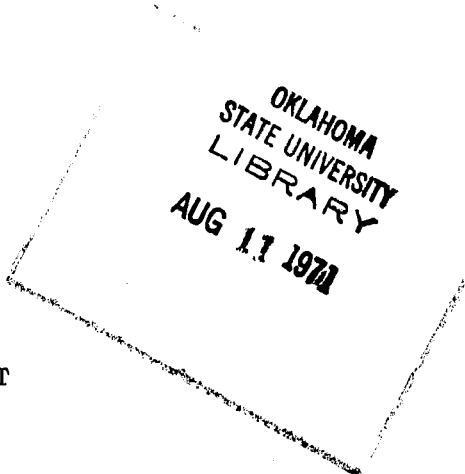THE SOCIAL DYAD AS OPERANT

IN INTERVIEW PROCESS

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

A social dyad is a verbal construct intended to define a time-
space arrangement between two persons in a social process. As it

occurs within a specific field of action, it is a social phenomenon

which has received little attention in the literature on clinical

interviewing.

A majority of the writers in this field recognize the social con-

figurations within the interview, but too often the social configura-

tion is observed only as a social setting within which two individual

personalities respond to one another. Writers tend to see a subject-

to-object relationship that sometimes is altered by the setting within

which it occurs. In this sense, there has been varied acceptance of

traditional institutional forms.

Since the bulk of the literature on clinical interviewing has

emerged from the disciplines of psychiatry and psychology, the social

dyad defined as a social organization, such as the type proposed by

Greer (1955), has been relatively ignored. In the field of psychiatry,

Harry Stack Sullivan (1954) has placed great emphasis upon the manipu-

lation of the interview environment. Other psychiatrists, such as

Adler (1951), Fromm-Reichman (1950), Alexander and French (1946),

Mullahy (1949), Wolberg (1954), and especially Rank (1950), imply that

environment is a tool in achieving task-accomplishment which, for them,

generally is the modification of personality. They tend not to stress social change as such within the interview.

In the field of psychology, such authors as Kahn and Cannell (1967), Hart and Tomlinson (1970), Carl Rogers (1951, 1961), and Porter (1950) have discussed the problems of social relationships within the interview, but most of these discussions tend to view the social setting as a stimulus to which the interviewee responds in terms of diagnostic criteria and cause-effect relationships leading to behavior modification. Even the Rogerian School sees the interview as a psychological "experience" within which behavior modification on the part of the "client" is stressed.

In the field of social work, Garrett (1942), De Schweinitz (1962), Perlman (1965), Aptekar (1941), Young (1935), and Taft (1962) have provided pioneer insights into the recognition of parallels between the social organization of the interview and the larger social system, but they presented essentially no empirical evidence that the structures of the two systems are similar. Along this line, Talcott Parsons (1964) has presented the most relevant writing in sociology. Bales (1970) also has made a depth contribution to the integrative processes of the social group during the process of verbal exchange.

Theoretical groundwork for empirical study of the social dyad as an operant in the interview dyad was conceptualized by Georg Simmel (Wolff, 1950), but up to now most sociologists, except Bales, have tended to ignore empirical study of clinical interview process in favor of theoretical assumptions based primarily on logic and general impressions.

Many authors have addressed themselves to generalizations of conceptual models of interviewing. Illustrative examples include Festinger and Katz (1953), Herbert Hyman et al. (1954), Eleanor and Nathan Maccoby (1954), Merton, Fiske, and Kendall (1956), Richardson, Dohrenwend, and Klein (1965), Roethlisberger and Dickson (1947), and Selltiz et al. (1959). Other authors, such as Homans (1961), Murray (1964), Murphy (1958), Deutsch (1962), and Tannenbaum, Weschler and Massarik (1961), have written in the peripheries of the clinical interview as a social dyad. However, as mentioned above, Parsons has been a leader in proposing and defining "systems" of social action (Parsons, Bales, and Shils, 1953) which are most applicable to the clinical interview. The clinical interview as a sociological frame of reference within which social change can be predicted continues to be largely neglected.

For a novel treatment of this concept in psychotherapy, reference is made to Joseph Wolpe (Wolpe and Lazarus, 1968) who has made a distinct contribution to the notion that the rearrangement of social introjects into the social context of the clinical interview can have predictable results. Reference is also made to the work of Weitzenhoffer (1957, Chapter 2 in particular) for a more definitive exposition of interview introjects and their relevance to social process within the clinical situation.

The social dyad achieves its cohesiveness through language; at the same time, language as an immediate conversational process exists primarily in the dyad. Therefore, if language can be considered to be paramount to a simple "stimulus-response" experiment, it would follow that manipulation of the dyadic language quantitatively could provide

indicants for the study of dyadic process within the clinical interview.
This notion excludes direct invasion into the personality structures
of the two participants, provided the language between these two indi-
viduals is studied within its own specific meaning. Although the
personalities in the dyadic relation undergo constant modification in
the clinical interview, in this study the personalities will be examined
only indirectly in the process of quantifying the symbolic language of
the dyad. The study will not be concerned with changes in personality
or with personality development, but rather it will examine the language
that surrounds personal reactions as the dyadic partners attempt to
act out their mutual expectations.

One of the central questions in this paper centers upon the rigid-
ity or the flexibility of the interviewee's personality through an
examination of language-responses to experimentally manipulated social
cues. Specific emphasis in the study is upon this experimental manipu-
lation which is termed "social intrusion" or experimental introject.
The introject is utilized for the purpose of interrupting the develop-
ing social pattern of the interview dyad. The word "introject" as
used in this study carries much the same meaning as the word "inter-
jection" as used by Ruesch (1961, pp. 196-197), i.e., "interjection
serves the purpose of steering the communication exchange in a different
direction." Language as a social response to such intrusions is ob-
served numerically according to the "nature" of the social response.
These numbers represent the modification or the lack of modification
of word-behavior in the interviewee's attempts at personality adjust-
ment to the deliberately altered social structure. These identifiable
changes allow an understanding of the social dyad that upholds

theoretical generalities. Within the concrete conditions of mutual

social interdependence which reflect the clinical interview process,

these numbered observations are highly significant in testing the

proposed predictions.

A clinical interview, regardless of its type, incorporates most of

the elements to be found in other social dyads (Homans, 1961). To be

sure, social organization is to be found in most small groups (Bales,

1970); and, as long as the research remains social in nature, the clini-

cal interview dyad can be observed and measured in much the same way as

other socially organized groups.

The present study defines the clinical interview as a social task

and evaluates the emergence of the social dyad in human proportions

containing all the characteristics of other human social systems

(Parsons and Shils, 1951, p. 24). The study supports the probability

that the interview dyad is controlled externally through the inter-

viewer, with or without his knowledge. The study shows that the inter-

view has a tendency to be "mechanical," in the Durkheim (1949, pp.

109-110) sense, or "structured" (Podell, 1955; Gorden, 1969; Dohrenwend

and Richardson, 1964; Whyte, 1953). On the other hand, the interview

that is emergent in the social interaction of the two participants will

tend to be "organic," in the Durkheim (1949, pp. 111-115) sense, or

"non-structured" (Snyder, 1947; Richardson, 1960; Dohrenwend and

Richardson, 1963). The "non-directive" or "unstructured" interview

approach would be relatively free of "introjects" by the interviewer

(Lazarsfeld, 1944; Rogers, 1945). As used here, the word "non-

structured" does not indicate a "non-directiveness" in the Rogerian

sense (Hart and Tomlinson, 1970; Rose, 1945); but it does indicate that

the dyadic process can be "self"-creating (Cooley, 1902, p. 152) in terms of emerging word-modification toward task-accomplishment. The study will propose that interview functioning probably depends upon the arrangement of social statuses, or social position (Winch, 1962, p. 147) that, reflected through words, identifies the structural fluidity of the dyad.

It is predicted that the sum of introjects into dyad structure through experimental manipulation will determine variations, or word-modifications, within given segments of action in the interview dyad. The study will examine a direct cause-effect relationship between the manipulation of dyadic structure and the word-behavior of the "interviewee." The research is concerned not only with the type of structure that best accomplishes the interview task but also with the complications surrounding the following two questions: (1) Does most clinical interview structure emerge from the internal systems of the participants wherein social process is simply a field of action within which each personality struggles for control? (2) In terms of adequate interview functioning, can a conceptual model be developed that bypasses a focus upon the personalities of the dyad members with any significant degree of predictive success?

In undertaking a quantitative exploration of these two questions the research incorporated a laboratory experiment involving sixty persons. Two persons were used for each "conversation" with one person simulating the activity of an "interviewer" and the other simulating the activity of an "interviewee." Each dyad "conversation" was separated into two segments by an experimental "introject." One segment of the "conversational interview" was called an "interrogative" segment

which simulated the elements of a structured interview, and the other segment was called "unstructured" with a suggested process simulating the activity of a non-structured interview. If the "conversation" began with the unstructured segment, approximately halfway through the interview the researcher intruded into the interview situation with the "introject" which was the request to switch the conversation to the interrogative type--and vice versa.

The research data indicated that all persons carried out their tasks as assigned and that the simulations of the interview segments were appropriate to the model. A content analysis of the "interviewee" responses was performed by five judges who separated the responses into twelve categories representing a continuum from purely social "thought-statements" to pretherapeutic, highly personalized "feeling-statements." The data were evaluated by a one-tailed "t"-test, and all hypotheses were highly significant at the .05 level with the exception of one dealing with the category of verbal fragmentation.

These significant statistical results support the assumptions that social responses within a given clinical interview dyad can be manipulated through preconstructed introjects at a given point of reference. Three such assumptions can be made with a fair degree of confidence. (1) There is a quantitative type of observation possible through an examination of social fluctuation created by disturbance of an emerging social dyad. (2) Granted there is an accumulation of social experiences to a given point in the dyad, the social organization at this point can be disturbed by an externally imposed introject. (3) The introject will call forth underlying personality systems that parallel the social systems of the interview dyad.

The study, then, presents simulated interview involvement that allows quantifiable observation of its social content. The "interrogative" segments show that social structure can be manipulated, allowing the possibility of systematic correction of perceptual distortions by the "interviewee" which become evident in his language. The study treats the interview as a socially organized dyad, paralleling studies of social structures in other types of social organizations. It introduces a concept of "social emergence" (Rose, 1962, pp. 537-549) that parallels "personality emergence" (Weinberg, 1967, pp. 133-158) as similarly reactive behavior in a social situation. Based on the proposition that the activity of the dyad is dependent upon emergent social expectations, it is theorized that predetermined changes in these expectations result in changes in dyadic verbal presentation. Interruption in the emergent "statuses" of the dyad partners must therefore be to such a degree that social change becomes a measurable, predictable quantity which reflects the social organization of the process itself. The research explores a direct cause-effect relationship between interview structure and interview functioning in terms of verbal change occurring within a cultural subsystem through the use of an experimental introject.

CHAPTER II

A THEORETICAL OVERVIEW

Historically, the "moral" (Goffman, 1961, pp. 125-169) treatment
that has characterized psychiatry has also had an appreciable influence
upon clinical interviewing. The techniques of persuasion employed
intermittently in psychiatry by such figures as Emile Coue, Jean-Martin
Charcot, and Hippolyte Bernheim were virtually buried in the landslide
of psychoanalytic concepts which erupted during and following the
brilliant work of Sigmund Freud (Weitzenhoffer, 1957; Wolberg, 1954).

Although these "persuasion" techniques have emerged from time to
time, it should be noted that since World War II the persuasive tech-
niques have begun to reemerge--in different form. Autogenic training
has gained much impetus in Europe through the work of Johannes Schultz
(Schultz and Luthe, 1959), and this type of interview technique has
been pioneered in the United States by such writers as Joseph Wolpe and
the "Virginia School" (Wolpe, Salter, and Reyna, 1964). Except in terms
of a specific treatment process, the theory surrounding these techniques
is still in developmental stages.

A characterizing distinction of these techniques is that they
involve suggestion through symbol-usage which is associated with a type
of manipulation of the social environment, either real or imaginary
(Wolpe and Lazarus, 1968). Once a social "reality" is acknowledged,
the question arises as to whether there are sociological theories which

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are applicable but not yet applied. At once, the symbolic interaction theories of W. I. Thomas (Martindale, 1960, pp. 347-353) and the social-psychological theories of George H. Mead (1934) seem relevant, but in each case the major shortcoming would seem to be that these theories lack specificity for clinical use. Sociological theory of a clinical type should be based upon the assumption that the interview dyad is not a closed system but an "emergent" one involving a highly specific internal structure that is applicable to the emergence of the social system at any given point. Porter (1943, pp. 108-109) mentions such a system in his discussion of approaches:

> One approach is tentatively named the "sponsored" approach. It takes its name from the way in which a solution to the counselee's problem comes about: it is a sponsored solution, one which is proposed to the counselee as apparently the most suitable to his problem. The other approach is named the "emergent" approach on the basis of the manner in which the solution is achieved: it is emergent, i.e., it is an outgrowth of the counselee's efforts to work out his own solution.

Regardless, open social interchange accessible to experimental manipulation around task-accomplishment, if the theory is correct, might provide an avenue to the convergence of the individuals' internal symbols as well as to the reality-formation of the emerging dyad.

The clinical interview in a modern sense is not limited to the service that it purports to offer but is more important as a complexity of the institutional form which it represents. A social scientist studying such interview complexity cannot limit himself to sterile descriptive hypotheses. Instead, he must examine the interview dyad as a subsystem of traditional values. To be sure, traditional forms are ever present in the interview; but history-taking, information-getting, or description of the traditional form itself is not sufficient

to justify the evolvement of internal psychic systems into a complex system of upward mobility within a specific social situation (Goode, 1963).

If, as Parsons (Parsons, Bales and Shils, 1953, p. 15) says, "a society exists only in the minds of individuals," then the incorporation of the traditional "moral" sense of the dyad must also exist in the minds of the individuals. As such, traditional "moral" values are not observable and, thus, not available for quantification. Empirically only behavior can be observed, and it follows that a set of attitudes might reflect internal value-systems if the attitudes expressed as word-modes can be termed social acts. Yet, it is being theorized that within a highly mobile, complex dyadic transaction the symbols that had existed in the past between the individual and parent can be subsumed into a currently recognizable parallel intrusion.

This paper speculates that rigid, closed systems of descriptive interview process require fixed, rigid, high intensity concepts of morality and are, thus, culture-bound through traditional institutional forms. In most highly industrialized societies, the symbolic forms change so rapidly that the struggle for successful dyadic relationships is practically universal (Davis, 1963). A high frequency system of rigid morality becomes standardized through repetitive reliance upon the application of traditional systems by the interviewer. To constrict the expressive qualities of family functioning (through traditional word symbolizations in the interview) orients the transactional field of the interview to symbolic processes that have little relationship to a reality-perceived structure. Thus, the difference between symbolism and reality is not available to the social scientist unless he can find

some method of relating such internalized symbolism to immediate reality. The psychic process of adult awareness involves words; but primarily it is a repetitive accumulation of shared experiences (Bergin, 1964). This accumulation within a given social situation contains all of the elements necessary for understanding the reality dyad in terms of historical past provided the present moment of the dyad is considered to be an experience that parallels all other social experiences of the individual. Thus, symbol-formation becomes emergent and available for observation and correlation. The symbolic representation of reference points reflecting parent-child relationship, with parent as socializer (Spiegel, 1957), remains separated from this type of observation. By the same token, if the symbolic representation is not separated from task-accomplishment, the study will become a pedantic exercise in description. Symbolic word-orders reflective of traditional past are abstractions beyond the range of what might be called observable behavior. However, if word-responses to specific realities can be considered behavior, then the parallel between an expressed word and its traditional meaning can be observed.

Granted the descriptive process of a one-way relationship is m o r e utilitarian, it still would not incorporate the meanings that help bring into focus the research task. Basic premises to the study are that words are human behavior and that human behavior is determined by the structure within which the word-act occurs. As Ruesch (1961, p. 275) says,

> Some persons are willing to take words or symbols as
> representative of inner events; others feel words are
> representative of the conscious aspects of behavior only.
> Be that as it may, the word may supplement, disguise,
> forecast, or even replace practical implementations.

The resultant effect of the above premises is a dichotomy between internalized value-systems and the more complex social value-systems which lie outside of the dyad and with which the individual constantly makes "contracts" (Maine, 1965, pp. 99-100, 179-180). Emphasis upon dyadic process in this sense constricts the frame of reference and limits research observation to changes in immediate word-orders between parent and child. The ever-present transference phenomenon (Gregory, 1968, pp. 240-241; Redlich and Freedman, 1966, pp. 50, 276; Wolman, 1967, pp. 344-351) represents a tangled web of socialization that has been developed from abstractions which, to this point, have not found expression in words--much less in numerical sequences.

This study will attempt to examine the difference between traditional believed-in sets of norms and values which are unrealistic as opposed to emergent social contract that can be perceived in immediate awareness and observed in evolution. When the surrounding systems of life-style influences tend to be discounted, the transactional field (the interview) becomes a social arrangement, if not a contractual arrangement, very similar to that within which legal contracts are made in the community. Unlike "legalizing" contracts, social contracts are symbolically more like the contracts made between parent and child in the socializing process. Theoretically, the interview seems always to be circling back upon itself as the action shifts between the trained institutional approach and the interpersonal approach.

The interview dyad demands a different kind of social contract than that concluded between parent and child. Otherwise, institutionalized bureaucracy will determine the interview's form and demand its own description. Mutually accepted meaning and synthesis between the dyadic

partners will indicate an absence of legalizing or particularizing words. This can be evidenced in an increase of emotional or socializing words. An interview of this posture, it is believed, will provide a legitimizing avenue for the individual to turn from the formation of legal contract (traditional institutional forms) and to address himself to a constantly emerging set of norms and values reflective of the social change occurring within a reality-dyadic process.

Such a method may raise a question of "open" and "closed" systems in the interview dyad. An "open" system is defined as one in which new norms can evolve through unlimited introjects while the "closed" system is restricted to new norms or procedures through circumscribing introjects. It is difficult, if not impossible, to describe the functions of the dyad of an open system. Even in the most open of dyadic systems the individual is not wholly free to make his own decisions; and, to this degree, he will be culture-bound to the orientation of the interview dyad and to the "closed system" of his personality demands. The present study will attempt to incorporate a "culture-free" interview dyad, an exercise that is not wholly in keeping with much of the literature in clinical interviewing. The "culture-free" interview allows the researcher to maintain an ability to intrude and to force a rearrangement of the dyad in terms of projected symbol-formation. In an open system, the life-styles of both dyadic members are secondary to the unfolding interview processes. It can be assumed that the immediate life-style in the interview will parallel the needs of the dyad itself. The open system interview dyad requires a high intensity vertical mobility that does not easily incorporate inflexible traditional systems of rigid values.

These assumptions, then, determine the framework of the trans-
actional field of action. Functional modes of symbolic interchange
reflect symbolic value-system change or morality change. It follows
that a transactional field which is symbolically representative of the
relationship that existed between child and adult seems a valid inter-
view situation within which to perform a numerical study. This trans-
actional field of symbolism can best be analyzed in its social
composition and even then only within the bias of the researcher's own
personality. To lose the "two-level" analysis in the transactional
field is to attempt analysis of a one-way process; then, the problem
becomes a psychological problem rather than a sociological one. The
"outcroppings" (Webb et al., 1966, pp. 27-29) of the social dyad must
be viewed within the more subtle interchanges, elements of which can
be used as indicants to functional or dysfunctional symbol-usage. When
the social symbols of the dyadic partners are not "matched," it is
theorized both that social disorganization is present and that the dis-
organization is recognizable by the degree of rigidity in the social
response to a deliberate interview manipulation. The recognition of
such disorganization in the social dyad consequently becomes available
to the social scientist for observation if he will focus upon the social
process outside of the context of internal personality manifestation.
To explore social change in this sense implies concepts of social
organization that are observable in terms of functional or dysfunctional
qualities.

The adequacy or inadequacy of expressive role-functioning can be
evaluated by examining the words within a transactional field as they
reflect crisis periods in the interview. This word-movement can lead

to certain cause-and-effect assumptions concerning internalized social structure and the fusion of that structure into the larger society of the interview dyad. But these effects must remain as assumptions since clues around original symbol-formation are limited to non-observable criteria. This author will speculate that the dyadic function is in perpetual sociological crisis and that it is this crisis in functioning that affords the most recognizable and observable data.

Interview crisis that is created by external demand will give glimpses into theoretical assumptions that are involved in the formation of moral social contract which itself is the very core of the clinical interview dyad. The more such an interview can be placed under strain by manipulated structural reference points, the more the individual value-systems in the dyad will be called out as rigid responses for maintaining dyadic consistency. This study will show that the transactional field can be deliberately altered by the imposition of artificially manipulated structural reference points. Such a framework implies an underlying dyadic conflict (Coser, 1965, p. 172) that can initiate a constriction of expressive roles and that can act toward a point of breakthrough in intrapsychic symbolism. This purposefully created conflict between internalized life-style value-systems and the emerging social interchange of the interview dyad will manifest itself and thus become available to generalization.

Most individuals are trapped within the contractual schemes of society, i.e., between the contractual necessities of society which are prearranged, on the one hand, and the simultaneous demand of the dyadic moment, on the other. Conceptualization of this entrapment in a theoretical model requires a convergence between sociological concepts of

social disorganization and psychological concepts of personal dis-

organization . In such a complexity, it is not feasible to use a

descriptive model because of the rapid change always present in dyadic

movement. New models must be developed if a constrictive phenomenon of

overly simplified descriptive process is to be analyzed sociologically.

What is demanded in model-formulation is a dyadic situation within which

the researcher is allowed a thrust into the unconscious content of the

interviewee that lies beyond his (the interviewee's) symbol abstraction.

In terms of a scientific observation, word-content will reflect symbolic

abstractions as they are related to the reality-word being used by the

interviewee (Whitaker and Malone, 1953, pp. 83-111).

In terms of space and time, this theory would recognize a socio-

logical reality-present which incorporates, symbolically, the former

relationship between parent and child, with their implied statuses. A

proper deduction is that the individual is in conflict with his social

process and that the need for external social contracts can be modified

through an artificially induced structure which limits his expressions

to internally incorporated value-systems. A manipulation of such value-

systems through artificial structure enhances the emergence of emotional

conflict. When the transactional field is so manipulated, the tradi-

tional contractual field of the interviewee is unavailable for problem-

solving. In such a case, the "core" (Whitaker and Malone, 1953, pp. 83,

98-100, 108-109) of the transactional clinical dyad is culture-bound to

its institutional form. If such a "culture-binding" has become en-

crusted in terms of process, what will be needed to release it are

phenomena that act as basic symbolic intruders into the acculturated

subsystem of traditional behavior. A research assumption is that

interruptions into these parallels will create dysfunctions in

life-style to a statistically significant degree through word-orderings.

Whether such a symbolic intrusion into the interdyadic process can

act as a moderator or alleviator (psychotherapeutically) to an already

distorted field of action is a question for further exploration. Should

this be true, then certain theoretical generalizations are feasible

from a sociological viewpoint: (1) the clinical interview dyad is not

a closed system involving a highly formulated psychoanalytic structure

reflective of the specific divisions of labor between parent and child;

(2) the clinical dyad is an open system of social interchange that is

susceptible to manipulation; (3) there are recognizable parallels in

meaningful communication between the internalized social systems of

past experience and the reality-system of interchange within immediate

interview process; (4) empirical observations of the clinical dyad can

be made on the basis of status-responses and expectations-responses to

manipulated social structure; (5) the loss of the transactional inter-

change will be most highly recognizable in times of interview crisis;

(6) while established norms regulate reality word-behavior, the reality

word-behavior can be changed by its own participatory response to the

symbolic intrusion into the word structure; and (7) the dyadic partners

are capable of incorporating new transactional fields of symbolism that

provide a basis for decision-making around new social contracts.

CHAPTER III

THE SEARCH FOR A RESEARCH FRAME OF REFERENCE

The theoretical overview of the clinical interview dyad that was presented in Chapter II posed questions concerning a social frame of reference that might be applicable to studying clinical interview process. This chapter attempts to place that process directly into a social context. In subsequent chapters, the system of interview action will be related to acceptable sociological theory in order to fit the rationale of the study into a sociological premise.

To involve psychological concepts of transference and counter-transference (Orr, 1954) would be to involve personality systems directly into the study. To remain sociologically sound, however, the study must minimize as much as possible overt personality systems as intervening variables. This may risk reductionism; but in order to utilize a socially fluid dyad, the study cannot be bound to exclusive functions not involved in social acts.

Presumably, the interview dyad is continuously social through its on-going process of "word-centeredness" (cf. Becker, 1962, p. 501). It is recognized that "sociability" (in Simmel's usage) (Wolff, 1950, pp. 40-55) of the interview dyad is only one of a series of life-units related to the continuous flow of individual stream of consciousness within the dyad. This is to say that the whole person may be gener-alized through a specific social act. In order to specify this

generality, however, the present study must involve a contradiction
because of its own implication that no form involving social content is
significant in its own right. "A form always is a synthesis" (Wolff,
1950, p. 7) and, thus, is a subsystem of other formalistic
generalizations.

According to Simmel, all objectivity reduces the social nature of
the dyad to a smaller "life-form" that is "more life" than life itself
(Weingartner, 1959, pp. 52-53). On the other hand, if the interview
dyad is a generalized life-condition that is in a constant state of
flux, it should be possible to view the entire subsystem at that point
of convergence between objectivity (words) and subjectivity (meanings)
which is that point where "play" (as used by Simmel) (Wolff, 1950,
pp. 42-43) becomes work, or the individual "life-form" becomes a uni-
versal "life-form." Sociologically speaking, when the personally
abstract message (symbolic meaning) converges into a socially determined
message (words as objects), there is a point at which the assumption of
a difference between personal disorganization and social disorganiza-
tion can be made. This assumption presupposes a different level of
operational abstraction from the usual interview observational schemes
of the sociologist because it demands a laboratory design. Since a
laboratory design tends to over-simplify, it can disclose to observa-
tion those contradictions ordinarily hidden within social conversation.
These contradictions which usually reflect personality needs are con-
cealed through the smoke screen effect of conversation. Yet it is
being reasoned that these contradictions can be observed at the
juncture points between personality requirements and the demands of
the social dyad.

Such a thesis as this recognizes that intrapsychic or abstract personal communication is likely to be beyond numerical observation in many cases because of the inability of a non-participant to experience it (Van Der Veen, 1970, p. 27). However, an individual's earliest perceptions occurred within a two-person group, and the contradictions in those social relationships will be present in all other dyadic contradictions. While these earlier contradictions can be perceived through empathy or sympathy on the part of the interviewer, such social perception cannot be entirely rational and ofttimes is not even conscious (Tannenbaum, Weschler, and Massarik, 1961, p. 54). For research purposes, the interview cannot be looked at as "something that just happens." Rather, rational objectivity must be utilized in a way that negates speculation based on the researcher's own personal constructs. Tannenbaum, Weschler, and Massarik (1961, p. 54) enumerate three aspects of social perceptions that this study accepts in a rationale for an understanding of dyadic procedure: (1) the perceiver is a person who is "looking at" the interview process and attempting to understand; (2) the perceived is the person who is being "looked at" and trying to be understood; and (3) the social situation is the total setting of social and non-social forces within which the social act will be manifest. This third criterion is the aspect of concern vital to this study.

Just as George Murdock (1949, pp. 1-11) formulated four universals of the family to fit all cultures, studies of the interview dyad must likewise attempt to find and incorporate "universals" that fit the "cultures" of all typical clinical interview arrangements. In doing so, two serious difficulties are encountered: the first is the need

to categorize those "universals" that seem to be typical to most interview dyads, and the second is the need to standardize these categories as indicants reflecting both personal and social abstractions. The implications of this psychological interrelatedness will continue as intervening variables, but these intervening variables must be suspended outside of research bias as much as possible. It is questionable that such bias as an intervening variable can ever be completely excluded from consideration in the social dyad. Sociological research of the clinical interview will probably continue to be tempered in this regard. Understandably, the probability of what the individual might be saying in actuality cannot be given credence in the objective social science research. Only when the study is restricted to actual social word-order in the dyad and not to the meaning of those words contained in that ordering can the study remain essentially sociological.

As Meerloo (1952, p. 78) says, "the word tyrannizes us or is our slave." If the word is conceived as being polyphonous, it is a symbol that reflects archaic needs (Meerloo, 1952, p. 31). A single word will be the lowest-level reduction of an abstract symbol. The single word is reality's simplest sign of internalized personal values. The word itself contains an all pervasive content which is the core of the creation of the social personality (Rank, 1958, pp. 102-143).

The present study posits that single words or single groups of words can form functional substitutes for multitudinous identities and that defined categories of words can become indicants of "object" relationships. True, words express a special quality of life-processes; but, as stated above, the meanings of those words usually are not

pertinent to the study of the social act. Sapir (1949, p. 34) sees the word as being "one of the smallest, completely satisfying bits of isolated 'meaning' into which the sentence can resolve itself," but he does not elaborate on whether this "meaning" exists as historical past or immediate reality. Sapir also suggests that a word "cannot be cut into without a disturbance of meaning." This latter statement lends credibility to the following research assumptions: (1) a disturbance of "meaning" in the interview threatens the word-order of the interview, and (2) a disturbance or word-order in the interview produces "content" that is otherwise hidden to observation. This concept recognizes verbal communication as a form of social activity capable of promoting a progression of unconscious thoughts through changes in word-arrangement.

The task of the research interview is to show the relationship of a facet of "social" communication to a facet of "personal" communication. If the researcher should assume a holistic view, these two separate facets will merge into a point which will be the immediate focus of all "personal" reality for the two participants. In essence, the words used by the dyadic members relate to a reality state of affairs rather than to each of their intrapsychic processes which are abstract and secluded from ordinary public observation.

Although it may appear to do so, this concept does not present a dichotomy. The division merely represents a difference in the form of interview approach. Most interviewees will have created some sort of social order out of their social meaning before they become involved in the interview process. They will bring this predefined order to the dyad whether the dyad occurs within an interview setting or within a more purely social situation. Since every dyad depends upon the

functioning of two individuals, one member usually threatens the social

order that has been created by the other. In other words, it is likely

that one of the dyad members will assume leadership. This research

posits that such assuming of leadership interrupts the prearranged

social order of the other individual. The result will not be a duality

of antagonism but rather a conflict growing out of the opposition of the

personal preordering to the mutuality of social expectations inherent in

the dyad. Social relationships routinely incorporate the possibility

of social disorder and yet personal "will" (Rank, 1950, p. 7) involved

in the dyad usually attempts to negate this possibility.

The "elements" of the clinical interview dyadic process when set

forth will converge around criteria of creativity or its opposite which

is the threat of disorganization (destruction) (Bennis et al., 1964,

p. 546). Points of social creativity can be counters to such threats.

Murphy (1958, pp. 158-174) posits that, given the nature of the rapidly

expanding society, the interpersonal relationship is vital to the very

nature of creativity, and he concludes from this that man's real task

may be to deal with the reality of the existence of interpersonal rela-

tionships rather than to examine them apart from their manifest activ-

ity. The setting of the interview dyad will present a slice of life

within which both members of the dyad can test life within a reality

situation. Granted this is true, it will be through this testing that

their outreach toward social organization from social disorganization

or conflict will emerge. It could be concluded that the values of a

personal being are not identical to his values as a social being. This

presents an argument in that personal values have human qualities inde-

pendent of reality social relationships. At the same time, the personal

values are subject to the demands of social reality. As stated, the task of this research is to find the separation between these two functional systems of human need.

Accomplishment of this research task is possible if it can be assumed that "human values are autonomous, intrinsic, and immediate" (Lipman, 1959, p. 131). Simmel does not make this assumption. He sees the dyad as a situation within which relationships exist to reflect a condition of sociability. "It itself is a sociation" (Wolff, 1950, p. 122). In the social context alone, a relationship can take place, but the relationship itself does not demonstrate the person's ability to function socially along an emerging dimension. Thus viewed, the experimental interview dyad incorporates the individual's ability to anticipate the social position necessary to accomplish dyadic expectation, or interview task purpose. When the dyad member's capacity to anticipate social demand is prevented by an experimental counter, fantastic elements of emotion (elements of personal values) will be presented in symbolic word-form. This is primarily because of a divergence of word-symbols between the two individuals. The human life of each of the two participants is continually being reconstituted in the dyad through their word-orderings. Examination of the differences in word usage after the experimental counter should reveal indicants of their word-orderings created by the different social demands.

Man has ingeniously developed definitive words to separate his meanings. Simply because a person has found "the word," however, does not confirm that he has found that word necessary to convey his symbolic meanings. Rather, the word intended to convey his meanings must be examined within its social context, and a social context is dependent

upon one's social significance to others. All the words that an indi-
vidual uses have to be rearranged in symbolic form by another person
before they can contain any social meaning. An operational approach to
research of the interview dyad must be rigidly defined because of the
inherent tendencies on the part of the researcher to be subjective (to
use his own words). Oftentimes the observer becomes his own instrument
of measurement if he finds himself in the research role of participant-
observer. Objectivity in studying the interview dyad demands a research
rigor that tends to be negated by the subjective inclinations of the
observer. Redlich and Freedman (1966, p. 211) question whether the type
of objective rigor that is demanded by the natural sciences is feasible
or even desirable in a study of the interview. The present study
contends that it is both feasible and desirable.

When the researcher sorts and identifies the elements of the dyadic
message to the exclusion of other elements in a prearranged scheme, he
runs the risk of losing what is probably one of the most important di-
mensions, that of the symbolic meaning or personal value presented by
each of the dyad members. In an attempt to establish criteria that
place these personal elements in their proper perspective to social
elements, it is essential to incorporate the following assumptions:
(1) a conversational dyad and an interview dyad have similar social
characteristics; (2) a threat to "symbol" distortion calls out social
strengths as a counter; (3) personality variables and dyadic acts are
parallel in being at odds with the clinical interview structure; and
(4) emergent social creativity is a response to an interrupted dyadic
act.

To observe word-order is to observe an agreed upon purpose whether that purpose is socially emergent (an unstructured form) or predetermined (a structured form). Consideration of interview purpose demands consideration of four broad sets of variables: (1) rules governing dyadic language (interview structuredness or non-structuredness); (2) social acts (social functioning); (3) verbalized social experiences (word meanings); and (4) object relationships (roles and statuses). In terms of these variables, the study begins and ends with the situational predicament of the dyad. This will limit the research to a simple cause-and-effect experiment between the dependent variables (2, 3, and 4 above) and the independent variable (1 above). The independent variable will be a manipulation of the rules governing the interview by an experimental intrusion into dyadic relationship at a given reference point. The theoretical conceptual model is comprehensible as a "digging tool" (Benney and Hughes, 1956, p. 137) in that such manipulation by the independent variable will force some type of cause-and-effect relationship between the dyad members.

To this point, speculation in this chapter has been limited to a consideration of the indistinct variables of a continuing world of social encounters into which most individuals have engaged themselves in mediated contacts. Each social contact and each subdivision of that contact demands a different mode of word-activity. Each interview and each subdivision of each interview is similar. The response of others demands, on the part of most individuals, that they take a stand. When the individual is forced to take a stand, he is thrown into conflict around the synthesis of these impressions (Goffman, 1955, p. 213).

As Simmel says, talk (even conflict) always contains the seeds of its own legitimacy (Wolff, 1950, pp. 51-54).

That talk is not a pure interchange of energy is a pertinent consideration because an interchange of pure energy would incorporate the personal subtleties that have to be screened out for present research purposes. More appropriately, the interview dyad will be looked at as a situation within which energy has been mobilized to meet the social goals. An examination of this type of situation in conflict, performed through a counting of the social acts, will minimize the intervening variables contained in pure interchanges of energy.

Meerloo (1952, p. 201) sees the dyad conversation as being "the supply, the outlet, and the transport of ideas." It is not with "ideas" as such that this study is concerned. It is, rather, the transport and the integration of ideas through words that is of primary social significance and, therefore, of primary concern. These notions will run somewhat counter to traditional forms of interview thought which are usually oriented to consideration of which individual shall control the interview or create the social environment within which dyadic growth takes place. For one dyad member to control the other is to limit spontaneous creativity. If the interviewee subjugates himself to purely social functioning (conversation), he will be involved in what Simmel calls "play" (Wolff, 1950, pp. 42-44).

If, on the other hand, the research can recognize that the human values contained in past experience have been called out by the social demands of the interview dyad, theoretical assumptions made at the close of Chapter II will raise the question of whether or not an intrusion into "play" at certain reference points can bring about a more

functional arrangement in terms of task-accomplishment in the inter-
view. This implies the human potential for defensive use of cognitive
processes toward the reformation of social word-order.

The mere casting together of two individuals cannot mirror a true
reflection of clinical dyadic behavior. At play this might be true;
but research into play would probably lead to false assumptions and
would imply that the process had been fitted into the bias of the
researcher. In other words, within the clinical interview dyad the
data would be selected for "stimulus equivalents" that emerge out of an
interview process similar to Merton's "focused interview" (Merton,
Fiske, and Kendall, 1956, p. 115).

The present research then is concerned with interchanges of dynamic
human energy that define the limits of social existence within a reality
setting. There will be no determination of a state of "being" (Tillich,
1952, pp. 32-36). Use of the dyad members as objects to one another
will be in terms of the structure which surrounds them. Since it is
impossible within a short period of time for the dyad participants to
"put all the pieces together," there will be no concern with rapport.
Understandably, the concern will be at the points where the social
symbols do not converge. Bits and pieces of social consciousness will
be distributed throughout the social situation of the clinical dyad.
The range of expression to be considered is beyond the "bits and
pieces." Consideration is not with particular words and particular
modes of expression as such but rather with the "message" relating the
implied content of an interruption. Research choices in data must be
limited to what has been described as a predetermined order of communi-
cation that is limited to categories of words. Since tonal qualities

and facial expressions are deliberately removed from the research, the analysis can concentrate solely upon verbal content that reflects dyadic exchange showing variance between social role and social position as conflict occurs. This is a strategy into a microsystem that hopefully provides a model for understanding the interrelated parts of the larger system. The organization of this microsystem contains the properties of all systems that cannot be explained through the use of analytical variables alone. The social situation within which the dyad occurs will evidence that each person has his own views regarding the labeling process of the association.

The research will imply that as a respondent enters into the relationship with a therapist, the respondent can be expected to attempt to draw the therapist into a "community of defense" (Parsons, 1964, p. 335) that has a fit with the "sickness" (in the present case, with the distortions) of the respondent. In other words, the respondent can be expected to "seduce" the interviewer or therapist along the lines of "play" that have been suggested previously. Garrett (1942, p. 55) would draw attention to the physical setting of the interview and the possibility that the situation itself could be a source of reasons why certain acts occurred. She would see evaluation possibilities created by the physical situation itself rather than primarily by the internal systems of both respondents interacting as objects in motion.

In another light, Ruesch and Bateson (1951, p. 286) see genetics as being a focus in interviewing. They reason that "genetics can conveniently be regarded as information," but this research will consider that type of information as being of an unknown quantity. Such a focus would incorporate the bias of the observer; and, even with the

"self"-observer, the "state" of an organism can only be obtained through observation of its own "self-corrective" activities (Ruesch and Bateson, 1951, p. 201). Basically, the research problem is couched in the differences between that which is assumed to exist in reality and that which is actually observed and counted by a human observer apart from his disciplinary bias and his own personal bias. It is difficult, if not impossible, to distinguish between assumed and perceived reality because, by its very nature, reality bespeaks of a certain nebulousness. It is accepted that a participant observer must evaluate as though he were an observer outside of the experiment in which he is involved if he is to control the influence of his bias (Ruesch and Bateson, 1951, p. 274). To be a participant-observer in the interview dyad is to influence, very likely, the evidence that he is about to observe.

As a quantifiable phenomenon the social act cannot include the discrete elements of personality except through implication. However, the claims of these personalities are present and will come into conflict with rigid social demand. When social disruption occurs, there will be a reordering as the dyad participant regroups his personality to achieve social position. There is a five-way nexus of convergence: each person reacting to the other as an individual (personality), each person reacting to the other as object (mutual social expectation), and both participants responding to interview demand. Theoretically, discordance in adaptability will evidence itself in the ambiguity of at least one of these five areas of convergence.

Meerloo (1952, p. 192) quotes Spinoza as saying, "things that have nothing in common with each other cannot be understood by each other mutually; the conception of the one does not include a conception of the

other." Between the two conceptions there will always be the barrier of words. It is this barrier of words that forms the core of this study's model of conflict arrangements.

Popular assumption is that the healthy person can switch from the abstract to the detailed, but Ruesch denies this. "But abstraction is a one-way street; from the concrete, descriptive and denotative to the abstract, the road is easy; from the abstract back to the concrete, the road is difficult and distortions may occur" (Ruesch, 1961, p. 192). Within this study frame of reference question is being raised as to just how able is the individual to switch from the detailed to the abstract. In other words, if the interview is structured (detailed), how much abstract word-symbolization will be apparent if the person is forced to switch over to the ambiguity of a social situation that lacks detail (unstructured)--or vice versa? The expression of personal adequacy is a temporary expression that involves social ordering, but it is thought that it will simulate a more complex reordering of personal constructs.

If the social researcher can arrive at a procedure for the enumeration of publically observable events, then he will have found a method of understanding the implications of private events. Since the dyad partners are neither implicit nor explicit and since the dyad is a constantly changing social phenomenon, construction of an appropriate model is a most difficult task because the data of the model cannot be wholly removed from the intervening variables of personality. At best, it seems, the interview can be studied as a dialectic that has similarities to the "will-counterwill" theories of Otto Rank (1950) and the "cone of consciousness" described by Kann and Cannell (1967, pp. 151-153).

This chapter has assumed that human interdependence is universal; at the same time, it has emphasized that there is a particular quality to the social dyad that transcends social interdependence. It is being theorized that these two parts of the dyad (personality and social) can be incorporated into a specific interview focus that allows observation into both the "universal" and "particularistic" dimensions (Parsons, Bales and Shils, 1953, p. 66 ff.) of the interview.

The unit of consideration in this study is the social act occurring within a specified social situation. Ruesch and Bateson (1951, p. 15) define the social situation as being "established when people enter into interpersonal communication" and interpersonal communication as

> Interpersonal communication: an interpersonal event is
> characterized by:
> (a) the presence of expressive acts on the part of
>   one or more persons.
> (b) the conscious or unconscious perception of such
>   expressive actions by other persons.
> (c) the return observation that such expressive
>   actions were perceived by others. The percep-
>   tion of having been perceived is a fact which
>   deeply influences and changes human behavior.

In order to accomplish the research goal, this study will develop a conceptual model that arranges word-behavior into a hierarchy of categories that reflect word-modes extending from sentence fragmentation to a pre-therapeutic mode of unique personal abstractions (these categories will be treated in depth in Chapter VII). This study attempts a realistic design of research that is oriented to the obtaining of valid data that is applicable to "two or more levels of abstraction" (Ruesch and Bateson, 1951, pp. 286-287). Human interactional sequences that do not contain these two levels of abstractions do not incorporate a design of predictability. Jaffe (1958) contends the researcher should

concentrate on the language patterns that are representative not only

of character structure but of social structure as well.

> Modern psychiatric research has concentrated on language
> patterns as expressive of character structure, and the
> interpersonal situation at the time of observation has
> generally been neglected as a significant variable (Jaffe,
> 1958, p. 249-250).

Jaffe seems to be saying that the interpersonal social system occurring

at the time of the observable event has often been neglected as a sig-

nificant variable in favor of assumptions around the meaning of the

personality creating or energizing the social event. This research

will tend to support Jaffe's observations.

CHAPTER IV

THE PROBLEM OF ORGANICISM IN THE

RESEARCH CONSTRUCT

Psychoanalytic influence upon interviewing has often been called a
"diagnostic" process (i.e., assessing, evaluating, appraising) (Gill,
Newman, and Redlich, 1954, p. 77; Whitehorn, 1944; Finesinger, 1948).
Historically, the mentally ill have been treated in state hospitals and
the medical influence upon diagnosis may have created this notion
(Henderson, Coffer, and Cross, 1954, p. 24). Traditionally, psychiatry
has been a descriptive process which has often led to highly standard-
ized forms that are closely oriented to what might be called "status"
delineations (Preu, 1943; Menninger, 1952a; Carter, 1955; Cheney, 1934).
Often this standardizing process that is so useful in diagnosis has been
apparent in some interviewing techniques (Fenlason, Ferguson, and
Abrahamson, 1962; Caplow, 1956; Payne, 1951; Stevenson, 1959; Stevenson
and Sheppe, 1959). The limitations of such interviewing approaches to
this research were mentioned in Chapter II and III, and these limita-
tions will be considered again in subsequent chapters. Menninger
(1952b, p. 601) has noted that the purely diagnostic procedure "takes
no account of the advance in psychiatry since Kraepelin."

The psychoanalytic frame of reference incorporates an organic
model. If a given personality is considered organically, then its
genetic function must receive special attention. The genetic influence

upon Freud and upon many psychoanalytic interviewing techniques is indisputable (Meyer, 1957; Muncie, 1959). However, it should be noted that, in his later writings, Freud recognized the social influences upon the ego (Freud, 1930). In a sociological sense, if the ego is to be observed as a "bargaining agent" (Hickman and Kuhn, 1956, p. 5), Freud's concept of id and superego must be treated as an intervening variable in the dyad being examined in this study.

In the Freudian sense, the id is unconscious and is not modified by social experience. Freud saw the id characterized by the need for gratification which he called the "pleasure principle" (Freud, 1920). In other words, according to Freud, the id wants what it wants when it wants it and has no tolerance for delay or denial of its gratification. It is an unreasoning segment of the personality and, indeed, is therefore not amenable to reason. Freud placed the basic instincts of the human within the id. These were life and death motivations and the instincts toward sex and aggression. He described the id as a closed system of fused energy that is self-motivated toward gratification (Hickman and Kuhn, 1956, p. 5).

Another segment of the personality that Freud described is the superego. This segment, as Freud sees it, contains the total accumulation of experiences of the individual. It also contains elements of infantile sexuality which are the organismic, genetic qualities mentioned above. Oriented to the proposition that all experiences of the infant are sexual, Freud saw the infant as an organism of gratifying contacts with people. If these people (usually parents) had the power to deny gratification, the infant developed these persons into

love-objects. In most instances the mother is the primary love-object;

the mother nurses him, weans him, and toilet trains him.

Within this complexity of gratification Freud saw the father

becoming an arch rival to the infant for the love-object. The child

develops a murderous hostility toward the father as his rival, and the

subsequent guilty feelings lead to a massive repression on the part of

the child which results in the child identifying with the father

(Hickman and Kuhn, 1956, p. 6). It is this internalized image (Imago)

of the father that constitutes the rationale of the superego. As such,

it is related to the id. It is this area between id and superego of

Freudian concepts as it cathects with the ego that is of primary concern

to the present study. Hall and Lindzey (1954, p. 146) define cathexis:

> In one of his writings, Freud characterizes psycho-
> analysis as "a dynamic conception which reduces mental life
> to the interplay of reciprocally urging and checking
> forces". These forces are cathexes and anticathexes. Be-
> cause cathexis refers to the way in which energy is dis-
> tributed throughout the personality it is a central concept
> in psychoanalytic theory. Yet its meaning is not always
> clearly understood.
>
> This much is plain, cathexis refers to an investment
> or charge of energy. But what is it that becomes invested
> or charged with energy? Freud uses the term in such a way
> as to lead the reader to believe that either external
> objects or the ego itself can become invested with energy.
> If it is the former it is called an object cathexis, if it
> is the latter, an ego cathexis...

There is no need to discuss the Freudian concepts of transference and

counter-transference (Alexander and French, 1946; Wolberg, 1954) im-

plied above since these concepts relate to that portion of personality

between id and superego that do not relate to ego-functioning as such

but rather are related to pathological functioning which is not within

the purview of this study.

What is of paramount concern, however, is the ego segment and its

ability to be "bargaining agent" to the interview manifestations of the

other two segments. The ego has the ability to move in and out of the

socializing process of the interview dyad causing the conflict of id

and superego to come into focus within a reality context (and not a

pathological context). Kuhn (Hickman and Kuhn, 1956, p. 5) describes

the functioning of the ego as follows:

> When the newborn infant begins to meet with delays,
> denials, pain, and consequent frustration--as he inevit-
> ably does at the very outset of his life--a part of his
> psychic system begins to function as an agency for dealing
> with external reality. This part of the psychic system,
> once contained in the Id but now a distinct entity, the
> Freudians term the Ego.
>
> The Ego is the seat of the rational and the instru-
> mental. It is that which is conscious, that which is aware
> of the external world and concerned with finding out how it
> functions. It is, however, always an agent of the Id, and
> hence always in some basic way subservient to it. Its con-
> stant concern is to drive the best bargain possible with
> the world of external reality for the Id and its strivings.
> Its reasonableness and its concern with the operations of
> the outside world operate solely for the purpose of seeking
> acceptable gratifications for the pleasure-loving Id. When
> it is unable to find an outlet for wishes of the Id, the Ego
> thrusts these wishes back into the unconscious recesses of
> the Id--a process known as repression.

There seems to have been resistance on the part of some scholars

in this country to accept some of the Freudian theories (Malinowski,

1927; Sumner, 1906). Burgess (1939) lists several explanations of why

sociologists tend to be resistive: (1) psychoanalytic theory has a

particularistic emphasis; (2) sociology has a simpler and apparently

more adequate cultural interpretation of behavior; (3) sociology has

a predisposition against absolute explanations of behavior especially

as opposed to relative explanations; (4) sociologists question the

techniques of psychoanalysis; (5) sociologists see the theory as being

diluted because of the rise of rival schools in psychoanalysis; (6) there is a rise of conceptual schemes of motivation in sociology that are considered to be "pure" sociology; (7) increasingly, there is a trend away from theory of instincts in sociology; (8) there seems to have been a lack of integration of psychoanalytic theory with previous studies of instinct; and (9) there is a preoccupation on the part of some sociologists with their own theories and problems.

Lasswell (1939, p. 375) sees Freud's most abiding contribution to theory as being the "observational technique" which he says Freud invented. Lasswell (1939) sees the psychoanalytic position as being intensive from an observational viewpoint rather than extensive from the point of view of information-taking. In addition, he sees the Freudian stance as being scientific rather than indoctrinating and the "observational" viewpoint as the only criterion for an interview. The interview is not "a participant, spectator, or collector" type of relationship (Lasswell, 1939, p. 375).

The psychoanalytic attitude proceeds toward the notion of "self" which does not differ greatly from the attitudes of Symbolic-interactionists—a concept which will be of special interest to this study because of the emphasis upon social-self as a process element in the interview. As the social-self emerges from one stage of interview process to another, it will evidence some of the distinct characteristics of Freud's ego. The reason for this is that the social-self bargains with reality to avoid the id's and superego's conflict with interview reality.

This is to say that the ego which originated from the id out of the id's attempts to cope with stubborn or resistive outside reality is

characterized, to a degree, by its own rationality and its own con-
sciousness as it struggles within the interview toward mutual expecta-
tion, or a synthesis between the unconscious demands of the individual
personality (id) and the rigid conscious demands of the interview
structure (superego). Thus, the ego, although it is synthesized out of
the id, contrasts with the id by its own reality principle. It is the
ego's reality principle that attempts to get the id to let go of its
demands or to delay its wants in favor of an adequate bargain with
external reality. Within the interview this external reality can be
the expectations of the other partner or the expectations of the inter-
view structure. In this way, the ego bargains for the superego. It is
this segment of activity between the ego and the other two segments of
personality that parallels the activity between social-self, social
expectancy, and interview introject. So, in Freudian terms, conflict
as described here will refer to conflict occurring between ego and
superego.

The social-self is dependent upon the dyadic partner in the social
experience (Neiman and Hughes, 1951, p. 141), and the study problem
highlights the attempts of the interviewee to reach a "singleness."
This "singleness" is demanded on the one hand by mutual expectations
(superego) and is paralleled by the need to personally escape from the
interview (id) on the other. If the interviews were oriented to trans-
ference phenomena, the above would be pathological; but viewed as social
conflict the process becomes rational. The striving of the social-self
is toward individual "uniqueness," or what Rank (1958, p. 164) terms
"the inspirational successor to his own true self." This presents a
problem in social order which is derived basically out of mutual

cooperation. Thus, "social uniqueness," as a causal factor in this study, requires only limited discussion since it is an assumption that would have to be based upon doubt. Whether or not the interviewee could "escape" from the social orderings of the interview could not be determined in this study. It must be assumed that the interviewee's strivings toward personal "uniqueness" are incorporated within his social conflict.

As a "higher level" system of psychoanalytic, diagnostic, authoritarian "structured" interviewing is imposed upon the conversational dyad, social order will be imposed and will prevent the lower-level chaotic elements of personality systems from emerging. This presents a relative difference; and, as with most things relative, presumably this difference between social structure and social-self (including personality) could be measured.

A consideration of object-relations is essentially an analysis of the relationship between one individual (and his psychic system) and another individual as they act with word-modes in response to a changing social situation. They are social objects to one another. Such a transactional field involves a social process through which the individuals relate to one another within their traditional values. The way their actions are changed by manipulating the interview structure presents the social difference to be measured. In other words, as the structure of the interview dyad is changed, its functioning will also change since the social statuses will thus change and require new acts on the part of both individuals if mutual cooperation is to be achieved. That the study formulation bears a Freudian influence is understandable. As Parsons (1964, p. 107) says,

> Had Freud lived long enough to enter more deeply into
> the technical analysis of the object-systems to which the
> individual becomes related, he would inevitably have had to
> become, in part, a sociologist, for the structure of these
> object-systems is--not merely is influenced by--the struc-
> ture of the society itself. Essentially, Freud's theory of
> object-relations is a theory of the relation of the indi-
> vidual personality to the social system. It is a primary
> meeting ground of the two disciplines of psychology and
> sociology.

In another essay, Parsons (Parsons, Bales, Shils, 1953, pp. 13-29) says

that this theory of object-relationships, occurring between ego (self)

and superego (social-self) is the primary meeting ground between the

two disciplines of psychology and sociology.

Be that as it may, the role of the ego is important to this study

since a rationale for the measurement of differences between objects in

conflict must be conceptualized. Freud (1923, p. 36) provides such a

rationale in the following passage:

> When it happens that a person has to give up a sexual
> object, there quite often ensues a modification in his
> ego which can only be described as a reinstatment of
> the object within the ego, as it occurs in melancholia;
> the exact nature of this substitution is as yet unknown
> to us. It may be that by undertaking this introjection,
> which is a kind of regression to the mechanism of the oral
> phase, the ego makes it easier for an object to be given
> up or renders that process possible. It may even be that
> this identification is the sole condition under which the
> id can give up its objects. At any rate the process,
> especially in the early phases of development, is a very
> frequent one, and it points to the conclusion that the
> character of the ego is a precipitate of abandoned
> object-cathexes and that it contains a record of past
> object-choices.

Instead of the term "ego," the term "self" will be more comfortable

to the sociological approach of this paper. "Self" has come to have

two distinct meanings to theorists: self-as-object and self-as-process.

Self-as-object is defined as "the total aggregate of attitudes, judg-

ments and values that an individual holds toward his behavior, his

ability, and his worth as a person--in short, how the individual per-
ceives and evaluates himself" (Byrne, 1966, p. 434). Self-as-process
must be defined in terms of activity, i.e., the individual's thinking,
his perceiving, and his coping with an environment. "Ego is another
term used to describe this same construct" (Byrne, 1966, p. 434).

This research seeks an empirical level of interchange and reasons
that such an interchange cannot be found in a static view of self. A
view of dynamic self requires a process. The process of interchange
must be between self-as-object with another social object at a given
moment within interview process. Definitions of difference between
social acts provide adequate definition of the word "self." The inter-
view is or is not meeting adequate interview requirements according to
its definitions of self differences.

An optimum level of interview interchange might be called a
"balance point" (Jaffe, 1958, p. 250), or point of reference. These
reference points might be ideal points of control where one dyad member
is controlling a specific area of social organization in the dyad. In
this study these points of reference or control will be accomplished by
the researcher in order to achieve the highest conflict level possible.
Presumably when the empirical level of interchange has been reached,
the dyadic word-mode will be following an orderly pattern, which is to
say that its order will fit the present predefined research construct.
"The lawful organization of bodily functions is insufficient to account
adequately for an instance or pattern of behavior" (Redlich and
Freedman, 1966, p. 22).

When the dyadic partners mutually perceive their "promotive inter-
dependence" (Deutsch, 1962, p. 276), it can be said that a state of

interpersonal cooperation exists. The study suggests that the state of cooperation is a continuum that is constantly in motion and that there is a constant search for new viewpoint by the dyadic members to define their object relationships (Lipman, 1959, p. 121). Because of this motion, no social act can ever stand alone, apart from all other actions.

Herein lies the crux of the research problem. On the one hand, traditional literature proposes a direct subject-to-object type of interview that is devoted to a prearranged scheme or schedule with levels of organization and response clearly demarcated in advance. The interviewee would be helped to reach one of these levels of process in response to a "diagnosis." On the other hand, the need for an indirect type of interviewing is also apparent, and even preferable, if the spontaneous conviction of the dyad partner is to be obtained. These convictions are the word-definitions that clarify their social responses. The research intrudes two critical zones of social process, one zone termed "thinking activity" and the other, "feeling activity." The research cannot examine "polite conversation" nor can it immerse itself into the interviewee's unconscious self. In either case, the data would become incoherent since only its elements of personality would be examined. According to Roethlisberger and Dickson (1947, p. 271), the interviewer (in this study the researcher) has to guard against two errors, i.e., "against having fixed and preconceived ideas which would prevent him from catching anything new...and against allowing the interview to become incoherent because of no guiding hypothesis." The researcher will have to face the question of whether the identification of what the interviewee will be in the interview is

really the interviewee's choice. Traditionally, the argument is between

individual self-sufficiency and environmental forces. As an object, the

interviewee will fulfill the same transmitting functions in response to

social cues that he fulfills in response to internalized symbolic cues.

In this research, these social cues will arise in interviewee response

to the manipulated structure.

Within the traditional interview, the interviewer is a "subject"

transmitting environmental and traditional values to which the inter-

viewee is expected to respond. In the traditional interview, the

interviewee is a defined object unknowing of the values being trans-

mitted to him. Supposedly, through a growing self-sufficiency, he will

be able to overthrow the environment which at the time is being inter-

preted to him through the interviewer. Unless the divisions of labor

between interviewee and interviewer can be delineated, it is impossible

to observe the interviewee as having individual social acts since his

social acts have been translated to him by the interviewer. The expli-

citly assigned task (thought) is not in conflict with the implicitly

assigned task (feeling). It is that area between implicit tasks and

explicit tasks that will provide data (cf. Murray, 1964, p. 639).

In general, the interviewee needs to tell who and what he is. He

needs to share his "being" (his ego) and to discuss the realistic or

unrealistic barrier to his life-style (his superego). Whenever the

goal of the interview is semi-therapeutic, the social acts will not be

a process of information-sharing but will be an attempt to synthesize

the interviewee's thesis (his id) with his antithesis (his superego)

through the use of his ego, or self, as bargaining agent. As stated

previously, the id and superego form parallels in conflict construct

with the ego. Only through his ego, or self, can meanings be synthe-
sized into a universal order. The interviewee is a "psychobiologic
unit in action" (Whitehorn, 1944, p. 197), but emphasis cannot be upon
either his biology or his sociology exclusively.

In each particular encounter in this study, the interview will
embrace a wide range of expectations, the outer limits of which will not
be observed. The study will concentrate, rather, upon the intensity and
the expected frequency of words in twelve categories of response cover-
ing the presumed center of the entire range of expectations. The
reasoning underlying the presumed center is this: if this range of
expectations can be imagined as a straight line, on the far left of the
line there will be a therapeutic range dealing with symbolisms so vague
that they cannot be put into words (the study's twelve categories begin
with fragmented words); and on the far right end of this straight line,
beyond the twelfth category (which is unique personal abstraction),
will lie a range of abstract symbolisms which are typical of deep
chaotic wishes, desires, and hopes as well as libidinal phenomena which
also cannot be put into words. If the reader can imagine this straight
line being bent into a circle, not only will an understanding of the
twelve categories as a center range be apparent but also a concept of
the isolated human being that circles endlessly, not only within
himself but also in the social dyad, will become evident. This internal
cycling creates the need for the interviewee to enter into the social
dyad in the first place. Within the dyad, he perceives that the circle
will tend to form itself toward a straight line (because this has become
apparent to him through past social experience). He knows that in
social relationships the scope of the range of his social expectations

becomes more reasonable. "Of one fact we may be sure, the patient seeks a response of recognition on some level approximate to his current need" (Redlich and Freedman, 1966, p. 205).

The apparent interview need on the part of the individual is to stabilize his behavior. Although his best in the interview may not be his rational best, he will still make a commitment to the interview dyad. Deutsch (1962, p. 308) hypothesizes that "if two individuals are individualistically motivated, they will be likely to make their contributions to the exchange to the extent that each commits himself, and sees the other as committed, to offering a contribution to the exchange." Deutsch thus states a "commitment hypothesis" that brings into account the status of the dyadic partners. Each partner in the dyad may at any moment be standardizing his fantasies or he may be standardizing his social position, his proper functioning, the arrangement of his sense of symbols, or his social acts. His commitment to the interview is based upon the expectation that a synthesis will be reached and that a level of mutual expectation will be achieved. He "knows" (has learned through past social experiences) that he is in the process of becoming socially responsible and that he cannot relegate responsibility to the other partner in the dyad. He feels a responsibility for the entire dyadic outcome in terms of his self. In this manner, his felt need for social control emerges. If the interviewer of the dyad becomes the leader, the interviewee's responsibility is lessened and his biosocial necessities for emotional outreach are likely to be in a state of regression (Gregory, 1968, p. 56).

This line of reasoning will raise question around interview superficiality. In Freud's term the word "depth" refers to the eliciting of

deep unconscious material that is brought into insightful proportions. More often "depth" "is used with mysterious overtones than as a scientific word with a clearly delineated referent" (Gorden, 1956, p. 158). There has been widespread acceptance of the word in all disciplines without much insistence upon specific definition. "The essential requirement of techniques designed to achieve depth is that they deal, not with objective content, but with associated feelings" (Merton, Fiske, and Kendall, 1956, p. 104). Objective observation in this study will include emotional implications. These emotional responses will represent selective communication which minimizes, but does not exclude, modes of gratification typified by psychoanalytic thought.

The existence of an unconscious is the cornerstone of psychoanalytic theory. The pure one-sidedness of superordination-subordination, however, has been transformed in this study from its one-sidedness in order to give it sociological form.

> Throughout his work, Simmel considered the individual's social actions not in themselves but in relation to those of other individuals and to particular structures or processes. He is a resolutely functionalist thinker. In his famous chapter on "Superordination and Subordination," for example, he shows that domination does not consist in the unilateral imposition of the superordinate's will upon the subordinate but, rather, that it involves reciprocal action. What appears to be the imposition of absolute influence on the one hand, and the acquiescence to absolute influence on the other, is deceptive. Influence "conceals an interaction, an exchange..., which transforms the pure one-sidedness of superordination and subordination into a sociological form" (Coser, 1965, p. 13).

Symbol-formation must be measured without a direct intrusion into the individual's unconsciousness if a sociological form is to be maintained. The deeper implications of the symbols must be recognized as they touch cognitive awareness. Such recognition can come about through what Blau (1955, p. 108) calls an "exchange of values." He

says that "both participants gain something and both have to pay a price" and that knowledge of this conflict allows "the questioning agent to perform better than he could otherwise have done" (Blau, 1955, p. 108). Homans (1958, p. 605) in viewing this phenomenon sees the edges of cognitive awareness in terms of payment also. He says that one dyad member is paying his respect to the superior proficiency of the other dyad member on a higher level of status. In similar fashion, the interviewee is acknowledging inferiority, and the interviewer gains prestige for which result the interviewer is willing to give of himself. The leading edge of consciousness between interviewer and interviewee is the statuses that they agree upon reciprocally, and conflict around these exchanges is that point of reference between cognitive awareness and abstract symbolism prerequisite to the gathering of data.

The self is responsive to life-forces and, as such, must contain the universal distortion of life-forces. The ego, or self, is in constant conflict with the id and, in the interview, also in conflict with the superego, or the demands of the interview structure. This conflict cannot be relieved except by mutual agreement or by the interviewer's assumption of leadership through a predetermined structure. In the latter case, the interviewee must forego "egoism" in favor of an artificial life-force that inhibits conflict.

If the interviewee is to strive for self as a self-contained unit, he must risk his achievement of id-gratification through more generalized ego-bargaining. He is obligated to order social form, acknowledging its demand for incorporation of a set of usable value systems that allow the threat of socialization without the destructive qualities of oversocialization (Ruesch, 1961, pp. 282-289). It is these empirical

peaks of risk of oversocialization (being overwhelmed by the interview

introject) that will portray the conflict of negative relationship

within the interview dyad. But parallelism, as has been described,

implies that the only negative interview relationship (Coser, 1965,

p. 12) is one within which a person turns away or withdraws completely

from the relationship, in which case there would be no dyad. As long

as emotionality exists within the interview, whether positive or nega-

tive, the interview is positive in the sense that there is social

striving toward the synthesis of force (interview structure) and

counter-force (personality demands and social expectations).

In this chapter, the difference between organism and personality

has been stressed. Granted the individual is a biosocial unit, this

distinction is crucial because it is the personality more than the

organism that reacts to social systems. The personality shall be

viewed as an independently functional system although part of it emerges

from socialization and a smaller part from biology. Whereas it is

unique in terms of life-experiences, it operates in parallel to its

system of social "self" emergence in the dynamic social interchange

(Parsons, 1964, pp. 81-82).

Understandably, the study becomes a problem in functional conflict

as evidenced through functional word-behavior. The result of this

functional conflict is an ambivalence within which emerges covert hos-

tility reflective of both personality and social self (Redlich and

Freedman, 1966, p. 181). The interview field of action within which the

interviewer and interviewee react to one another as social objects

becomes the expressive force upon which the study is built. A diffused

attachment to the object of cathexis provides meanings within specific

acts. The field of action is an organized pattern of generalized

references that are called out by the functional conflict within the

interview. The specific act within the field of action is representive

of symbolic acts between the child and its mother. The interview comes

to define meaning for the personality system itself. Parsons (1964,

p. 94) reflects this view:

> Object-choice, then, is the motivational foundation of that
> aspect of socialization in which basic performance pat-
> terns are learned. The diffuse attachment to the object
> of cathexis is the basis for the motivational meaning of
> the more specific rewards for specific performances. ...
> The first set of meanings is organized about the sanctions
> applied to the child, the second about a set of perform-
> ances he has spontaneously tried out and learned success-
> fully to complete. ... The starting point for this process
> is the "internalized mother" established through the prev-
> ious identification. ... The dependency component of the
> personality then becomes the restructured residue of the
> internalized mother, which gives a more diffuse and gener-
> alized motivational meaning to the specific acts and
> rewards involved in the exercise of motor and communication
> skills.

In the study, incidences of personality behavior as such will

not be discussed nor will there be descriptions of personality mani-

festations. The research is interested only in the number and types

of acts that reflect conflicts in symbol-formation presented as

alternatives to social stress. The ebb and flow of reality symbol-

formation around conflicts in mutual expectations will define the

extent of social change occurring in the interview dyad. It will

also demand an understanding that the study must include the follow-

ing criteria: (1) an elective or selective perception of the cri-

teria to be studied; (2) a sociological construct of the

"transference" interaction defined by Freud; (3) a selective mode

of suggestibility that is operational through dyadic conflict; and

(4) accumulated experiences within the interview that represent a

harmonious relationship without reference to cause or nature.

CHAPTER V

THE PROBLEM OF SYMBOLISM IN THE

RESEARCH CONSTRUCT

To this point the paper has been preoccupied with the need for iso-
lating symbolic personality-formations as intervening variables. In a
Freudian sense, it has been suggested that this may be impossible since
personality as an organismic model is always present in social process.
However, the word "symbolic" as it occurs in symbolic interaction
theory (Martindale, 1960, pp. 339-375) must be brought into perspective
if an "interaction" between organism as objects is to be measured
accurately.

In the two-person group there will be three criteria for meas-
uring such interaction: (1) object-to-object (which incorporates the
interviewee as an information-giver responding to an "institution"),
(2) person-to-object (which includes, on the one hand, the authori-
tarian interviewer asking "scheduled questions" of an informant for
information or, on the other hand, a scheduled questionnaire designed
to elicit the feelings of the interviewee), and (3) person-to-person
(which incorporates two human beings in emerging social process). The
study will deal with the interviewee as object (2 above) and as person
(3 above) as the interviews are segmented into two parts, one in which
a schedule is used and one in which a schedule is not used.

If the experiment dealt with the "successful" outcome of the interview, the study task might be more simple. Success might be measured according to the amount of information obtained or the amount of "insight" (Gregory, 1968, p. 203) the individual had into his symbol-formation. Although the paper will make some assumptions in subsequent chapters regarding task-performance, it is not primarily related to task-accomplishment as such. Cause-effect sequences that show differences between any combination of the three criteria mentioned above will be the principal focus. The measurement of social outcome rather than the evaluation of theoretical success is paramount if "symbolism," as a personality construct, is to be minimized.

In the interview there will be two "types" of language: thought and feeling. In terms of the criteria above, the problem of the study is to specify the dichotomy that exists between these two types of language. The first might be called a "body" (or organismic) type of language that is representative of body needs (the libidinal system); and the second might be termed a "social" type of language recognizing through its symbolism the conflict existing between ego and superego. In the social type of language, the symbolic conflict exists between social statuses and social roles (Winch, 1962, p. 147). These roles and statuses are determined by mutual expectations in the interview and distinguished by language variation. As the interviewee symbolically attempts to place himself as an object within a social setting (in order to become a person), he fluctuates verbally back and forth through status positions. It is believed that these verbal fluctuations can be measured. If the verbal fluctuations could be caused deliberately, then an experimental effect could be quantified.

Again, the wide systems of symbolism mentioned previously as being present in the dyad intervene into the measurement of the interactive process, but the "parts" of this system of symbolism are distributed along the functional whole. If the individual social act alone is emphasized, the proportion of the functional whole is of little significance. Although the holistic nature of functioning is dependent upon the function of each part, a complete knowledge of each part is not essential to an enumeration of <u>the specific activity that occurs between any two of the "parts."</u> The interview as a whole is an institutionalized culture "component." It is also related to the two "cultures" (internalized symbolisms) of the dyadic personalities. If the interview "culture" can be controlled, then the language behavior of the two personality organisms constitutes a dependent variable. Responding to a research-created independent variable of interview "culture," the interviewee will reflect his internalized symbolism. Social activity will be measured, but there will be no measurement of direct biological response. By eliminating biological response, this concept may appear vague on the surface. However, Meerloo (1952, pp. 35-36) advances this same point when he says that "man can distinguish and encounter outside stimuli without the need of direct biological response. Between him and the world the symbolizing function of speech is interposed." This symbolizing function of speech incorporates the intervening variable of symbolism as a total response in the specific social act. The interviewee will hear his own voice and perceive his own response which becomes his presentation (within a specific act) of his symbolic self in response to a social demand.

Nonverbal thoughts incorporate internalized symbolisms. If the response to social conflict is emotional, these nonverbal thoughts will be represented in modes of social language because the dialectic has intruded into nonverbal thought patterns. The mental counterparts of symbolism will parallel the verbalized interactive segments, if those segments are reacting to manipulative stimuli. The deliberate distortion of stimuli by the research within an interview segment must be specific in its intent to intervene into the "whole" social response and, thus, to evoke symbolic meaning. If specific categories of words that do or do not reflect areas of symbolic meaning are experimentally arranged, certain holistic responses will be observed as patterns of segmented social response. Categories of reality language response will be representative of the ambivalence which surrounds the internalized symbols of object-relationships on the part of both dyad members.

If the participants in the interview dyad are considered alone to be the measure of that dyad, the observer can relate only to the personality of the participants involved. Reality language responses to the construct of a reality provocation do not stress personality as a single object-criterion for study. Of course, each dyad member's personality is his own, but the reality of the roles and statuses that emerge in the dyad makes the data manipulatable in the experimental sense. The "minds" of the dyad participants must become something other than their own perceptions if objectivity is to be reached. It is the social activity of the interview dyad that provides the observable data, not the personal interpretation of that activity. This does not deny symbolic proportions; rather it places them within a context

of social reality which gives access to what previously has been called

the cultural component of the interview. By placing the social act

under social stress, the interviewee will be forced to rearrange himself

(his role and status) to the situation. The activity of this rearrange-

ment is accessible to data-gathering and the verbal contribution of the

interviewee thus becomes available to measurement.

The words of the dyad become objects of study and the personalities

of the two participants, as such, can be bypassed as objects of study.

Linton (1938, pp. 425-426) illustrates this point as follows: "The

thing which influences any given person is not culture in general--but

a particular culture. ... The individual is never familiar with, or

participates in, the whole culture." When activity has been ascribed

to a specific "category" of the whole culture, those particular

"categories" are representative then of the whole culture in that they

parallel the whole culture. Observing changes in roles and statuses

through language associated with those changes incorporates symbolic

meanings. This view is also reflected by Znaniecki (1939, p. 802):

> Human individuals and social groups do not exist as natural
> objects; they are data of evaluative and active human experi-
> ences which cannot be theoretically standardized as either
> objective or subjective, but can be investigated.

Here Znaniecki is implying that the interview participants can only be

investigated through the reality of the social situation and not

through their own perceptions of themselves as organisms.

For social study, the two-person group cannot be considered an

association of concrete organismic individuals, but rather as a social

process that synthesizes the variations (through language) of the

emerging configuration of social roles and statuses. The synthesis of

two personalities would involve transference phenomena while a synthesis

of word-object relationships describes the social arrangement of one member to the other as they try to find their "place" with one another. If the two personalities can be assumed to be subdivisions of the field of activity, the resulting word-behavior might be considered to be culture "product" (Znaniecki, 1939, p. 799) of those personalities. These "products" would represent symbolic systems of values that, through conflict, could synthesize themselves into a new interview value distinguished by changes in word-order. Such new emergent values could be defined by categories of value-words and the relationship of those value-words to a predetermined interview structure. A research model based upon a study of symbols arising primarily out of historical past differs from the construct described above. Past symbols cannot be incorporated into a present tense focus except as subsystems of the working model.

Since the individual's symbolic frame of reference is incorporated into his reality mode of expression, the range of reality content is infinite. Thus, the categories, or the specific modes of expression, to be observed must be left to the discretion of the researcher. This may appear to be paradoxical in that the symbolic system which pushes the dyad forward as an energizing force is relegated to the level of a subsystem to the data being observed. The symbolism contained in this subsystem holds itself aloof from observation in its resistance to the demands of disorderliness (the constant revision of roles and statuses) involved in social process and can only be seen through implication. To be available to research, these symbolic mechanisms of internalized meanings must be restructured and incorporated as implied subdivisions of the study focus. The nature of the social response is usually

subject to the power of its symbol-formations. In the eloquent words

of Kubie (1956, p. 189), "All creative scientific work, like all artis-

tic creation, is subject to distortion by the processes of unconscious

projection."

That there is a biological response to certain stimuli is not

being argued. What is being suggested is that the symbolism contained

in words incorporates the manifestation of a parallelism between symbol

and social act. The proposition is that a distortion in social struc-

ture will parallel a distortion in symbolically interactive process.

This assumes the notion that the subsystem of symbolism is thrown into

conflict to the same degree that social disorganization is created

through social structure manipulation. Systematic word changes will

emerge in patterned categories as variables that have been acted upon

by systematic social confrontations. These confrontations are made

possible through "object-to-object" distortions occurring within the

interview. In other words, if the interview is emerging in a person-to-

object or person-to-person sense, the experimental introject creates an

object-to-object relationship. The predictability of expressive word-

modes will give credence to a concept of hidden symbolic meanings.

Generally speaking, when structure is presented as a conflict mechanism,

the social reaction will be in a like-form to the form of the symbolism

of internalized personal meanings. Each individual responds to con-

frontation in his own internally structured way--a way that will be

similar to his social response when he is presented with an interview

dialectic. This posits that the social participant's internal meanings

and social meanings are in parallel. On the basis of this proposition,

certain implications will be made in the last chapter regarding

therapeutic technique.

Symbols can exist only in the power of the objects they symbolize.

A set of conventions that define common meanings is necessary to test

the capacity of the expressive symbol. Znaniecki (1939, pp. 805-806)

says:

> Nearly every individual who participates in the
> activities which bring a social group into existence
> becomes also a part of the product itself as a group
> member. ... Being a group member means a specific kind
> of person who performs a specific kind of role.
>
> Like a theatrical role, a social role involves con-
> tinual interaction between the performer and other people.
> The analysis of both roles shows that they are systems of
> values and activities practically standardized in
> accordance with a certain pattern.

Social roles then represent systems of values that can be related to

activities capable of being practically standardized in order to allow

for their enumeration. This numbering of patterned activity must be

responsive to the structure of the social situation. Further, the

enumeration requires a social set involving social components described

by Znaniecki (1939, p. 806) as:

> (1) a social circle of which the performing person is the
> center; (2) the person's "social self," i.e., his body and
> mind as represented and conceived by his social circle and
> himself; (3) the person's status, i.e., the total "rights"
> which his circle and himself recognize as due to him in his
> role; (4) the person's function, i.e., his total "duties"
> which the social circle expect of him and which he tends to
> fulfill.

The present study incorporates such components as base indexes for some

of the categories of word orderings.

Whether or not the mode-responses of the interviewee reflect the

expectations of the experiment will depend upon how well the expressive

word-form categories reflect the narrow focus of social disorganization

in a specific social act. At times the subsystems of internalized

symbolism will intervene into the "word-object" relationship under

study. Such intervention will leave a conceptualization of this type

open to criticism. Tannenbaum, Weschler and Massarik (1961, p. 64)

warn against the assumption that symbolism does not have standard

themes and the broad assumption that internalized systems have no effect

upon the process of the dyad thus:

> A blind assumption, on the other hand, that we do <u>not</u>
> resemble others (or a particular "other") can also lead to
> misperception. In most cases, the perceiver and the per-
> ceived do share in common some attitudes, feelings, and
> similar personality characteristics. The challenge con-
> fronting us is to recognize those elements that we have in
> common with other individuals, while at the same time noting
> the differences that make us unique. Likewise, when dealing
> with many people, we need to learn to discriminate the rele-
> vant differences among them, while remaining aware of the
> similarities which they, as a group, share.

These authors seem to be challenging research to recognize the social

elements that are common to a specific experimental model. It is the

very uniqueness of the interviewee's specific response that meets this

criterion within the present study. It is reasoned that the self

manifests its social self as word-activity at the points of difference

(conflict).

When an interviewee is relating to an interview schedule of ques-

tions, or "structure," there is a person-to-object relationship. In the

absence of social structure, the relationship between interviewee and

interviewer will be person-to-person. The person-to-person relationship

demands the emergence of internalized symbolic meanings because of the

necessity to establish roles and statuses. This construct is strength-

ened by the Parsonian concept that every symbol has both cognitive and

expressive meanings:

> A symbol is expressive ... in so far as its meaning <u>has</u>
> <u>reference</u> not to other objects as objects but to the
> motivational state or states of one or more actors;
> whereas a cognitive symbol has reference to the prop-
> erties of one or more other situational objects, as
> objects, and of course other than the symbolic object
> itself.

In the observation of word-symbols as representative of situational

objects that express hidden underlying attitudes, the field of activity

is precisely defined. Verbal symbols that are implicitly felt but not

expressively known to the interviewee will present a different language-

mode than will symbols that are demanded by and expressively known only

to the interviewer. Granted word-meanings in the interview are changed

by the actions of the interviewer in the traditional type interview,

then why not by a researcher in a different construct?

The unstructured interview will emerge as a social dyad and struc-

ture itself around a pre-existing, internalized set of expectations on

the part of the two members. When the interviewer (or researcher)

demands directive (or non-directive) modes of action (structure), the

interview process is simplified because the social dyad is not emergent

but fixed. It follows that, if the researcher can separate these two

modes of behavior (structured and non-structured), it is reasonable to

conceptualize a measurement of the difference. Feeling and content are

the raw material--the data--for study. Although the data is not wholly

representative of the personalities of the two individuals involved, it

is sufficient to form the basis for generalizations of predictions of

dyadic behavior under given circumstances (cf. Tannenbaum, Weschler,

and Massarik, 1961, p. 62). Parsons (1964, p. 35) illustrates the

point as follows:

> For the object to be a symbol rather than a sign (or
> signal), this meaning must have acquired a certain level of
> generalization. ... Thus "my father" as a concrete human
> person is not as such necessarily a symbol. It is only
> when some aspect of experience represented by my father
> comes to "stand for" other aspects of experience associated
> with other objects and attitudes, that we can speak of the
> father as a symbol.

Also relevant to this study is Parsons' idea of identification (1964,

pp. 105-106) which he states is one of his principal theses:

> ... in the analysis of object-relations, there is complete
> continuity in the basic conceptual framework appropriate
> to identification in the oral stage, and object-choice in
> the post-oral stage, on the one hand; and the latency period
> and adolescent socialization, on the other hand. ... As in
> the case of the mother-child dyad and of the nuclear family,
> he internalizes the values of these collectivities as part
> of the process of identification with them and assumption of
> a role in them.

If a preferential role has been ascribed, the interviewee does

not attempt to shift roles--a situation that makes it difficult to quan-

tify his conflict in a symbolic sense. He responds with his self to the

social needs of the interview; and if these social needs are minimized

through the imposition of structure, symbolic responses will be limited.

The following words of Redlich and Freedman (1966, p. 182) contribute

to an understanding of this concept: "Perhaps the most crucial aspect

of role structure in families (and actually in all groups) is its ri-

gidity; once a preferential role is ascribed, it is difficult to shift

roles and even to perceive the needs for such a change." Understand-

ably, verbal evidences of status position in the interview will be

indicants of the symbolic positions that the child had with the parent.

The system of mutual expectations defines reciprocal satisfactions

(representative of libidinal responses) as observable events.

The patterning of symbolic references constitutes the "structure"

of a system of action in its strictest sense (Parsons, Bales and Shils,

1953, p. 70). The mutual symbolic organization of action components

is the criteria for this study's research evaluation. When symbolic

meanings do not fit a universal order (structure), the person wants to

"tell," to verify. He wants to talk about his isolation from himself

and his concepts as being apart from the universal order. He will seek

a situation within which he can test the outer limits of his meanings.

Within the mutual expectation of the person-to-person interview this is

possible; within the person-to-object type of interview it is not possi-

ble; and the word-categories that pattern themselves in each type will

be evident in their differences. At any given reference point, the

interviewee is selecting a universal system through which he can solve

his internalized symbolic problems (which is his difference from uni-

versal order). His anticipatory behavior will be oriented to his social

emergence, and his status, within the dyad. It is being posited that

when this anticipatory behavior is interrupted, there will be a result-

ing word-change. In his attempt to experience social relief, the

conflict that he is experiencing will be verbalized and will contain

his verbalized meanings.

The reference points of conflict that measure the outer limits of

each interview "exchange" (Homans, 1958, p. 606) provide the boundaries

for the categories of word-order to be studied. The study is not con-

cerned with the rearrangement of persons-as-objects in symbolic order,

but with the differences in the rearrangement of words by those persons

as they react to reality social order. Hierarchies of control are par-

ticularized mechanisms to elicit the potentialities of specialized

characteristics of influence (Parsons, 1964, p. 115). This influence

modifies or rearranges the emerging social proportions of a structured

or non-structured interview dyad. If social expectations are the
ingredient that makes the dyad possible, it follows that to interrupt
the system of expectation is to create social chaos that permeates the
symbolic value-system.

CHAPTER VI

A CONFLICT MODEL FOR THE RESEARCH

There will be little "conflict" in the interview which the inter-
viewer has made his own personal construct. Conflict in such an inter-
view will generally be manifested by withdrawal or resistance reflective
of the interviewee's personality demands. Since measurement of person-
ality is difficult at any time, it seems much more feasible to attempt
to measure conflict in terms of the social act itself. Theoretically,
the interviewee internalizes the interviewer as personal social object
to a given interview point. When the third object (the researcher) is
introduced at that given point, the conflict will be manifest as a con-
frontation in social action without direct focus upon the personalities
involved. In other words, there is likely to be more observable con-
flict when the confrontation is with unlike objects responding to
emotional needs. If the interviewee as personal social object and the
interviewer as personal social object are mutually complementary, the
researcher's introject is an unlike object.

It is relatively impossible to study conflict in social acts if
strain and tension are not exciting the internalized social systems.
Again, parallelism is present. Strain and tension evidenced on a
social level will be in proportion to strain and tension on a person-
ality level. An overt change in interview structure will create the
strain necessary to provide enough tension to call out emotional

responses for observational purposes. Simple information-getting or history-taking does not provoke the necessary strain. Coleman (1947, p. 622) says that the procedure for obtaining a complete, formal psychiatric history often diverts attention from the stress and tensions of interpersonal relations.

When the interviewer himself "produces" the strain, there is little measurable conflict because the dyad is emergent and social. It is the interruption of this social emergence that produces conflict. Generally, "probing" (Dohrenwend and Richardson, 1963; Gorden, 1969, pp. 272-291) presupposes an already determined social structure with the interviewee as object and not as personal social object. Conflict occurring between dyad members as personal objects to one another usually produces a conflict in personality manifestations rather than a conflict within the social acts. True, a mannerism on the part of one member could provoke the other, but the result would not be a conflict between object and object within the social act, but rather a more direct conflict of personality. If in psychotherapy there is a conflict in communication between the personality of the therapist and the personality of the patient (transference), it would still be argued that the social act, the words used, reflects a conflict with past social activity which occurred outside of the interview.

There is a tendency for the interviewer to maintain a "traditional" interview form because of his personality. To deny institutional form and actively to provoke stress and tension is to imply a personal level of interaction with the interviewee (which would threaten his personality). Whitehorn (1944) upholds the traditional form saying that the interviewer or examiner should avoid uncomfortable arguments. According

to him, there is no such thing as "irrelevant talk;" irrelevance is merely a condition of the examiner's mind (Whitehorn, 1944, pp. 200-201) --thus a necessity to list all "facts." It is being argued that those "facts" so gathered will usually be "facts" which tend to validate the traditional institutional form.

When there is emphasis upon the "past" of the interviewee, there will be a "present" necessity to fulfill institutional obligations. This necessity distorts social stratification and ascribes a status to the interviewer. Symbolic conflict occurs on this level of relationship. Conflict on a social level requires an emergent social dyad. Within both the Whitehorn and Coleman papers mentioned above, the lack of specificity concerning the emerging social dyad--its roles, its statuses, and its potential--is apparent. The gathering of facts simply does not provide a socially dynamic quality to a present reality.

It seems much more logical to quantify and theorize from observable social acts than from past "facts" that exist only in the memory and the imagination of the interviewee. Fact-gathering will validate the interviewer's task in a traditional sense, but descriptions of the "immediate present" in the interview are vague and descriptions by the interviewer of necessity reflect his bias (Rice, 1929; Wyatt and Campbell, 1950; Stember and Hyman, 1949). If the interviewer maintains institutional objectivity, he often establishes rigid, mechanical role-requirements rather than a rigorous exploration into the implications of social acts. In the traditional interview process, the interviewer supposedly presents uncolored questions and records the interviewee's responses, or as Rose (1945, p. 143) says "acts as a combined phonograph and recording system."

If the social acts of the interview are considered then to be both objective and subjective, it follows that some point of reference common to each condition is necessary. This centralized point of reference involves an assumption that a given act cannot incorporate contradictory meanings simultaneously. Thus, when a dyad is structured objectively (through a questionnaire or schedule), a "subjective" introject (the introduction of an absence of structure) would create a contradictory social demand requiring social reordering to a point of reference somewhere along the continuum between the conditions of objectivity and subjectivity. The reverse also would occur. Although on a socio-psychological level there will be two "meanings," these meanings are not contradictory in that, as has been stated previously, "meanings" are in parallel. Only the social acts, themselves, can reflect occurrences of a demand for change by the third object (the researcher).

By way of explanation, consider an interviewee phrase, "I don't want to talk about that." The apprehensive "meaning" of this statement is apparent both on the socio-psychological level and on the level of a social act (the actual words spoken). On either level, the apprehensive nature of the phase is not contradictory; the meanings are in parallel. The social reaction on the personality level is probably withdrawal. The meaning on a social level is probably the "apprehension" of confession. On either level the words as social acts reflect the parallelism in meaning. Whether this act is the apprehensiveness of personality (gratification) or the apprehensiveness of socialization (the need to confess), it can be measured precisely in its difference to the introject.

In other words, it is being posited that every social act has its
discreteness capable of being observed and quantified if the discrete
elements can be placed outside the range of pure personality responses
as such.   When a contradiction is forced into an emerging social act,
the discrete elements of individual personality systems are summoned in
an effort to neutralize the threat of social disorganization in the
emerging relationship.   As personalities, the two individuals are
already in simultaneous contradiction to one another and are seeking the
resolution of this contradiction in their social emergence together
(Mead, 1934, pp. 173-178).   They do this by placing themselves as per-
sonal social objects to one another and by working through (Gregory,
1968, p. 242; Wolberg, 1954, pp. 508-518) their contradictions in a
series of creative social acts.   Personal contradictions will elicit
purely personal responses with little indication of the discretenesses
involved in a social response.   Communicated social acts are more rep-
resentative of the whole person than are the responses arising out of a
focus upon the interviewee's internalized symbolic "self" through
history-taking.   Only the communicated consequences of personal-social-
object to personal-social-object disarrangements appear as empirical
data in this construct.

The personality systems of the dyad members are in conflict with
one another in terms of symbolic demand, and this conflict is apparent
in the immediate reality of social disorganization through social acts.
Man incorporates dissimilarity, and so does the social situation.
According to Simmel,

> (Social man) is not partially social and partially indi-
> vidual; rather, his existence is shaped by a fundamental
> unity, which cannot be accounted for in any other way than
> through the synthesis or coincidence of two logically

contradictory determinations: man is both social link and being for himself, both product of society and life from an autonomous center... (Coser, 1965, p. 11).

The conflict arrangement to Simmel presented "shadowy forms" (Wolff, 1950, p. 54) that recognized a dialectic of social purpose with sociability providing the medium through which the conflict between "within society" and "outside society" (Wolff, 1950, pp. 58-59) can be resolved. Although Simmel recognizes the two dimensions of the social act, he sees them as having an evolving nature instead of their occurring as a reaction to a third-object introject. This third-object introject could speed up the "evolution" of the interview process. The conflict that arises between ego and superego (ignoring id) on a psychological level and the conflict that arises out of mutual expectation in the social demand have parallel function. Even if parallel, each occurs simultaneously, each has its own dimensions, and each is an individual system.

Although not relating himself directly to the psychological system, Goffman (1955, p. 219) basically illustrates this notion of parallel systems when he says:

> When the participants in an undertaking or encounter fail to prevent the occurrence of an event that is expressively incompatible with the judgments of social worth that are being maintained, and when the event is of the kind that is difficult to overlook, then the participants are likely to give it accredited status as an incident--to ratify it as a threat that deserves direct official attention--and to proceed to try to correct for its effects. At this point one or more participants find themselves in an established state of ritual disequilibrium or disgrace, and an attempt must be made to re-establish a satisfactory ritual state for them. I use the term ritual because I am dealing with acts through whose symbolic component the actor shows how worthy he is of respect or how worthy he feels others are of it. The imagery of equilibrium is apt here because the length and intensity of the corrective effort is nicely adapted to the persistence and intensity of the threat.

In other words, the social dyad of the interview emerges because of the social expectations of the two personalities involved. These individual personalities demand a social arrangement as "placed" objects to one another. Such a placement (status) fulfills the "ritual" need and clarifies self-concepts in role expectation. An interruption of the process of object-placement in status-formation will create the "incident" that Goffman is referring to as a threat.

As the social status arrangements slowly emerge in the interview (unless the interview has been structured), future social events are anticipated. When the occurrence of an anticipated social event is delayed or prevented, the "personal object" relationship of the dyad becomes "expressively incompatible" and expression returns to information-giving or the obtaining of facts toward the emergence of reinstated social arrangements. When a disarrangement of social expec- tation occurs, one or both dyad members must re-create a "social expres- sion" of their own worth; in the interview this is limited to verbal outreach. In order to maintain the "ritual" form, the social setting must be rearranged with words. This rearrangement can occur "naturally" (non-directively) or through a structure imposed by the interviewer. In either case there will be a word-order involved in the rearrangement. However, the word-order for each type of rearrangement will be different, and this difference will be measurable.

In the unstructured interview segments the dyad has emerged social- ly through agreed upon (mutually acceptable) social criteria, and the word-order reflecting conflict should be more expressive when this segment is interrupted. When the reverse is true, the word-ordering should be more "thoughtful" because of the necessity to rearrange

"social objects." That is to say, unstructured interview segments should contain more "feeling-words," and interrogative interview segments should contain more "thinking-words." The null hypothesis statement, of course, would be that there is no difference between the two segments in terms of these two types of words. The implication of the null hypothesis is that an introject which creates social conflict causes no difference in the type of words used by the interviewee in the interview.

To review, the personality of the interviewee fabricates a "subject within" that acts in parallel with his "object without." Since, in a social testing sense, the interviewee cannot separate his self from himself as social object, the conflict is not merely between self and interviewer but between the interviewee and the "universals" (Parsons and Shils, 1951, pp. 82, 119-120) of himself as object in the interview process. The interviewee's perception of his status as a social object is universal. When the research experiment (the third object) causes social disorganization, his perception of the status of himself as social object is "particularistic" (Parsons and Shils, 1951, pp. 82, 119-120) forming a more measurable and contrasting dialectic.

The interviewee's self, as a universal, has been in conflict since birth and more than likely will continue in conflict until death. To interrupt this life-process is to examine the universal dialectic. Through experiences the self constantly attempts to achieve a reconciliation in this conflict, and it is only through the particularistic experiences that these attempts can be observed. The researcher has two choices: he can describe the universal conflict of the personality (self) or he can measure the particularistic experiences (social events)

of evoked social disorganization that parallels the universal conflict

of the personality.

Objective, specified, symbolic social manifestations are the focus

of this research. The concern is with the formation of categories of

words which will define the difference between established and emergent

dyads with implications regarding the dialectic involved. The reader

is referred to an essay by Eriksen (1963, pp. 35-42) dealing with

"perceptual vigilance" and "perceptual defense" that is relevant to

this topic.

As the experimental social conflict discharges the interviewee's

social meanings, his tensions, feelings, and body tones will be incorpo-

rated into his word-responses to that conflict. That his response-

language will vary along a continuum reflecting different types of

response with a change in the interviewer's activity will be demon-

strated in the following chapter. The experimental introject (a change

in structure) will evoke word-responses that can be fitted into cate-

gories reflecting a difference in response to the social change.

Although the twelve categories of word-response utilized in this

research are not mutually exclusive, it will be found that the first

six categories are mutually exclusive of the last six in the difference

in word-response between the two groups reflecting a dialectic.

The dialectic creates an impulse toward the satisfactory comple-

tion of the dyad. The interviewee attempts to justify a satisfying

evolution of the dyad. In this effort, he brings evidence to the

dyad, through the use of words, that the dyad is not failing. Para-

doxically, the energy that is available for this process, is not a

positive type but a negative reaction. It is derived from what

Tillich (1952, p. 47) calls "the anxiety of meaninglessness." Regardless of its paradox, Tillich's "meaninglessness" occurring on a personality level parallels a similar type of "meaninglessness" occurring on a social level. As the interviewee attempts the seeking out of his own personal "uniqueness," he is seeking out his difference from meaninglessness.

The emerging social relationship which the interviewee attempts so earnestly to protect is the thesis of the dyad. The antithesis would be any outside requirement which would tend to interrupt, to distort, or to threaten the satisfaction of the emerging relationship. The word rearrangement of the social structure of the interview by the interviewee becomes the synthesis. He attempts, through words, to reorder an imposed social disorganization in an effort to find his "place."

The problem of quantifying this dialectic becomes reasonable through a measure of the words used (social acts) in the synthesizing of the dialectic. In this study measurement will be a "gross" or "mass" evidence of the dialectic. Specific, definitive measurement of very small segments of disruption will remain for further study. The "mass" evidence of dialectic functioning will demonstrate that the interposition of a different type of structure by the researcher will cause changes in the responses of the interviewee. In essence, use of the introject of a complete change in structure (or interviewer approach) will make possible the prediction that any interruption of the social form of the interview will emerge as a negative construct to which the interviewee will respond in terms of his necessity for rearranging his word-order to meet what he perceives as a threat to the successful completion of the dyad. Briefly stated, if the interview is unstructured,

the interviewee's word-order will reflect an emergence of the dyad; whereas if the interview is structured, his word-order will reflect the necessity to comply with the interviewer's demand in order to achieve satisfying completion of dyadic process. The findings of this research have given evidence that through utilization of an introject, the interviewee shifted, switched, and made changes in his language-responses to such a degree that differences between the interrogative interview segments and the unstructured segments were significant. Changes from one word-category to another took place as the interviewee attempted to synthesize the dialectic.

Parsons (1964, p. 117) hypothesizes that "pleasure constitutes the principal link in the hierarchy of control systems." Around this principle of pleasure Parsons (1964, pp. 123-124) has developed two constructs needed to complete the link between psychological and social necessities:

> One of these is that there are thresholds beyond which "strain," or some such factor, will lead to a breakthrough of control and the setting up of a pathological process involving some kind of "vicious circle." Any complex living system of course has many different mechanisms of control at many levels, so a state of being "out of control" at one level very generally activates "defenses" at the next higher levels, which in turn of course may or may not be successful in the particular case. There is, hence, an essential relativity in this conception; what is a pathological vicious circle at the lower levels may be a malintegration which puts strain on the mechanisms of control at the higher levels.

This research pondered the problem of finding a suitable way of imposing that strain necessary to threaten the satisfactory outcome of the dyad without causing a breakthrough into psychological areas, the result of which would have been consideration of pathological acts rather than social acts. When the satisfactory outcome of dyadic

evolution is placed in doubt, the interviewee is placed in a choice-making position. The necessity for making choices summons forth the reactive agent which demands social reordering.

As the two-sidedness of self-actualization is brought into focus through the implication of social defeat, the synthesis becomes apparent. Goffman (1955, p. 217) calls this "face-work": "In trying to save the face of others, the person must choose a tack that will not lead to loss of his own; in trying to save his own face, he must consider the loss of face that his action may entail for others." The self-influencing properties of individual self-expression are the basis of the interview dialectic. The individual is both determined and self-determining; he is neither wholly psychological nor wholly sociological. The notion is that "children are raised in such a way as to learn to respond on the basis of the introjected values of parents rather than on the basis of their own subjective experience" (Byrne, 1966, p. 475), i.e., internalized symbols. Operationalizing these types of unobservable variables stressed so vigorously by phenomenologists, such as Carl Rogers (1961) and Joseph Hart (Hart and Tomlinson, 1970), is a major challenge for this research and for future research in this area.

CHAPTER VII

THE RESEARCH METHOD

Specifically, this research is concerned with the evaluation of a
social system controlling the delivery of interviewing services regard-
less of type of agency. Whether the services are delivered in a thera-
peutic setting, in the personnel office of an industry, or in the field
by a social scientist, the social dyad that operates the interview is
similar in terms of social organization (Greer, 1955). Through a quan-
titative statistical approach the research attempts to make the social
dyad of the "first contact," or "intake," interview more knowledgeable.
Analysis will be applied to structure, to the statuses (or social posi-
tions) that are achieved or ascribed, to the roles that are acted out
between interviewer and interviewee, and to the effect of a deliberate
"intrusion" upon this dyad in terms of interview functioning.

Such quantitative knowledge of the social process of the interview
will permit conclusions about the effects of "structured strain"
(Simmons, Davis, and Spencer, 1956, p. 21; cf. Parsons, Bales, and Shils,
1953, p. 75). The evaluation of "structured strain" is accomplished by
means of an experimental situation involving actual taped interviews.
Through a manipulated intrusion each of these interviews is
dichotomized into "unstructured" and "structured" segments.

The "unstructured" segments are defined as interview segments
within which the interview participants are "free" to move in any

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direction they wish. The "structured" segments are the interview seg-
ments within which the participants are asked to follow a printed schedule
of questions. Thus, differences in interview activity between these
two groups of interview segments can be studied. "Structured strain"
presents an incompatibility of goals in task accomplishment between the
two actors who are under pressure toward a consensus. This "structured
strain" is accomplished by interrupting a consensus of mutual reciproc-
ity that has been developing during a first part of an interview.
Theoretically, "disagreement" arises when an outside predetermined
pressure for consensus (in this case, task accomplishment) is intro-
duced into the dyad. Theoretically, then, "strain" can be increased
or reduced through manipulation of the structure of the social
relationship present in the dyad.

To approach either individual within the dyad as a research case
is to run the risk of moving into the area of psychology. To remain
sociological, not only are both individuals within the dyad observed in
their mutually reciprocally interactive roles, but the dyad itself in
its activity is the object of research. How the participants act with
one another, the word-symbols they use, the emergence of dyadic struc-
ture, and the effects of intrusion into that structure are the focal
points for this research analysis. Since the analysis is exploratory
research, the specific research case emerges as the data are analyzed.
The beginning exploration focuses upon the dyad itself as a social
organization that possibly is disorganized by an intrusion into its
structure. There will be no focus upon the individuals as personal-
ities, except by implication and with the understanding that the
personalities of each are intervening variables that cannot be

controlled. Since the findings are significant, replication using data from field experience rather than from an experimental model might well place emphasis upon the personalities of the interviewer and the interviewee as personal systems functioning within the operational system of the dyad.

The research was limited to thirty interview cases. Tallies incorporating content analysis provided a sufficient number of events for statistical analysis. Since randomization was not a factor, the cases were selected indiscriminately from a set of interviews that were already tape recorded. As Willer (1967, pp. 109-110) suggests, the population is not as important a factor as is "the universe of the phenomena":

> In validating a scientific law we are interested not in a population or collectivity, which are physical entities, but in the universe of the phenomena, a theoretical construct. In validating a theory containing a set of universal law statements we are interested in a universe of a set of phenomena. A set of phenomena is known to exist only to the extent that a selection of the relevant characteristics can be effectively ordered in a number of empirical cases. ... Data become phenomena to the extent that they can be effectively ordered. A scientific law orders phenomena; a theory orders a set of phenomena. The conditions of ordering are identical with the conditions of establishing validity.
>
> This formulation does not assume that sets of phenomena are themselves ordered, nor does it assume that the ordering is wholly a consequence of their apprehension by means of a theory; it is open to either or both interpretations....
>
> To say that a particular empirical case is an example of a set of phenomena is to say that characteristics apprehended from it can be systematically interrelated.

Thirty cases were selected to provide an adequate "universe of phenomena" to represent a "scope sample" which Willer (1967, p. 114) defines as "a number of natural cases fitting the conditions appropriate to the

theory model, which are ranged along the major dimensions of the formal system."

This raises the logical question of what type of subjects may best provide a goodness of fit with "the universe of phenomena." Since Oklahoma State University students are used as both interviewers and interviewees, logic would indicate that choices should be made upon the basis of their "typicality" to all Oklahoma State students. In Willer's terms, however, even this is a paradox "in randomness" since the "universe of phenomena" under discussion is applicable to a "universe" of interviews. Theoretically, all interviews involve the same socially dyadic system. Therefore, evidence of typicality was limited to the evaluations of students through the use of a Harrower Test, which tends to rule out overt psychosis, and a personal interview by the researcher to rule out those with other types of personal disorganization. Thirty cases involving sixty individuals should provide balance for the possibility of a "unique" person in this study.

The thirty students who acted as interviewers were selected either upon having completed a course in interviewing or upon their having had some professional experience in interviewing. Each was interviewed by the researcher to evaluate his outgoingness, warmth, and skills. Actually, the less "professional" the interviewer was, the better it was for the purposes of this research. It is suspected that the "professional" role sometimes distorts the naturalness of the social dyad within the interview. The thirty interviewers and the thirty interviewees were randomly assigned to one another as a team. No attempt was made to assign male to female and so forth, but care was taken to assure that an interviewer and an interviewee were not socially acquainted.

The student interviews were conducted over an entire semester.
Fifteen of the cases (both interviewers and interviewees) were selected
from the researcher's classes and the other fifteen cases were selected
from the classes in interviewing conducted by other faculty. Since the
general theme of "pressures a student feels" was the focus of the
interviews, it would have been inappropriate to select a specific time,
such as exam periods, when the student would be more apt to be under
known "pressures." This proposition of time provides a "universal"
external social system that is constant as an intervening variable in
the dyadic system of the interview.

The interviews were conducted in the researcher's office or in a
conference room (whichever was available at the time), and the sug-
gestion was made that the interviewer and interviewee limit the
interview to approximately twenty minutes.

A procedure which seemed to work in a pilot study was used when the
research was actually carried out. However, in the pilot study all
interviews began with the "unstructured" segment. In the actual re-
search fifteen interviews began with the "structured" segment which is
called the interrogative segment, and fifteen began with the
"unstructured" segment which is called by the same term in the study.

The interviewer and the interviewee were introduced to each other
by first name only and were told that this was done to insure that the
tapings would be confidential. Each was asked if he had particular
questions concerning the research or the use of the tape recorder; and
if either had questions, these were answered honestly and specifically
by the researcher. They were then given written instructions regarding
what was expected of them in the interview (see Appendix A). They were

again asked if they had questions; and the researcher, after deliberately rechecking the tape recorder, left the room, saying, "Good luck, and have fun," thus attempting to set the stage for the social components necessary for the dyad to develop.

Approximately ten minutes after the researcher had left the room, he returned. If the interview began with the unstructured segment, the researcher handed the interviewer a "schedule" (see Appendix B) saying to the interviewer, "There are about ten minutes remaining in the interview. Will you please follow this schedule for the remaining time? Do you have a pencil? There are instructions for you on the schedule. Take your time. There are about ten minutes left, but take whatever time you need." The researcher then looked at the interviewee and, without commenting, raised his hand in recognition and left the room.

In the fifteen interviews which began with the interrogative segment, the procedure was somewhat reversed. After approximately ten minutes of the interview had elapsed, the researcher entered the room, asked the interviewer for the schedule sheet, and told both the interviewer and the interviewee that he wanted them to change their procedure for the rest of the interview. He handed the interviewer new instructions (see Appendix C); and while the interviewer read the instructions, the researcher explained to the interviewee what the interviewer was reading. The interviewee was instructed to continue in the way he had been responding, but that the interviewer would no longer ask him questions. When the interviewer finished reading, the researcher asked if there were any questions, answered them if there were, and left the room taking the schedule sheet with him.

To create a conceptual frame of reference within which appropriate data from these interviews could be formulated, research hypotheses were established. These hypotheses were as follows:

1. There will be more verbal "fragmentation" in the interrogative segments of the interviews than in the unstructured segments of the interviews.

2. There will be more "smoke screening" in the interrogative segments of the interviews than in the unstructured segments of the interviews.

3. There will be more "friendliness" in the interrogative segments of the interviews than in the unstructured segments of the interviews.

4. There will be more "dramatization" in the interrogative segments of the interviews than in the unstructured segments of the interviews.

5. There will be more "factual information" in the interrogative segments of the interviews than in the unstructured segments of the interviews.

6. There will be more "ambivalence" in the interrogative segments of the interviews than in the unstructured segments of the interviews.

7. There will be less "self-consciousness" in the interrogative segments of the interviews than in the unstructured segments of the interviews.

8. There will be less "apprehensiveness" in the interrogative segments of the interviews than in the unstructured segments of the interviews.

9. There will be less "submissiveness" in the interrogative
   segments of the interviews than in the unstructured seg-
   ments of the interviews.

10. There will be less "aggressiveness" in the interrogative
    segments of the interviews than in the unstructured seg-
    ments of the interviews.

11. There will be less "insight" in the interrogative segments
    of the interviews than in the unstructured segments of the
    interviews.

12. There will be less "unique personal abstraction" in the
    interrogative segments of the interviews than in the
    unstructured segments of the interviews.

These hypotheses provided the basic categories into which data were
tallied. Before the tally was made, the interviews were typed verbatim
from the taped recordings. The recordings were typed to prevent bias
on the part of the judges from the tonal qualities of the statements on
the tape.

Five judges, four of whom had clinical experience, were selected to
analyze the content of the typed interviews. Two of the judges were
doctoral candidates in psychology, two were doctoral candidates in
sociology, and one was a post-master student in education-guidance
counseling. In a preparatory session the judges each received a copy of
the thirty typed interviews and were given instructions as to how to
classify each complete unit of words used by the interviewee into the
twelve categories. This "unit of words" could be a single word, a
sentence, or even several sentences, provided it fulfilled the classi-
fication requirements for one of the categories. Each word-unit was
classified into one, and only one, category.

After each judge had classified several interviews, the group of
judges met together to compare their classifications. If there were
not complete agreement among the judges, the particular word-unit under
discussion was omitted from the analysis. Usually questions around the
particular word-unit under discussion were resolved so that "throw-outs"
were minimal. Questions around classification usually reflected the
disciplinary bias of the judge and could be resolved through dialogue.
An example of an interview as categorized by the judges can be found in
Appendix D.

After the judging was completed, a tally count was made for each
of the two interview segments, interrogative and unstructured, according
to the twelve categories. Through a standardizing process the actual
counts were converted into a ratio scale measurement, namely, the rate
of responses per thirty minutes for each category in each segment. A
description of the categories used for the content analysis follows.
It should be noted that categories 1-6 reflect "externalized" symbols
typical of "I think" expressions and that categories 7-12 reflect
"internalized" symbols typical of "I feel" expressions.

1. FRAGMENTATION

    boredom; interrupted thoughts; skipping from thought to
    thought; broken phrases and sentences; diffused thought
    patterns; "noise" not "signals"; restlessness; meaningless
    exclamations

2. SMOKE SCREENING

    avoidance of interview involvement; resistance to interview
    process; rigid yes and no answers; little elaboration; evasion;
    distortion; repetitions; uncertainty; changing the subject;

social conversation; chit-chat; repeating interviewer

questions; avoidance of questions; statement of boredom

3. FRIENDLINESS

attempts to establish social role; statements of social out-

reach; friendly questions; friendly statements; inquisitiveness

and curiosity; socializes; statements reflecting warmth; inter-

est in interview; receptiveness to statements of others; will-

ingness to agree; politeness, cooperation, patience; sense of

expectancy; social inventiveness

4. DRAMATIZATION

creation of a self-_image_; "if I were" and "if I could" state-

ments; stories and word pictures; "as if" statements; elabora-

tions upon own actions; enhancement of self; embellishment of

self; bragging; self-pity; definition of relationship to

others; "it seems like" statements

5. FACTUAL INFORMATION

statements of present or past facts; direct response to ques-

tions; supplies information; specific about facts; organizes

thoughts to interview task; gives specific opinions; clarifies

prior statements

6. AMBIVALENCE

two-sided feelings of uncertainty; uncertainty around deci-

sions; uncertainty about actions; statements of two forces at

work; statements of opposites

7. CONSCIOUSNESS OF SELF

awareness of feelings of "who I am" and "why I am"; non-

apprehensive feelings of being controlled by uncontrollable

influences; ego-building statements; wishfulness, hopefulness; desire, ambition; awareness of interview tension; uncomfortable feelings; reassurance requests; likes and dislikes; "it bothers me" statements; "ought to" and "I should" statements; denial of self

8. APPREHENSIVENESS

"it disturbs me" statements; feelings of alienation; helplessness, hopelessness; inadequacy, inability; embarrassment, shyness; separateness; preoccupation with broad universal problems; philosophical preoccupation around purpose in life; verbalized fear; anxiety; avoidance; escape; uncertainty

9. SUBMISSIVENESS

feelings of personal involvement in interview process; feelings of compliance; complementariness; feelings of acceptance and being accepted by interviewer; personal relationship with interviewer; desire to please; togetherness; "we" statements; situational positiveness; personal verification; "am I doing okay"; clarification of interview process

10. AGGRESSIVENESS

interview tension; struggle for interview control; hostility; disagreeableness; unfriendliness; questioning attitude; reaction to interviewer; fault-finding; direct self-aggressiveness; emotionally negative statements; aggressive, hostile denial

11. INSIGHT

emotional self-awareness; emerging awareness of answers; revelations of self; discovery of "answers"; new-found

feelings regarding self; feelings of discovery; new-found

awareness; (includes no intellectualizations or

rationalizations)

12. UNIQUE PERSONAL ABSTRACTION

feelings of deep, emotional self-awareness; attempts to

verbalize deeply personal abstract symbols; a sense of

"being"; emotion beyond words; feelings beyond words; bizarre

feelings; unusual feelings; feelings around something absent

involving symbolism; abstract ruminations; ideas of reference;

oneness with nature; anomie; detachment; unnaturalness; other

worldliness; desolation or nothingness

To this point the procedure as outlined has been concerned only

with the activity of the interviewee. However, in foregoing chapters,

it has been noted that the interviewer plays an important role in the

structural qualities of the interview dyad. Therefore, attention must

also be given to consideration of whether or not the interviewer

followed his task assignment. Two judges carefully reviewed the taped

recordings of the interviews to evaluate each "dyadic introject" by the

interviewer. Because the tonal quality of the interviewer's introject

was often the only determinant of whether the introject was an inter-

rogative or declarative remark, the examination of the tapes was

essential. Interviewer activity was then classified into four

categories and analyzed.

CHAPTER VIII

A SUMMARY OF RESEARCH FINDINGS

Analysis of Interviewer Activity

Analysis procedures and findings of this study are presented in

four sections, the first of which is focused upon the consideration of

whether or not the interviews meet the criteria of "structuredness" and

"unstructuredness." As previously stated, the interviewer's activity is

the determinant of this dimension since, as interview "leader," he sets

the stage for interview activity. If he asks direct questions, he

structures the dyad; if his remarks are supportive in nature, he

enhances the emergence of the dyad, in which case the interview tends

to be unstructured.

Thus, the introject of structuredness or unstructuredness presents

a subsystem which experimentally governs the interview process. In most

of the interviews this subsystem was patterned, but no statistical

analysis was made of the activity immediately surrounding the introject.

In Chapter VI it was stated that measurement was on a "gross" level in

an effort to determine whether or not the introject provided an over-all

difference. The system of the introject, however, should not be ignored

since it provides fruitful areas for future speculation.

The system of the introject has an experimental value only in terms

of the reactive formations of the interviewee. Since the introject is

an artificial construct by the experimenter, it has no "validity" except

as determined by the interviewer's ability to present the introject. Although provided as a model construct by the researcher to the interviewer, the final determination of its "power" was in the hands of the interviewer who presented it.

Some method, then, had to be devised in order to examine the experimental introject as a system and the most reasonable method to do this seemed to be through an examination of the behavior of the interviewer as he presented "values" to the interviewee. Through his presentation of these values, "mass" intrusions into the dyadic process presented, in a gross numerical sense, the introject to which the interviewee was to respond in a gross numerical sense.

Therefore, the judges tallied the interviewer activity into four categories: (1) direct questions, i.e., questions which were specific and which implied the demand for a specific response by the interviewee; (2) leading questions, i.e., questions of an indirect nature which implied through word-order or tone of voice that a particular response was being requested; (3) leading statements, i.e., statements which implied that the interviewee should continue or be encouraged to respond to the anticipatory attitude of the interviewer; and (4) supportive statements, i.e., statements intended to elicit a personalized response from the interviewee--a response that would reflect self, or internalized feeling, around some behavior.

As a system, it might be questioned how a supportive statement might have the same power as an interrogative demand. The study confirms that it does in that the supportive statement has an equal tendency to intrude into the emergence of the dyad and produce a presentation on the part of the interviewee that is related to his need for

personal uniqueness. In terms of interview "affect" the production is uniform except that the intrusive demand elicits a feeling-response rather than a thought-response. In short, the supportive statement, like the direct question, demands a response affect in terms of a reordering of social roles and social positions.

The variance between "questions" and "statements" was selected in order to evaluate a mass reaction. Extending this variance would tend to show the quality of difference between structured type interviews and unstructured type interviews; but that is not the purpose of this research. The present purpose is to show social disorganization occurring out of an intrusion (no matter what the type) into the emerging social relationship between two people.

These criteria are necessary in order to spell out clearly the boundaries within which the research operates. Previously, the parallels between social self and personality have been stressed. With specific boundaries of research established, it could be said that these parallels occur knowledgeably only within the boundaries that have been outlined. Also, there is no implication whatever that the intro-ject of either questions or statements is valid outside of the estab-lished boundaries, but there will be indications and some speculation as to possible universals of the introject in interview process.

Simply stated, an introject occurring within specified research boundaries in an interview will tend to have an intrusive effect on the role and status of the interviewee and will tend to order a change in the functioning of his interview "affect" (his word-order as social act).

As theorized, there is no control over the interview introject. Only the rigidity of the interviewer will accomplish the research

design. He gives the design energy and determines its set. Over-application of the design, it has been said, will draw out pathological affect and result in a withdrawal of the interviewee from the dyad. This of course creates a variance over which the researcher has no control. Therefore, a statistical analysis must be performed to reconcile this variance determined by the interviewer's presentation to the interviewee of demands in one segment of the interview and support in the other segment of the interview.

The areas of demand and support have a statistical relationship and a consistency since the same interviewer presents both, and the same interviewee responds to both within the same interview that has been segmented only by the experimental introject provided by the researcher. This consistency in relationship reduces some of the variance, but there still remains other variance in the determination of whether or not the verbalization by the interviewer was a question or a statement.

The two judges had no difficulty in categorizing either a direct question or a supportive statement. There was difficulty, however, in determining whether the interviewer was providing a leading question or a leading statement. For example, an interviewer use of such words as "exams cause you pressure" could either be a leading statement or a leading question. There is no clear-cut question mark behind it. Because of statements like this, the two categories of "leading state-ments" and "leading questions" were devised. As the two judges listened through the taped recordings, they made the final determination based on the interviewer's tone of voice. Here again was a variance that had to be resolved through statistical consideration. It is thought that,

in terms of time and space, the four categories devised would approximate the normal distribution (questions and statements).

Table I presents a summary of interviewer activity by interview segment according to question-statement categories. Examination of the totals indicates that, as expected, in the interrogative segments the interviewers asked more questions than they made statements as reflected in a total of 1563.65 questions to a total of 313.91 statements. In the unstructured segments of the interviews the reverse is true: the interviewers made a total of 1482.98 statements to a total of 378.28 questions.

In order to determine whether or not the interviewer met the task assignment of structuredness or unstructuredness, the following hypotheses were formulated.

H-1. In the interrogative segments of the interviews the interviewers will ask significantly more direct questions than they will make supportive statements.

H-2. In the interrogative segments of the interviews the interviewers will ask significantly more leading questions than they will make leading statements.

H-3. In the interrogative segments of the interviews the interviewers will ask significantly more total questions than they will make total statements.

H-4. In the unstructured segments of the interviews the interviewers will make significantly more supportive statements than they will ask direct questions.

H-5. In the unstructured segments of the interviews the interviewers will make significantly more leading statements than

TABLE I

INTERVIEWER ACTIVITY BY INTERVIEW SEGMENT ACCORDING
TO QUESTION-STATEMENT CATEGORIES
(Rate per 30 minutes)

Interview	Interrogative				Unstructured			
	Dir Ques	Lead Ques	Lead Stat	Supp Stat	Dir Ques	Lead Ques	Lead Stat	Supp Stat
1	16.70	11.69	16.70	3.34	2.96	8.88	20.72	11.84
2	22.35	22.35	8.94	11.92	6.42	6.42	17.12	17.12
3	13.80	8.28	5.52	2.76	2.89	8.67	11.56	28.90
4	7.49	6.42	2.14	1.07	0.00	2.92	2.92	2.92
5	42.66	9.48	0.00	0.00	0.00	14.58	4.86	43.74
6	19.10	13.37	7.64	0.00	2.81	2.81	11.24	11.24
7	35.02	14.42	2.06	4.12	0.00	16.05	9.63	35.31
8	18.90	22.05	13.65	10.50	0.00	13.55	48.78	59.62
9	24.36	18.27	8.12	10.15	3.75	18.75	15.00	37.50
10	58.46	48.98	15.80	3.16	9.32	20.97	46.60	27.96
11	30.80	13.20	6.60	11.00	5.18	18.13	23.31	33.67
12	25.52	6.96	2.32	0.00	8.72	13.08	4.36	34.88
13	54.50	38.15	5.45	5.45	2.35	14.10	25.85	42.30
14	27.90	26.35	15.50	4.65	4.98	17.43	37.35	37.35
15	21.33	9.48	4.74	0.00	0.00	5.49	18.30	12.81
16	33.48	25.11	5.58	0.00	5.02	10.04	30.12	27.61
17	29.15	23.85	7.95	5.30	4.48	8.95	23.27	18.80
18	40.90	20.45	0.00	0.00	10.92	14.56	29.12	36.40
19	60.64	30.32	0.00	0.00	10.20	20.40	40.80	37.20
20	46.20	4.62	13.86	0.00	0.00	3.54	21.24	23.01
21	31.20	14.40	7.20	4.80	0.00	0.00	20.51	20.51
22	19.11	21.84	5.46	2.73	2.28	9.12	25.08	31.92
23	37.50	22.50	7.50	11.25	0.00	7.44	24.18	18.60
24	29.60	17.76	8.88	11.84	0.00	5.28	26.40	23.76
25	56.88	18.96	9.48	0.00	1.45	0.00	23.20	17.40
26	34.80	8.70	5.80	2.90	0.00	2.00	18.00	36.00
27	30.69	30.69	3.41	0.00	8.43	8.43	44.96	39.34
28	31.50	31.50	4.50	0.00	0.00	0.00	2.67	5.34
29	30.55	25.85	2.35	4.70	5.07	3.38	20.28	23.66
30	35.84	30.72	0.00	5.12	3.04	3.04	24.32	24.32
TOTALS	966.93	596.72	197.15	116.76	100.27	278.01	671.75	811.03

TOTAL QUES   <u>1563.65</u>   <u>378.28</u>

TOTAL STAT   <u>313.91</u>   <u>1482.78</u>

they will ask leading questions.

H-6. In the unstructured segments of the interviews the inter-

viewers will make significantly more total statements than

they will ask total questions.

The null form of the hypothesis which was tested in each case is

that there is no significant difference between the two specific

categories listed as determined according to interrogative and unstruc-

tured interview segments. In an effort to reject the null hypothesis

at the .05 level of significance, one-tailed "t-tests" using the

difference between the means of the differences were performed using

the following formula with N-1 degrees of freedom:

$$s_D = \sqrt{\frac{\Sigma(X_D - \bar{X}_D)^2}{N}}$$

$$t = \frac{\bar{X}_D - \mu_D}{s_D/\sqrt{N - 1}} \ .$$

The results of the computations are summarized in Table II.

TABLE II

SUMMARY OF COMPUTATION RESULTS FOR TESTS
OF INTERVIEWER ACTIVITY HYPOTHESES

Hypothesis	$\bar{X}_D$	s_D	t-value	p-level
1	28.339	14.394	10.603	.0001
2	13.319	10.774	6.658	.0001
3	41.658	21.556	10.407	.0001
4	23.692	12.029	10.607	.0001
5	13.125	11.316	6.246	.0001
6	36.817	17.269	11.481	.0001

From the table of results the following conclusions can be drawn:

Conclusion H-1.   In the interrogative segments of the interviews there is a significant difference between the direct questions asked and the supportive statements made by the interviewers.

Conclusion H-2.   In the interrogative segments of the interviews there is a significant difference between the leading questions asked and the leading statements made by the interviewers.

Conclusion H-3.   In the interrogative segments of the interviews there is a significant difference between the total questions asked and total statements made by the interviewers.

Conclusion H-4.   In the unstructured segments of the interviews there is a significant difference between the supportive statements made and the direct questions asked by the interviewers.

Conclusion H-5.   In the unstructured segments of the interviews there is a significant difference between the leading statements made and the leading questions asked by the interviewers.

Conclusion H-6.   In the unstructured segments of the interviews there is a significant difference between the total statements made and the total questions asked by the interviewers.

Since the null hypothesis in each instance was rejected at a highly significant level, it can be assumed that the interviewers carried out

their instructions for each segment as they were directed and that each

interview was truly partialized into an interrogative segment and an

unstructured segment as determined by measurement of interviewer

activity. Thus, it can be assumed that the introject as constructed

indeed divided each interview into its research requirement.

Analysis of Category Interrelatedness

Since the assumption has been made that the interviewers fulfilled

their task requirements, the next question which arises is whether or

not there is a relationship between categories 1-6 as a group ("I think"

categories) and categories 7-12 as a group ("I feel" categories).

Theoretically, a reasonable finding would be that each category has a

relationship to all other categories since the same interviewees did

each of them. The twelve categories relate totally to the system of the

interview and yet each category forms a subsystem of function. The

correlation statistic should determine the degree of association

between categories. It will not portray any of the "intrusive" quali-

ties that were discussed in section one of this chapter. It is con-

cerned primarily with associations that evidence "ingroup" tendencies.

Each category will be presented as being independent (since five judges

unanimously found them to be so).

The implication is that, although each category is independent,

there is likelihood that there is a relationship between the twelve

categories to form a consistent whole. As has been stated, there are

boundaries within which the twelve categories function, and any inter-

pretation should be limited by these boundaries. Considered individually

or as a group, there will be no implications as to category functioning

outside these boundaries. The problem is to measure degree of association between groups of categories within these specific boundaries.

The categories were selected in an attempt to find areas of verbalization which the researcher thought reflected the interviewee's interview role and social position at a given point as he reacted to a changed role and position by the interviewer. Since the interviewee was involved in both segments of the interview and since his "set" is likely to continue after the introject has been made, there should be carry-over from category to category and this would form an important between-groups variance. Also there is the parallel of his personality discussed previously, which cannot be taken into account statistically.

The correlation matrix then is concerned with degrees of relationship rather than with specific cause-effect criteria although these will not be ignored. The hypotheses for the correlation matrix computation are as follows:

H-7. In the unstructured segments of the interviews there is relatively little relationship between specific categories.

H-8. In the interrogative segments of the interviews there is relatively little relationship between specific categories.

The null form of Hypothesis 7 which is tested is that there is a correlation between all categories in the unstructured segments at $r = .36$ which is the .05 level of significance for thirty cases. The null form of Hypothesis 8 which is tested is that there is a correlation between all categories in the interrogative segments at $r = .36$ which is the .05 level of significance for thirty cases.

Table III shows the relationships of the twelve categories of interviewee word-response in the unstructured segments calculated by

TABLE III

CORRELATION OF INTERVIEWEE WORD-RESPONSE CATEGORIES
OF THE UNSTRUCTURED INTERVIEW SEGMENTS

		1 FRAG	2 SMOK	3 FRND	4 DRAM	5 FACT	6 AMBI	7 SELF	8 APRH	9 SUBM	10 AGGR	11 INSI	12 PRAB
(1)	Fragmentation												
(2)	Smoke Screening	.56											
(3)	Friendliness	.18	.07										
(4)	Dramatization	-.20	.23	-.31									
(5)	Fact Information	.18	-.02	-.04	-.09								
(6)	Ambivalence	.44	.09	.16	-.02	.17							
(7)	Self Consciousness	.52	.36	.08	-.18	.08	.25						
(8)	Apprehensiveness	.37	.18	-.01	.29	.01	.27	.54					
(9)	Submissiveness	.44	.21	.16	-.11	.39	.43	.49	.25				
(10)	Aggressiveness	-.07	-.01	-.10	.47	.12	.08	.06	.49	.10			
(11)	Insight	-.03	.10	.18	.09	.04	.40	.23	.09	.33	.09		
(12)	Personal Abstraction	.32	.25	.23	-.17	.03	.33	.43	.42	.41	.30	.28	

using the Pearson product-moment correlation formula:

$$r = \frac{\Sigma(X - \overline{X})(Y - \overline{Y})}{\sqrt{[\Sigma(X - \overline{X})^2][\Sigma(Y - \overline{Y})^2]}} = \frac{\Sigma xy}{\sqrt{(\Sigma x^2)(\Sigma y^2)}} .$$

Table IV shows the relationships of the twelve categories of interviewee word-response in the interrogative interview segments calculated by the same formula.

Careful examination of Tables III and IV will reveal those few specific cells in which the correlation coefficient is equal to or greater than .36, indicating relationship between certain categories at the .05 level of significance. However, the relationship between any two categories does not exceed $r = .56$ for the unstructured interview segments and $r = .54$ for the interrogative interview segments.

From the results as shown in both of the correlation matrices, the null forms of both Hypothesis 7 and 8 are rejected because of the unrelatedness between categories in both the unstructured and interrogative interview segments, respectively. Thus in both the unstructured and interrogative segments of the interviews, the hypotheses are upheld that there is relatively little relationship between the categories, although there is some evidence of relationship that may be applicable as an exploratory procedure. These explorations will not be considered here but will remain for further consideration.

Tables V and VI are included to present the picture of category unrelatedness in a non-numerical matrix illustration.

The next two hypotheses give consideration to groups of relationships, Group 1 involving categories 1-6 and Group 2 involving categories 7-12. Again, a relationship is considered to exist if the correlation

TABLE IV

CORRELATION OF INTERVIEWEE WORD–RESPONSE CATEGORIES IN
THE INTERROGATIVE INTERVIEW SEGMENTS

		1 FRAG	2 SMOK	3 FRND	4 DRAM	5 FACT	6 AMBI	7 SELF	8 APRH	9 SUBM	10 AGGR	11 INSI	12 PRAB
(1)	Fragmentation												
(2)	Smoke Screening	.35											
(3)	Friendliness	.09	.26										
(4)	Dramatization	.44	.31	.22									
(5)	Fact Information	.23	.06	.33	.54								
(6)	Ambivalence	.56	.20	.44	.38	.32							
(7)	Self Consciousness	.21	.31	.11	.47	.33	.35						
(8)	Apprehensiveness	.24	.22	.20	.09	-.14	.36	.25					
(9)	Submissiveness	.004	.19	.22	.36	.18	.41	.48	.13				
(10)	Aggressiveness	-.37	.12	.11	-.31	-.27	-.19	-.21	.04	.05			
(11)	Insight	.07	-.31	-.02	-.05	-.22	.07	.05	.11	-.01	.003		
(12)	Personal Abstraction	-.20	-.35	-.34	-.41	-.36	-.11	-.29	-.001	-.04	.04	.04	

TABLE V

UNRELATED CATEGORIES IN UNSTRUCTURED INTERVIEW SEGMENTS
$(r \gtrless .36)$

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
1												
2												
3	X	X										
4	X	X	X									
5	X	X	X	X								
6		X	X	X	X							
7		X	X	X	X	X						
8		X	X	X	X	X						
9		X	X	X				X				
10	X	X	X		X	X	X		X			
11	X	X	X	X	X		X	X	X	X		
12	X	X	X	X	X	X				X	X	

TABLE VI

UNRELATED CATEGORIES IN INTERROGATIVE INTERVIEW SEGMENTS
$(r \gtrless .36)$

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
1												
2	X											
3	X	X										
4		X	X									
5	X	X	X									
6		X			X							
7	X	X	X		X	X						
8	X	X	X	X	X		X					
9	X	X	X		X			X				
10		X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X			
11	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X		
12	X	X	X			X	X	X	X	X	X	

coefficient is equal to or greater than .36. Because there is a lack of relationship between a good number of categories the question of whether or not there is group relatedness remains to be answered. Examination of the incidences of specific category relatedness suggests that there is a relationship, but this would have to be an assumed relationship. Table VII is a non-numerical presentation of category relatedness in the unstructured interview segments, showing just those cells in which the correlation value is equal to or greater than .36. In the unstructured segments there are 12 instances of one of the categories in Group 2 being related to another category in that group. There are eight instances of a category in Group 2 being related to a category of Group 1.

The same kind of presentation of relatedness in the interrogative segments gives a similar picture. See Table VIII.

In ten instances categories of Group 1 are related with one another and in seven instances a category of Group 1 is related to a category in Group 2 in interrogative segments. Again a correlation value equal to or greater than .36 is the criteria for determining relatedness.

A more meaningful picture of interrelatedness will be obtained if two additional hypotheses are established.

H-9. In the unstructured interview segments there is more interrelatedness in Group 2 categories (7-12) than there is interrelatedness in Group 1 categories (1-6).

H-10. In the interrogative segments there is more interrelatedness in Group 1 categories (1-6) than there is interrelatedness in Group 2 categories (7-12).

TABLE VII

RELATED CATEGORIES IN UNSTRUCTURED INTERVIEW SEGMENTS
(r ⩾ .36)

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
1												
2	X											
3												
4												
5												
6	X											
7	X	X										
8	X						X					
9	X				X	X	X					
10				X				X				
11						X						
12							X	X	X			

TABLE VIII

RELATED CATEGORIES IN INTERROGATIVE INTERVIEW SEGMENTS
(r ⩾ .36)

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
1												
2												
3												
4	X											
5				X								
6	X		X	X								
7				X								
8						X						
9				X		X	X					
10	X											
11												
12				X	X							

Interrelatedness is determined by computing the average correlation value only for those cells composing categories 7-12 and likewise for those cells composing categories 1-6, only, in the unstructured interview segments and comparing the results. To determine the interrelatedness involved in Hypothesis 10, similar computations and comparisons are made for Group 1 categories and for Group 2 categories in the interrogative segments. Reference is made to Tables III and IV which contain the actual correlation values for each cell.

For the unstructured interview segments the results show an average correlation value for Group 2 categories of .301 and an average correlation value for Group 1 categories of .184. Therefore, Hypothesis 9 is upheld and it is concluded that there is an interrelatedness within Group 2 categories of the unstructured interview segments that is greater than the interrelatedness of Group 1 categories in the unstructured segments.

For the interrogative interview segments the average correlation value for Group 1 categories is .315 and the average correlation value for Group 2 categories in .116. Since these results uphold Hypothesis 10, it is concluded that there is an interrelatedness within Group 1 categories of the interrogative interview segments that is greater than the interrelatedness of Group 2 categories in the interrogative segments.

Thus, it can be assumed that, although the relationships are slight, there is a tendency toward a relationship within the "I think" categories of response and a tendency toward relationship within the "I feel" categories of response depending upon the type of interview situation (interrogative or unstructured) being used by the interviewer.

Analysis of Interview Segment Influence

Upon Categories

This section will contain calculations around the main assumption
of the study which is that a change in interview form (interrogative or
unstructured) through the use of an introject will cause differences in
interviewee responses.

Each category will be considered to be a "system" in itself
reflecting some aspect of the introject into the interview. What
aspects are being reflected cannot be measured specifically because of
internal variances; but, in general, the categories are independent as
determined by the judges and by Hypotheses 7 and 8. Each category in
turn will present the underlying intrusion into interview structure that
has produced the particular word-response being placed in that category.

Each category was determined arbitrarily out of the researcher's
clinical experience and provides a gross indicant of differences between
Group 1 categories and Group 2 categories as determined by differences
in interrogative and unstructured segments. In most cases, however, the
criterion for considering each category independent will be upheld.
That criterion is whether or not the particular category in the unstruc-
tured segment can be measured against that same category in the interro-
gative segment. The main assumption of this study is that there will be
such a difference in each category depending upon whether the inter-
viewer is asking questions or making statements.

Probably the issue of boundaries should once more be raised. It
must be remembered that the assumptions being made hold only for the
specific categories being studied in terms of given time and space. To
consider other than these immediate realities would be to introduce even

more variance into the study than has been accounted for. To extend beyond the boundaries of the categories and their limitations would be to involve even more parallels of personality systems that are probably responsible for much of the unaccounted variance already noted.

That there is some relationship between categories has already been observed in section two of this chapter. This makes the notion of a consistent whole tenable, but a rigidity must be exercised with each category that will allow speculation about the "consistent whole" without specific measurement of the "whole" interview. In short, the following calculations make possible the assumptions that for each category the interviewee's word-responses to changes in the interviewer's approach reflect changes in the interviewee's role and status relationships within the interview.

The assumption for structuredness and unstructuredness of interview segments having been met, as discussed in section one of this chapter, the test of each hypothesis formulated for a specific word-response category can now be undertaken. These twelve hypotheses originally were stated in Chapter VII.

The prediction that for each segment there would be more "thought-responses" to questions in Group 1 categories and more "feeling-responses" to supportive statements in Group 2 categories allows the use of a one-tailed test. Since the interrogative and unstructured segments of the interviews are not comparatively independent, the formula for "dependent samples: matched pairs" (Blalock, 1960, p. 179) is used. The research meets Blalock's criteria for this test in that: (1) the samples have been matched pair-by-pair and therefore are not independent of each other. The whole aim of matching, or of using the same

individuals twice, is to control as many variables as possible other than the experimental variable. (2) The variables are much more alike than if the samples were selected independently. Since the interviewer and interviewee completed both segments of each interview, the variables are much more alike than if two independent interviews had been used as a "sample-pair." (3) There are not 2N cases (N in each sample) which have been independently selected. Since samples have been deliberately matched, any peculiarities in one sample are most likely to occur in the other as well.

> In reality there are only N independent cases, each "case" being a _pair_ of individuals, one from each sample. Therefore if we treat each pair as a single case, we can legitimately make statistical tests provided other required assumptions are met (Blalock, 1960, p. 180).

Thus, a direct pair-by-pair comparison of the cases in each category is considered separately from the other categories, the assumption being that each category measures what it purports to measure. (See Appendix E for tables of interviewee response by category.) Each category hypothesis is considered in turn. The null of each hypothesis is rejected at the .05 level of significance for a one-tailed test of difference-of-means using pair-by-pair differences with the following formulas:

$$s_D = \sqrt{\frac{\Sigma(X_D - \overline{X}_D)^2}{N}}$$

$$t = \frac{\overline{X}_D - \mu_D}{s_D/\sqrt{N-1}}.$$

The results of the computations for the tests of the category hypotheses are summarized in Table IX. Only the first category, Fragmentation, did not meet the criteria for accepting its hypothesis. At the .05 level of significance, the t-value of 0.782 indicates that there was no significant difference between the interrogative and unstructured segments of the interviews for this category. In all other categories it can be stated with confidence that the introject which is a difference in the interviewer's approach to his role in the interview made a significant difference in the type of responses the interviewee made.

Consideration of Interview Set

Only one other calculation which was not anticipated but which has some significance for further study was accomplished. The calculation focused on the question of whether or not an interview that began with an interrogative segment, for example, would be apt to continue in that way. In other words, if the "set" of the interview was toward asking questions, would the interview be apt to continue in this mode?

A simple calculation of the percentage of total questions in total interviewer activity by interview segment was performed for the first fifteen interviews as a group and for the second fifteen interviews as a group. Then a comparison of the increase or decrease as the interview moved from one segment to the other was made. Table X shows the results of these computations for percentage of questions in total interviewer activity by interview segment.

In interviews 1-15 the percentage of total questions in total interviewer activity increased by 55.03% as the interviews changed from

TABLE IX

DIFFERENCE BETWEEN MEANS OF INTERROGATIVE AND
UNSTRUCTURED SEGMENTS OF THIRTY INTERVIEWS

Category	$*\overline{X}_D$	S_D	t-value	p (one-tail)
(1) Fragmentation	3.303	22.735	0.782	.277
(2) Smoke Screening	26.582	23.144	6.185	.0001
(3) Friendliness	15.660	18.892	4.464	.0001
(4) Dramatization	47.619	42.125	6.087	.0001
(5) Fact Information	25.599	41.927	3.288	.001
(6) Ambivalence	4.085	11.581	1.900	.032
(7) Self Consciousness	-48.450	25.607	-10.189	.0001
(8) Apprehensiveness	-32.235	22.589	- 7.685	.0001
(9) Submissiveness	-17.823	17.652	- 5.437	.0001
(10) Aggressiveness	-29.032	23.975	- 6.521	.0001
(11) Insight	- 9.846	12.144	- 4.366	.0001
(12) Personal Abstraction	-19.787	16.224	- 6.568	.0001

*Sign assumes interrogative score minus unstructured score.

unstructured to interrogative segments. (See Table X.) In interviews 16-30 the percentage of total questions in total interviewer activity decreased by 72.09% as the interview changed from interrogative to unstructured segments (see Table X).

TABLE X

PERCENTAGE OF QUESTIONS IN TOTAL INTERVIEWER ACTIVITY
BY INTERVIEW SEGMENT

Interviews	Unstructured	Interrogative	Amount of Change
1-15	$\frac{231.21}{965.97}$ (23.94%)	$\frac{688.34}{871.64}$ (78.97%)	+55.03%
	Interrogative	Unstructured	
16-30	$\frac{875.31}{1005.92}$ (87.02%)	$\frac{147.07}{895.09}$ (14.93%)	-72.09%
		Total Difference	17.06%

The percentage of questions in Interviews 1-15 should increase from unstructured to interrogative segments in the same degree as the percentage of questions decreases from interrogative to unstructured segments of the Interviews 16-30 if there is no carry-over. The 17.06% difference in "questions" increase and decrease between interviews beginning with statements (unstructured) and interviews beginning with questions (interrogative) tends to indicate a "set" which suggests that the interview has a tendency to continue in the way that it began. This

tendency possibly reflects some relationship to Parsons' and Bales'
(Parsons, Bales, and Shils, 1953, p. 102) "Principle of Inertia" which
states that "A given process of action will continue unchanged in rate
and direction unless impeded or deflected by opposing motivational
forces."

In this chapter the theories that were assumed in Chapters I-VI
have received statistical testing and evaluation. In all instances
except one the statistical analysis confirmed the hypotheses. It can
be assumed with a degree of confidence that there are differences in
interviewee response that is dependent upon the interviewer's "structure"
of the interview process.

CHAPTER IX

THE SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

There is an on-going controversy over the merits of directive and
non-directive interviewing, but little attention has been given to
whether or not there is an actual difference in interviewee activity
between these two types. This research has examined this small sub-
system and the statistical analysis has provided strong indication that
such a difference actually exists. The implications of this difference
will be discussed below, but the simple verification of the existence
of a difference provides a cornerstone upon which presumptions concern-
ing theories of directive and non-directive interviewing can be built.
Otherwise, the controversy will remain an abstraction that incorporates
disciplinary bias.

Along with the verification of differences in interviewee response
between the interrogative and unstructured types of interviewing, the
research has had a simultaneous purpose which was to examine, in an
exploratory way, the following premise. Due to the differences of
interviewee response embodied in structural change, there are elements
of covert suggestion having possible application to task accomplishment
in interviewing. It can be readily noted that an interrogative type of
interview structure contains overt suggestions to the interviewee. The
idea of suggestion in the unstructured type of interview is more
subtle. In the interrogative type the interviewee is expected to give

a direct and honest response to a direct question. There is a presupposition that the interviewee will meet the expectation of the question demand. There is also an area of expectation in the social process of the dyad and this research has attempted to point this out. Whether or not this covert suggestive quality of the social dyad process can be utilized as an interview technique depends, of course, upon the interview task. The suggestion of social expectation is just as available for "use" as the question can be used as suggestive process in the interrogative type of interview. The research findings have led to this conclusion directly. If the unstructured segments of the research interviews contained no suggestive quality, then there would have been no difference in the interviewee's word-responses as the interview changed from the unstructured to the interrogative segment.

The many references to "parallelism" in the earlier chapters were attempts to support the above assumption. The use of the word "parallelism" implied the numerous subtleties of a hypothetical suggestive procedure. It was stated that the response to the social introject was both sociological and psychological. This fact was borne out as the data tended to show that the word-response categories were grouped together, as predicted, into two large groupings of "thought" responses and "feeling" responses. It is the verified tendency toward these two larger groupings that gives credence to the probability that a suggestive procedure is involved in both types of structural usage by the interviewer. That a direct question elicits a social response can be easily reconciled. That a social response is likely to involve a "thought" response is also equally reconciled by examining the statistics. It is more difficult to reconcile the reasons why the "feeling"

responses also emerged as a grouping when there was an absence of direct

questions (or structure). Rationally, it follows that here also there

was a structured suggestive process at work that is covert to the

expressions of the social dyad. It also follows that the covert sug-

gestive process, not readily available to observation as a social pro-

cess, is psychological. This psychological process (personality), as a

parallel to social process, indicates a covert internalized structure

involving certain types of word-responses (feeling) which also occur on

a dyadic level. Again, since the suggestive process of the internalized

structure is not as overt as the response to a direct question, it is

often overlooked as observable data.

If the interview task is a direct question-answer procedure, the

interview process is simplified. True, many forms of psychological

interpretation could be implied, such as oedipal conflict around parent-

child responses; but this type of socio-psychological interpretation

remains vague and often superficial since it can only assume the under-

lying psychological process that parallels the sociological process.

In response to a direct question, the interviewee either tells the truth

or he distorts. The process is simple. Such a simplified interpreta-

tion of interview structure overlooks at least one-half of the interview

dyad. The interviewee can be relating a social truth to the question

but psychically he may be lying to himself. He may be describing a

social fact but the information he is conveying may be psychically non-

factual to him. This same notion applies to the appropriateness of the

interviewee's behavior. The appropriateness or inappropriateness of

the social act (in this case, the word-response) can be determined only

through the parallelism of social and psychological emergence reflected in the demand of the social dyad.

The results of this research would tend to indicate that interview social acts cannot be considered appropriate or inappropriate unless they have been exposed to what will be called an "element of difference" that reflects the purpose of the dyadic task. As stated previously, the reaction incorporates the conflict of the interviewee's struggle to satisfy a status requirement. In the research this "element of difference" has been the interview introject. However, this introject was oriented to whole groups of responses. The question arises as to whether an interviewer's suggestions through the use of "elements of difference" could be constructed as an interview technique in specific instances. The evidence of the research clearly shows that an interviewee will respond to a suggestion made to him, whether directly or indirectly, provided the suggestion has the power of dyadic necessity, i.e., establishment of roles and positions. Whether the suggested response is appropriate or inappropriate, socially or psychologically, it has been demonstrated that he will respond to the suggestion. Until the social act of the dyad has been in conflict within the reality boundaries of interview structure, the consequences of the social act cannot be termed appropriate or inappropriate. In other words, the interviewee will respond to the implied suggestion contained in a structural change; and, in the resulting conflict, his word-responses will seek out their own appropriateness. Most decisions of appropriateness or inappropriateness other than ones based upon conflict will likely contain the reflection of the interviewer's disciplinary bias.

Thus, the properties (the social acts) of the social dyad as sub-systems of total interview process are further partialized by the concurrent sociological and psychological demands on both dyadic partners. However, all levels of social awareness function together and the social consequence of the emergent social relationship assumes a socio-psychological property. Both social necessity and psychological necessity are forces in the dyad working together in parallel toward meeting the task goal. The degree of parallelism is determined by the boundaries of social structure within which the social properties under examination exist. The more the boundaries of the social dyad are delimited, the more constricted will be the evidenced properties. The parts of the interview dyad are pulled together by the degree of interrogation by the interviewer. The interrogative type of interview will appear simple, standardized, and structured. It will assume a social form within which "thought" type words are stressed by the interviewee in order to conform to the interrogative interview suggestion. He will attempt to define rationally the specificity of the tightly organized social situation within which he "senses" an ascribed status. The more the interview tends to have no boundaries of social structure, the more the sociological properties and the psychological properties of the dyad tend to diverge and drift apart. This outward movement requires "feeling" type responses because internalized "questions" are being challenged. In the purely social setting these internalized "questions" are submerged by the social necessity of "direct" question demand. Hence, word responses can be considered to be available to suggestion to the same degree, no matter which type of structure is used.

In this life experience of the interview, the dyad partners strive to see themselves as social objects to one another. As stated earlier, this striving to maintain social order through the establishment of role positions seems universal. Identifying oneself as a social object through the dyadic relationship provides a continual flow of social interaction unless one of the partners withdraws from the dyad. If, through an interrogative type of structure, the interviewer suggests a prescribed role relationship, the interviewee's status position is ascribed. If, on the other hand, the interviewer allows a social emergence of the dyad through a non-directive sequence of social acts, the interviewee's status position is achieved.

Recognition of the human striving for social position afforded an understanding of the conflict model in this research. It became apparent that the interviewee was seeking, simultaneously, both a level of ascribed social status and a level of achieved social status. He accepted and followed the research suggestions of ascribed status in the interrogative segments of the interviews; he also accepted and followed the implied suggestions to achieve a social status in the unstructured segments. He responded to the social necessity of achievement with words of "feeling." It is thought that the interviewee accepted the suggestion of ascribed status in order to fulfill social necessity and that he accepted the suggestion of achieved status toward meeting psychological necessity. Since the interviewees in the research responded equally well to both types of suggestion, it is concluded that both ascribed and achieved status strivings are responsive to a suggestive process. That the interviewee followed the suggestive quality of the interviewer's approach has been clearly demonstrated in the

research. The statistics have confirmed that there is a difference in interviewee response to changes in the interview structure thereby strengthening the implication that the interviewee in both cases is following suggestions given to him by the interviewer. The conditions under which there is acceptance of either status remain relative; the research simply shows that it does occur. The conditions under which the response to suggestion occurs have received little attention as interview process; and, even in this study, these conditions are referred to merely as "conflict" or the "dialectic."

Extending the range of speculation would allow the possibility of constructs which incorporate the notions that an interviewee responds to a suggestion in terms of his own internalized "oppositeness" and that this "oppositeness" is accessible within the process of the social dyad. The parallel sociological conflicts and psychological conflicts would emerge fully folded into the unity of social process. In other words, as the interviewee strives to achieve a social status position, he responds simultaneously to an internalized symbolic suggestion for ascription--an act which is repeated again and again. A deliberate use of internalized suggestion would be no different from the use of a direct question to complete the interview task.

Although the laboratory conditions available to the researcher obviously would not be present in the average interview situation, the same conditions that evoked interview differences in this research are present in the average interviewee. The social dyad of any interview contains the same suggestive properties that have emerged within this research. The conditions that surround suggestibility in any act of social emergence are similar to the unique states of mind that were

present in the interview experiments. The interviewees followed the
suggestions of the interview structure. The unique states of mind
mentioned above are similar to the processes present in hypnotic pro-
cedure (Wolpe, 1958; Weitzenhoffer, 1957; Schultz and Luthe, 1959).
If it can be granted that these unique states of mind are present in
the interview social dyad, the suggestive qualities of an introject as
an "element of difference" can be understood. As suggestors these
"elements of difference" could produce a cumulative effect. Such an
effect would more than likely contain implications concerning specific
processes that might be used as therapeutic procedures. For example,
if an interviewer is getting interviewee "thought" responses when he
should be getting "feeling" responses in order to obtain the interview
goal, he might change the interview structure to bring about the needed
type of response. The research data indicates this distinct possibil-
ity. Why not, then, create a change of structure by presenting an
"element of difference" in a specific instance that would "suggest" a
desired effect? Psychotherapy, of course, would require a deeper and
more subtle use of structural introject, but theoretically and
methodologically the possibility is intriguing.

To use the social dyad as an operant in psychotherapy is not
within the traditional sociological frame of reference. However, the
research indicates that such a sociological inference can be made.
Such inference would embrace a line of reasoning similar to the follow-
ing: (1) In a social dyad the social act emerges and moves in the
direction of social status positioning between the dyad partners. This
stage is representative of social organization toward the social order-
ing of either an ascribed or an achieved status for the interviewee.

(2) The social movement involved in the ordering of social position and in the formation of social roles energizes a continuing dyadic process. (3) An interruption in the flow of emerging social order creates social disorganization which, in turn, energizes psychological disequilibrium. (4) Psychological disequilibrium demands an immediate reconciliation of the social dyad (or a withdrawal from it). (5) Social chaos emerges and continues until one of the dyad partners accepts a suggestive process or withdraws from the dyad. (6) Following the social suggestion of need to re-establish social order out of social disorganization, there is a concomitant internalized suggestion to resist dyadic withdrawal. (7) Finally, resistance to withdrawal from the dyad re-establishes the dyad as a functioning agent in the creation of a new social order. The new order will follow the same suggestive processes as in (1) above--and thus the dyadic cycle has come full circle.

Because the sociological dimension with its parallel psychological dimension involves no time factors, the dyadic process can be repeated again and again. Obviously, a rigidly constructed and defined interrogative type of interview that ascribes the interviewee's status does not allow the full sociological process outlined above. Likewise, the rigidly constructed interview does not permit opportunity for the cumulative effect of a suggestive process. In the interrogative type of interview the suggestions are made externally with little consideration for the existence of an internalized set of suggestions. It is proposed that an interview involving both sociological and psychological dimensions must allow choice-making on the part of the interviewee.

As stated, the interruption of the emergence of the social dyad will be

a suggestive phenomenon requiring such choice. It would appear that the

interview task is to demand a type of interviewee choice-making which

incorporates both sociological and psychological dimensions that can

function in parallel. The interviewer, by introducing oppositeness,

suggests a social and psychological reality to the interviewee to which

the interviewee will respond from his internalized structure. The pri-

mary object of this research, however, was to deal with another problem.

The therapeutic possibilities of the results of the research must be

left for further experiments.

Within the following limitations, a summary of the research accom-

plishments can be completed. It is stressed, however, that prerequisite

to any summarizing there must be meaningful consideration of the ten-

dency of these limitations toward negating influences upon the inter-

pretation of the data. Since none of these influences are precisely

known, they must be treated as intervening variables. (1) The inter-

viewee's goal for entering the dyad could have been either expressive or

instrumental; (2) there were properties that prevented the interviewee

from solving his own social tasks outside of the interview dyad; (3)

the interviewee could have entered the interview dyad either to perform

a service or to receive a service; (4) both interviewer and interviewee

had varying capacities to synthesize the dialectic (or to withdraw from

the dyad); (5) if interview suggestions were cumulative, then, the

interviewee would have had to have a capacity for maintaing a "unique

attitude" for accepting suggestions; (6) the "power" of the introject

could have varied according to the presentation of that introject; (7)

the interviewer role as suggestor had to be performed with minimum bias;

and (8) the laboratory conditions under which the interview took place could not have been absolutely constant.

These factors, as possible intervening variables, demand that care be exercised when a discussion of causal factors in the dyad as operant in the interview process are examined. In this research there was as rigid a limitation of variables as possible. The independent variable was limited by the degree of interrogativeness or unstructuredness of the interviewer's activity. The dependent variables were limited to thought or feeling types of responses delineated into six categories each. The research focus upon such a limited range of activity permitted proper management of the variables so that the following conclusions could be reached:

1. There is a significant difference between directive and non-directive interviewing in terms of interviewee response to suggestion.

2. There is dyadic form and content in the interview that can be validated by research.

3. The human condition of social mobility creates conflict.

4. Ritual orders are based primarily upon accommodative criteria.

5. The interviewee practices selective inhibition as a response to the interviewer as suggestor.

6. The social dyad of the interview is not a social contract but an implicit covenant between the dyad partners.

7. Like events in a social dyad permit abstract reasoning in the sociology of interview process.

8. Through social ordering, a reciprocal order can be brought

to the inner-life of the dyad partners.

9. The social acts of an interviewee vary as the structure of the interview is changed.

10. Research questions raised around concrete segments of an interview contain information about the whole of the interview.

11. Laboratory experiments in interviewing can be conceptualized and performed without a focus upon interview goals.

Most of these conclusions could lead to further theory-construction. The use of interview structure as an independent variable and the interview dyad as a dependent variable allows unique and novel speculation. The research advances the possibility that the interview is a purely social process with the implication that some forms of inquiry do not meet the sociological definition of an interview. In future research of this type it would be interesting to use professionals as interviewers in order that differences in "techniques" could be evaluated toward a determination of disciplinary bias.

Although exploratory, this research has shown sharp contrasts between interrogative and unstructured types of interviewing. The differences between the two types appear to lie in an ill-defined process of suggestion. The use of the social dyad as a suggestive process in research of this kind provides rich material for the construction of further research hypotheses.

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APPENDIX A

INSTRUCTIONS FOR INTERVIEWS 1-15

Instructions for the Interviewer

As a part of a research project, you are about to conduct a 20-minute interview with a fellow student. The interview is being recorded. You have indicated your willingness for the interview to be recorded. If you have objections now, indicate this to the researcher.

Your purpose in interviewing this student is to evaluate the "pressures" he or she may be feeling at the present time. These may be "pressures" originating from the University, from personal matters, or from family. OUR PURPOSE IS NOT TO FIND CAUSE BUT WHAT THE "PRESSURES" MAY BE AND HOW THE STUDENT FEELS ABOUT THEM.

We ask you to begin with a NON-DIRECTIVE approach. LET THE INTERVIEWEE DO THE TALKING. Be silent for a long period if necessary. Find our how he or she REALLY feels. You can't find this out if you are talking.

You might begin by asking what the word "pressures" means to this student. REMEMBER: LET HIM TELL YOU WHAT IT MEANS. Use as few "leads" as possible. One good technique is to repeat back to him his last few words in the form of a question, but DON'T SAY ANYTHING when you can help it. If you get too uncomfortable, just say "hmmmm."

Good luck.

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Instructions to the Person Being Interviewed

As a part of a research project, you are about to be interviewed by a fellow student who has had special training in interviewing.

Although the interview is being recorded, ALL THAT OCCURS IS ABSOLUTELY CONFIDENTIAL. In fact, your name will appear nowhere on the recordings. You have not been introduced to your interviewer, except by first name. However, if you object to the tape recorder now, or at any time during the interview, you are to say so and the research situation will be ended immediately.

Since most students feel "pressures" of one sort or another while attending the University, we are asking the interviewer to talk with you about "pressures" you may be feeling. Please convey your thoughts and your feelings anonymously to the interviewer. Please feel free to talk candidly about your "pressures" or anything else you might wish to.

Just let yourself go. Not only might it be enjoyable, but it might also be relaxing.

In advance, we thank you for your cooperation.

APPENDIX B

SCHEDULE OF QUESTIONS

INSTRUCTIONS: These questions should be answered "specifically" during the remaining 10 minutes of your interview.

Continue to use your same technique, but be sure to fill in specific answers in the blanks as you go.

1. Do the student's "studies" cause him or her to have "pressures"?

Explain. _____

_____

A. Is the student experiencing satisfaction from his classroom work? Explain. _____

_____

B. Does the student feel any anxieties during examination periods? Be specific. _____

_____

2. Does the student feel "pressures" regarding his living arrangements?

Explain. _____

_____

A. Does the student feel that the people around him where he lives are friendly? If so, how? If not, why not? _____

_____

B. Does the student feel any "pressures" from other students? What kind? _____

_____

3. Does the student feel any "pressures" from his social life?

   Explain. _____

   _____

4. Does the student feel "pressures" from his family? What kind?

   _____

   _____

5. Are there any areas of alienation that the student wants to

   describe? Explain each area. _____

   _____

   _____

   _____

APPENDIX C

INSTRUCTIONS FOR INTERVIEWS 16-30

Instructions for the Interviewer

As a part of a research project, you are about to conduct a 20-minute interview with a fellow student. The interview is being recorded. You have indicated your willingness for the interview to be recorded. If you have objections now, indicate this to the researcher.

Your purpose in interviewing this student is to evaluate the "pressures" he or she may be feeling at the present time. These may be "pressures" originating from the University, from personal matters, or from family. OUR PURPOSE IS NOT TO FIND CAUSE BUT WHAT THE "PRESSURES" MAY BE AND HOW THE STUDENT FEELS ABOUT THEM.

You have a "schedule" or questionnaire to guide you. Fill it out as you go--if you can--if not, jot down notes or words to remind you of what was said. You have only twenty minutes, so move along quickly.

Good Luck!

Instructions to the Interviewer

You have been interviewing a student with the purpose of evaluating the feelings that he or she may be having around "pressures."

Your purpose has NOT been to find "cause" but rather to find WHAT the "pressures" really are.

For the remainder of the interview, we ask you to continue with a "non-directive" approach. LET THE INTERVIEWEE DO THE TALKING. Be silent for a long period if necessary. Find out how he or she REALLY feels. You can't find this out if you are talking.

You might begin now by asking what the word "pressures" REALLY means to this student.

REMEMBER: LET HIM TELL YOU WHAT IT MEANS.

Use as few "leads" as possible. One good technique might be to repeat back to him his last few words in the form of a question, but DON'T SAY ANYTHING when you can help it. If you get too uncomfortable by silence, just say "hmmmmmmmm".

GOOD LUCK!

APPENDIX D

SAMPLE CODED INTERVIEW

Interview number 10

Interview Time:

    Unstructured Segment - 12 min. 54 sec.

    Interrogative Segment - 19 min.

Interviewer: Male, Senior

Interviewee: Male, Senior

Researcher: Are there any questions?

I: Is the interview to be completely unstructured, or will there be

    questions?

Researcher: For the time being, unstructured.

I: Oh--I see--okay.

RESEARCHER LEAVES
                 3
S: [You're supposed to interview me now, huh?]

I: Interview--yeah, Jack--this interview is about pressures. Is that

    okay? We're looking for some of the pressures you might feel--

    okay--like--well, you know, like--what is your concept of pressure
       1   2   3
S: [Pressure is]--[I guess]--[pressure you get from home]--[grades,
       3   2   1
    what course to take]--[and that sort of thing]--[set patterns]--
           3   1
    [like in the business department]--[structured, you know!] [It's
                 4
    just like we are a herd of cattle going someplace-]

I: You feel antagonistic toward the system. Do you understand what

I mean?
                  10   10
S: [I really do]--[I think it's the worst it could be]--[because I
                10
think that out of four years of college, I haven't learned that
                                    10
much]--[other than just how to memorize for a test]--

I: I think you see changes
            6   1   1
S: [I don't know]--[after I get out of school]--[after that]--[I don't
                                    8
know how the work situation is going to be in regard to what I've
                                      8
learned here]--[the pressure outside could be the same as it is
               2   12
here]--[the system, I mean]--[I feel that if I go to work for a very
                                                  10
large organization, I'll have a "fit"]--[and that will burn me up,
                                  10
too!] [It'll just be the same rat race all over again!] [I will
         12   8
lose myself as a person] and [have to be what they want me to be.]
               7   5
[To do what they want me to do]--[a smaller business might be
                7   7
different.] [I could be free there] [and use my own ideas]--
       2   5
[something like that]--[I'm sure that there is a certain amount of
                                                9
pressures that have to apply]--[I hope I'm getting what your mean-
               9   9
ing is]--[am I?] [Well, that's what I've been talking about, isn't
                                  10
it?]--[I shouldn't give a damn what you want me to say]--[I should
               10   11
say what I want to]--[I'm actually under pressure here, huh?]

I: WELL, we were really talking about pressures to get grades--that's

easy to talk about, okay
                              10
S: [Well, I don't really feel an antagonism against this sort of
                                  10
pressure]--['cause I'm sure that the university has my good inten-
                              5
tions at heart]--[I really think it's their purpose]--[I think they
     5   10
program you]--[that you're just little walking people doing what
                                    10
they tell you to do] and [that everything you do is structured]

[but their inten^10tions are good]--[I think that some way should be

found to make it more of a learning experience]--[if I ruled the
    5
world](laughs)[I would have more money in the university]--[I would
    4   4
have smaller classes] and [I would have the classes more informal

where the students and the professors get together] and [there is
            4
more of a discussion type class]--[not where you go in and listen to
    10   5
a lecture and get up and leave]--[you're going to have to discuss
                                              10
in class and have it more free and open]--[with those large classes
                                              2
and a hundred people you can't have people talk]--[stuff like this],
        5   5
[it can't be done!]   [In a class like this, I think everyone is
                7
inhibited]--[I certainly feel that way]--[even if I were to say
                        8
something, I wouldn't for fear that it would be the wrong thing]--
                        8
['cause there's always somebody smarter than you are]--[that is
        8   2
willing to cut you down]--[take the war, for instance] [I'm very
        5   2
antagonistic toward the war]--[and stuff like this]--[but where can
            9
I find a place to say my piece?]

I: You feel pressure about the draft,--you mean--do you understand

what I mean?
                5   5
S: [I did feel pressure, but not anymore]--[I didn't pass my physical
                                        4
so that is behind me now]--[so I don't have to worry about that]

I: How about your immediate future? That's sort of hard to talk about.
                    5   8
S: [Well, the economy is in such a state now] [that I am afraid jobs
                    7
will be scarce when I graduate]--[I worry about that]--[I'm not like
            8
some of the fellows who have an old man who will hire them]--[I
            8
have to worry about getting a job and supporting myself]--[I don't
        5   5
see any great upswing in the economy]--[maybe there will be,] [but--

well,] [I feel one way about it one day ^{6} and another way about it

the next day--]

I: How about the war and economy--that bugs a lot of people

S: [Well, the economy could handle it with a lot of people coming
^{5}

back from the war I think,] [I mean increasing consumption,]--[I
^{2}

guess some folks in defense plants might not like for the war to be
^{5}

over,] [they would lose their jobs] [but I can't believe people
^{5}

would feel like that]--[I think it would be a very selfish attitude
^{5} ^{5}

for people not to want the war to be over]--[if there is any way
^{5}

for the war to be over, I think everyone should be for it]--[the

war is just ridiculous in the first place--]
^{10}

I: Do you think that a student is freer than a man that has a job--

you, I mean--what I mean is that a student doesn't have anything

to do but go to his classes from day to day--he's free. Don't you

think that's right? Do you agree with that? I think you can answer

that yes or no

S: [Not really!]--[I see what you mean]--[your adjustment in going out
^{9} ^{11}

into the world is easier when you go from a university that has been
^{11}

rigidly structured,] [but I would think that you would get more in

the long run by going to a freer university--that is, one where you
^{4}

could do exactly what you want to do]--[I think you would be better
^{5}

prepared] and [I don't think you would have more problems in
^{5}

getting adjusted]--[in comparing pressures with the university with
^{5}

pressures on the job, I don't see where there is a great similarity]

[but I see what you mean]--[after all, it depends upon the person]
^{11} ^{11}

--[if you don't want to have pressures, you won't have them when you
^{4}

go on the outside]

I: How about grades? Tell me about your grades--are they okay?

S: [I don't ever pay any attention to them, therefore, they're no
   4

   pressure]--[I go for grades for the obvious benefit that's involved]
        8   5
   --[without adequate grades, you can't get out of school]--[it's that
                                      5
   simple]--[I think that grades have some influence on the job] [but
        5   5
   I don't think it's the main determinant]--[I think it's what impres-

   sions you give when you are interviewing]--

I: You seem to be handling your pressures--you handle your pressures?
                                          5
S: [Well, I've gone to some of the student meetings]--[it doesn't
     5   5
   amount to much]--[I don't go to demonstrations]--[I don't feel that
     7   7
   that's proper]--[I don't feel that living in a structured society
                                            5
   is that bad]--[I think that changes are going to have to be made,]
                  7   5
   [but I don't get upset by any of it]--[You have got to have some
                                                            5
   kind of structure or society won't work]--[I don't think that all
                                            4
   freedoms can be taken away]--[I can't believe in a really free
                                          5
   flowing society]--[I just don't see how it could work like that]--
                      4
   [I think that a society like that would make me very ill at ease]--
             8   4
   [I wouldn't know what to do]--[I know in a way it would be easier--
                                                        1
   that is, things would be arranged]--[well--one looking at the other]
                  12   7
   --[but I think it would make me feel funny]--[feel like I was not
                  12
   in control]--[feel uneasy and not know what to do]--

I: You think it would work? --for you, I mean--like it's blocking you--

   that's a tough experience
             9   6
S: [Well, not really] [it would be great if it worked, but you have to
                                            8
   to look at it this way]--[it might not work]--

I: Might not work?
                  5
S: [It could create all sorts of problems]--

I: Like upsetting you?

S: [It would probably be dysfunctional]
       5

I: Dysfunctional?

S: [I think I would have a tendency to become apathetic in a society
       7

like that]--

I: Lots do--

S: [Of course, you've got to take the greed]--[some people would try
              2   5

to be more forceful than other people]--[there would be some who
                                       5

would try to get control] and [I think I would not be a controller
                                       7

but a (laughs) controlee]--

I: You'd get pushed around? That might upset you. I think I know how

that feels.
            4   7
S: [I'm not much of a pusher,] [I don't feel aggressive,] [and I
         8   7
usually hang back]--[I might like to say that I would be more

comfortable in a society where a man had a bigger gun than I would]
              11   5
[but no one likes to admit that]--[up to a point I think I'd be more
                              7
comfortable,] [but if I got too much structure,]--[if I feel like
         7   10
I'm just being controlled]--[like I said before]--[I get to wanting
    10   7
to push back]--[when there are things that I have to do] [and people
      7   10
push me to do them,] [I begin to feel resentment toward the person
                        6
pushing] [but at the same time I realize that to a degree you really
                                                      2
have to have some person pushing]--[so I can see that]--[at a point
              1   7
in a free floating society]--[I would be both resentful and yet
                                                      8
appreciated at the same time]--[I can't really see how it would

work]--

I: If someone didn't tell you were being pressured would you know that

you were being pressured here at the University?--that's hard, I know

S: [Yes, I would just feel it!]--[Going to classes[1]and doing term

papers and

(RESEARCHER INTERRUPTS)

Researcher: There are about ten minutes left--would you follow this

schedule of questions for the rest of the interview? There are

instructions on the questionnaire sheet.   RESEARCHER LEAVES

I: Okay--this looks like what we've been going over--now what did you

say?--what do we talk about your studies?--did you say that your

studies brought you any pressure?

S: [From my school work you mean?]
     3

I: Uh-uh--Did we relate pressures to that?
                         3
S: [Well, I think you feel a lot of pressures here, too]--[well, it's
       5
changed a lot since I first came up here]--[now it's a lot less
           5
structured than it was four years ago]--[four years ago there was
         5
a lot of pressure to be members of little groups] and [to dress like
   4   4   2
they dress] and [to do the things they did] [and stuff] [but now
           5
it's becoming a lot less structured]

I: Is this social or studies?
       3   2   no agreement by judges
S: [Studies]--[I mean social]--[on a studies basis it's all mixed in]--
                                         5
[four years ago you were expected to go to class and do your assign-
               5   4
ments]--[it's not like that anymore]--[I don't worry about my grades

anymore]

I: After four years of school are you satisfied with what you've done?

Do you get satisfaction from your classroom work?
                         4
S: [I feel satisfied that I'm getting something that might mean a
                                         4
means to an end]--[it isn't as though I spent four years here for
             5
learning]--[I don't think I've learned that much]

I: If someone had given you a diploma would you have taken it?

S: [Without working for it?]
          3

I: Yes--I think I know what you mean--you're questioning--

S: [Well anybody would have done that]--[in college I think you learn
          5   2
   a lot of things like living with people] [and stuff like that] [but
          1   3
   for the classroom work]--[yes I'd have taken a diploma without

   working for it;] [I guess you do have to learn something from your
          5
   classroom work, but I don't know what it is]

I: Did you grow as a person through your classes? Do you know what I

   mean by person?
                    4
S: [I'm not the same person I was four years ago]

I: Any reason? --about growing, I mean.
          5   4
S: [I think it's all of them combined]--[all in all, I guess I have a

   sense of responsibility for being here]

I: Do you feel more anxiety during a test or about tests than you feel

   anxiety about other things--some people feel more about tests.
                              3
S: [Yes, but that comes from having so much catching-up work to do to

   get ready for a test]

I: You never worry? Not ever? -- if so, what about?
       2
S: [No--]

I: You were never disappointed in yourself? Is this hard to talk

   about?
                    2   6
S: [I think I want to know that I know] [but I'm not sure]

I: I see--How are your living arrangements? -- they're okay?
       3
S: [How do you mean?]

I: Do your living arrangements give you satisfaction or are they a

   source of pressure? If they please you, say that.

S: [I live in an ^{5}apartment]

I: How's that? Satisfying? -- tell me about that.

S: [I used to ^{5}live in a fraternity]

I: An apartment's better? Tell me more about that.

S: [^{2}Yes]

I: You felt the pressure of having to conform when you were in a

fraternity? Why? I don't believe you want to talk about this--

is that right?

S: [^{2}No]

I: Is that usual? Am I right?

S: [^{10}Is what usual?]

I: To feel pressures in a fraternity? Do you know what I mean?

S: [There are some people who like to feel ^{5}pressures]--[if they have a

rule in living where you have ^{5}your own specific little things to do]

--[to dress a ^{1}certain way]--[to do ^{1}this and this]--[I had ^{2}it]--

[I couldn't ^{4}take it!]

I: You rebelled against the fraternity? Isn't that right?

S: [^{2}Yes]--[it's sort of came out in ^{4}revenge]--[I consider myself to be

a ram and not a ^{4}sheep]

I: Do you feel more at ease in the apartment?--you have a roommate I

guess?--more at ease in your apartment with your roommate?--than a

fraternity I mean? Do you get along? How about noise?

S: [^{10}Of course] [in an apartment I can choose my ^{3}own roommate]--[it's

not like it ^{5}was in the fraternity]--[there I had to ^{4}conform]--[do

what ^{4}they wanted to do]--[in the apartment my ^{5}roommate does not

bring any pressure to bear]

I: Now? just other students----for no particular reason?----do you feel specific pressures from any of those students? If so, why?

S: [I don't know what you mean by other students]
                      3

I: Well, let's say outside of grades--can you be specific?----well, competition--what competition?----do you feel pressure from competition? What do you think it means?

S: [No,]--[I guess there's competition in classes,] [but I don't feel it]
  2   5   7

I: How about the learning? What about that?

S: [Nothing there!] [I don't really know what I think about any of this]--[I do my work]--[I get good grades]--[and I resent it!]
    2   6

I: Do you feel pressures from the far Left people here on campus?

S: [NO, I don't feel any pressures from the "red-necks"--or the far Right--or the far Left, for that matter]--[they don't bother me]--[I think I'm curious about what the far Left wants]--[I'm not sure that's pressure]--[just curiosity]--[I don't know what it is]--[I guess I'm just curious about what they want and why they think as they do]--

I: You're not Left?--you just sympathize with them?

S: [I think that's definitely so]--[I could never be a Leftist]--[I'm just curious]--[I guess I lean toward Left more than I do toward the Right because I'm more curious about the Left]

I: Does the social life on campus give you any pressures? -- social demands, that is?

S: [Oh yes--it used to--when I was in a fraternity]

I: Do you have any sort of pressure?--are you married?

S: [No]

I: Do you feel any pressure from your parents? --your family?

S: [What kind of pressure do you mean?]
   ²

I: Any kind--what kind?

S: [No, not really]
   ²

I: Do you think parents pressure children to make good grades because

   they love their children?

S: [I'm sure that's true]--[my parents are separated]--
   ³   ⁵

I: Do you think a parent would try to hide that his kid was a liberal?

S: [I think that parents are controlled by society in this way,] [but
   ⁵

   my parents didn't have that to worry about]
   ⁴

I: How about alienation?--do you feel alienated?--pressure?

S: [The army maybe]--[because I feel it's a complete waste]--[it's
   ³   ¹⁰

   just as though you died for two years] and [I think that it's
   ⁴

   totally against everything I stand for--our being in the war, I
   ⁴

   mean]--[I just think it's a complete waste]
   ¹⁰

I: How about the system?--do you feel alienated?

S: [I know that on the one hand you have to support yourself]--[so I
   ⁵

   guess I am a little conservative about that]--[but I think I'm
   ⁴   ⁴

   alienated toward the general routine of compulsive adherence to a

   definite system]--[going to school for 15 years,] [getting out,
   ⁴   ⁴

   raising a family,] [going to work every day,] [and that just--
   ⁴   ⁴

   general rut]--[it's that going to work every day from 8 to 5,]
   ¹   ⁴

   [coming home,] [eating,] [watching TV,] [going to bed,] [getting
   ⁴   ⁴   ⁴   ⁴

   up the next morning,] [going back to work,] [and just over and over
   ⁴   ⁴

   the same way]

I: Do you see any way out?

S: [No, no way^{3}that makes sense]--[I could go live^{4}in a hippie commun-
   ^{2}
   ity]--[or something like that]--

I: Do you feel at all out of it?--do you worry about anything?
                   ^{2} ^{5}
S: [No, I don't worry about anything]--[worry would be an alienation]
            ^{10} ^{4}
   [and I'm not alienated]--[nothing bothers me that much]

I: If you had your choice between 2 years in the Army and 2 years in

   Vista, which would you take?
           ^{3}
S: [Vista, I think]

I: Why?
                    ^{5} ^{3}
S: [I don't think either one would be necessary]--[I wouldn't mind
                                   ^{7}
   Vista] [but I wouldn't like for anyone to make me take either one]

I: For example, do you feel any pressure here to pay your taxes so

   you can help people on welfare?
                                     ^{5}
S: [No, because I think 75% of those people on welfare are just lazy
                       ^{10}
   and bums]--[they're too lazy to do anything else]--[I guess there
                  ^{5}
   are some people on welfare that need it--but they'd be few and
                  ^{10}
   far between]--[too many people on welfare are just too lazy to work]
                  ^{4}
   --[I don't feel any pressure at all about them]

I: Well, are there any other areas of alienation?
                  ^{2}
S: [None that I can think of]

I: Are there any pressures you can think of that we didn't touch?
                  ^{2}
S: [No, none that I can think of]

I: Well, we've been over most of the questions on this sheet and

   we've talked about a lot of other things--(laughs) I hope I didn't

   put you under too much pressure by asking you to do all this,

   did I?

S: [Not^{3}really]

I: Well, if you don't have any other comments, I guess we can quit

here.

INTERVIEW ENDS

APPENDIX E

TABLES OF INTERVIEWEE RESPONSE BY CATEGORY

TABLE XI

INTERVIEWEE FRAGMENTATION RESPONSE BY SEGMENT
(Rate per 30 minutes)

Interview	Interrogative	Unstructured
1	15.03	41.44
2	11.92	34.24
3	11.04	37.57
4	13.91	20.44
5	9.48	19.44
6	19.10	33.72
7	16.48	22.47
8	11.55	18.97
9	18.27	78.75
10	7.90	20.97
11	30.80	28.49
12	51.04	56.68
13	5.45	7.05
14	7.75	7.47
15	35.55	10.98
16	30.69	10.04
17	7.95	4.48
18	32.72	10.92
19	18.95	3.40
20	23.10	12.39
21	14.40	0.00
22	21.84	0.00
23	33.75	18.60
24	32.56	5.28
25	71.10	4.35
26	11.60	4.00
27	13.64	22.48
28	38.25	2.67
29	23.50	10.14
30	10.24	3.04

t = 0.782   p = .277

TABLE XII

INTERVIEWEE SMOKE SCREENING RESPONSE BY SEGMENT
(Rate per 30 minutes)

Interview	Interrogative	Unstructured
1	38.41	11.84
2	28.31	4.28
3	55.20	66.47
4	40.66	32.12
5	61.62	38.88
6	85.95	61.82
7	26.78	12.84
8	14.70	27.10
9	60.90	78.75
10	30.02	23.30
11	48.40	36.26
12	53.36	43.60
13	87.20	23.50
14	41.85	27.39
15	52.14	16.47
16	89.28	35.70
17	31.80	8.95
18	69.53	18.20
19	60.64	10.20
20	83.16	44.25
21	55.20	29.30
22	38.22	25.08
23	63.75	39.06
24	79.92	7.92
25	71.10	8.70
26	84.10	48.00
27	68.20	42.15
28	99.00	26.70
29	47.00	32.11
30	33.28	21.28

$t = 6.185$ $p = .0001$

TABLE XIII

INTERVIEWEE FRIENDLINESS RESPONSE BY SEGMENT
(Rate per 30 minutes)

Interview	Interrogative	Unstructured
1	15.03	2.96
2	4.47	10.70
3	5.52	8.67
4	1.07	2.92
5	9.48	19.44
6	3.82	14.05
7	28.84	12.84
8	8.40	13.55
9	20.30	3.75
10	25.28	9.32
11	48.40	23.31
12	20.88	39.24
13	76.30	4.70
14	15.50	9.96
15	21.33	9.15
16	22.32	7.53
17	45.05	8.06
18	28.63	18.20
19	64.43	20.40
20	41.58	15.93
21	33.60	11.72
22	16.38	13.68
23	45.00	5.58
24	23.68	10.56
25	47.40	7.25
26	26.10	4.00
27	61.38	25.29
28	15.75	2.67
29	18.80	10.14
30	35.84	15.20

t = 4.464   p = .0001

TABLE XIV

INTERVIEWEE DRAMATIZATION RESPONSE BY SEGMENT
(Rate per 30 minutes)

Interview	Interrogative	Unstructured
1	61.79	29.60
2	34.27	25.68
3	27.60	23.12
4	51.36	11.68
5	42.66	24.30
6	51.57	70.25
7	39.14	0.00
8	15.57	56.91
9	77.14	33.75
10	53.72	34.95
11	90.20	33.67
12	104.40	8.72
13	38.15	56.40
14	52.70	24.90
15	146.94	16.47
16	131.13	32.63
17	156.35	17.90
18	69.53	25.48
19	60.64	3.40
20	129.36	17.70
21	86.40	58.60
22	103.74	25.08
23	108.75	57.66
24	124.32	13.20
25	99.54	37.70
26	116.00	82.00
27	68.20	25.29
28	112.50	72.09
29	96.35	32.11
30	117.76	88.16

$t = 6.087$ $p = .0001$

TABLE XV

INTERVIEWEE FACTUAL INFORMATION RESPONSE BY SEGMENT
(Rate per 30 minutes)

Interview	Interrogative	Unstructured
1	105.21	88.80
2	34.27	36.38
3	52.44	57.80
4	42.80	32.12
5	0.00	38.88
6	103.14	73.06
7	76.22	147.66
8	27.30	67.75
9	81.20	75.00
10	48.98	90.87
11	50.60	56.98
12	81.20	52.32
13	70.85	61.10
14	77.50	59.76
15	90.06	54.90
16	53.01	55.22
17	135.15	41.17
18	102.25	43.68
19	117.49	37.40
20	120.12	47.79
21	117.60	58.60
22	180.18	104.88
23	105.00	50.22
24	133.20	63.36
25	118.50	43.50
26	58.00	50.00
27	81.84	64.63
28	72.00	50.73
29	75.20	37.18
30	156.16	57.76

$t = 3.288$ $p = .001$

TABLE XVI

INTERVIEWEE AMBIVALENCE RESPONSE BY SEGMENT
(Rate per 30 minutes)

Interview	Interrogative	Unstructured
1	5.01	11.84
2	10.43	12.84
3	12.88	8.67
4	9.63	2.92
5	0.00	9.72
6	7.64	16.86
7	2.06	9.63
8	2.10	32.52
9	16.24	15.00
10	6.32	9.32
11	17.60	0.00
12	9.28	13.08
13	10.90	7.05
14	3.10	2.49
15	23.70	5.49
16	8.37	5.02
17	18.55	9.85
18	20.45	10.92
19	15.16	10.20
20	18.48	0.00
21	16.80	0.00
22	10.92	2.28
23	22.50	1.86
24	5.92	7.92
25	33.18	1.45
26	5.80	4.00
27	17.05	11.24
28	6.75	5.34
29	18.80	5.07
30	2.56	3.04

$t = 1.900$ $p = .032$

TABLE XVII

INTERVIEWEE CONSCIOUSNESS OF SELF RESPONSE BY SEGMENT
(Rate per 30 minutes)

Interview	Interrogative	Unstructured
1	25.05	74.00
2	1.49	66.34
3	9.20	86.70
4	12.84	67.16
5	0.00	92.34
6	19.10	56.20
7	10.30	83.46
8	2.10	51.49
9	20.30	108.75
10	3.16	44.27
11	17.60	28.49
12	6.96	82.84
13	0.00	54.05
14	13.95	62.25
15	23.70	49.41
16	8.37	112.95
17	23.85	25.96
18	8.18	65.52
19	11.37	59.40
20	46.20	46.02
21	4.80	41.02
22	10.92	31.92
23	22.50	55.80
24	20.72	55.44
25	9.48	37.70
26	5.80	30.00
27	23.87	81.49
28	27.00	58.74
29	14.10	72.67
30	0.00	79.04

$t = -10.189$ $p = .0001$

TABLE XVIII

INTERVIEWEE APPREHENSIVENESS RESPONSE BY SEGMENT
(Rate per 30 minutes)

Interview	Interrogative	Unstructured
1	8.35	53.28
2	8.94	68.48
3	2.76	46.24
4	11.77	32.12
5	4.74	87.48
6	1.91	47.77
7	8.24	38.52
8	3.15	40.65
9	4.06	71.25
10	0.00	32.62
11	4.40	12.95
12	2.32	52.32
13	10.90	11.75
14	7.75	34.86
15	14.22	12.81
16	2.79	30.12
17	2.65	25.06
18	4.09	25.48
19	7.58	17.00
20	9.24	14.16
21	2.40	17.58
22	0.00	29.64
23	7.50	39.06
24	5.92	34.32
25	14.22	29.00
26	11.60	30.00
27	10.23	28.10
28	9.00	72.09
29	14.10	35.49
30	2.56	94.24

$t = -7.685$ $\qquad$ $p = .0001$

TABLE XIX

INTERVIEWEE SUBMISSIVENESS RESPONSE BY SEGMENT
(Rate per 30 minutes)

Interview	Interrogative	Unstructured
1	3.34	26.64
2	4.47	10.70
3	5.52	23.12
4	1.07	2.92
5	4.74	19.44
6	0.00	0.00
7	2.06	60.99
8	6.30	59.62
9	12.18	63.75
10	0.00	13.98
11	2.20	28.49
12	2.32	39.24
13	5.45	16.45
14	4.65	44.82
15	11.85	14.64
16	2.79	27.61
17	10.60	11.64
18	4.09	21.84
19	0.00	20.40
20	23.10	10.62
21	14.40	2.93
22	5.46	11.40
23	18.75	24.18
24	2.96	10.56
25	4.74	11.60
26	11.60	18.00
27	6.82	30.91
28	2.25	16.02
29	0.00	35.49
30	0.00	30.40

t = -5.437   p = .0001

TABLE XX

INTERVIEWEE AGGRESSIVENESS RESPONSE BY SEGMENT
(Rate per 30 minutes)

Interview	Interrogative	Unstructured
1	15.03	59.20
2	10.43	29.96
3	10.12	54.91
4	4.28	14.60
5	18.96	87.48
6	11.46	5.62
7	4.12	41.73
8	4.20	70.46
9	22.30	37.50
10	12.64	44.27
11	11.00	28.49
12	2.32	21.80
13	32.70	42.30
14	3.10	17.43
15	9.48	20.13
16	0.00	12.55
17	7.95	24.17
18	0.00	3.64
19	3.79	13.60
20	0.00	23.01
21	2.40	87.90
22	8.19	20.52
23	0.00	24.18
24	8.88	42.24
25	4.74	34.80
26	14.50	58.00
27	6.82	28.10
28	4.50	50.73
29	2.35	10.14
30	2.56	100.32

$t = -6.521$ $p = .0001$

TABLE XXI

INTERVIEWEE INSIGHT RESPONSE BY SEGMENT
(Rate per 30 minutes)

Interview	Interrogative	Unstructured
1	0.00	0.00
2	0.00	2.14
3	0.92	14.45
4	0.00	0.00
5	0.00	4.86
6	0.00	2.81
7	2.06	9.63
8	1.05	35.23
9	0.00	11.25
10	0.00	13.98
11	2.20	2.59
12	0.00	4.36
13	0.00	4.70
14	0.00	2.49
15	2.37	1.83
16	0.00	10.04
17	0.00	4.48
18	0.00	14.56
19	0.00	6.80
20	0.00	5.31
21	0.00	2.93
22	0.00	2.28
23	0.00	0.00
24	0.00	15.84
25	0.00	4.35
26	0.00	4.00
27	0.00	56.20
28	0.00	29.37
29	0.00	25.35
30	0.00	12.16

$t = -4.366$ $p = .0001$

TABLE XXII

INTERVIEWEE UNIQUE PERSONAL ABSTRACTION RESPONSE BY SEGMENT
(Rate per 30 minutes)

Interview	Interrogative	Unstructured
1	0.00	14.80
2	2.98	40.66
3	0.92	63.58
4	0.00	0.00
5	0.00	63.18
6	0.00	5.86
7	0.00	38.52
8	1.05	37.94
9	0.00	26.25
10	0.00	9.32
11	0.00	31.08
12	0.00	21.80
13	0.00	9.40
14	0.00	14.94
15	0.00	7.32
16	0.00	12.55
17	0.00	5.37
18	0.00	14.56
19	0.00	23.80
20	0.00	12.39
21	0.00	8.79
22	0.00	11.40
23	0.00	1.86
24	0.00	5.28
25	0.00	0.00
26	0.00	16.00
27	0.00	22.48
28	0.00	26.70
29	0.00	40.56
30	0.00	12.16

$t = -6.568$ $\qquad$ $p = .0001$

VITA

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