Winnipeg residential treatment centres. They ranged in age from nine years seven months to fifteen years seven months with a mean age of twelve years two months. Length of time in treatment ranged from one to sixty-six months, with a mean of eighteen months (Table 1). Five were of Indian ancestry, one Negro, the remainder Caucasian.

No attempt was made to classify the subjects' behavior according to psychiatric categories. However, a recently completed study of Winnipeg treatment centres (Neiman and Wooley, 1971:28) found that of seventy-six admissions during the period from August 1967 to January 1968, 18.4% could be classified as neurotic, 36.6% as aggressive, 22.3% as delinquent, and 22.3% as mixed neurotic and aggressive. This distribution can be seen as still fairly representative of the symptoms displayed

by the subjects. However, due to the wide variability of meaning that can be encompassed with terms such as neurotic or aggressive, it would be equally accurate to characterize the subjects by stating that all display severe difficulties in their ability to relate or interact satisfactorily with others.

TABLE 1: CHARACTERISTICS OF THE SAMPLE BY AGE AND LENGTH OF TIME IN CARE

|                 | Age in years | Time in months |
|-----------------|--------------|----------------|
| Total Sample    | 12.2         | 18.1           |
| Children's Home | 12.7         | 28.3           |
| Knowles School  | 12.1         | 7.5            |
| St. Joseph's    | 11.6         | 14.4           |

#### The Residential Treatment Centres

The subjects came from three local treatment centres, The Children's Home of Winnipeg, Knowles School for Boys, and St. Joseph's Vocational School.<sup>1</sup> These centres were included in the study for a number of reasons, one of which was their willingness to tolerate the researcher wandering about, disrupting routines, and generally getting in the way. In addition, it was felt that these institutions, despite certain structural differences, had developed treatment programs that were sufficiently

1. For a more complete description of the institutions involved in the study see Neiman and Woolley (1971).

similar to enable the researcher to treat them as a common unit. In order to test this assumption, a modified version of the Ward Atmosphere Scale (Moos, 1968, 1969, 1971, Moos and Houts, 1968, 1970) was administered to a random sample of staff members at the three institutions (Appendix 1). In general, the data tend to support this assumption (Fig. 1). However, as certain significant differences do exist (Table 7), it was decided to analyze the data both separately and combined.

#### Method of Data Collection

The data were gathered through individual interviews with each child conducted by the researcher. Two interviews were involved, the first in September 1971 (Time 1), the second in February 1972 (Time 2). Each interview was of approximately twenty minutes duration. Although the method of data collection was time consuming, the researcher felt that it was necessary to deal with each child on an individual basis, both in order to gain his cooperation and trust, and to ensure that instructions were understood. In almost all cases, the children were extremely cooperative, and most appeared to enjoy the tasks presented.

Information was collected from the subjects on the following variables: Self concept, view of staff, and perceived view of Self held by staff. In addition, a measure of the degree to which the child had internalized norms salient to his situation was obtained. At the same time that interviews were held, three staff members were asked to rate the behavior of each subject on a social functioning

# SUBSCALE PROFILE INSTITUTIONAL ATMOSPHERE SCALE

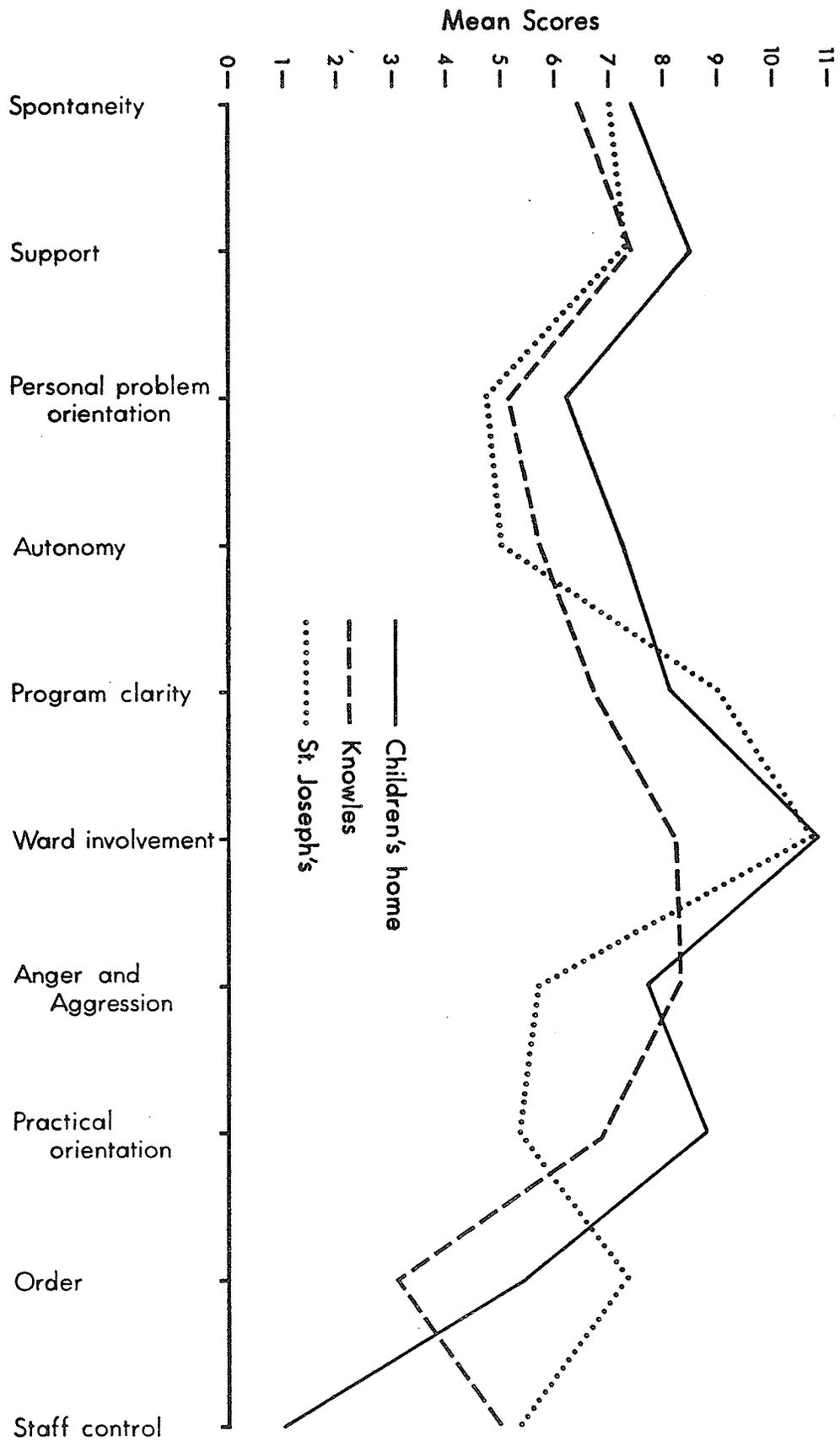


FIGURE 1

scale, thus providing a measure of overt conformity to institutional expectations. Measures of each subject's involvement with the disturbed role were also obtained.

### Scales

Measures of "Self concept", "view of staff", and "perceived view of Self held by staff" (perceived Self concept) were obtained using the Semantic Differential technique (Osgood, Succi, and Tannenbaum, 1957; Snider and Osgood, 1969; Heise, 1970). Numerous studies show the feasibility of using this technique with children (DiVesta and Dick, 1966; DiVesta, 1966; Maltz, 1963), although reliability is somewhat lower than that found for older subjects. A five-point, rather than a seven-point, scale was used, in that it was felt that children have difficulty in making the fine distinctions called for by the seven point scale (Downing, Moed, and Wight, 1961). The administration procedure was similar to that employed by Osgood, Succi, and Tannenbaum (1957). The bi-polar adjectives chosen were those with high loadings on the three major dimensions of meaning (Evaluation, Potency, and Activity), and which were deemed as being relevant and meaningful to the subjects (see Appendix 2).

### Self concept

Self concept was operationalized as the sum of scores obtained on a nine item Semantic Differential in which the subjects rated the concept "Me as I am". The items can be subdivided into "Self Evaluation", the sum of scores obtained on rating the above concept with the items

good-bad, important-unimportant, kind-cruel, clean-dirty, and smart-stupid; and "Self Dynamism", the sum of score obtained utilizing the items big-little, strong-weak, fast-slow, and loud-quiet. Low scores indicate a negative Self concept, while high scores indicate a positive view of Self. The potency and activity dimensions were combined into a single score in that it was felt that children fail to make a meaningful distinction between them (DiVesta, 1966). Such combination was also in accord with the researcher's attempt to measure the two proposed dominant variables involved in interaction, namely, affectivity and power.

#### View of Staff

The subjects' view of staff was obtained using the Semantic Differential technique mentioned above, while rating the concept "Staff". "Perception of Staff as Good" was operationalized as the sum of scores on the evaluative items, while "Perception of Staff as Powerful" was operationalized as the sum of scores on the remaining dynamism items.

#### Perceived Self

"Perceived Self" was operationalized as the sum of scores obtained on the nine semantic differential items mentioned above, while rating the concept "Staff think I am". As in all previous measurements involving the Semantic Differential, the responses can be subdivided into evaluative and dynamism subscores.

#### Conformity to Institutional Expectations

This measure of overt conformity was operationalized as the mean

score obtained by the subject on the ratings given him by staff using the Social Functioning Scale (see Appendix 3). Scores could range from five (low conformity) to twenty-five (high conformity). The Social Functioning Scale is a condensed version of an instrument by the same name developed to assess Winnipeg residential treatment centres (Neiman and Wooley, 1977). It provides an assessment of the degree to which the child's overt behavior adequately meets the performance expectations held by the institution.

### Internalization of Salient Norms

Internalization was conceptualized as the degree to which the child had come to accept staff expectations as his own. A measure of internalization was obtained through summing the response given by the subject when confronted with four stories in which the "hero" is forced to choose between conformity or non-conformity to adult expectations. Three questions were asked about each situation: What should the hero do? What would he do? And, if the answer to question two was a conforming response: Why did the hero conform? Or, if the answer to the second question was a non-conforming response: Can you think of a reason why the hero might decide to conform? Conforming responses to questions one and two were scored a value of one, non-conforming responses, zero. Responses to question three were scored as conformity due to: External threat (one), a desire not to hurt others (two), and acceptance of the validity of the norm in question (three).<sup>1</sup> An intercoder reliability of

1. This classification system is modelled after Kelman's work on levels of attitude change (1958). He distinguishes compliance, in which the individual conforms "to gain specific rewards or approval and avoid specific punishments or disapproval", identification, in which the individual accepts influence because "he wants to establish or maintain a satisfying self-defining relationship to another person or group", and internalization, in which the individual conforms because conforming behavior is intrinsically rewarding or "congruent with his value system".

78.2% was obtained.<sup>1</sup>

The situations centred around the theme of impulse gratification in that this is one area (Redl and Wineman, 1951, 1952) in which many emotionally disturbed children possess difficulties. The specific situations chosen were those with relevance to the sample, as determined through discussions with institutional personnel. The indirect approach was used because it was considered to be less threatening to the subjects, and therefore more apt to elicit responses indicative of their true feelings.

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1. This value was obtained by summing the per cent agreement obtained on a random sample of items (number of raters equalled six: number of items equalled thirteen) and dividing by the number of items.

## CHAPTER 3

### ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION OF DATA

The primary statistical technique used in the analysis of data was correlation analysis.<sup>1</sup> Due to the non-probability nature of the sample, tests of significance were not performed.

The results obtained for each hypothesis at both Time 1 and Time 2 will be presented first,<sup>2</sup> followed by a further analysis of inter-institutional differences. Due to time limitations and other difficulties, hypothesis 4 was tested only at Time 1.

#### Total Sample Results - Time 1 and Time 2

Hypothesis 1. A. The greater the child's perception of others as powerful, the greater his conformity.

B. The greater the child's perception of others as good, the greater his conformity.

As can be seen from Table 2 the values of  $r$  are in the predicted direction, but are weaker than anticipated. This point will be discussed further in the analysis of inter-institutional differences.

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1. See also Appendix 4.

2. Unless stated otherwise, the number in the sample at Time 1 is 51, composed of 23 from Children's Home, 19 from Knowles School, and 9 from St. Joseph's. Sample size at Time 2 equals 46, composed of 21 from Children's Home, 18 from Knowles, and 7 from St. Joseph's.

TABLE 2: CORRELATIONS AMONG CONFORMITY AND PERCEPTION OF STAFF AS POWERFUL AND AS GOOD (HYPOTHESIS 1)

|  | Time 1 | Time 2 |
|--|--------|--------|
| Conformity and Perception of Staff as Powerful | .08    | .09    |
| Conformity and Perception of Staff as Good     | .37    | .16    |

Hypothesis 2. The greater the child's perception of others as good, the more closely his evaluations of Self are to those he perceives others hold of him.

In order to test this hypothesis it was necessary to compute a new variable, "Self Discrepancy", defined as the absolute difference between the child's image of Self (Me as I am) and his perceived image of Self (Staff think I am).<sup>1</sup> According to Hypothesis 2, one would expect that a highly positive view of staff would be associated with a small Self discrepancy value. The results support the hypothesis, in that at Time 1 the correlation between Self discrepancy and perception of staff as good was  $-.48$ , while at Time 2 a correlation of  $-.58$  was obtained.

While the primary interest of this study was an examination of changes in Self meanings and their relationship to environmental others, the theoretical structure of the study would suggest that the processes involved in Self changes are similar, if not identical, to the processes operating in the acquisition and modification of meaning in general. In

1. Thus, for example, if a child scored 26 on the "Me as I am" scale and 31 on the "Staff think I am" scale, his Self discrepancy score would be equal to 5.

order to examine this point further, a measure of internalization was developed. It was anticipated that a positive correlation would exist between perception of staff as good and the degree to which the child had internalized norms advocated by staff. The correlation of .24 between internalization and perception of staff as good supports this contention.

Table 3 provides clarification of hypothesis 2. Although tests of significance cannot be legitimately applied, the results clearly suggest that the distribution of changes over time are in the predicted directions.

Hypothesis 3. The extent to which the child perceives others as powerful will not affect the relationship between his evaluations of Self and the evaluations he perceives others hold of him.

Testing this hypothesis requires the use of the previously computed variable, Self discrepancy. Hypothesis 3 predicts that no relationship exists between Self discrepancy and perception of staff as powerful, although the influence of chance factors should produce some relationship, one would expect that such a relationship would be much weaker than that existing between perception of staff as good and Self discrepancy.

As expected, the correlation between perception of staff as powerful and Self discrepancy was weak, .14, at Time 1. The Time 2 value of -.26 was higher than expected. However, a further examination of the data revealed that the relationship was spurious, having arisen as a result of the strong association ( $r = .46$ ) between perception of staff as good and perception of staff as powerful which existed at Time 2. Controlling for perception of staff as good reduced the relationship considerably, as Table 5 demonstrates.

TABLE 3: CHANGES IN PERCEPTION OF STAFF AS GOOD AND SELF  
DISCREPANCY, TIME 1 TO TIME 2

|   |              | <u>Changes in Self Discrepancy Values</u> |              |          |       |
|---|--------------|---|--------------|----------|-------|
|   |              | decrease                                  | no<br>change | increase | total |
| Changes in<br>Perception<br>of Staff as<br>Good | increase     | 14  | 3            | 6        | 23    |
|   | no<br>change | 4   | 0            | 2        | 6     |
|   | decrease     | 4   | 1            | 12       | 17    |
|   | total        | 22  | 4            | 20       | 46    |

TABLE 4: CHANGES IN PERCEPTION OF STAFF AS POWERFUL AND SELF  
DISCREPANCY, TIME 1 TO TIME 2

|   |              | <u>Changes in Self Discrepancy Values</u> |              |          |       |
|---|--------------|---|--------------|----------|-------|
|   |              | decrease                                  | no<br>change | increase | total |
| Changes in<br>Perception<br>of Staff as<br>Powerful | increase     | 8   | 2            | 10       | 20    |
|   | no<br>change | 6   | 1            | 2        | 9     |
|   | decrease     | 8   | 1            | 8        | 17    |
|   | total        | 22  | 4            | 20       | 46    |

TABLE 5: CORRELATIONS BETWEEN PERCEPTION OF STAFF AS POWERFUL AND  
SELF DISCREPANCY CONTROLLING FOR PERCEPTION OF STAFF AS  
GOOD, TOTAL SAMPLE (HYPOTHESIS 3)

|  | Time 1 | Time 2 |
|--|--------|--------|
| Perception of Staff as Power-<br>ful and Absolute Difference | .14    | -.26   |
| Controlling for Perception<br>of Staff as Good               | .15    | .02    |

Table 4 provides further clarification of the relationship between changes in perception of staff as powerful and absolute difference values. As expected, these changes from Time 1 to Time 2 tend not to fall into any predictable pattern. In addition to having limited impact on Self meanings, perception of others as powerful also correlates poorly with degree of internalization ( $r = -.06$ ).

Hypothesis 4. Children most involved with the disturbed role will evaluate themselves more positively, and with less intra-individual variability, than children less involved with the disturbed role.

Hypothesis 4 was drawn from the work of Schwartz, Fearn, and Stryker (1966). As was mentioned earlier, this researcher would tend to expect the reverse.

Data relevant to the first part of Hypothesis 4 are summarized in Table 6. These confirm the researcher's expectations, namely, that children perceived as least disturbed by staff tend to possess the most favorable Self images, and thus, directly contradict the findings of Schwartz, Fearn, and Stryker. Only with respect to feelings of Self dynamism or potency, a variable not measured by the above authors, do the most disturbed group excel.

Data gathered on the second part of Hypothesis 4, that children most involved with the disturbed role will show less intra-individual variability in their Self evaluations than children less involved with the disturbed role, is slightly more difficult to interpret. Mean intra-individual variability, as measured by the variance in Self evaluation scores, for the three group was as follows:

TABLE 6: SELF SCORES AND INVOLVEMENT IN THE DISTURBED ROLE  
(HYPOTHESIS 4)

| <u>Degree of Involvement</u> | evaluation | <u>Self Scores dynamism</u> | total |
|------------------------------|------------|-----------------------------|-------|
| slight<br>N = 8              | 16.75      | 14.25                       | 31.00 |
| moderate<br>N = 19           | 15.63      | 14.16                       | 29.79 |
| extreme<br>N = 15            | 14.33      | 15.00                       | 29.33 |

TABLE 7: F VALUES FOR DIFFERENCES AMONG INSTITUTIONAL MEANS

| <u>Subscales</u>             | F with 2 and 21 degrees of freedom |    |
|------------------------------|------------------------------------|----|
| Ward Involvement             | 4.665                              | *  |
| Support                      | 1.638                              |    |
| Spontaneity                  | 1.149                              |    |
| Autonomy                     | 3.365                              |    |
| Practical Orientation        | 5.402                              | *  |
| Personal Problem Orientation | 2.218                              |    |
| Anger and Aggression         | 4.110                              | *  |
| Order and Organization       | 3.088                              |    |
| Program Clarity              | 2.308                              |    |
| Staff Control                | 23.743                             | ** |

Levels of Significance: \*  $p \leq .05$ ; \*\*  $p \leq .01$

|                      |      |
|----------------------|------|
| Slight involvement   | .84  |
| Moderate involvement | 1.08 |
| Extreme involvement  | 1.08 |

These results tend to contradict the hypothesis as stated. Taken with the results shown in Table 6 they suggest that those children perceived by staff as being least involved with the disturbed role differ significantly from the remaining groups both in favorableness and stability of Self evaluations. Unfortunately, no other variables could be found to distinguish this group from the remaining ones.

#### Inter-Institutional Differences - Time 1 and Time 2

The results presented above tend, in general, to support the researcher's hypotheses. The major exception is Hypothesis 1, in which the expected correlations fail to materialize. A further interpretation of these results will be provided after a brief examination of inter-institutional differences.

The sample used in this study was composed of children drawn from three institutions. As mentioned, the criteria used in the selection of the centres were availability and the researcher's belief that, despite structural differences, broad treatment-program similarities existed among these institutions. To test the latter assumption, an Institutional Atmosphere Scale was administered to a random sample of staff members within each institution. As Figure 1 indicates, broad similarities among institutions are clearly evident. Certain differences, however, do exist. The results of an Analysis of Variance to test for differences among subscale means are reported in Table 7. Among

the ten subscales comprising the Institutional Atmosphere Scale only four, ward involvement, practical orientations, anger and aggression, and staff control, show a significant difference at the .05 level, and only one, staff control, is significant at the .01 level.

Given this evidence of institutional differences, it was necessary to examine the data obtained from each institution separately. Tables 8 to 12 summarize the results obtained for the first three hypotheses. As can be seen large differences exist among institutions in certain cases. In addition, changes within institutions occur over time which fail to fall into a stable pattern. Whenever possible, attempts will be made to explain these differences.

#### Interpretation of Results

The greatest variation among and within institutions from Time 1 to Time 2 occurs in the data bearing on Hypotheses 1A and 1B (Tables 8 and 9). Part of this variation (within institutions) may be due to problems arising from interpretation of the Conformity Scale. Conversations with staff members at the two institutions where within-institution variability is greatest tend to confirm this. The relatively large differences between St. Joseph's and the other institutions shown in Table 8 are partially explicable by findings on the Institutional Atmosphere Scale, which show St. Joseph's to be less tolerant of the expression of anger and aggression, while placing greater emphasis on internal order and organization and staff control. These findings confirm impressions received during data collection. The researcher also felt that St. Joseph's

TABLE 8: CORRELATIONS BETWEEN CONFORMITY TO INSTITUTIONAL EXPECTATIONS  
AND PERCEPTION OF STAFF AS POWERFUL (HYPOTHESIS 1A)

|                 | Time 1 | Time 2 |
|-----------------|--------|--------|
| Total Sample    | .08    | .09    |
| Children's Home | -.25   | .13    |
| Knowles School  | .08    | .09    |
| St. Joseph's    | .57    | .43    |

TABLE 9: CORRELATIONS BETWEEN CONFORMITY TO INSTITUTIONAL EXPECTATIONS  
AND PERCEPTION OF STAFF AS GOOD (HYPOTHESIS 1B)

|                 | Time 1 | Time 2 |
|-----------------|--------|--------|
| Total Sample    | .38    | .16    |
| Children's Home | .06    | .29    |
| Knowles School  | .49    | .15    |
| St. Joseph's    | .40    | .27    |

TABLE 10: CORRELATIONS BETWEEN PERCEPTION OF STAFF AS GOOD AND SELF  
DISCREPANCY (HYPOTHESIS 2)

|                 | Time 1 | Time 2 |
|-----------------|--------|--------|
| Total Sample    | -.48   | -.58   |
| Children's Home | -.59   | -.60   |
| Knowles School  | -.48   | -.77   |
| St. Joseph's    | -.16   | -.21   |

tended to resemble the education-re-education institutional type more closely than did either Children's Home or Knowles School, which both appeared more milieu therapy oriented.<sup>1</sup> Analysis is further complicated by the small numbers, nine and seven, in the St. Joseph's sample.

Keeping these difficulties in mind, it would appear that, at least for moderate and low levels of power, the correlation between conformity and power is relatively weak, while beyond a certain level of power, the value of  $r$  rises sharply. For the sample in question it would appear that conformity correlates more strongly with perception of staff as good than with perception of staff as powerful.

With respect to Hypothesis 2 (Table 10), it can be seen that each subsample, at both times, supports the hypothesis as stated, although once again St. Joseph's differs sharply from the others. Other than the explanation provided above, no further interpretation of this discrepancy can be suggested.

Table 11 provides a breakdown of the data gathered for Hypothesis 3. A comparison with Table 10 reveals that in all cases but one, the values of  $r$  appearing in Table 11 are of smaller magnitude than the corresponding values in Table 10. As such the results support the hypothesis that perception of staff as powerful has little or no effect on the acquisition of Self meaning. This interpretation is clarified by Table 12, in which the effect of perception of staff as good is removed through partial correlation.

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1. For a further description of institutional typologies see Street, Vinter, and Perrow (1966).

TABLE 11: CORRELATIONS BETWEEN PERCEPTION OF STAFF AS POWERFUL AND SELF DISCREPANCY (HYPOTHESIS 3)

|                 | Time 1 | Time 2 |
|-----------------|--------|--------|
| Total Sample    | .14    | -.25   |
| Children's Home | .25    | .11    |
| Knowles School  | .05    | -.43   |
| St. Joseph's    | .16    | -.23   |

TABLE 12: CORRELATIONS BETWEEN PERCEPTION OF STAFF AS POWERFUL AND SELF DISCREPANCY CONTROLLING FOR PERCEPTION OF STAFF AS GOOD (HYPOTHESIS 3)

|                 | Time 1 | Time 2 |
|-----------------|--------|--------|
| Total Sample    | .15    | .02    |
| Children's Home | .28    | .53    |
| Knowles School  | -.09   | .01    |
| St. Joseph's    | .18    | -.14   |

The effect of partialling, however, is to reveal a strong ( $r = .53$ ) positive relationship between perception of staff as powerful and absolute difference for Children's Home at Time 2. This correlation suggests that the greater the perception of staff as powerful, the less liable the child is to accept staff imputations with respect to Self image. A possible explanation for the strength of this relationship is again provided by the Institutional Atmosphere Scale.

The low score obtained by Children's Home on the staff control subscale reflects the efforts taken to create an egalitarian set of staff-child relationships within the institution. The existence of this egalitarian ideology, which downplays the value of power in interpersonal relationships, may be a factor in explaining the negative association between power and acceptance of interpersonal influence shown in Table 12. That is, where such an ideology is prominent, the individual not only fails to be influenced by others perceived as powerful, but also, having rejected the value of power, tends to reject the evaluations of the powerful other, and accepts instead, different, often opposite stances from those suggested by these others.

Since inter-institutional differences failed to appear in the data obtained on Hypothesis 4, no further analysis is required in this instance.

## CHAPTER 4

### CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS

The purpose of this study was to examine, within an interactionist framework, the process through which individuals acquire and modify the definitions and meanings they hold. While Mead's idea that meaning develops through interaction with others, as the individual comes to take their roles and to see objects as he imagines others see them, is well documented, evidence also exists to show that individuals possess the ability to deny the validity of others' imputations. Thus, in order to examine the process of acquiring meaning, it is insufficient to simply state that individuals acquire meaning through taking the role of the other. To the extent that others are of differential significance to the individual, one must specify the conditions under which the other is elevated to a position (primary other) in which his imputations will be accepted by the individual as valid.

An interactionist position would lead one to consider the problem from the perspective of the individual, and the literature reviewed would suggest that two variables of particular importance are power and affection. For these reasons it was decided to examine the individual's perceptions of his relationship with the other along power and affectional dimensions. It was hypothesized that, although both power and

affection would be positively related to overt conformity, (i.e., situational acceptance of the other's influence), only affection would lead to a general or trans-situational acceptance of the other's influence. Due to the importance of the concept Self within the framework used, it was decided to test these propositions using Self scores as a measure of the acceptance of the other's imputations. Subjects were a group of institutionalized emotionally disturbed boys.

In general the results tend to support the hypotheses. Using the Semantic Differential technique it was possible to identify and measure the two major dimensions in question, namely, power and affectivity (goodness). Perception of the other as good was shown to lead to acceptance of imputations from that other, while perception of the other as powerful did not lead to incorporation of the views of the other. In addition, where a strong egalitarian ideology was present, perception of the other as powerful resulted in a counter-reaction, in which the individual embraces a different, often contradictory viewpoint from that advanced by the powerful other. While both power and affectivity tend to be related to overt conformity, the relationship is stronger for affectivity than for power. The weak relationship between power and conformity may have arisen due to problems with the measuring instrument used, as well as from the low and moderate levels of power operating in two of the institutions under study. Support for the latter suggestion comes from the fact that the institution perceived as possessing the greatest difference

in staff-child power levels also revealed the highest correlations between conformity and perception of the other as powerful.

The research design also made possible the replication of part of an earlier study (Schwartz, Fearn, and Stryker, 1966) only indirectly related to our major thesis. The results obtained differ from those reported by the above authors, thus supporting the researcher's contention that increased involvement with the disturbed role is positively associated with a more negative, unstable view of Self. This would tend to suggest that the disturbed child does not value his identity as disturbed, but rather, that he has been forced to engage in the behaviors he displays and to accept the Self definitions he holds as the only ones available to him, or at least the ones promising the greatest rewards in a hostile environment. Given other alternatives, shown other ways of responding to environmental stimuli, the pressure or discomfort of his present negative Self feelings should be sufficient to provide strong motivation for the acquisition of more socially acceptable patterns of behavior and Self-other orientations. This would lead us to suggest that child care institutions, in addition to taking steps designed specifically to improve the child's negative Self image, should also make a determined effort to encourage the appearance of more socially acceptable behavior patterns early in treatment when the child's Self image is largely negative, and thus still provides motivation for the learning of more rewarding responses.

Also of significance to institutions involved in the treatment of the disturbed child are the differing effects of power and affection upon

the acceptance of interpersonal influence. Internalization is facilitated by the existence of warm, loving others. The functional problems involved in creating an environment in which a group of children with behavioral difficulties can live together in a tolerable manner, tends to yield situations in which the exercise of power or authority is necessitated. The perception of such power inequalities in a relationship is not conducive, and indeed may be diametrically opposed, to the internalization of the other's views. This would suggest that wherever possible efforts should be made to limit the existence of arbitrary rules and controls and to provide the child with as many others as possible, for example, through the use of volunteers, who can relate to him in a warm, loving manner, and who are more **likely** to be perceived as orientational rather than role specific others.

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APPENDIX 1

INSTITUTIONAL ATMOSPHERE SCALE

Institutional Atmosphere Scale

Name of institution \_\_\_\_\_

Sex: Male \_\_\_\_\_ Female \_\_\_\_\_

Position: \_\_\_\_\_

How long have you worked here? \_\_\_\_\_ years \_\_\_\_\_ months.

\_\_\_\_\_

Instructions

There are 99 statements about treatment institutions in this booklet. Please decide which statements are true of your institution and which are not.

True - Circle the T if you think the statement is True or Mostly True of your institution.

False - Circle the F if you think the statement is False or Mostly False of your institution.

Please answer every item. Thank you.

- T F 1. Children can leave the grounds whenever they want to.
- T F 2. Social workers spend more time with some children than with others.
- T F 3. There is little emphasis on making plans for getting out of the institution.
- T F 4. Staff don't order the children around.
- T F 5. It's hard to get a group together for most activities.
- T F 6. Most children follow a regular schedule each day.
- T F 7. Children talk very little about their pasts.
- T F 8. Children put a lot of energy into what they do around here.
- T F 9. Children sometimes play practical jokes on each other.
- T F 10. This is a lively institution.
- T F 11. Children never know when a social worker will ask to see them.
- T F 12. Children can wear what they want.
- T F 13. Children tend to hide their feelings from one another.
- T F 14. The healthier children in this institution are helpful towards the less healthy ones.
- T F 15. This institution emphasis educational goals.
- T F 16. Once a schedule is arranged for a child, he must follow it.
- T F 17. Many children look messy.
- T F 18. Children tell each other about their personal problems.
- T F 19. A lot of children just seem to be passing time in the institution.
- T F 20. Its hard to get people to argue around here.
- T F 21. The children know when a social worker will be available.
- T F 22. There is no children 'government' in this institution.
- T F 23. Children set up their own activities without being prodded by staff.

- T F 24. Social workers have very little time to encourage the children.
- T F 25. Most children are more concerned about the past than with the future.
- T F 26. The staff very rarely punish children by restricting them.
- T F 27. The institution has few things for the children to do.
- T F 28. Children's activities are carefully planned.
- T F 29. Children hardly ever talk about sex.
- T F 30. The children are proud of this institution.
- T F 31. Children often complain.
- T F 32. New treatment approaches are often tried in this institution.
- T F 33. Things are sometimes disorganized around here.
- T F 34. Staff act on children's suggestions.
- T F 35. When children disagree with each other, they keep it to themselves.
- T F 36. The staff here know what the children want.
- T F 37. In this institution everyone knows who is in charge.
- T F 38. Personal problems are openly talked about.
- T F 39. Very few things around here ever get people excited.
- T F 40. Staff never start arguments in group meetings.
- T F 41. If a child breaks a rule he knows what will happen to him.
- T F 42. Very few children have any responsibilities around the institution.
- T F 43. Children say anything they want to staff.
- T F 44. The children rarely help each other.
- T F 45. There is very little emphasis on helping the children deal with the real world.
- T F 46. Children call staff by their first names.

- T F 47. This is a very well organized institution.
- T F 48. Children are rarely asked personal questions by the staff.
- T F 49. Discussions are pretty interesting in this institution.
- T F 50. Children often criticize or joke about staff.
- T F 51. People are always changing their minds here.
- T F 52. The children can leave the grounds without saying where they are going.
- T F 53. It is hard to tell how the children are feeling in this institution.
- T F 54. Staff are interested in following children once they leave the institution.
- T F 55. Children are encouraged to plan for the future.
- T F 56. Children who break the rules are punished for it.
- T F 57. Children often do things together.
- T F 58. The institution sometimes get very messy.
- T F 59. Staff are mainly interested in learning about children's feelings.
- T F 60. Nobody ever volunteers to do anything around here.
- T F 61. Children here rarely argue.
- T F 62. If a child's medicine is changed staff always explain why.
- T F 63. Staff rarely act on children's suggestions.
- T F 64. It's o.k. to act crazy around here.
- T F 65. Staff sometimes don't see children when they said they would.
- T F 66. There is very little emphasis on what children will be doing after they leave.
- T F 67. Children may interrupt staff when they are talking.
- T F 68. The staff make sure that the institution is always neat.

- T F 69. Children rarely talk about their personal problems with other children.
- T F 70. Children are pretty busy all of the time.
- T F 71. In this institution, staff think it is a healthy thing to argue.
- T F 72. Children never know when they will be moved out of the institution.
- T F 73. The children are expected to make suggestions.
- T F 74. The children tend to hide their feelings from the staff.
- T F 75. Children are encouraged to learn new ways of doing things.
- T F 76. Children will be moved out of the institution if they don't obey the rules.
- T F 77. Staff help new children to feel at home.
- T F 78. The living room is often messy.
- T F 79. Children are expected to share personal problems with each other.
- T F 80. Children here rarely become angry.
- T F 81. Staff tell children when they are getting better.
- T F 82. Children are encouraged to show their feelings.
- T F 83. Staff have very little time to encourage children.
- T F 84. Staff care more about how children feel than about their practical problems.
- T F 85. Children are rarely kept waiting when they want staff.
- T F 86. Staff set an example for neatness and orderliness.
- T F 87. Children feel it is not safe to discuss their personal problems around here.
- T F 88. Staff sometimes argue with each other.
- T F 89. Staff don't explain their actions to the children.
- T F 90. Children are encouraged to be independent.

- T F 91. Children are careful what they say when staff are around.
- T F 92. Staff go out of their way to help children.
- T F 93. Children are helped to make plans for leaving the institution.
- T F 94. It is a good idea to let the director know that he is boss.
- T F 95. Staff strongly encourage children to talk about their pasts.
- T F 96. There is very little "we" feeling in this institution.
- T F 97. If a child argues with another child he will get into trouble with the staff.
- T F 98. Institutional rules are clearly understood by the children
- T F 99. Staff discourage criticism.

For the next five questions please choose one of the five possible answers which best describes how you feel.

100. In general how satisfied are you with this institution?

1 2 3 4 5  
not at all slightly somewhat moderately well very much

101. In general, how much do you like the children in this institution?

1 2 3 4 5

102. In general, how much do you like the other staff in this institution?

1 2 3 4 5

103. In general, how nervous or tense do you feel working here?

1 2 3 4 5

104. In general, does what you do in the institution give you a chance to see how good your abilities really are?

1 2 3 4 5

LETTER ACCOMPANYING INSTITUTIONAL ATMOSPHERE SCALE

Department of Sociology,  
University of Manitoba,  
January 18, 1972.

Dear ,

As you may already know, I am working on a study of emotionally disturbed children. Your institution is one of the centres participating in the study.

Among the things about which I am interested is the view which staff have of the overall atmosphere in their place of work. The enclosed scale is designed to measure this.

I would appreciate it if you could complete and return it to me as soon as possible. If there are any questions, I can be reached at 943-1286.

Sincerely,

Neil Lindquist.

NL/FGPS  
Encl.

The analysis of inter-institutional differences presented earlier was based upon a random sample of staff members drawn from the three institutions involved in the study. Of twenty-nine questionnaires mailed out, twenty-four, or 82.8%, were returned. The twenty-four respondents consisted of four from St. Joseph's, and ten each from Knowles School and the Children's Home of Winnipeg. These numbers represent approximately forty per cent of the total treatment staff in each institution.

APPENDIX 2

SAMPLE SEMANTIC DIFFERENTIAL FORMAT

'ME' AS I AM

|           | very  | a<br>little | not<br>sure | a<br>little | very  |             |
|-----------|-------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------|-------------|
| KIND      | _____ | _____       | _____       | _____       | _____ | CRUEL       |
| BIG       | _____ | _____       | _____       | _____       | _____ | LITTLE      |
| SLOW      | _____ | _____       | _____       | _____       | _____ | FAST        |
| GOOD      | _____ | _____       | _____       | _____       | _____ | BAD         |
| WEAK      | _____ | _____       | _____       | _____       | _____ | STRONG      |
| IMPORTANT | _____ | _____       | _____       | _____       | _____ | UNIMPORTANT |
| QUIET     | _____ | _____       | _____       | _____       | _____ | LOUD        |
| CLEAN     | _____ | _____       | _____       | _____       | _____ | DIRTY       |
| STUPID    | _____ | _____       | _____       | _____       | _____ | SMART       |

APPENDIX 3

SOCIAL FUNCTIONING SCALE

## Social Functioning Scale

The following are a series of statements about the functioning of children in different areas of institutional life. Please circle that statement that best describes the typical behavior of the child at this time.

Although none of the statements may be exactly correct, please choose the answer that comes closest to describing the behavior in question. Circle only one response from each area.

- 
- I. Child's relationships with adults: (circle one)
- 5 Warm and generally satisfying relationships with adults seems to enjoy their company in an appropriate way.
  - 4 Fairly warm but not close relationships with adults: some conflict and testing out involved.
  - 3 Superficially friendly relationships with adults, or, possessive and emotionally demanding relationships with adults.
  - 2 Unfriendly relationships with adults in general: often tries to avoid contact with adults if possible.
  - 1 Openly hostile and defiant towards adults.
- II. Acts against property: (circle one)
- 5 Not deliberately destructive to property, tends to be responsible in use and care of facilities.
  - 4 Not deliberately destructive to property but tends to be careless in use and care of facilities.
  - 3 Generally well contained and responsible, with occasional outbursts of mild destructiveness or extreme carelessness.
  - 2 Tends towards the destruction of property when upset unless watched.
  - 1 Tends towards vandalism or overt destructiveness of property on a deliberate basis.

- III. Acts against people: (circle one)
- 5 Not physically assaultive against staff or other children.
  - 4 Isolated outbursts of aggression against other children.
  - 3 Isolated outbursts of aggression against staff.
  - 2 Isolated outbursts of aggression against staff and other children.
  - 1 Tends towards assaultive behavior against staff and children.

- IV. Control of Aggression: (circle one)
- 5 Exercises good control of aggressive tendencies. Doesn't fight or argue without good reason, and then asserts himself appropriately.
  - 4 Usually controls aggression: occasionally fights or argues but usually for good reasons.
  - 3 Controls aggression most of the time: may occasionally start fight and arguments for personal reasons.
  - 2 Tends to be aggressive: frequently starts fights and arguments.
  - 1 Usually fights and argues: picks fights, and is belligerent and aggressive.

- V. Relationships with peers: (circle one)
- 5 Definitely seeks out other boys, and indicates that relationships are enjoyable, with a good deal of sharing and understanding; he likes them - they like him.
  - 4 Is usually in company of other boys and frequently seeks them out. Usually gets along well and is liked by them.
  - 3 Variability in peer relationships. Doesn't avoid other boys, but at times may be either unduly competitive and negative, or may actually withdraw from them.
  - 2 Indicates a predominantly competitive and negative approach to other boys; is generally not liked by them and frequently withdraws from contact.
  - 1 Is not with peers except when structure demands it. Clearly avoids them and is unable to tolerate closeness with them. May act neutral or indifferent, or engage in a hostile, aggressive acting-out pattern.

SOCIAL FUNCTIONING SCALE: INTER-ITEM CORRELATIONS

|     | 1   | 11  | 111 | 1V  | V   |
|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|
| 1   | --- | .71 | .54 | .55 | .67 |
| 11  |     | --- | .66 | .72 | .53 |
| 111 |     |     | --- | .85 | .49 |
| 1V  |     |     |     | --- | .61 |
| V   |     |     |     |     | --- |

APPENDIX 4

SUPPLEMENTARY DATA ANALYSIS

## SUPPLEMENTARY DATA ANALYSIS

In addition to the analysis presented in Chapter 3, the data for Hypotheses 1, 2 and 3 were also analyzed using the Spearman rank order correlation coefficient,  $r_s$ . This procedure was felt to be of value as a check on the primary analysis, in that the product moment correlation coefficient is highly subject to changes induced by extreme values, particularly when the number of cases is small. Despite this limitation, wherever possible, parametric techniques such as product moment correlation are to be preferred over non-parametric measures and thus,  $r$  was used in the primary analysis. Whenever applicable the correction for tied values was employed in calculating the value of  $r_s$  (Siegel, 1956: 202-213).

### Total Sample and Sub-sample Results - Time 1 and Time 2

Hypothesis 1. A. The greater the child's perception of others as powerful, the greater his conformity.

B. The greater the child's perception of others as good, the greater his conformity.

As can be seen from Tables 1 and 2 the results are generally in agreement with the hypotheses as stated. It should be noted, however, that perception of staff as good correlates with conformity to a greater extent than does perception of staff as powerful. Similar results were suggested by the primary analysis. It would also appear, for reasons discussed earlier, that St. Joseph's is most successful at relating conformity to perception of staff as powerful.

TABLE 1: CORRELATIONS BETWEEN CONFORMITY TO INSTITUTIONAL EXPECTATIONS AND PERCEPTION OF STAFF AS POWERFUL (HYPOTHESIS 1A)

|                 | Time 1 | Time 2 |
|-----------------|--------|--------|
| Total Sample    | .10    | .11    |
| Children's Home | -.24   | .11    |
| Knowles School  | .13    | .01    |
| St. Joseph's    | .30    | .37    |

TABLE 2: CORRELATIONS BETWEEN CONFORMITY TO INSTITUTIONAL EXPECTATION AND PERCEPTION OF STAFF AS GOOD (HYPOTHESIS 1B)

|                 | Time 1 | Time 2 |
|-----------------|--------|--------|
| Total Sample    | .48    | .35    |
| Children's Home | .12    | .32    |
| Knowles School  | .41    | .30    |
| St. Joseph's    | .29    | .78    |

Hypothesis 2. The greater the child's perception of others as good, the more closely his evaluations of Self are to those he perceives others hold of him.

As was mentioned in Chapter 3, in order to test this hypothesis it was necessary to compute a new variable, "Self Discrepancy". According to Hypothesis 2, one would expect that a highly positive view

of staff would be associated with a small Self Discrepancy value. The results support the hypothesis as stated. (Table 3). The differences between correlations at Time 1 and Time 2 may be partially explained by the fact that at Time 1 many of the children and staff were relatively new to the institutions and thus did not know each other as well as during the second testing.

It was also anticipated that perception of others as good should be positively correlated with internalization of values advocated by these others. The results shown in Table 5 support this contention.

Hypothesis 3. The extent to which the child perceives others as powerful will not affect the relationship between his evaluations of Self and the evaluations he perceives others hold of him.

Testing this hypothesis requires the use of the previously computed variable, Self Discrepancy. As expected, the correlations between Self Discrepancy and perception of staff as powerful were lower than the corresponding correlations between Self Discrepancy and perception of staff as good. (Table 4). In addition, the correlations between internalization and perception of staff as powerful were also relatively weak (Table 5).

TABLE 3: CORRELATIONS BETWEEN PERCEPTION OF STAFF AS GOOD AND  
SELF DISCREPANCY (HYPOTHESIS 2)

|                 | Time 1 | Time 2 |
|-----------------|--------|--------|
| Total Sample    | -.28   | -.70   |
| Children's Home | -.19   | -.57   |
| Knowles School  | -.21   | -.70   |
| St. Joseph's    | -.29   | -.18   |

TABLE 4: CORRELATIONS BETWEEN PERCEPTION OF STAFF AS POWERFUL AND  
SELF DISCREPANCY (HYPOTHESIS 3)

|                 | Time 1 | Time 2 |
|-----------------|--------|--------|
| Total Sample    | -.08   | -.27   |
| Children's Home | -.04   | .05    |
| Knowles School  | -.16   | -.31   |
| St. Joseph's    | .17    | -.16   |

TABLE 5: CORRELATIONS BETWEEN INTERNALIZATION AND PERCEPTION OF  
STAFF

|                 | Perception of Staff<br>as Powerful | Perception of Staff<br>as Good |
|-----------------|------------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| Total Sample    | -.10                               | .32                            |
| Children's Home | .14                                | -.64                           |
| Knowles School  | -.32                               | .18                            |
| St. Joseph's    | .21                                | .01                            |

## Conclusions

In this situation the non-parametric analysis is in general agreement with that conducted using parametric techniques. Two changes which should be noted, however, are the increased importance attached to affection in producing conformity and the lower correlations between Self Discrepancy and perception of staff as good at Time 1.