EARLY STRESS AND LATER PERSONALITY STRUCTURE

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EARLY STRESS AND LATER PERSONALITY STRUCTURE

By

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To Iriet and Edor, without whose cooperation this thesis could not have been completed. And to Masha for undertaking much of the responsibility of ensuring this cooperation.

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ABSTRACT

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This study was undertaken in order to explore possible personality differences flowing from early childhood experiences. One group, consisting of forty subjects, comprised Jewish children born in Europe during the years 1938–1941 and who had consequently lived their early years under conditions of considerable environmental stress. Stress was defined in terms of gross pressures such as threat to the security of the family from outside sources, many changes of family location, shortages of food, and, in general, a state of a highly unstable relationship between family and environment. The forty subjects in the second group were born in Israel during the years 1938–1940 to Jewish parents and had lived, in childhood, under "normal" conditions.

The two groups are well equated on intelligence and age, and all subjects had undergone at least six months of basic training in the Israeli Defence Force, from among whose files the subjects have been selected.

The comparison of the two groups was based on their responses to a series of forty-two incomplete sentences. Two systems of analysis were used.

The first analysis of responses to each of the forty-two sentence stems was based on a dichotomy set up for each sentence, based on the content of all the responses to that stem. At the 5 per cent level of probability nine sentences showed significant differences between the two groups.

It was considered that some evidence, if tentative, existed for a statement that more of the early stress group have feelings of insecurity in their present social relationships than do members of the nonearly stress group. More of them, although tending to see threat as originating within themselves, are also inclined to blame others for their plight than are members of the nonearly stress group.

The second method of analysis used was an examination of nine categories each including clusters of several sentences. This was done in an attempt to arrive at a more global evaluation of the data.3 Significant differences, at the 5 per cent level or better, were found between the two groups by one judge. A second judge found no categories that discriminated between the groups at this level of significance.

Thus, although there is again a suggestion that more members of the early stress group tend to feel a lack of social "comfortableness" and to be extrapunitive as compared to the nonearly stress group, there is little of a conclusive nature in the results.

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I. INTRODUCTION

A. The Effect of Early Stress on Later Personality Development: Some Theoretical Viewpoints

Fenichel (1945), writing within the Freudian framework, describes the developmental process as a gradual adaptation of the organism to inner and outer stresses. Although a continuous affair, any excessive stress or conflict at a particular stage of ontogenetic development results in the semi "sealing-off" of this stage by the erection of walls of defense. In the event of later stress with which the organism feels unable to cope, there will occur a regression to these earlier stages with their more adequate defensive structures.

Broadly within the Freudian philosophy, but no longer representative of it, Horney (1946), Fromm (1949), and Sullivan (1953) discard the immutability of early ontogenesis while retaining a general causative relationship between early experience and later behavior. Early experiences may have a distorting but not necessarily a decisive influence on adult behavior, and an important aspect of this behavior is an interaction between the individual and his present environment.

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Adler (1939) places high emphasis on the effect of early experiences on later personality structure. The style of life peculiar to the individual is a function of both past experiences and inherited characteristics, and those events occurring early are the more decisive. Jung (1939) places less emphasis on the past. In his view, man is both attracted by future expectations as well as formed by past experiences, and these together determine present personality structure.

Learning theorists, when they have turned their attention to the human developmental process, place high importance on the early influences affecting later personality. Miller (1951), for example, lays particular stress on the past ordering of events and their effect on present behavior. Childhood training and early experiences are critical determinants of adult behavior via the principles of reward, punishment, and generalization. There is an essential continuity (vide Freud) of past and present.

To Lewin (1936) it is only the presently acting force that can motivate change or propel the organism directionally. Behavior is to be understood within a noncontinuous framework. Ongoing activity may be influenced by past traces, but these are then presently operative. Psychological forces are contemporaneously functional.

Rogers (1958) and Allport (1955) are, in this limited respect, in close agreement with the Lewinian view.

Allport, via the principle of functional autonomy, argues that present action may be divorced from motivation originally prompting the behavior. Reference to past motivation as an explanation of present behavior may supply only irrelevant answers.

To Rogers a reference to the past says nothing of the organism's perception of his immediate phenomenal world. Answers, in terms of an understanding of the person, would, for him, have to be translated in terms of their meaningfulness to the experiencing organism.

It is not the purpose, here, to make any exhaustive examination of all theoretical stands on this issue. It is intended only to make the point that there exist wide discrepancies among personality theorists as to the importance or nonimportance of early environmental influences on later personality structure.

B. The Effect of Early Stress on Later Personality Development: Some Empirical Investigations

Bowlby (1953) summarized much research in this area. He equates maternal deprivation—rejection of the infant by the mother, or absence of the mother from the infant—with emotional deprivation, and regards such stress as a critical force in personality

development. Bowlby measures the results of deprivation against the yardstick of the adequacy of social relationships.

Goldfarb (1945), Spitz (1945, 1946, 1955, 1957), and Bowlby, although achieving no perfect congruence of research findings, have on the whole highlighted the affectionless character as a product of the deprived experience. Descriptively summarized, this is a person who is unable to make deep relationships, who has little real feeling for others, inaccessible to emotional contact because of an apparent emotional vacuum, and who is deceitful and evasive.

Freud and Burlingham (1944, 1944), writing of children separated from their parents because of the exigencies of war and placed in institutions, stress the faulty development of moral values in these children. Only "if these relationships [with adult supervisors] are deep and lasting [will] the residential child take the usual course of development, form a normal super-ego and become an independent moral and social being" (p. 126).

The emphasis in all of these studies lies heavily on a definition of stress as deprivation by parental action or lack of action. The context created by the data of this study, however, is such that we are concerned with broader environmental stress.

Drawing their data from the animal level, Ader (1950) and Lindzey, Likken, and Winston (1960) are able to rigorously define

deprivation, but extension of their conclusions to human subjects remains difficult.

Thompson (1960), in a review of the literature on experimental studies of environmental deprivation, states that there "is a remarkable degree of agreement as to the validity of the general proposition that the early part of development is crucial in shaping later behavior. It is also true, however, that the secondary implied proposition that later experience is much less important is not yet conclusively proved. Although some of the evidence is positive, some is strongly negative" (p. 311).

Thompson draws no distinction, however, between parental and a general social definition of deprivation, and so it is difficult to know precisely what elements are covered by his "general proposition."

With the recent publication of the Stirling County Study, an attempt has been made to relate specifics of the sociocultural process to personality structure. In Volume One, Leighton (1959) states that one of the variables to be investigated in the study (among, of course, many others) are the effects of differential childhood experiences on later personality structure. He

writes that "such occurrences [defective experiences] in early childhood may be, and perhaps usually are, the initial steps in progressive, cumulative development of psychiatric disorder which does not appear as overt symptoms until the adult years" (p. 166).

In Volume Two, societies in various stages of disorganization and disintegration are intensively studied and the effect on personality development reported upon. The range of behavior among individuals stemming from stable and unstable communities, however, shows much overlapping, and Hughes, Tremblay, Rapoport, and Leighton (1960) can only state tendencies with few definitive conclusions.

C. Purpose and Rationale of the Study

The purpose of the study is in the nature of an exploratory investigation of the gross personality differences between two groups. One group lived under stressful conditions during the first years of life. The other group lived under conditions of relative stability. Both stem from the same ethnic origins. Personality differences are evaluated in terms of responses to a series of incomplete sentences.

Since the purpose of the study is an exploratory investigation, no hypotheses are stated, and there is no attempt to justify, negate, or even to supplement any specific theoretical approach.

II. SUBJECTS AND PROCEDURE

A. Selection of Subjects

The Officer Selection Centre of the Israeli Defence Forces tests and recommends on all applicants for officership. As part of the selection procedure, applicants must routinely complete a series of incomplete sentences, a personal autobiography, and a questionnaire eliciting specific details of their individual history.

In this study only the first source and fragments of the second source were utilized. All the material, in the original form, was made available by the Officer Selection Centre.

All Israeli youth (unless excused for very specific reasons) are drafted to the army in their eighteenth year. After serving in the army for at least six months they may apply and/or be recommended for officership.

Files were removed of all applicants born in Europe during the years 1938–1941, and from these, forty were randomly selected. All files of those born in Israel during these years were also removed, and again, forty files were randomly selected. All subjects were tested during the period March to September, 1958.

B. Background Factors

The following description of the background of the two groups is derived from excerpts culled from the autobiographies of individuals in each group. While some effort has been made to select sections representative of each group, no statistical treatments have been applied. It is felt that a montage will provide a more meaningful description than a tabular analysis.

(a) Israeli-born (nonearly stress) group.

File No. 4.

> I was born in the year 1940 in the village of Beer-Yaacov. At that time the English were in the land and I lived with my group near the camp of the soldiers for 8 years. At that time I went through the Kindergarten and after that spent 3 years at preparatory school. In my childhood I had all the children's diseases and I never had any serious illnesses, so that I dispensed with these while still in my youth. I was a member of the group of children in the village and this group had that maturity suitable to each member of it and appropriate to his age. We were like one family. When there fell on us the War of Liberation (in 1948), we were advised to leave the village and to move to Rishon le Zion. . . .

File No. 58.

> I was born during the last days of the Second World War, on Mount Carmel, in Haifa. My early childhood passed without special incidents, and my time was divided between my parents' home, my friends, kindergarten and the woods and fields of Mount Carmel. Between these four factors that went into the development of my self-concept during my childhood days the home of my parents occupied the most honoured place. I was an only child and therefore received a large share of love

without being spoiled. I was six years old when I first went
to school. This was the Riali School in Haifa. This educa-
tional fact influenced me greatly, because the tendency at this
school was toward a strict regime. Although the order and the
discipline pained me not a little, it also developed in me a
sense of order and discipline, that remained permanently with
me to this day. At the age of ten I entered the Scout Move-
ment. . . .

File No. 39.

I was born 20 years ago on the 3.3.39 on the Kibbutz Afikim
which is in the Jordan Valley. My parents were among the
veterans of the place and I was the eldest (first born) son of
the family. During these two decades nothing has occurred
which is at all likely to have injured the foundations that were
laid. My childhood (to the extent that I remember it) was sat-
isfying. I laughed and cried like every child of my age and
certainly, very often, was wild and made my parents and
"house mothers" (mitaplot) angry. I began to like sport at a
very young age and started to participate in it. Because there
are many springs and water reservoirs in the Jordan Valley I
commenced to swim at 4 years of age. At 6 years I competed
with my kindergarten teacher and came out of the competition
with honour. In the lower grades I learned with much enthusi-
asm and even prepared my lessons willingly. In the course of
time I discovered a preference for the humanities which I es-
pecially liked. . . .

(b)   European-born (early stress) group.

File No. 20.

I was born in Lwow in Poland on the 15.12.39. My father was
an officer in the Polish Army and was killed in the Second
World War and my mother also was killed in that war. At a
young age I was passed to the keeping of a Christian family
without children in the town of Lublin. In this family I passed
the time of the Second World War. I was registered as a
child of this Christian family and therefore remained alive
when the Germans conquered Poland. At the age of 6 years
I was taken by a representative of Youth Aliya (Zionist youth

organization) and was moved, together with a large number of other Jewish children, to a children's camp in Dornstadt in Germany. The journey to the camp was secret and was done mostly in the night, in cars and by train. . . .

File No. 51.

I was born in Poland in 1939. At the outbreak of war we went to Russia because of the terrible conditions in Poland. Our family consisted then of six souls. There were four children— three males and a sister. After the war we returned to Poland and because father was not able to support us we were placed in an institution. After a year in the institution in Poland we moved, together with the others in the institution, to Germany. In Germany we were transferred to a larger institution and after a year and a half, there remained half the institution (the rest had gone on to Israel). They moved us to France and there we were placed in a religious institution and from there we started to go to Israel one by one. First my sister—the eldest—in 1948. After a year my eldest brother (in 1949) and after that I, the youngest (in 1950), and after me another brother who was older than me. When I arrived in Israel I found my parents already there (they came from Poland in 1949) and so they removed me from the institution and took me home. I live in Machane Israel. . . .

File No. 68.

The story of my life starts from 2.2.39, the day I was born. When I came into the air of the world my parents were very happy (according to them) because I was the first-born son. About my first days, of course, I cannot tell from memory but must rely on what was told me after I grew up. Therefore will tell about them shortly. When I was six months old the Second World War broke out and my parents decided to flee to Russia. On the way, at one of the stations my father got off the train to buy milk for me. He was informed that the train would be held up at that station for many hours and he therefore went to the town to look for milk. The information about the delay of the train had been wrong and minutes after my father had left the station the train continued on its way. So began the separation of my father and my mother, a separation that continued for a year. During this year my mother

despaired, because she remained without money, as my father
had kept all the money. She had to sell all the property we
had taken with us that we should not starve. On the other
hand, my father, in his rush after us, spent all the money and
so the family was left with nothing at all. For six years the
family remained in Russia and during these six years I grew
up without the supervision of parents, as both of them had to
work: my father in the irrigation of trees and my mother in
the potatoe fields. With the end of the war they allowed us
to return to Poland—those who wanted to. My age at this
time was six and a half and the age of my brother (born in
Russia) was four and a half. . . .

It is apparent that degree and scope of stress varied widely
between individuals in the European-born group.

C. Comparison of the Two Groups

Table 1 summarizes the information as to country of origin
and year of birth of subjects. Members of the European-born
group—now designated group 1—stem from most of the countries of
Europe, with a high proportion from central Europe. Table 2 indi-
cates that the parents of the Israeli-born group—now designated
group 2—come, in differing proportions, from essentially the same
range of countries.

Table 3 indicates that, with regard to the variables of intel-
ligence and age, the two groups are well matched. Estimates of
intelligence—in stannine ratings—were based mainly on scores
achieved on a series of progressive matrices. There is evidence

TABLE 1

PLACE AND YEAR OF BIRTH OF THE TWO GROUPS
(N = 80)

Place of Birth	Year of Birth				Totals
	1938	1939	1940	1941	
		Group 1			
Bulgaria		4	2		6
France	1				1
Poland	1	7	3		11
Rumania	6	3	6	1	16
Russia	1		3	1	5
Yugoslavia		1			1
		Group 2			
Israel	2	15	23		40
Totals	11	30	37	2	80

TABLE 2

PLACE OF BIRTH OF PARENTS OF GROUP 2
(N = 40)

Place of Birth	Mother	Father	Totals
Canada	1		1
Czechoslovakia		1	1
Germany	4	5	9
Hungary		1	1
Iraq	1	1	2
Israel	8	6	14
Poland	18	14	32
Rumania	2	3	5
Russia	2	3	5
Syria	1	1	2
Yemen	3	4	7
Unknown		1	1
Totals	40	40	80

TABLE 3

INTELLIGENCE AND AGE OF THE TWO GROUPS
(N = 80)

Group	N	Stannine (intelligence)		Age (years)	
		M.	S.D.	M.	S.D.
1. European	40	6.3	1.02	19.77	.86
2. Israeli	40	6.6	1.14	19.47	.59

that results of intelligence testing on such matrices are relatively free of bias from cultural and language variables (Raven, 1951; Burke, 1958). Further, that estimates of intelligence based on such matrices are sufficiently reliable and valid for our purposes of equating the two groups, is attested by Sperazzo and Wilkins (1958).

The subjects in the Israeli-born group are slightly younger with somewhat less variability of age and have a slightly greater facility of abstract reasoning. Since instructions were given in Hebrew, this fact alone could account for their slight superiority in this area. There are no statistically significant differences between the groups with respect to either variable.

Both groups have passed through basic training, and all subjects have applied or have been recommended for officership. Both groups are above the Israeli Army average in intelligence, and are physically healthy. Similarities of age makes it reasonable to assume that all the individuals have spent a similar amount of time in the army.

D. The Incomplete Sentence Method as a Measure of Personality Differences

No newcomer to the psychologists' armentarium of clinical techniques, the sentence-completion test is perhaps best described as a semiprojective test. Rotter (1951), in giving a brief historical survey of the method, is able to amass an imposing amount of research utilizing the technique. He summarizes:

> It seems well adapted to an analysis of problem areas and useful for giving the clinician a set or orientation toward a subject so that he may structure his first interview in advance. A reasonable degree of objectivity in scoring has been obtained and it has served in some instances as an adequate screening device. One investigator feels that the test is most useful for determining unconscious trends. For the most part, however, its value for diagnostic purposes or for analysis of basic personality structure is less emphasized than its usefulness in providing information regarding the content of the subject's thought and feelings [p. 309].

Sacks and Levy (1950), in giving a rather comprehensive review of the literature regarding this technique, stress the flexibility

of functions to which it may be put. They feel that it is, however, perhaps better used as a descriptive than a diagnostic tool. That is, its value in providing descriptive accounts of personality tendencies is more in evidence than its value in evaluating personality diagnostically or even dynamically.

As with many projective techniques, it is difficult to make a definitive statement as to its test reliability or validity. These seem to vary with the nature of the study, the background and experience of the user, and, to some extent, with the construction of the particular test used.

The test has been used in this study essentially as a descriptive tool. No attempt has been made to enter into diagnostic complexities or to evaluate personality dynamics on the basis of individual responses. Analysis has rested heavily on the specific content—that is, manifest content—of the responses. Agreement between judges is to some extent a measure of the reliability of these content categories.

The cluster analysis used in the second part of the study follows the procedure recommended by Sacks and Levy (1950). As to detailed organization, however, the method is based on that used by Rabin (1957), using the Rorschach test, in attempting to achieve some sort of global evaluation of his data.

E.   Administration of the Incomplete Sentences

Incomplete sentences are administered to all candidates at the time of first reporting to the Officer Selection Centre. The series is given to batches of approximately twenty-five persons by a tester who reads aloud the sentence stems at a fixed rate. The stems also appear on printed booklets where they are completed in writing.

Responses were translated by the investigator from the original sentence completions in Hebrew to English. The present research, then, is based on the English translations, and it is these from which the judges worked. A list of the forty-two sentence stems is given in Appendix A.

F.   Method of Analysis and Scorer Reliability

1. Individual sentence analysis

Responses of each subject to a particular sentence stem were gathered together. The responses of the two groups were kept separate. Thus, the responses of the forty members of, say, group 1 to sentence stem number three were all typed together on one page, while the forty responses of group two to this same stem

were kept together on another separate page. An example of such a page is provided in Appendix B.

Each sheet contained the group number, sentence number and stem, subject number, and response.

On the basis of an inspection of the content of all the responses to a stem, a dichotomy was set up. This was done separately for each stem. Thus every response to the stem, "When they blame me . . . ," was placed in a dichotomy either under the self-accepting class or the self-rejecting class. The investigator acted as one of two judges; the other judge was an advanced graduate student in psychology. On separate sheets of paper each judge independently then assigned completed responses to one of the two classes of the dichotomies in a forced-choice manner. There were no intermediate categories. Where an individual made no response it was ignored. This was designed to avoid possible ambiguities whereby a "no response" could possibly, at different times, be placed in an inconsistent manner. A chi-square was calculated for each of the forty-two dichotomies so set up, to test for differences between the two groups. All computations were based on a formula incorporating a correction for continuity as recommended by Siegel (1956).

A percentage agreement of the agreed-on ratings to the

total ratings made by each of the two judges was calculated for

each sentence. Percentage agreements ranged from 62 per cent

to 91 per cent. Percentage agreement of the same to the total

ratings over all forty-two sentences was 83 per cent. In every

case where a significant difference at the 5 per cent level was

found by the present investigator, the second judge found that sen-

tence to be similarly significant. The second judge found more

significant differences between the two groups than the present

investigator at the 10 per cent level. Because of the close agree-

ment between judges, only those chi-squares based on the ratings

of this investigator are included in this thesis.

To the knowledge of this investigator, there is no satisfactory

solution to the problem of determining the number of results required

for significance when those results are from the same subjects.

Jones and Fiske (1953), in an exhaustive review of this problem,

feel that—at the moment at least—where data of combined results

are correlated, there is no satisfactory way to test the significance

of those results.

2. Analysis by clusters

In this part of the study nine categories, suggested by the

nature of the sentence stems and considered of broad theoretical

relevance or, perhaps better, relevance in the field of personality, were set up. Sentences appropriate to each category were selected by this investigator. In both the choosing of the categories and the selection of the sentences placed in each category, the investigator worked in close consultation with Dr. Rabin. The sentence stems placed in each of the nine categories are given in Appendix C.

Responses of each subject to all the sentence stems placed within each category were typed on one side of 3- by 5-inch cards. On the other side of the card appeared the category number, group number, and the number of the subject giving those particular responses. An example of the cards is given in Appendix D.

On the basis of an examination of each category, a dichotomy was set up by this investigator. This was done separately for each category. Again, a forced-choice technique was used, and all cards had to be sorted into one of the two divisions. Judges could ask questions with reference to the categories before sorting, but after the cards of each category had been presented to him, no further questions were permitted. The investigator did not act as a judge.

Judges sorted the cards of one category at a time, and so cards were presented in batches of eighty (responses to stems within that category made by all the subjects of both experimental groups) and were thoroughly shuffled by the investigator before

presentation. Cards were handed to the judges with the sentence-response side up, and the judges were instructed not to turn them over. Sentence stems were typed on similar cards and these the judges could keep beside them for reference.

Two advanced graduate students in psychology acted as judges. Sortings were on different days with one judge not present when the other sorted. Chi-squares were calculated on the ratings of both judges independently.

Percentage agreements between judges were calculated as before, but here on each category. They are given in Table 4.

TABLE 4

INTERJUDGE AGREEMENT ON ANALYSIS BY CLUSTERS

Category	Percentage of Judge Agreement[a]
1	80
2	73
3	86
4	87
5	83
6	76
7	85
8	73
9	80

[a]Percentage agreement of judges over all sentences was 82 per cent.

III. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

A. Individual Sentence Analysis

1. Results

Table 5 summarizes the results of the analysis of the forty-two individual sentences.

TABLE 5

RESULTS OF INDIVIDUAL SENTENCE ANALYSIS[a]

Sentence No.	Dichotomy	Group 1	Group 2	χ^2	p.[b]
1.	Success oriented	24	23		
	Avoidance	16	17		n.s.
2.	Copes with the threat	20	17		
	Unable to cope	19	23		n.s.
3.	Depressed feelings	31	30		
	Positive actions	5	8		n.s.
4.	Positive acceptance and end successful	16	17		
	Negative acceptance and end doubtful	16	15		n.s.

[a]Group 1 = European-born; Group 2 = Israeli-born.

[b]A two-tailed test of significance was used.

TABLE 5 (Continued)

Sen- tence No.	Dichotomy	Group		χ^2	p.
		1	2		
5.	Self-accepting	34	29		
	Self-rejecting	5	11		n.s.
6.	Self-accepting	34	33		
	Self-rejecting	3	4		n.s.
7.	Lies in the past	30	29		
	Has not yet happened	7	9		n.s.
8.	Copes with threat	21	19		
	Escapes from threat or				
	evasive response	17	21		n.s.
9.	Intrapunitive	3	10		
	Extrapunitive	37	26	4.09	.05
10.	Self-accepting	18	20		
	Self-rejecting	19	18		n.s.
11.	Controlled	17	10		
	Gives vent	21	28		n.s.
12.	Active action	15	20		
	Passive reaction	25	18		n.s.
13.	People act against him	13	11		
	Other responses	25	26		n.s.
14.	Attempts to overcome	7	1		
	Submits and other responses .	27	34	3.47	.10
15.	Handles the threat	10	9		
	Fearful, evasive, or				
	neutral	27	29		n.s.

TABLE 5 (Continued)

Sentence No.	Dichotomy	Group 1	Group 2	χ^2	p.
16.	Feels others are against him	16	8		
	Other responses	22	32	4.47	.05
17.	Undertakes positive action	5	16		
	Negative action or does nothing	33	22	6.58	.02
18.	Internal and subjective reasons	33	25		
	Objective or situational conditions	3	9	2.72	.10
19.	Ambivalent	16	5		
	Accepting, nonambivalent	24	35	6.46	.02
20.	Blames himself	3	3		
	Blames conditions	35	36		n.s.
21.	Faces up to threat	24	18		
	Does not face up, or evasive response	15	21		n.s.
22.	Causes lie within himself	9	16		
	Other or thing referrent causes	28	22		n.s.
23.	If I die or am injured	8	0		
	Other responses	29	39	5.72	.02
24.	Accomplish or succeed	13	11		
	Other responses	25	29		n.s.
25.	Self-referrent	24	23		
	Other or thing referrent	14	17		n.s.

TABLE 5 (Continued)

Sentence No.	Dichotomy	Group 1	Group 2	χ^2	p.
26.	Realistic or coping responses	8	15		
	Avoidant, evasive, neutral, unrealistic, or submissive .	32	25		n.s.
27.	Negative (avoidant, tense) ...	28	24		
	Positive (approach, relaxational)	11	15		n.s.
28.	Refers to people or himself ..	17	13		
	Refers to conditions or a situation	16	23		n.s.
29.	Are friendly, appreciative ...	28	18		
	Are unfriendly, tiresome	11	21	4.27	.05
30.	Feels is a positive quality ..	34	27		
	Feels is a negative quality ..	6	12		n.s.
31.	Positive, foresees success ..	21	21		
	Negative, foresees failure ...	16	14		n.s.
32.	Feels depressed, deserted ...	19	26		
	Feels uncomfortable but copes	21	14		n.s.
33.	Self-referrent, own actions and feelings	26	14		
	Other referrent and situational	11	24	7.05	.01
34.	Feels accepted and secure ..	18	38		
	Doubtful of acceptance and insecure	22	2	21.49	.001

TABLE 5 (Continued)

Sen-tence No.	Dichotomy	Group 1	Group 2	χ^2	p.
35.	Self-referrent, blames him- self	31	36		
	Other-referrent, or situation .	7	2		n.s.
36.	Sees as promising	29	25		
	Sees as threatening	6	14		n.s.
37.	Feels accepted and relaxed ..	26	34		
	Unsure of acceptance, tense	14	5	4.16	.05
38.	Subjective things, inside himself	18	18		
	Objective, outside of him- self	22	20		n.s.
39.	Require affective qualities ...	23	23		
	Require nonaffectuve or objective qualities	17	17		n.s.
40.	Realistic handling of threat	17	20		
	Unrealistic or avoids threat	22	19		n.s.
41.	Self-acceptant	22	28		
	Self-rejectant or descrip- tive	17	12		n.s.
42.	Fear of death, failure, and the dark	13	8		
	Other responses	25	31		n.s.

In order to further clarify the meaning of each dichotomy, an example of the responses made within each one is provided in Appendix E.

2. Discussion

Figure 1 is a graphic representation of the two groups compared only on sentences significantly different on at least a 5 per cent level. Both dimensions of each dichotomized sentence are included so as to make for a more accurate comparison.

The early stress group contains more members who feel prevented from the attainment of desires because of others (sentence 9) than do the nonearly stress group. While a majority of both groups blame the outside world for such nonattainment, only three members of the non-Israeli–born group (as against ten of the Israeli-born group) are intrapunitive.

A significantly larger number of the early stress group feel people are against them, but here again there is a lack of any absolute majority (sentence 16). There would appear to be some reluctance, in both groups, to critically examine the self.

A majority of those who had endured early stress are doubtful of their acceptance by the group and feel insecure in the group (sentence 34). Only two of the forty responses given by the nonearly

Figure 1. Responses of subjects to nine sentence stems where group differences were statistically significant. (Scale: One square horizontally represents one subject. Upper bars represent group 1 responses; lower bars, group 2.)
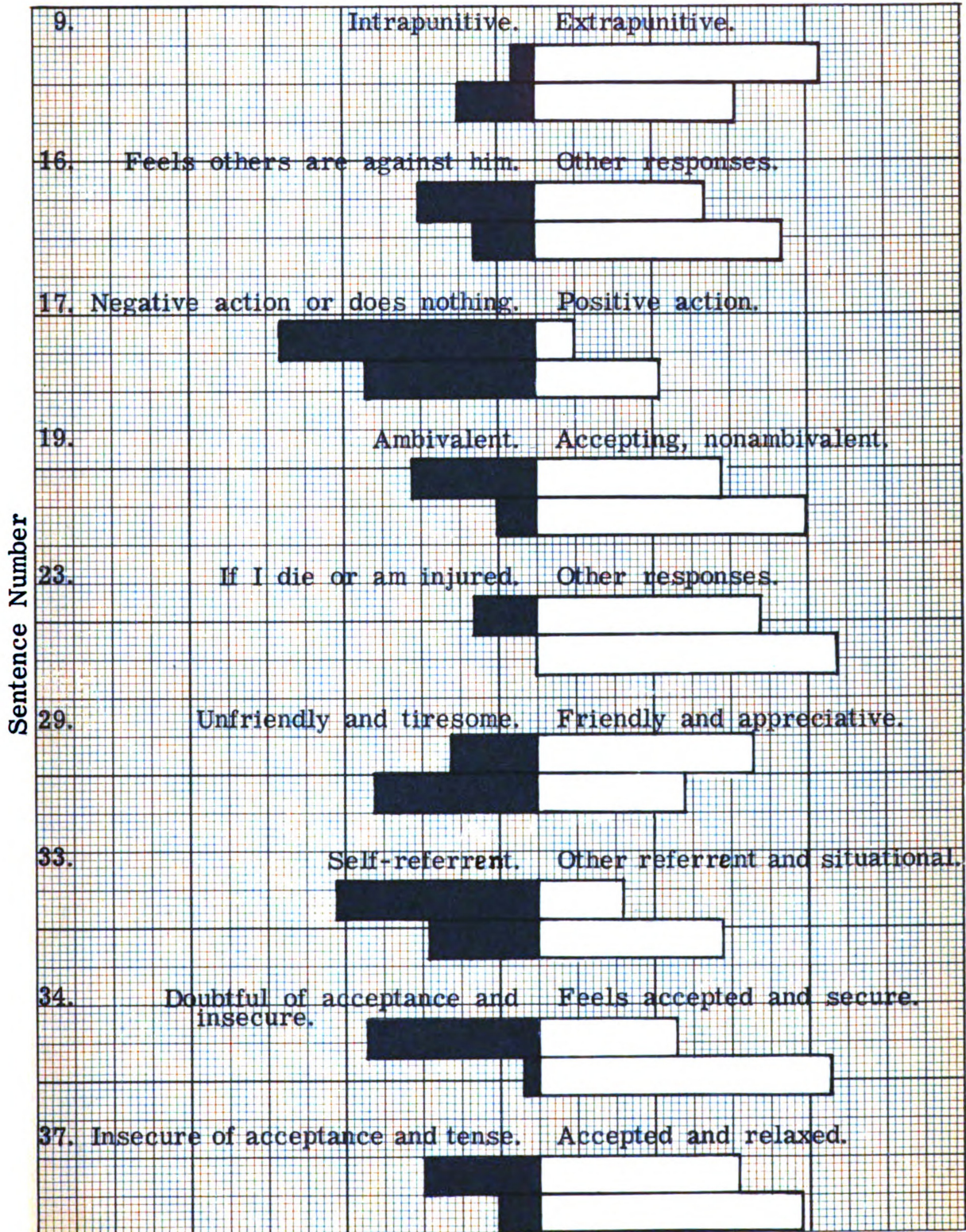
stress group show a comparable level of social insecurity. Sen-tence 37 provides results in the same direction.

Any attempt to explain these results, however, must take cog-nizance of a possible confounding of variables. Those in the early stress group are also relative newcomers to the country, and so may feel more socially insecure for this reason only. In an attempt to explore further this line of reasoning, an analysis was made of age on arrival and years in Israel of the early stress group. The results of the analysis are shown in Table 6. It must be remem-bered, in examining this table, that at least 50 per cent of the pop-ulation in Israel at the time of gathering the present data had ar-rived in the country after 1948 (the year of the founding of the state). Thus a mean of ten years spent in Israel would argue against a social "marginality" as would a mean age of 9.7 years on arrival. Both age on arrival and length of time in the country would seem to suggest that satisfactory social adjustments to the new group could have been established.

On this basis, then, it is suggested that the tendency for greater numbers of the early stress group to feel a lack of security in their social relationships may be dynamically related to a view of others as hostile toward them. These attitudes may, in turn, be closer related to early childhood experiences than to the fact of

TABLE 6

AGE ON ARRIVAL AND LENGTH OF TIME IN ISRAEL
OF GROUP 1

N	Mean Age on Arrival (years)	S.D. (years)	Time Spent in Israel (years)	S.D. (years)
40	9.7	1.48	10	1.38

newness in their present homeland. The data do not allow, within the context of the present analysis, confirmation of these suggestions, and they must, therefore, remain speculative.

It is particularly interesting, within this framework, to note that sentence 29 (I feel that people . . .) stands out as apparently inconsistent. A majority of the early stress group feel that people are friendly and appreciative, while most of the Israeli-born group consider people tiresome. It may be that the former cannot easily afford themselves the luxury of seeing others as potentially hostile toward them. There is support for an explanation along these lines in that more of the early stress group are threatened by the desertion of friends (sentence 17) and more of them are fearful of their own actions and emotions (sentence 33) than are members of the nonearly stress group. They apparently tend to see the threat as

originating within themselves and at the same time to be peculiarly sensitive to disturbances and disruptions in their relationships with others in their immediate surroundings.

That the nature of the internal threat is related to hostility finds some support in the results of sentences 19 and 23. More of the early stress group are ambivalent toward home (sentence 19) and are concerned with the idea of death and personal injury (sentence 23) than are Israeli-born. There would be little disagreement among psychologists that a concern with these concepts is related to feelings of hostility. Not one of the nonearly stress group gives as response to sentence 23 a reference to death or injury, while eight of the early stress group give such responses.

That all interpretations must remain highly speculative, however, is heavily emphasized by the fact that of forty-two sentences analyzed, only nine show significant differences between the groups at the 5 per cent level of confidence, or better.

As stated previously, the selection of the two groups was of such a nature as to equate them on a variety of dimensions. It may be that in selecting members of the early stress group from officer candidates there has occurred a "weeding-out" of those most adversely affected by their experiences. Thus the study may be

artificially weighted against the finding of significant differences between the two groups.

Artificialities of selection notwithstanding, however, the paucity of significant differences demands some comment.

It will be recalled from the discussion in Chapter I that the emphasis in past investigations has been heavy in considering the nature of parental deprivation. Definitions of stress in early years included the process of the subtraction of affection (sometimes via direct absence of the parents) by significant figures in the immediate environment, from the child. There is nothing in our data which enables us to say that in all or in many cases there occurred among the early stress group such a subtraction of affection. It may be that where the nuclear family is kept intact or where parental affection remains an operative force in the life of the child, the effects of gross environmental pressures may have no lasting influence on personality development. The present study, however, can neither support nor reject such a suggestion, as it is unable to specify the precise nature of parental interaction with all subjects in their early years.

B. Analysis by Clusters

1. Results

In order to examine the data in a more global manner, the sentences were grouped under nine categories as previously described. The results are shown in Table 7.

Category 5, perhaps, requires some clarification. By social "comfort" is meant the feelings the individual associates with and in his social contacts; that is, the extent to which he feels comfortable in his interpersonal relationships. Discomfort, in this category, was scored as negative.

Categories 3 (need achievement), 5 (interpersonal attitudes and social "comfort"), and 9 (handling of blame and frustration) are felt by one judge to be areas in which there are significant differences between the two groups. The fact that these same areas are scored in a consistently like manner by the other judge, although in this instance they do not achieve significant levels of difference, and the fact of high interjudge scoring agreement, might indicate some real divergencies between the two groups in these areas. There would seem to be agreement among the judges that there is little difference between the groups when they are compared on the other dimensions.

TABLE 7

ANALYSIS OF SENTENCES BY CLUSTERS[a]

Category	Dichotomy	Judge 1 Group		p.[b]	Judge 2 Group		p.[b]
		1	2		1	2	
1. Reaction to threat:	Able to cope ...	20	20		15	19	
	Unable to cope ...	20	20	n.s.	25	21	n.s.
2. Feeling toward past and home:	Positive ..	14	18		15	18	
	Ambivalent ..	26	22	n.s.	25	22	n.s.
3. Need achievement:	High	18	12		26	10	
	Low	22	28	n.s.	14	30	.001
4. Expectancy— view of the future:	Sees as promising	17	14		15	15	
	Sees as threatening ..	23	26	n.s.	25	25	n.s.

[a]Group 1 = European-born; Group 2 = Israeli-born.

[b]A two-tailed test of significance was used.

TABLE 7 (Continued)

| Category | Dichotomy | Judge 1 | | | Judge 2 | | |
| | | Group | | p. | Group | | p. |
		1	2		1	2	
5. Interpersonal attitudes and social "comfort":	Positive ..	22	31		21	31	
	Negative ..	18	9	.10	19	9	.05
6. Self-concept; view of the self:	Accepting .	17	14		14	19	
	Rejecting ..	23	26	n.s.	26	21	n.s.
7. Personal anxiety:	Low anxiety	24	23		22	19	
	High anxiety	16	17	n.s.	18	21	n.s.
8. Sources of fear:	Specific fears ..	16	19		17	17	
	Generalized fears ..	24	21	n.s.	23	23	n.s.
9. Handling of blame and frustration:	Intrapunitive ...	13	21		15	27	
	Extrapunitive ...	27	19	n.s.	25	13	.02

2. Discussion

Faced again with a paucity of conclusive results, we shall attempt the interpretation of tendencies.

The tentative suggestion, made previously, as to the greater prevalence of feelings of hostility among members of the early stress group would seem to gain some support from this cluster analysis. This group has a greater need to achieve (and therefore, probably to compete), but as a group are also less willing to blame themselves and to accept a personal responsibility in the handling of frustration. It would appear that they are more driven to compete than the Israeli-born group but are less willing to accept a personal blame in the event of failure. Again, as in the sentence analysis, the early stress group apparently feels less comfortable in social situations and are thus less able to rely on close interpersonal contacts. There is some implication, here, of a need to maintain distance which in turn may have a reference to the nature of their trust in their fellow men.

This having been said, it must be noted that the nature of the evidence is suggestive only in the broadest sense. What has been noted above is noted with caution, a caution made mandatory by the inconclusive nature of the results of this analysis. It becomes obvious that, on the basis of this investigation at least, it

is impossible to create out of the results any type of individual amalgam—any type, as it were, of an early stress personality structure. There is much overlapping, on all dimensions, between the two groups. Many subjects of both groups behave in like manner.

Categories where one could be reasonably confident of securing significant differences are significantly without any differences. Of nine categories, one judge found three, and the other, no significant differences between the two groups.

Statements made earlier in this thesis as to the possible importance of the inclusion of an affectionate quality from parental figures in any definition of early stress are also applicable here. Where this quality is not provenly lacking among subjects it may well be that the potential of the organism for recovery from early stress is greater than is thought by many personality theorists.

IV. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

This study was undertaken in order to explore possible per-
sonality differences flowing from early childhood experiences. One
group, consisting of forty subjects, comprised Jewish children born
in Europe during the years 1938–1941 and who had consequently
lived their early years under conditions of considerable environ-
mental stress. Stress was defined in terms of gross pressures
such as threat to the security of the family from outside sources,
many changes of family location, shortages of food, and, in general,
a state of a highly unstable relationship between family and environ-
ment. The forty subjects in the second group were born in Israel
during the years 1938–1940 to Jewish parents and had lived, in
childhood, under "normal" conditions.

The two groups are well equated on intelligence and age, and
all subjects had undergone at least six months of basic training in
the Israeli Defence Force, from among whose files the subjects have
been selected.

The comparison of the two groups was based on their re-
sponses to a series of forty-two incomplete sentences. Two sys-
tems of analysis were used.

The first analysis of responses to each of the forty-two sentence stems was based on a dichotomy set up for each sentence, based on the content of all the responses to that stem. At the 5 per cent level of probability nine sentences showed significant differences between the two groups.

It was considered that some evidence, if tentative, existed for a statement that more of the early stress group have feelings of insecurity in their present social relationships than do members of the nonearly stress group. More of them, although tending to see threat as originating within themselves, are also inclined to blame others for their plight than are members of the nonearly stress group.

The second method of analysis used was an examination of nine categories each including clusters of several sentences. This was done in an attempt to arrive at a more global evaluation of the data. 3 Significant differences at the 5 per cent level or better were found between the two groups by one judge. A second judge found no categories that discriminated between the groups at this level of significance.

Thus, although there is again a suggestion that more members of the early stress group tend to feel a lack of social "comfortableness" and to be extrapunitive as compared

to the nonearly stress group, there is little of a conclusive nature in the results.

Two comments are worthy of note here—and they are not mutually exclusive. The nature of the sample—the fact that both groups are officer applicants and are so well equated—could conceivably have hidden some real differences between the groups. On the other hand, it may be that when stress involves only environmental pressures and affection from significant figures in the environment is not diminished, the consequences for later personality growth may be of a superficial nature, if it is at all of importance.

The present study allows neither confirmation nor rejection of these comments.

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APPENDIXES

APPENDIX A

LIST OF SENTENCE STEMS

1. I hope

2. After he failed

3. When I was left alone I felt

4. When the difficult and responsible duty was explained to him

5. They say of me

6. When I work according to my own convictions

7. The biggest disappointment in my life

8. When my opinion is not accepted

9. I could do what I wanted if only

10. When they blame me

11. When I am very irritated

12. When the child is lost

13. I don't feel comfortable when

14. What is most difficult for me

15. When his father reprimanded him

16. I can't stand it when people

17. When his friends deserted him

18. Fear comes from

19. At home

20. I was very sad when

21. When danger approaches

22. I can't act when

23. I don't care

24. If I only could

25. I hate it when

26. Because of the conditions

27. Among strangers

28. What interferes with me most

29. I feel that people

30. Pity

31. If I only dared

32. The feeling of loneliness

33. I fear

34. My position in the group

35. He thought that his failure came from

36. When I think of the future

37. In the group as a rule

38. If only I had gotten over (prevailed)

39. In order to succeed

40. When his suggestion was overlooked

41. In my childhood

42. Fear of

AN EXAMPLE OF A SHEET OF RESPONSES

15.   When his father reprimanded him . . . (Group 2)

6.   he was insulted and left the place
12.   he was humiliated
36.   he was frightened
39.   the boy was confused
41.   he repented
69.   the mother . . .
66.   he got excited
63.   the son corrected himself about his mistakes
67.   thought that he was going to faint
55.   swore at him
54.   shut up and was insulted
53.   he begged him
52.   the child shut up
45.   the child began to cry
44.   he was compelled to turn to his mother
43.   he began to cry
40.   began with weeping
38.   pretended to run to the side of his mother
37.   pretended to cry
35.   stood dreaming

34. grimaced and sat aside

33. the son did not take it

32. he came to me and requested that I help him

31. listened to his voice

30. burst into tears

27. cried

26. ————

25. began to cry

24. he burst into tears

4. he cried awfully

7. did not pay attention

10. he fled from his house

13. he was insulted

14. went out to find friends

15. he repented

16. the child was hurt

22. cried

23. pretended to run from him

65. was ashamed

58. did not answer a thing

APPENDIX C

LIST OF THE NINE CATEGORIES USED IN ANALYSIS BY CLUSTERS AND THE SENTENCE STEMS INCLUDED IN EACH CATEGORY

Category No.	Category	Sentence Number and Stem
1.	Reaction to threat	2. After he failed 8. When my opinion is not accepted 10. When they blame me 17. When his friends deserted him 21. When danger approaches 40. When his suggestion was over-looked
2.	Feeling toward past and home	15. When his father reprimanded him 19. At home 41. In my childhood
3.	Need achievement	14. What is most difficult for me 38. If only I had gotten over (prevailed) 39. In order to succeed
4.	Expectancy—view of the future	1. I hope 24. If I only could 31. If I only dared 36. When I think of the future
5.	Interpersonal attitudes and social "comfort"	27. Among strangers 29. I feel that people 30. Pity 34. My position in the group 37. In the group as a rule

Category No.	Category	Sentence Number and Stem
6.	Self-concept—view of the self	4. When the difficult and responsible duty was explained to him 5. They say of me 6. When I work according to my own convictions 9. I could do what I wanted if only
7.	Personal anxiety	3. When I was left alone I felt 7. The biggest disappointment in my life 11. When I am very irritated 12. When the child is lost 32. The feeling of loneliness
8.	Sources of fear	18. Fear comes from 33. I fear 42. Fear of
9.	Handling of blame and frustration	13. I don't feel comfortable when 16. I can't stand it when people 20. I was very sad when 22. I can't act when 25. I hate it when 26. Because of the conditions 28. What interferes with me most 35. He thought that his failure came from

APPENDIX D

AN EXAMPLE OF THE INDIVIDUAL CARDS
USED IN ANALYSIS BY CLUSTERS

Response side of card. Cards were presented for sorting with this side face up, and judges were instructed not to turn cards over.

```
21. ——————— (no response)
37. that my brother will be sick
47. that my father and my brother
```

Information for scoring was on the reverse side of the card; in this case, category 8, group 2, individual number 66.

```
C.8            2.            66
```

APPENDIX E

EXAMPLES OF RESPONSES MADE WITHIN THE
DICHOTOMIES OF THE INDIVIDUAL
SENTENCE ANALYSIS

Sentence No.	Dichotomy	Example
1.	Success oriented Avoidance	to be an officer to go home
2.	Copes with threat Unable to cope	he tried again I was very sad
3.	Depressed feelings Positive action	an awful feeling how much I need a girl friend
4.	Positive acceptance and end successful Negative acceptance and end doubtful	he went and succeeded he wangled out of it
5.	Self-accepting Self-rejecting	that I am cool-headed that I am a coward
6.	Self-accepting Self-rejecting	I succeed better I am liable to make a mistake
7.	Lies in the past Has not yet happened	was in my childhood is that I will be thrown out of the course

APPENDIX E (Continued)

Sentence No.	Dichotomy	Example
8.	Copes with threat Escapes from threat or evasive response	I try to persuade then I have failed
9.	Intrapunitive Extrapunitive	I had been capable of it they permitted me
10.	Self-accepting Self-rejecting	I defended myself I burst into tears
11.	Controlled Gives vent	I restrain myself I am liable to strike blows
12.	Active action Passive reaction	I went to look for him he began to cry
13.	People act against him Other responses	they pick on me I am sick
14.	Attempts to overcome Submits and other re- sponses	I try to obtain I don't do
15.	Handles the threat Fearful or evasive or neutral response	tried to explain himself he started to cry
16.	Feels others are against him Other responses	 insult me fight between themselves
17.	Undertakes positive action Negative action or does nothing	chose a different group remained alone and forlorn

55

APPENDIX E (Continued)

Sentence No.	Dichotomy	Example
18.	Internal and subjective reasons	from lack of self-confidence
	Objective or situational conditions	being unaccustomed to parties
19.	Ambivalent	there was not the hoped-for comrade
	Accepting, nonambivalent	warm and good
20.	Blames himself	I failed
	Blames conditions	the journey to America was cancelled
21.	Faces up to threat	need to act immediately
	Does not face up or evasive response	he looks for refuge
22.	Causes lie within himself	I am sick
	Other or thing referrent causes	many opponents rise against me
23.	If I die or am injured	to die for the homeland
	Other responses	that somebody preaches me a sermon
24.	Accomplish or succeed	I would accomplish that
	Other responses	I would go to Haifa
25.	Self-referrent	I fail in an exam
	Other or thing referrent	they give an order without caring

APPENDIX E (Continued)

Sen-tence No.	Dichotomy	Example
26.	Realistic or coping responses	I attack more
	Avoidant, evasive, unrealistic or submissive	he requested transfer from his unit
27.	Negative (avoidant, tense) responses	I am very confused
	Positive (approach, relaxational) responses	I am comfortable
28.	Refers to people to to himself	are the pains in my back
	Refers to conditions or a situation	is the noise
29.	Are friendly, appreciative	are friendly to me
	Are unfriendly, tiresome	do stupid things
30.	Feels is a positive quality	is a good quality
	Feels is a negative quality	root of all evil
31.	Positive—foresees success	I would certainly succeed
	Negative—foresees failure	I would have failed
32.	Feels depressed and deserted	is the enemy of the person
	Feels uncomfortable but copes	educates sometimes
33.	Self-referrent—his own actions and feelings	that I will not succeed
	Other referrent—and situational	being late for the parade

APPENDIX E (Continued)

Sentence No.	Dichotomy	Example
34.	Feels accepted and secure	is enduring (permanent)
	Doubtful of acceptance and insecure	is not very stable
35.	Self-referrent, blames himself	from lack of confidence
	Other-referrent or blames situation	from objective factors
36.	Sees as promising	I smile
	Sees as threatening	I see it declining
37.	Feels accepted and relaxed	I am well received
	Feels unsure of acceptance and tense	I try to be accepted
38.	Subjective things	over my shyness
	Objective things	over the obstacles
39.	Require affective qualities	need a little desire
	Require nonaffective or objective qualities	need the School Finishing Certificate
40.	Realistic handling of threat	submitted a second suggestion
	Unrealistic or avoids threat	shut up and did not add a word
41.	Self-acceptant	I had much energy and strength
	Self-rejectant or descriptive	I was very depressed
42.	Fear of death, failure, and the dark	death made him flee
	Other responses	obstacles will pass