

SHAKESPEARE AS A SOCIAL
PHILOSOPHER

Focusing on Antony and Cleopatra

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Long did I die in the dust of Egypt
 Silent and unaware of the seasons
 Then the sun gave me birth and I rose
 And walked upon the Nile
 Singing with the days and dreaming with
 the night
 And now the sun treads upon me with
 a thousand feet
 That I may again lie in the dust of Egypt,
 But behold! A marvel and a riddle
 The very sun that gathered me cannot
 scatter me
 Still erect am I, and sure of foot do I
 Walk upon the banks of the Nile.

Kahlil Gibran
 from Sand and Foam

Shakespeare presents in Antony and Cleopatra an underlying theme of existential awareness. There is something new and vibrantly alive in Antony and Cleopatra. It is as if Shakespeare had exhausted, in all that had gone before, the usual themes--man's concept of duty; his place in "The Great Chain of Being;" the sway of the elements in nature--and now considers himself free to draw up a brief on what lies ahead for man. It is as if Shakespeare has relinquished his nominally religious point-of-view, and perhaps thrown himself beyond it, in favor of a philosophy that argues: with the whole person all things are possible; feeling is real; the universality of humanity is forever being made. Antony and Cleopatra, then, is a critical examination of a classical story, from an early-existential point of view.

If we see the play through the eyes of Philo, we are misled. Antony has no simple choice, as does Troilus; there is no simple choice between Cleopatra and the world because they are part of each other. We are made aware, in the play, that the Philos of this world will always appeal to the

narrow legalistic view; always glean dust off the surface but never mine nuggets in the earth; always have a biased hand on the scale of life, weighing and measuring merely the externals and merely half the product. Yet, when Enobarbus garbs Cleopatra in all the gilt and glamour of majesty, we begin to see that the play presents no a priori good, no absolutes; that values must be relative on a plane where people travail with people, and with themselves.

The technique of presenting the play--its structural construct--compliments the message and meaning Shakespeare wishes to express. The quickness of the action, the movement and mixing of the scenes, the diversity of the characters, the swift traverse of time and space from Egypt to Rome and around the Empire seem to create the feeling that all life is a montage of inter-related events, interdependent and inseparable.

Contradictions are to be found everywhere in this drama of power and love. The play of opposites against one another, the seeming polarity that exists on all levels--private life versus public life, self versus world, love versus honor--all argue to the point that Antony and Cleopatra are human characters and the play is life-resembling drama at its finest. But the play resembles life to us only if we have some idea of what life truly is, and only if we divorce existence from the bonds of time and space, life and death, good and evil, temporal and qualitative phenomena. We are called to rise above the conflict of east and west, lover and warrior, Caesar and the Serpent. We are presented with a world where the ultimate act of transcendence is training "toward the resonances of the white dawn aorta." (#18 Cinema Calendrier De Coeur Abstract, 1918).

If we are hasty to assign any exclusive set of values to the play, we miss the mark. It is as if Shakespeare is saying to us, any exclusive fundamental set of values is inappropriate to life. The world does not turn on love or order, it turns on both. The Philos of life naively assume that the world, for everyone, is exactly as they see it. They accept the evidence of perception uncritically. They do not realize that their

visual perception is mediated by indirect inference systems; they assume that the evidence of vision is directly, immediately, unmediately given. Socially, one important aspect of this "phenomenal absolutism" is the observer's assumption that all other observers perceive the situation as he does and that if they respond differently, it is because of some perverse willfulness rather than because they act on different perceptual content.

This leads us into a consideration of that area of tension that prevails between simplistic judgments and transcendence in Antony and Cleopatra. The general critic is so steeped in an absolutist view of his culture--the Western Heritage, the Christian bias, the Protestant Ethic--that he cannot perceive the message of universality in this work. For example, the average critic turns down his mouth when considering the scene on Pompey's barge, but the actors had their mouths turned up in transcendant glee. Cleopatra's love is often pictured as lust, because acceptance of this love on Antony's part would, to the general run of critical spirits, brand him a cross-cultural derelict, forgetful of his place, honor, station. Montaigne said in 1580:

I think there is nothing barbarous and savage in that nation, from what I have been told, except that each man calls barbarism whatever is not his own practice; for indeed it seems we have no other test of truth and reason than the example and pattern of the opinions and customs of the country we live in.

Craig's moralistic bias shows through his critical onionskin in many places, but never so clear as when he says:

Antony is a great soldier and a man of vast ability, but his greatness suffers before our eyes when he lets passion betray his reason.

Thus, a passion of love should not have equal time with reason, and that the sexual play of the lusty young should forever defer to duty is a common Western puritanical

bias. In sociological terminology, the vivid directness of ethnocentrically enculturated moral judgments is conveyed emphatically in settings of mutual revulsion in which impropriety and disgust are perceived as attributes objectively adhering to the act observed rather than as conditioned preferences of the observer.

The critic who sees in Cleopatra only the "childish shrew" and in Antony "the foolish man of passion," is the living personification of the point made above. Cleopatra, like Eve, possesses "the temptation that imperils the human destiny," but she is also the ever-flowing fountain of transcendant love typically, and specifically, the vessel of Antony's love that would cut him free from all the duplicity and paucity of public existence on Roman terms.

In social-psychological terms, Antony suffered from a severe case of cognitive dissonance. Festinger's theory rests on the assumption that the individual attempts to "establish internal harmony, consistency, or congruity among his opinions, attitudes, knowledge, and values, . . ." Pairs of "cognitive elements" may exist in irrelevant, consonant, or dissonant relationships with each other. In the case at hand, dissonance would obtain in Antony's conflict between his desire in Egypt and his duty in Rome. The principal of dissonance operates mainly when a person has made a choice he believes is free, in which he acts of his own volition and is not coerced. If the individual has no choice at all in following an action that is contrary to his pre-existing beliefs, he does not feel any need to change his attitudes toward the action, but if he makes the choice to perform the action freely, dissonance is created and he feels a measure of pressure to reduce it.

It is plain that Antony is aware of his problem, and is extremely agitated over his personal dichotomy, in his conversation with messengers in Act 1.

O, then we bring forth weeds when our quick minds lie still, and our ill-told us is as caring.

It is clear that he wants to delay making any decision because he instructs the mes-

sengers to have at it with full license, and "Fare thee well awhile." But when he hears of Fulvia's death, he becomes fully aware of the duality of his life and proceeds to tear himself away from his love relationship, with which he has been able to transcend, for a time, the magnetic pull of his culture;

Ten thousand harms, more than the
ills I know,
My idleness doth hatch.

And later, before Caesar, Antony confesses having swerved from the Roman rule; he did not deny arms but

Neglected rather;
And that when poisoned hours had
bound me up
From mine own knowledge.

Antony felt that to be bound up from his own knowledge was to tread dangerous ground, and he thought that Cleopatra should know that his sword made weak by his affection, obeys affection at all cause.

Enobarbus speaks for the typical Elizabethan viewpoint in his understanding of Antony's weakness. When Cleopatra asks, "Is Antony or we in fault for this?" regarding the failure of the sea fight, Enobarbus replies,

Antony only, that would make his will
Lord of his reason,

In the previous plays Shakespeare generally wrote of action in terms of the relation maintained among the faculties of the soul. He presents great characterizations where the mental and physical "parts are at war with each other." This concept is almost thematic in *King Lear*. In *Romeo and Juliet*, Friar Lawrence urges:

These violent delights have violent ends,
And in their triumph die, like fire and powder,
Which as they kiss consume. The sweetest
honey
Is loathsome in his own deliciousness
And in the taste confounds the appetite;
Therefore love moderately; long love doth so;
The swift arrives as tardy as too slow.

And Shakespeare has Hamlet say:

Give me that man
That is not passion's slave, and I will
wear him
In my heart's core, ay, in my heart of heart,

The Elizabethan soul depended for its utility upon the body and the spirits. The microcosm is subject in many ways to influences from the macrocosm. Unless one had a massive strength of will, any variation in the humors or in temperament produced a corresponding variation in thought and action. Further, the faculties of the soul were by nature inclined to rebel against each other. From these principles, fundamental in Elizabethan thinking, arises a conception of life different in an important respect from that to which we have become acculturated and therefore significant in any critical appraisal of Shakespeare's method of handling character.

The Eighteenth, Nineteenth, and Twentieth Century literary critics have been constantly exposed to socio-psychological treatises that accord high status to the individual who is at all time master of himself. They enumerate devices to be used in control of the passions, and continually urge us to patience; yet they represent life as a series of conflicting purposes and inexplicable actions.

The Elizabethan did not search for unity in human behavior. His theory of the soul and of its relation to the macrocosm accounts for constant inconsistencies in the life of the tragic hero or the common man. "Our actions," Montaigne tells us:

Commonly contradict one another so
strangely, it seemeth impossible they
should be parcels of one warehouse.

And Charron put it even more cogently:

We are perpetually moving and turning;
and in the very change of our posture
is so frequent as to be and uneasiness
and trouble to us. No man continues
to wish and design the same thing two
days together . . . Thus we shift our
characters each moment, and act a
thousand parts . . .

Our modern psychology finds unity in human behavior--apparent dominant strains of unity--and so we have come to demand of our literary artists efforts that are well knit in purpose, impeccable in characterization, and to a certain extent, stagnated and sterile in purpose. In judging Shakespeare's work, we have allowed ourselves to forget that Elizabethans stood on the brink of a great age of transition, and that their thinking emphasized variability and even inconsistency in conduct. Witness the Player King in Hamlet say:

Our wills and fates do so contrary run
That our devices still are overthrown;
Our thoughts are ours, their ends none
of our own.

Shakespeare, always a leader in the formulation of the views and opinions held by his contemporaries, was never greatly concerned with consistency in characterization. In fact the growth patterns, positive or negative, that occurred in the lives of all his characters, was almost an organic thing. When we look for absolute unity, immobility, or even for support for some absolute, dogmatic truth in his characters, we are searching for something that he did not recognize as valid--except as an ideal rarely attained--and consequently we attempt to discern an attribute that he could never have striven to portray in the tragic sense. Shakespeare's people are never black and white. They show a definite progression out of the age of feudalism, across the "Great Chain" bridge towards some supremely natural, yet transcendent existential awareness.

We do not receive a group of convenient solutions in the play. In fact, we may well be left with the disturbing feeling of mixed emotions, a slightly disoriented relationship vis-a-vis our personal value bank, some degree of cognitive dissonance of our own to deal with. If we recoil emotionally at Octavius' desire to Romanize Egypt, Octavia's wish to domesticate Antony, Caesar's ability to impose his will on Antony and Cleopatra at every earthy circumstance, we may still fail to gain a full understanding of the death-transcendence principle. For we are left

behind with a mere intimation that the lover's death experience is the ultimate act of copulation, performed in the face of a world that could not accept sexual passion as one valid measurement of love. Pure agape, in the Greek sense, is not love; the union of two times three, soul and body and spirit, is love.

As Erich Fromm maintains, in The Sane Society:

Love is the union with somebody, or something, outside oneself, under the condition of retaining the separateness and integrity of one's self.

Ultimate union can be achieved, by our lover's, only in death. In life Antony failed miserably to fulfill his boast in Act 1:

Let Rome and Tiber melt, and the
wide arch
Of the ranged Empire fall! Here is
my place.

and herein lies a strong tragic theme of the play. Antony was socially unable to rise above the influence of his Roman duty ethic, and this tragedy in his life experience has been proliferated throughout our normative system to the present day.

Antony and Cleopatra were able to transcend the world of Caesar and all its miniscule motivations of greed and territorial imperative. We see this transcendent theme most clearly in Cleopatra's dream-song--one of the most beautiful songs in classical literature--and especially in her Socratic resignation, made possible by a love so dynamic that it required a new heaven and new earth to contain it.

In the final analysis, Antony and Cleopatra leave us in a world dominated on all sides by the Roman legacy.

And we are here as on a darkening
plain
Swept with confused alarms of struggle
and flight
Where ignorant armies clash by night.

Mathew Arnold

And thus do we of wisdom and of reach
 With windlasses and with assays of bias,
 By indirections find directions out.

Hamlet, Act II, i, 64

FIGURE 1
 ANTHONY'S WORLD VIEW

Lover at play

I laughed him out of patience, and that night I laughed him into patience; and next morn ere the ninth hour, I drunk him to his bed; Then put my tires and mantles on him, whilst I wore his sword.

World of Constraint

Stagnation
 Regression
 Ingratiation
 Oblation
 Obfuscation
 Roman need to achieve

World of Paucity

And then when poison'd hours had bound me up from mine own knowledge. As nearly as may, I'll play the penitent to you.

Free Choice

There's not a minute of our lives should stretch without some pleasure now.

What our contempt doth often hurl from us, we wish it ours again.

The World

for

Anthony

Determinism

These strong Egyptian fetters I must break, or lose myself in dotage.

. . . but the letters too . . .
 Of many our contriving friends in Rome, petition us at home . . .

World of purity

Now, for the love of Love and her soft hours. Let's not confound the time with conference harsh.

I here importune death awhile, until of many thousand kisses the poor last, I lay upon thy lips.

World of Freedom

Progress
 Development
 Passiön
 Affection
 Clarity
 Egyptian need to affiliate

Soldier at Work

O Love, that thour couldst see my wars today, and knew'st the royal occupation! Thou shouldst see a workman in't.

INTRAFAMILIAL INTERACTION PATTERNS

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Family Interaction as a Research Problem

The more widely used frameworks for the study of the family include the institutional, structural-functional, interactional, situational, and developmental approaches. The interactional approach, as described by Schvaneveldt (1966,199) uses naturalistic observations, assumes a family process which is in flux rather than in equilibrium, as manifested communications, and in which social objects are interpreted by each individual. One advantage of the interactional approach is that the family may be studied *in vivo*, to get information on the basic patterns of action, exchange, and communication. If the study can be spread over a sample of families in which the children range reasonably well over the preschool and elementary school ages, it may also be possible to develop evidence on the developmental and growth processes which are believed to result, in part, from internal interaction processes within the family. A second advantage of the interactional approach which is based on direct observation is that much of the interaction among family members is directly manifested in verbal and linguistic exchange which is fairly clear to the trained observer. The speaker's intent may be somewhat in doubt, even to the speaker himself, but there is much less doubt among those who heard distinctly as to what was said. Disadvantages of the observational approach are 1) the large requirement for time for data collection and transcription, and 2) the distorting effect of injecting the observer into the family situation. Observer effect can be somewhat modified if the observer can maintain a relatively passive profile as he or she records the sequence and content of interaction between family members.

Differences in the linguistic development of children are well marked by age level. For example, two and three year old children responded with the same complying behavior

regardless of the order of pronouns and nouns in simple sentences, like "Bring me the truck" and "Bring the me truck." (Whetstone and Friedlander, 1973) Four year old children improved measurably in language and thinking skills used in problem solving when they were trained to recognize alternatives and to use correctly the alternative pairs: some-all, same-different, happy-sad, and-or, are-aren't. (Spivack and Shure, 1974,24) Generally, children in free play, from the ages of three to five used responsive speech to engage each other in cooperative and purposeful play. (Garvey and Hogan, 1973) Language in the form of organized speech has two functions, as specified by Piaget; one is internal or egocentric speech and the second is externally directed or socialized speech. (Piaget, 1959, 9) The child closely associates egocentric speech with the thinking process, or with a "voice in the head". (Piaget, 1960,39) Various authorities have affirmed Piaget's findings on some of the major developments in reasoning powers in the growing child. (Piaget, 1928, 101) The five year old child has difficulty recognizing how many brothers and sisters his own brothers and sisters have, including himself, from their point of view. The ten year old child readily understands the relational situation from the viewpoint of the other. The ten year old has a more exact and accurate understanding of word associations (Wityrol, 1971); he is more able to infer a relationship between successive pictures (Willoughby, 1973); and he is far more likely to take account of the intention of the actor in judging an action bad or good. (Costanzo, 1973)

The daily exchange of social action among members of the family in the home constitutes a crucible of socialization in which maturing children develop and display specific kinds of skills in dealing with parents and siblings. (Clausen, 1968) The quality, direction, and amount of social exchange within the family necessarily varies with the age of the child from the infantile period through the school years to later adolescence. We would, therefore, expect that an accounting of the stream of verbal exchange among family members would reflect basic changes in the volume and

quality of transactions, and implicitly, in the changes in the social relations in the family as the children mature.

HYPOTHETICAL AND THEORETICAL FACTORS. If the family operates as an integrative, stable social action system, most interaction among family members should be positive and should support ongoing relations. We have applied Horney's basic trichotomy of "moving toward", "moving against", and "moving away" for categorizing interpersonal contacts between family members. (Horney, 1945) For any member who is successfully maintaining a position in the family, most of his actions relating to other family members should be positive, or "going toward" others in the family. The positive approach by an initiator of a contact may generate some initial resistance by the receiver, particularly if the receiver is already committed to some other endeavor. We therefore expect positive approaches to entail some resistance, but at a lower level. The alternative to resistance on the negative side is withdrawal. Withdrawal may be appropriate when the receiver of social approaches is not able to respond well enough to sustain the action. Since the drive of the family interaction system is to develop capacity and techniques for social intercourse, the retreating member can sustain this tactic only briefly, and as a kind of extreme measure. Therefore, withdrawal or "going away" should be less frequent than resistance as a mode of response.

In the middle class in an industrial society where the mother's primary role is that of homemaker and child manager, the mother should dominate the interaction among family members. As the "expressive specialist" for internal family affairs, the mother is the source of security, nurturance, and acceptance, while the father is the "external specialist" who meets the instrumental demands of the objective world. (Parsons and Bales, 1955, 80) This suggests that the mother should be the center for most of the transactions among family members in the home, and particularly as they regard action relating to food, children's activities, and conversational relations of an expressive type. As the father is the

source of instrumental evaluation, he should manifest a higher rate of control, and punitive action in the application of normative requirements. For this reason, we would expect the children to feel closer to the mother, and for those seeking maternal approval to be high achievers as compared to children less strongly bound to mother. (Weinstein, 1968)

It is generally recognized that the child enters a stage of accelerated speech development at about age three. From 2.5 years to 3.0 years of age, Elkonin documents a doubling of the vocabulary in use, going from a mean of 446 words at age 2.5 to a mean of 896 words at age 3.0, (Elkonin, 1971, 131) Montessori said that this explosion of speech came within a period of about three months, well after the age of two, initiating a new period of speech development after the age of 2.5 years. (Montessori, 1969, 114) If these estimates can be generalized, we would expect an acceleration of vocal and verbal participation in social action in the family starting when the child is three years old, and increasing for several years thereafter. As the child gains autonomy, in the later years of elementary school, he or she spends more time outside the home, as compared to younger siblings, and we would expect the participation rate to decline. If the adult sex role modeling concepts are correct, the participation rates of boys should move toward that of the father, and the participation rate of girls should move toward that of the mother.

Social development manifested in the family interaction pattern can be measured in part by the talk/listen ratio. It is obvious that the very young child who is slowly learning to speak will have a talk/listen ratio well below unity. As he becomes more articulate and more skilled in social interaction in the family, this ratio should approach unity sometime during the later elementary school years, and should exceed unity in early adolescence. The parental set should represent the maximum within the family on this index.

METHOD. College students in marriage and family sociology classes were used as low-profile participant observers in 100 families.

These observers were put through a series of training sessions on observing and recording interpersonal transactions, coding the actors, and supplying explanatory cues to supplement the verbatim record where necessary. They were instructed to respond to approaches from family members only to the minimum required by politeness, and to explain their presence by saying they were doing a school assignment. This explanation was immediately accepted by all family members, including parents. They kept written notes, supplemented in a few cases by tape recordings. Observers were instructed to remain in the family setting, or with the family, if the entire family went out for shopping or refreshment. The mean length of observation was 9.06 hours, and a mean of 467 acts of interpersonal relation were recorded per family, at a rate of about .86 interactions per minute. This underestimates the full interaction rate within the family because the observer could record only one interaction set in those cases where interaction was occurring in more than one portion of the family, and some statements were lost when the observer could not keep up with a rapid exchange. No attempt was made to record the audible portion of telephone conversations, recitations, or the lyrics of songs. What was recorded probably includes 80 to 90 percent of the observable action in the family.

The families selected constitute an analytical sample of those containing preschool or school age children, including not more than five members. There were 254 children in the sample, or a mean of 2.54 children per family. They were families well known and accessible to the student observers, but they were not the students' own families. Many of the observations were made during school vacation while the students were away from the university, and the families were distributed in various towns in Oklahoma and surrounding states. They were all middle class families, classified by the father's occupation, and by the parents' educational attainment at the college level. Other research has shown that middle class families are more articulate than working class families. (Jones and McMillan, 1973) For this reason, the sample is probably not

representative of working class families.

A small group of coders was trained to code each recorded action. These codes were developed after several trials, based on Horney's general trichotomy, incorporating several subcategories developed in Borke's intrafamily observation (1967). Coder teams compared results in practice trials and discussed discrepant classifications until agreement was reached. All coder teams reviewed all disagreements on coding until there was full consensus on the trial coding. Coder agreement on the final coding was 99.7 percent. The total of 58 codes was condensed into nine types of relationship to simplify analysis. The "going toward" category with 20 subcategories was grouped into four interaction types. Cuing includes initiator acts which initiate or support the action of the other. They may react to his action or redirect his action. Engagement sustains contact and involvement directly between dyadic partners and requires complementary or coordinating action from him. This represents the core of communion and shared action in the contact dyad. It calls for equal participation by both partners. Explanation is one-sided or monopolar communication which transmits information. It represents an initial step in developing consensus and common understanding, but it tends toward disequilibrium in the verbal exchange and may lead into a lecture. Expression reveals the feelings and emotions of the speaker. The "going against" category with sixteen subcategories was grouped into four action types. Attack includes a hostile approach which is not designed to control the other's action. Control includes directions, orders, and requests where the initiator prescribes and attempts to force a course of action on the other. Punishment is the application or threat of pain on the other, usually with the appearance of retaliation. Resistance includes the attempt to ignore, evade, or escape control of the other. The "going away" category was not grouped into action types, despite the fact that it includes twelve subcategories, because there was relatively little of this type of action in the sample and the loadings would have been too low for meaningful analysis with

this data base. Since the action system is at least temporarily destroyed by the "going away" tactic, it appears to be a self-limiting type of strategy in a game on which the player is almost inescapably dependent. This action does terminate the immediate action sequence, but the disengagement is usually of short duration.

Age levels 1 and 2 were excluded from this calculation to avoid the distortion due to near-zero participation in verbal interaction in the sending mode.

FINDINGS. There is a strong predominance of positive action in the family interaction profile for all ages above age 1 as indicated in Table 1. The rate for "going toward" is five to eight times greater than the rate for "going against", and the latter rate is two to five times greater than the "going away" rate. A positive pattern of nurturance and social support is evident in these 100 families, and the withdrawal strategy, although employed at all age levels, represents a fairly rare element in the interaction stream. As a relatively long-enduring group, the interaction in the family apparently requires positive and supportive relations which consistently generates a low-order friction in the form of opposition and resistance. The overall rate indicates that the mother generates about twice as much interpersonal action as other members of the family, and that she is the primary source of verbal and social stimulation. A second factor which emerges in the distribution or rates in the childhood years is the very rapid increase in action rates from ages 1 to 4. The greatest relative increase occurs in the transition from 2 to 3 years of age, by a factor greater than 2. The two-year-old child is rather peripheral to the verbal action in the family, but the three-year-old is a full participant in generating conversation and exerting influence on other family members. The four-year-old child is the more talkative and the most involved. The general pattern, taken from the overall rates of Table 1, and graphically illustrated in Figure 1 shows that both sexes have a similar pattern of increase maximizing at age 4, and declining rather sharply, relative to other age levels to the ages of 6 and 7. Thereafter, the boys

indicate a declining trend to age 13 which appears to be approximating the low level of participation of the father. The girls show a much less consistent pattern which reaches a minimum markedly lower than that of other family members at ages 10 and 11, with a rapid rise toward the maternal level after age 11.

The positive forms of action are manifested by all or nearly all family members after age two, at varying rates. Of the four oppositional forms of action, only the resist form appears to be universally or near universally applied. The rate of resistance is generally similar to the rate of cuing and expressing during the childhood years. The punish, attack, and control actions occur at a very low rate, and these three are generally similar in rate of occurrence to the "going away" category. The most frequent of all action types of the explanation category in which some form of information is being transferred from one family member to another. Since this type of action is about equal to the sum of the other three forms of positive interaction, the main burden of interaction within families is symbolic in the sense of sharing information between persons, and that the social juxtapositioning implicit in cuing, expressing, and engaging are complementary and to some degree secondary to the symbolic communication process. The pattern for males is generally similar to that for the females except for the low level of participation of the father. Our results do not agree with those of Mueller, in that we do not find significant differences in the rate of talking comparing boys and girls of ages 3, 4, and 5. (Mueller, 1972).

The two positions least incorporated into family interaction are the father and the one-year-old. Father directs considerably more of his conversation to teen-age children. Mother directs significantly more of her conversation to children aged 2 through 5, and has less to say to father than to the children other than the ten-year-olds.

Among the children, the highest rates of communication occur between children aged 7 and 8, while the ten-year-old children have no high level of communications received from any family member. The

TABLE 1
DIRECTIONS FOR INTRA-FAMILY COMMUNICATION BY SEX AND AGE
(Harmonic mean rates per 1000 vocal acts emitted; Total: 46,728)

Age	Going Toward		Going Against		Going Away		Overall Rate		N	N
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	M	F
Parent	42	346	6	44	2	2	48	417	77	100
13	94	165	17	20	4	3	108	204	9	6
12	65	157	64	22	14	4	85	192	4	3
11	116	58	18	9	9	10	115	67	11	4
10	126	51	15	11	6	4	151	22	6	6
9	86	174	9	20	4	6	115	202	13	12
8	89	110	20	15	4	2	121	127	10	10
7	78	99	9	7	4	9	101	121	13	5
6	132	78	16	17	4	4	174	120	12	11
5	181	154	26	14	3	3	216	189	6	7
4	196	195	28	31	4	6	240	255	16	14
3	142	120	30	24	9	3	203	162	11	23
2	51	58	6	12	6	4	73	82	9	12
1	7	6	4	7	6	5	8	13	10	11

highest rates for dyadic communications received from others were attained by mothers, teen-agers, and preschool children from 2 through 5. The lowest rates were reached by fathers, ten-year-olds and one-year-olds.

DISCUSSION. The centrality and influence of the mother among minor children in the middle-class urban home are clearly in evidence. The part she plays in face to face interaction in the family far outweighs the direct influence of the father, particularly with children of elementary school and preschool age. As Iversen notes, the classification of effects at the individual and group level helps to clarify the variation in the data for the individual. (Iversen, 1973) The young child, initially excluded from the main tempo of interpersonal relations among the family members due to his limitation in verbal skills and vocabulary, reaches a reasonable level of parity in the action by age 3, and shows the maximal output for children of all ages by age 4. The bulk of the interactions are positive and supportive. Other research has shown a positive and significant correlation between supportive relations from parents to sons and supportive relations from sons to parents. (Alexander, 1973) Negative or oppositional types of communications are

primarily in the form of resistance to the approaches and suggestions of other family members, which indicates a moderate conflict between control and submission. Punishment as such is not much in evidence and cooperation is attained, as suggested by Erlanger, by various other means. (Erlanger, 1974) Suggesting new lines of action, cuing, and withdrawal for a short period probably serve to reduce resistance. The general tone of the 100 protocols, each containing 25 to 40 pages of verbal interaction, is one of domestic comfort with a wide degree of action and response. Expression of affection is rather rare, and the bulk of the communication is practical, rational, and matter of fact. The protocols almost universally indicate well established discipline and an orderly routine which is well understood even by very young children. The constant stream of explanation, suggestion, and rationalization seems to commit the child's evaluation processes to his mother's main orientations, and the child's intensive involvement during the preschool years offer little opportunity for developing deviant lines of thought or action. (Jensen, 1972) The conflicts which arose were primarily concerned with changes in the direction of action, possession of toys, games to play, or television programs to watch. The relative plentitude of good alter-

natives tended to moderate the frequency and intensity of conflict among siblings.

The reliability of findings in this study is somewhat reduced by the fact that the data were recorded by 100 different observers. There was no way to insert a second observer into each family during the period of observation and we have had no alternative to acceptance of the protocols at face value. In many cases the mothers read over the observer's record out of curiosity but all gave permission for the material to be used in the study, and none of them applied any censorship. The participating families were assured anonymity in the published results, but the original protocols carried the full names of all family members, family income, and street address. There appeared to be little concern with privacy, under the assumption that the observation was benevolent and directed to a worthwhile academic purpose.

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