THE DEVELOPMENT OF EMPATHY IN TEACHERS OF THE EMOTIONALLY IMPAIRED A LIFE HISTORY STUDY

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ABSTRACT

THE DEVELOPMENT OF EMPATHY IN TEACHERS
OF THE EMOTIONALLY IMPAIRED
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Empathy, the ability to feel what another feels, plays a considerable role in successful interpersonal relationships. It is particularly important in teaching the emotionally impaired where teachers play an increasing role in the emotional adjustment of the children they serve. Researchers believe empathy to be a trait some persons evidence more than others. The purpose of this life history field study was to widen the perspectives surrounding empathy development. The lives of eight teachers of the emotionally impaired (EI) were explored, described and compared.

Each EI teacher was engaged in a series of life history interviews aimed at gathering biographical information from birth to the present. Using the biographical information along with the empathy scores achieved by each participant on the Affective Sensitivity Scale Form D., developed by Werner, Schnieder and Kagan 1977, the researcher drew qualitative inferences regarding life experience and its influence on participants' empathic abilities.

Participants openly shared their stories. These ranged from that of a middle class young woman who reported little experience with emotional pain to the stories of those who experienced abuse and abandonment as children. Reaffirmed through this study was the concept that empathy development is multi-dimensional in nature. Those participants scoring in the high empathy range on the Affective Sensitivity Scale reported coping with feelings of social rejection for long periods during maturation. In these cases empathy skill seemed to have survival value. Participants scoring in the low empathy range reported fewer periods of emotional pain and suffering than those who scored in the high empathy range. High scorers reported experiences with empathic role models who deliberately taught them what the behaviors of others meant. Participant stories suggest learning, emotional pain and social survival to be basic elements in the empathy development process.

For

My Boys

Shaka and Kobi

And Especially For

Seldon

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

My thanks go to the eight participants of this study who spent many hours sharing their life stories with me. They opened their homes, classrooms and hearts to me in a manner which will never be forgotten. I hope that the sharing of their story was as helpful for them as it was for me.

To Chuck Blackman who has acted as supporter and guide during the researching and writing of this document I am sincerely grateful. His phone calls and the many hours spent together in conversation concerning the personal meaning of this research has kept me on task and enthused about each finished chapter. His friendship and special concern have been deeply appreciated.

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To my friends and family who have allowed me time alone for the last few months in order to complete this work I also extend my thanks. I know it has been difficult for them. Communication at some periods particially came to a stop. For their love and patience I am truly grateful.

Special thanks to my friends on Bailey Island, Maine where a good portion of this document was written. These special friends offered me a quiet place to retreat while I wrote. During breaks from writing I

walked on the rocky beach and through lush green woods. This beautiful place inspired me daily. The good food and clean air invigorated me making extended periods of writing possible. The warm love and encouragement I received will never be forgotten.

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And to Jeff who generously waded through the first drafts of this document, I am grateful. Jeff has weathered each storm precipitated by this endeavor. He has been patient and kind when I did not feel that way. He has been a friend, as well as a gentle critic. I admire his talents and have felt privileged to receive his guidance, and steadfast support.

Finally, a special thanks to Jan for the long hours of typing and retyping. Her gentle positive attitude made the completion of this endeavor possible.

THE RESEARCHER AS INSTRUMENT

The methodology of this research closely involves the perceptions of the researcher. A researcher who has experienced one set of experiences would look at the interview data collected here much differently than another. It becomes very important that the reader understand the nature of the investigator's experience so that the interviewer's perspective is clear.

The investigator in many ways becomes the instrument of research. The cultural framework, the childhood experiences, the work history and adult experiences of the investigator become the filter through which the research data pass. The reader may learn more about the investigator of this research by turning to Appendix G., which contains a short summary of her life experiences.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

A substantial body of empirical data demonstrates the impact of empathy in both the therapeutic and educational realm (Aspy 1975, Barrett-Lennard 1962, Dixon 1961, Harback 1976, Moustakas 1966, Rogers 1975). Empathy, the ability to feel what another feels, is found to play a major role in the success of psychotherapy as well as in many interpersonal situations from child rearing to teaching (Rogers 1975, Truax and Carkhuff 1967). Investigators have shown that teacher empathy increases reading performance, school attendance, IQ scores, and self concept (Aspy 1965, Combs 1969). "When the teacher shows evidence that he/she understands the meaning of classroom experiences for the student, learning improved" (Aspy 1975, p.12).

Empathy is particularly important for the successful teacher of the emotionally impaired who must be able to understand the student's unsureness, insecurity, and feelings of inadequacy (Green 1972). Here the ideal teacher-student relationship and the ideal therapeutic relationship show great similarity (Tyler 1964, Morse 1965, Redl 1965, Rabinow 1964, Scheurer 1971). Empathy can increase academic and emotional growth and also encourage positive behavior change (Aspy 1975, Truax and Altman 1967, Stravsky 1957).

Some researchers believe empathy to be a trait which is more evident in some persons than others (Dymond 1952, Kagan 1977). Role theorists, as well as psychoanalytic and behavioral theorists, contend that empathy developes through role modeling and experience (Rogers 1975, Mead 1934, Schachtel 1955). Other researchers feel empathy can be developed through specific empathy training (Rogers 1975). Counselors, therapists, teachers and parents have participated in empathy classes (Aspy 1975, Fish 1970, Levy 1964).

There is no definitive answer to the question of how empathy develops (Buchheimer 1963). There is however, significant agreement regarding the importance of empathy development research (Rogers 1975, Buchheimer 1963). Buchheimer (1963) urges researchers to go beyond the preliminary concepts of empathy that exist so far and widen the perspective surrounding empathy development. Toward this end, the work described in this dissertation is an attempt to study empathy in its full human richness. Herein, the lives of eight teachers of the emotionally impaired have been carefully examined in order to understand more fully the development of individual empathic capacity.

PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

The general purpose of this study will be to explore, describe and compare the self-reported life histories of eight experienced teachers of the emotionally impaired (EI teachers) from the mid-Michigan area. Conclusions, regarding the influence of particular life experiences on the development of empathic capacity in these teachers, will be drawn in concurrence with objective empathy scores as measured by the Affective Sensitivity Scale, Form D (Kagan, Werner 1977).

Eight EI teachers will be selected randomly from the EI teacher population of four mid-Michigan intermediate school districts. A focused, moderately structured interview will be carried out with each individual in order to gather biographical information from birth to the present. The average interview time will be approximately 8-10 hours. Each subject will also complete the Affective Sensitivity Scale Form D. Using the biographical data gathered through interviews and scores achieved by subjects on the Affective Sensitivity Scale Form D, the researcher will draw qualitative inferences regarding life experiences and their influence on the subject's empathic abilities.

THE PROBLEM

Teachers of the emotionally impaired play a substantial role in the emotional adjustment of the children they serve. Even though some students receive outside psychotherapy, a large percentage of children placed in EI classrooms do not. The teacher's ability to wear two hats, one as therapist and one as academic instructor, is a necessary component in altering the behavior patterns of EI students. In times of limited budgets, the EI teacher's dual role increases.

When the teacher wears his/her therapeutic hat, he/she must behave as a competent therapist. The teacher must be able to talk about feelings and attitudes and to behave in an empathic manner. EI teachers often behave empathically without special training. Their empathic behavior appears to reflect a natural sense of intuitive understanding. They sense when students are hurting, when they feel confused, anxious, alienated, scared, and doubtful about their self worth.

There is evidence to suggest that empathy is possessed in different degrees by different people (Dymond, 1948). The question is: What makes some EI teachers more able than others to understand students who are emotionally impaired? How did they come to understand their students so perceptively? Perhaps they have experienced life events which have predisposed them to an accurate understanding of the students they serve.

BACKGROUND

Evidence indicates that genuineness, nonpossessive warmth, and accurate empathy on the part of the helping person are positively related to therapeutic outcomes (Stoffer, 1970). Carl Rogers (1975) contends that attitudes of genuine liking, and sensitive empathy help to create a climate which produces constructive personal growth and change. Studies indicate that psychotherapists who provide high levels of empathy cause improvement in their clients while those offering low levels cause deterioration (Barrett-Lennard 1962). It is important for the EI teacher to know his/her students and to understand empathically the student's unsureness, insecurity, and feelings of inadequacy. With this understanding, the teacher is able to respond empathically in the classroom. Independent research by both Aspy (1975) and Combs (1969) indicates that the teacher's empathy is positively related to students' attendance rates, IQ gains, and attitudes about self. Dymond maintains that some people "appear to be very sensitive to cues as to how others are feeling and reacting while others appear to be grossly unaware of the thoughts and feelings of others" (Dymond, 1950, p. 344).

Grendlin concluded in 1962 that at all times there is going on in the human organism a flow of experiences to which the individual can turn

again and again as a referent in order to discover the meaning of his experience. Others have furnished evidence that the development of empathy is a result of particular life experiences (Dymond, Hughes and Raabe, 1952). Halpern suggested in 1960 that early experiences with empathy (pleasant/unpleasant) will influence not only the child's total empathic development but the type of people or the types of human situations in which he/she will be most and least empathic.

RESEARCH OBJECTIVES

The researcher sought to discover what life experiences have influenced the development of eight teachers of the emotionally impaired, particularly the development of empathic ability. The thrust of the research was to form a picture of each participant's life and the world in which he/she lives and to draw conclusions regarding individual life experiences and empathic sensitivity. Finally an attempt was made to draw inferences regarding empathic development from the triangulation of case-study data with individual scores of empathic ability as measured by the Affective Sensitivity Scale Form D.

DEFINITIONS

For the purpose of this study, empathy will be conceptualized as the ability to place oneself in the role of another person. It represents one's ability to comprehend events as another person sees them, to appreciate them as though one were that person.

Teachers of emotionally impaired children will be defined as those teachers who are certified to teach children diagnosed as emotionally impaired.

Emotionally impaired students (EI) are those students who have been certified by an Individual Educational and Planning Committee to be emotionally impaired.

Life History Method will be defined as an extensive method of collecting and anlyzing material related to an individual and his life through personal interviews.

A focused, moderately structured interview will be defined as an interview in which the content, exact wording of questions, context and sequence of questions are generally spelled out but left up to the discretion of the interviewer while a specific topic is explored.

The Affective Sensitivity Scale (A.S.S.) refers to Form D of the Scale developed by Schneider, Kagan and Werner (1977) which has been found to discriminate between high and low empathizers. The A.S.S. consists of a series of filmed encounters between two or more persons. After witnessing each scene, examinees answer multiple choice questions about each person in the scene, selecting responses which are most like what participants in the encounter were really saying to themselves.

DELIMITATIONS

The study will be limited to the life history study of eight teachers of the emotionally impaired. The concern is what life experiences have influenced the development of each teacher's unique capacity to behave empathically. The study is limited to case study analysis of each teachers's self reported life history and to analysis of affective sensitivity scores as achieved by each teacher on the Affective Sensitivity Scale Form D.

GENERAL OUTLINE OF THE STUDY

The intent of this study will be to examine the life histories of eight teachers of the emotionally impaired in order to discover what life experiences have influenced the development of empathic sensitivity.

Chapter I delineates the research questions and provides background and definitions for the study. A review of the literature related to empathy as well as a review of the life history approach appears in Chapter II. A discussion of the life history methodology is presented in Chapter III.

Chapter IV contains the self-reported case records of the eight life history participants along with a presentation of each participant's Affective Sensitivity scores (empathy). Chapter V contains the Summary of the study along with Conclusions, Implications and Recommendations for future research.

A discussion of the researcher's personal experience with the life history method may be found in the Reflections portion of the Appendix.

CHAPTER II

THE LITERATURE

This review will examine the literature in regard to the concept of empathy as well as review the literature concerning life history.

Researchers have been captivated by the concept of empathy for over 40 years. Theorists have attempted to define the nature and dynamics of the empathic relationship. Others have attempted to measure the empathic skills of individuals. The impact of empathy upon therapy outcomes, child rearing and successful teaching have been studied. Research continues to support the importance of empathy in many social and psychological processes.

Still, the very core of the empathic response, and its development which is the topic of this research, remains an enigma. Individual researchers have described the empathic person, have monitored specific empathic responses and have attempted to train others to be more empathic. Theory models have been detailed to explain the development of empathy; nevertheless, its development has not been easily tied to a specific theory. The question of how empathy develops still remains an open question.

The literature on empathy will be considered in six areas: the im-importance of empathy, the empathic relationship, its definition, its

measurement, a theoretical discussion of its development and a discussion of who researchers consider the good empathizer to be. The literature points up the fact that empathy and its components remain more or less intangible to the empirical researcher. Empathy has been found difficult to define, difficult to measure, and difficult to research, particularly its development.

The life history method appears to be an appropriate approach to empathy development study, lending itself to the richness and depth of the human empathic response. This review will consider the life history methodology as it is treated by its supporters and critics. Its style, data collection process, and analysis are explored.

Finally, a notable life history work is reviewed. The method of study is discussed, documenting the potential contribution of life history work in the area of human development.

IMPORTANCE OF EMPATHY

"The very special way of being with another person called empathy" (Rogers, 1975, p. 3) has been found to be one of the necessary ingredients of every learning situation (Rogers, 1975). Aspy showed that a relationship existed between the teacher's empathic understanding of her students and their cognitive gains as measured by achievement tests. Moustakas (1966) postulated that a teacher's ability to listen to verbal and nonverbal expressions of pupil feeling is one of the fundamental methods of achieving student emotional health. Dixon and Morse (1961) reported significant relationships between teacher competency, as determined by pupil and supervisor ratings, and empathic understanding. Combs (1969) found that instructor competency is associated with the

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ability to show concern for people and for personal reactions rather than for material objects.

Truax and Altmann (1967) found a positive relationship between changes in children's behavior and related high therapeutic conditions of nonpossessive warmth, genuineness and accurate empathy. Low therapeutic conditions produced negative change in the nonverbal situation of play therapy.

According to Stravsky (1957), teaching is basically an interpersonal relationship as seen from a psychotherapeutic view. With its proper techniques and devices, anxiety is reduced and controlled and learning promoted.

A pilot study by Barrett-Lennard (1960) indicated that teachers regarded as "outstanding" by their supervisors had a greater degree of "congruence", empathic "unconditional positive regard" than teachers rated less effective. Similar findings were reported by Aspy (1965).

THE NATURE OF THE RELATIONSHIP

Carl Rogers discovered that one of the most powerful ways of helping a client was by simply listening. Later through a conversation with a friend, he learned to listen for the feelings. There is, however a great deal of individual ability in this area. Dymond postulates that "some persons appear to be very sensitive to cues as to how others are feeling and reacting while others appear to be grossly unaware of the thoughts and feelings of others" (1950, p. 344). Insight into the thoughts and feelings of others seems to be dependent upon the ability to take the role of others.

Greif and Hogan, as well as Dymond, suggest that empathy can be explained through role theory. Mead (1934) suggests that practice at role taking leads to social sensitivity and the emergence of the self concept and self control. The self concept subsequently enables one to carry on a whole series of different relationships with different people (Greif and Hogan, 1973).

Fiedler and Senior (1952) suggest that it is the actual similarity between a therapist and his client which lends itself to a sense of empathic understanding. Fiedler (1953) indicates that this assumed similarity is suggestive of a positive feeling by the therapist toward his patient.

While some feel that empathy between individuals increases with similarity, Cronbach (1956) showed that similarity between the adult judge and judgee combined with the adult's tendency to assume similarity resulted in spuriously high empathy scores. The adults who looked socially sensitive were often just accurately describing themselves.

In Schachtel's work "Memory and Childhood Amnesia" he postulates that projection plays a role in empathic understanding. A person cannot have an inner understanding of another's feelings except in terms of his own experiences or that of a similar feeling. When responding empathically, the projection of the person's own feelings merges inseparable with the perception of the other person's feeling (Schachtel, 1955).

"Empathy is a complex, demanding, strong yet subtle and gentle way of being" (Rogers, 1975, p. 5). It can be learned from other empathic persons and can be developed through training. Therapists, parents, and teachers can learn to become empathic if their teachers and supervisors are themselves individuals of sensitive understanding (Aspy, 1975);

(Guerney, Andronico and Guerney, 1970); (Bergin and Solomon, 1970). Empathy can be learned most rapidly in an empathic climate.

Many theorists (Hogan, Flawell, Mussen, Eisenberg - Berg) maintain that empathy, sharing another's emotional response, is a prerequisite of prosocial behavior and is a motivational process which mediates between one's perception of others needs or distress and prosocial acts. Feshbach found however, that neither understanding the feelings of another person nor the ability to take the role of another insured an empathic response. She says that "One may not be predisposed to use that ability....or the affective response may be blocked or poorly articulated." (Feshbach 1975, p.26).

Two particular ways of understanding the nature of empathy were examined by Fish: (1) The possibility that accurate empathy may be no more than a matter of the therapist's verbal style and (2) The notion of self knowledge as the means of knowledge of others (1970, p. 64). The view that empathy is the result of self-awareness is characterized in the psychotherapy field where analysts themselves undergo psychoanalysis as a requirement. It is believed that analysts are better able to discriminate between their own projections and accurate perception of their clients as well as between their appropriate feelings and countertransferences. This ability to discriminate clearly between feelings is crucial to the ability to respond empathically (Fish, 1970).

Levy (1964) found evidence of the relationship of empathy to self-awareness. In her study she found a significant relationship between the ability to recognize other people's vocal expressions of feelings and the ability to recognize these feelings in a tape recording of one's own

voice. This finding suggests it is the awareness of one's own emotional cues which sensitizes one to the meaning of similar cues in others.

Fish (1970) studied 43 beginning psychotherapists who wrote descriptions of the ways in which they experienced ten different emotions which were scored for emotional self-report variables. Tapes of the therapists' eight sessions of therapy were rated for empathy and clients of 24 of the therapists also rated their therapists' empathy. Judges' ratings of the empathic style with which a therapist described his emotional experiences were found to be positively related to judges' ratings of therapists' empathy levels in therapeutic sessions and consistent with the view that empathy is the result of self-awareness. Fish concluded that style of emotional self-report may reflect the kind of self-awareness which enables one to understand others and to be empathic (1970).

ATTEMPTS TO DEFINE EMPATHY

Many definitions of empathy have been put forth. Among the first definitions was Dymond's. She defined empathy as the faculty of being able to see things from the other person's point of view, "the imaginative transposing of oneself into the thinking, feeling and acting of another and so structuring the world as he does" (1948).

Carkhuff (1965) contends that the minimal empathic response is one which is interchangeable with that of the other person.

Scheuer defines empathic understanding as "ability to accurately experience another's private world and to sense the immediate affective quality and intensity of another's inner feelings. An overall sensitivity resulting from the awareness of another's unexpressed feelings in a

given situation. The antithesis of intellectual understanding which connotes the objectivations of another person" (1971, p. 723).

Aspy defined empathy in its use in our greater society. We understand it in our own common phrases:

"I know what ya mean."

"I'm with ya, man."

"Get inside his skin."

"Walk a mile in his shoes" (Aspy, 1975, p. 10).

Rogers defines empathy in a manner which makes its meaning quite clear. "Empathic understanding means entering the private perceptual world of the other and becoming thoroughly at home in it. It involves being sensitive, moment-to-moment, to the changing felt meanings which flow in this other person, to the fear or rage or tenderness or confusion or whatever that he/she is experiencing. It means temporarily living in his/her life, moving about in it delicately without making judgments, sensing meanings of which he/she is scarcely aware" (1974, p. 4).

Affective-cognitive definitions stress that the listener need not experience the identical feelings of the other yet, according to the Accurate Empathy Scale of Truax, an empathic response should convey both the nature of the emotion being shared as well as its intensity. The listener's voice tone should reflect the emotion being responded to.

Feshbach defines empathy in children as "shared emotional responses which the child experiences on perceiving another's emotional reaction." (Feshbach 1975, p.26). She delineates three facets to this concept, two cognitive and one affective. Cognitive components are the ability to discriminate and label the affective states of others, and at a more advanced social comprehension level, the ability to assume the perspective

and role of another. In the affective domain, she says the observing child must be able to experience the negative and positive emotion being witnessed in order to share that emotion.

Kagan and his associates developed an operational definition of empathy which allowed the measurement of behaviors which are likely to be included in any definition of empathy. Instead of using the word empathy, Kagan defines a more limited concept, affective sensitivity. It is defined as "the ability to detect and describe the immediate affective state of another, or in terms of communication theory, the ability to receive and decode affective communication" (Kagan, Krathwohl, and Farquhar, 1965).

MEASURING EMPATHY

There have been numerous attempts to develop a measure which will assess empathy accurately.

In 1948, 1949, and 1950, Dymond and her colleagues developed a measure of empathic ability using rating forms. These forms have since been questioned on methodological grounds. Hastorf (1954) and Bender (1952) questioned whether her device measured the quality of empathy at all.

Chapin developed the Social Insight Test (1949). It seems to be more closely tied to the realm of social and interpersonal relations than to the dimension of empathy (Gough, 1965).

Cassell then developed the Test of Social Insight (1963). Reviewers, Black and Bordin, found the test to lack validity and having little to do with an empathic or perceptive capacity for understanding others.

Barrett-Lennard developed the Barrett-Lennard Relationship Inventory (1962) which attempted to measure the empathic relationship between two

parties. It took the form of a questionnaire filled out by both parties of a therapeutic relationship.

Hogan (1969) developed an empathy scale of 64 self-report items developed by comparing the responses of 57 men with high ratings and 57 with low ratings for empathy across the combined item pools of the California Psychological Inventory and the Minnesota Multiphasic Personality Inventory.

In 1961 Truax developed the Measurement of Empathic Understanding. It is commonly known as the Accurate Empathy Scale. His work attempted to operationalize Rogers' definition of empathy as an interpersonal process. The method required raters be provided with an audio or video recording of some dyatic interpersonal situation. The scale itself consisted of nine levels of empathic development. The first level indicated complete lack of awareness of others feelings while the highest level implied that the subject understood even the innermost thoughts of the other.

Later (1969) Carkoff developed the Scale for the Measurement of Empathic Understanding using essentially the same method as Truax. Some differences occur in the operational definitions of the levels of empathic understanding of which he has only five. Subjects are said to demonstrate empathic responsiveness in interpersonal situations.

The Truax and Carkhuff rating approach consists of employing trained judges who apply criteria to observed interactions between persons. There have been some serious criticisms leveled against both scales. Some researchers claim that the scale measures a rather global "good" therapist quality. Researchers question just what is being measured and whether what is rated is empathy. The mechanics of the method are

difficult, time consuming and costly. Avery and Danish (1976) point out that raters trained by different researchers may not be in agreement in the definitions of different levels.

Researchers at Michigan State University sought to develop a more adequate measurement (Kagan, 1962). They developed a multiple choice response protocol in which subjects were shown videotaped segments of actual counseling interviews and required to select responses that identified the affective state of the client. In 1977 Form D of the Affective Sensitivity Scale was developed. Although early versions of the scale were found to be reliable and a valid measure of training effects and low empathy, the scale needed improved technology and correction of some psychometric problems.

The new scale Form D included the use of parallel forms, subcategory scoring, a broader range of stimulus material and extensive normative data for many of the helping professions. Form D scenes were taken from interactions between doctor and patient, friends, teachers and students. Group settings as well as counseling and psychotherapy were represented. Vignettes include men, women, blacks, whites in both interviewer and interviewee roles.

The scale still follows the multiple choice format, however it includes a rationally based set of subscale areas for scoring instead of one total score. The scale has been found to be a reliable measure, stable over time with a test-retest reliability after one week of .64. It has been found to be internally consistent. Its index of homogeniety using Cronbach's alpha for an N of 2,000 is .74. The scale has been found to distinguish between persons identified as high and low empathizers and is sensitive to the effects of training in interpersonal

communication skills. Significant differences have been found among groups from different professional or educational areas and even between the same groups at different levels or training (Werner, 1977).

Using the Michigan State Affective Sensitivity Scale, Kravas developed a simulation device (TASS) to measure affective sensitivity in teachers. Videotaped vignettes of teacher-pupil interactions in actual and simulated classrooms were presented to subjects who selected from multiple choice items the affective state of the subject viewed (Kravas, 1974).

Bernard Guerney and his associates devised an instrument for measuring empathic interaction between parents and child. Since children more often express their feelings through the medium of play, a process was developed to assess the interpersonal communication between parent and child in play sessions. A group of eight mothers and their young children served as subjects. Mothers were asked to engage in a half hour play session, observed by two coders through a one-way mirror. The sessions were also tape recorded.

A quantitative measure of the overall behavior of the mother in unstructured play with her child was developed in the form of a rating scale. The bipolar Play Session Interaction Scale scored parents on seven points. Scores are assigned in five-minute intervals, and the average of the scores then calculated, providing an overall ranking of the parent's empathy in a given session. This device "proved open enough to allow ample room for differences among mothers to stand out clearly, yet precise enough in terms of structure and setting to allow for meaningful comparison between individuals" (Guerney, 1963, p. 53).

THE DEVELOPMENT OF EMPATHY

G.H. Mead (1934) first conceptualized the social psychological concept of role theory, In it, human conduct is perceived as a product of the interaction of role and self. Role can be defined as "a patterned sequence of learned actions or deeds performed by a person in an interaction situation" (Sarbin, 1954, p. 225). Self then is defined as "the phenomenal experience of identity, an inference arising from a person's experiences with things, body parts and other persons" (Sarbin, 1954, p. 238).

Role theory perceives "the personality as a population of self-other patterns and their interpersonal organization. When human organisms respond to each other over time, the activity of each becomes a stimulus pattern for a more or less stabilized response pattern in the other, providing the motivational component remains essentially unchanged" (Dymond, 1948, p. 228). Each individual incorporates the acts of both self and others thus evolving a picture of himself as a distinct personality.

Role theory envisions social interaction as reciprocal action between persons where these actions are organized into roles. A person's ability to anticipate or construe the feelings, expectations and informational requirements of others increases his ability to interact successfully in his environment. Mead contends that practice at role taking leads to increased social sensitivity with the emergence of the self concept and self control.

Dymond (1952) feels that the ability to empathize depends on the role-taking ability of the person. It is possible, she suggests, as the child proceeds in his "socialization he increases the number and range of

his contacts with others. He is theoretically incorporating more and more roles. These incorporated self-other patterns allow him to adjust his behavior to others by means of taking their roles incipiently and so modify his behavior to get a desired response from the other" (Dymond, 1952, p. 203).

On another note, Halpern (1960) approaches the development of empathy from a psychoanalytical behavior viewpoint. He suggests that infantile empathy is the basis for the later ability to put yourself imaginatively in another's place. It is his position that the special emotional linkage between mother and child manifested in the child's ability to sense the tension, anxiety or contentment and love of the mother is the first empathic experience. Depending on whether or not the child has pleasant or unpleasant experiences with this empathic communication with mother, the child will develop empathy compatibly. This initial experience with empathy will influence the type of people or type of human situations in which he will be most and least empathic (Halpern, 1955, p. 33).

He regards three basic parts in the empathic process; perceiving, reacting, and being aware of internal cues. If the infant is rewarded for perceiving, reacting or being aware, he may be expected, according to learning theory, to develop an openness to empathic communication. On the other hand, if the infant is punished for reacting emotionally, if he is rewarded for not noticing, for not reacting, the infant's tendency to empathize will be extinguished. The infant, depending on his pleasant or unpleasant experiences with empathy could develop a complete openness or complete rejection of the empathic process.

Aronfreed, learning theorist, explains that empathy is acquired early by conditioning or association. This is accomplished through repeated pairing of a child's feelings of pleasure or distress with someone else's expression of the corresponding feeling.

Martin Hoffman's theory empahasizes the cognitive and affective aspects of empathy. The central idea is that an empathic reaction is an internal response to cues about the affective states of someone else. This reaction depends heavily on the actor's cognitive sense of others as distinct from himself. The cognitive sense changes dramatically as the individual passes from infancy to adulthood. Hogan has this to say:

> "My own guess is that empathic tendancies have been prepared for biologically as a consequence of man's evolutionary history as a group-living, culture dependent animal. If so, then empathy would be a natural emergent and its development may be facilitated by four factors. First, there is undoubtedly an intellectual component of empathy. Second, empathy may be encouraged by parents who attempt to inculcate into their children humanistic values such as consideration for the rights of others. Third, empathic tendencies can almost surely be modeled: thus empathic parents tend to raise empathic children. Finally, it seems to me that a degree of suffering is necessary before one can resonate to the suffering of others" (Hogan, 1975, p. 16).

WHO ARE THESE EMPATHIZERS?

Good empathic therapists are characterized by Halpern (1960) to be those who have the ability to use intuitive emotionalized receptivity accurately. This ability is a direct outgrowth of the therapist's experiences with infantile empathy. The more a therapist has had to defend himself as a infant against painful empathic communication the less likely he is to use an intuitive approach successfully.

There is considerable feeling that empathic ability is related to family experiences. Dymond, Huges and Raabe (1953) suggest that early

family relations which have been satisfying render the individual more able to invest in others and to feel rewarded by such investment. These individuals develop a level of security from which they can afford to invest in others.

According to Dixon and Morse (1961), teachers who, because of their own life history, are concerned about being rejected may be more able to closely identify with children experiencing the same rejection.

Dymond (1948) found empathic people to be less guarded, more flexible, less hostile, more optimistic, and more spontaneous. She found empathic persons to be more controlled in their emotionality than non-empathic persons while richly enjoying their emotionality.

SUMMARY

In looking at the literature, empathy is seen as a very important element in the classroom. Researchers have found that teacher empathy can improve academic as well as social skills in students. Empathy appears a rather illusive quality having been defined in a number of ways over the last 20-30 years. Researchers agree, however, that empathy is definitely a very special way of relating to others and it does make a remarkable impact on therapy clients as well as students. The feeling of being understood promotes good mental health and encourages intellectual growth.

Numerous attempts have been made to try to measure empathy. Most of these measurements have been used in the therapeutic situation between client and therapist. Holding the most promise is the Affective Sensitivity Scale developed by Kagan and his associates. In its present form, it can distinguish between high and low empathizers and is appropriate

for use with a number of helping professional groups. It will be used as the measure of empathy in the present study.

The development of empathy has been explained by role theorists in a social-psychological sense. The individual learns empathic behavior from interacting with an increasing number and range of others. Through these contacts, he incorporates more and more roles. These self-other patterns allow the individual to adjust his behavior to others by means of taking their roles.

Halpern's psychoanalytical behavioral model suggests that empathy is learned in the first mother-infant contacts where the infant responds to mother through a special sense. Depending on whether or not the infant receives pleasant or unpleasant experiences with the communication determines what types of people and the types of human situations in which he will behave most and least empathically.

Hogan suggests that empathy development depends on a combination of factors: a cognitive element, exposure to an empathic model; encouragement and praise for empathic behavior, and an element of felt suffering.

Researchers have found that family experiences determine the empathic abilities of the individual. Individuals are most likely to behave empathically towards others who are similar. A broad history of experience increases the individual's ability to behave empathically in an increased number of situations.

Good empathizers have been found to be outgoing, less guarded, more flexible, less hostile, more optimistic and more spontaneous than non-empathic persons. Interestingly, they have been found to have a rich enjoyment of their own emotionality.

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Perhaps the intangible quality of empathy has caused researchers to pursue its understanding for so long. It continues to hold a position of importance in almost every social and psychological process. Research continues to explain its nature and development. Empirical research however, does not lend itself to the depth and richness of this special human response. In the following pages lie a description of the life history method, a method holding enormous potential for empathy development study.

LIFE HISTORY INTRODUCTION

The individual is acknowledged to develop over time through a series of experiences and in relation to the significant culture in which he belongs. His attitudes and feelings are unique to him yet reflective in a much broader sense to others within his society. A method of learning about the inner experiences of individuals is needed in order to understand the comprehensive picture of how and why a particular group of individuals behave in a certain manner. This can be done by carefully following an individual representative of a particular group along the continuum of his life, carefully recording facts and systematically analyzing these important data. The inside story of a life in a certain culture and at a certain time is understood. What circumstances impinged upon this individual and what choices he made in regard to his attitudes and feelings about these circumstances are illuminated.

A greater understanding of how human beings respond to life in certain cultural groups, and perhaps a sense of the commonality of man aside from individual circumstance and ability, is possible. It may be

possible to predict human behavior better and in an altruistic sense make life better.

The promise of the life history is that it can allow us a very personal inside view of the individual.

LIFE HISTORY DEFINED

"Life history studies document the inner experiences of individuals. The method strives to locate the individual first in his or her life experiences and secondly within the broader sociohistorical framework in which he or she lives" (Langness, 1965, p. 20). Very frequently life history is identified with the methods of oral history, autobiography and psychobiography.

Ultimately the life history is concerned with the subjective meanings of individuals; how the individual interprets, understands and defines the world around him/her. "In the life history is revealed, as in no other way, the inner life of the person, his moral struggles, his successes and failures in securing his destiny in a world too often at variance with his hopes and ideals" (Faraday and Plummer, 1979, p. 776).

> Bogdan writes, "The autobiography is unique in allowing us to view an individual in the context of his whole life, from birth to the point at which we encounter him. Because of this it can lead us to a fuller understanding of the stages and critical periods in the process of his development. It enables us to look at subjects as if they have a past with successes as well as failures, and a future with hopes and fears. It also allows us to see an individual in relation to the history of his time, and how he is influenced by the various religious, social, psychological and economic currents present in his world. It permits us to view the intersection of the life history of men with the history of their society, thereby enabling us to understand better the choices, contingencies and options open to the individual" (Bogdan, 1970, p. 4).

"The life history is, I believe, the way a person conceptualized the stream of experience that constitutes his life as he knows it, in accordance with the demands and expectations he and others impose on the act of relating that life" (L. Watson, 1976, p. 98). It may be thought of as a process that blends together the consciousness of the investigator and the subject.

LIFE HISTORY APPLICATION

Life history has been used effectively to complement ethonographic description and idiographic portrayal, from the "inside". It depicts what it is like to participate in a particular culture. It can be used in an exploratory fashion for generating concepts, hunches and ideas, as a basis for formulating questions, and as a method of linking existing theory. Social scientists have used life histories to focus on or answer particular kinds of questions concerning culture, cultural change, as well as theoretical issues in culture and personality. Faraday and Plummer (1979) found the life history technique to be singularly appropriate to their research because of the substantive areas to which it is most suited.

Allport comments on the multitude of uses this source of data has served. He says, "If we want to know how people feel, what they experience and what they remember, what their emotions and motives are like, and the reasons for acting as they do, why not ask them? This is the simple logic of the introspectionist's position that commends itself to many in spite of the scorching displeasure of behaviorists and objectivists" (Allport, 1942, p. 37).

According to Langness (1965), the life history should be exploited to the point of confirming old facts, offering new ones, or explaining the reasons for differences of opinion about ethnographic facts where such discrepancies occur. Where it is not used as a basis for inferences tied heavily to external constructs, theories, or measures, it can be used as a commentary of the individual's very personal view of his own experience as he understands it. The individual's personal motives must be assessed using clinical methods. As Becker (1966) concludes, "To understand why someone behaves as he does you must understand how it looked to him, what he thought he had to contend with and what alternatives he saw open to him."

The life history technique has become a research tool of enormous potential. "It provides a method of testing and refining personality theory on the lives of individual human beings, living or dead, famous or not (Richard Noland, 1978, p. 17). It has the special ability to impart another life and by extension another way of life. It is able to illuminate broad social formations and by its quality as a textured body of material can be untangled and rewoven by the investigator or reader (Gelya Frank, 1979).

MERITS OF THE LIFE HISTORY

One of the benefits of studying the life history of an individual is that the individual is revealed to us by his own choice. Here the social scientist has a natural self-contained source of information about subjective experience, the inside scoop, in which it is possible to bring

out the coping, creative aspects of a person's behavior as he attempts to deal with the confusions, ambiguities, and contradictions of everyday life. Richard Noland states, "A psychobiographer must have some kind of access to the inner life of his subjects. This means an autobiography, memoirs, letters, diary, or with living subjects an in-depth interview. One of the unique values of good psychobiography is its almost fictional capacity to focus on the interaction between ego identity and social process" (Noland, 1978, p. 18).

There is always a discrepancy between cultural rules and the actual behavior exhibited. "It is important to know what the accepted range of variation is, and the life history is a good method of investigating this aspect of a culture" (Langness, 1965, p. 21). The life history can be successfully used to confirm old facts, offer new ones or to explain the reasons for differences of opinion about ethnographic facts. The life history is still the most cognitively rich and humanly understandable way of getting at an inner view of culture" (Mandelbaum, 1973, p. 200).

SOME CRITICISMS

The study of lives through the life history has been utilized as a source of information about man and his condition for over fifty years. However, it has not yet been well developed in the social sciences though a good many anthropologists, psychologists, political scientists and sociologists have written about its importance. It has traditionally occupied a marginal role in comparison to more structured observation, structured interviewing, and testing procedures whose purposes are generally experimentation and hypothesis testing (L. Watson, 1976).

Researchers point out that the life history is difficult to appraise, for each research document represents the personality, interests and motivation of the investigator. Barbara Allen states, "Written history is ideally objective and unbiased. Spoken history on the other hand includes the unsystematized, biased, fragmented bits of personal memories that have not room in academic history books...and reflect individual views of real facts rather than the facts themselves. It tends to be more subjective and evaluative" (Allen, 1979, p. 115).

Faraday and Plummer (1979) write that there are a multitude of problems inherent in the method. They list of greatest importance the fact that it is methodologically unsound and practically inefficient. They strongly object to the study of only one case in detail. They indicate problems with reliability--of knowing the larger sample of which the case is representative--and the limited power of generalizability. In their minds more information can be gained by statistical methods. They find, "It is clearly not very good at testing or validating existing theory though it might be useful in finding a falsificatory case. It is quite good when combined with a general orientation in theory which enables one to see how the theory might make sense of that field as a whole" (Faraday and Plummer, 1979, p. 186). They conclude, "The life history can be used as a firm base for throwing up theories around that particular area--some of which may be highly specific to that area" (Faraday and Plummer, 1979, p. 785).

Researchers Freeman and Krantz (1980) suggest that the literature of life histories consists of extended narratives, either in the first or third person, following the lives of individual persons. Typically these works lack an adequate conceptual framework for analysis as well as an

account of how the life history was collected. "Many investigators have spoken enthusiastically of the potential that life histories hold; yet these same writers have observed uneasily that the promise appears to have been unfulfilled and unclear. First, those who reject them have seen them as interesting stories sometimes possibly of literary value but, because of observer and narrator bias, have not generalizability and thus no real value for the social sciences. Second, those who accept them have seen them as data that might have some scientific value if presented as an objective analysis" (Freeman and Krantz, 1980, p. 1). They find life history studies to fail most often at integrating adequate theory with a comprehensive narrative.

Gelya Frank (1979) suggests that a preponderance of life history works are only briefly set in a cultural or historical context or not analyzed at all. It is her position that investigators and readers alike have expected a life history to speak for itself and have relied upon material to be self evident. It is rare that any systematic attempt has been made to differentiate the kind of material to be included against the kind of material which should not. She does modify her criticism however, "The self-evidence of the life history makes it difficult even to conceive of a way to analyze it."

Others have been concerned with the lack of analysis represented in life history documents. Mandelbaum says, "Most social scientists who have pointed out the great potential of the life history approach for their respective disciplines have seen as its chief difficulty the lack of accepted principles of selection of suitable analysis concepts to make up a coherent frame of reference" (Mandelbaum, 1973, p. I77).

L. L. Langness felt that anthropologists who recorded life histories were not very clear about what to do with a life history in the way of an anthropological analysis. L. Watson agrees, "There has been no agreement regarding a frame of reference for actually interpreting life history data as such" (Watson, 1976, p. 96). Allport's (1942) appraisal of the use of personal documents in psychology ended with a recommendation that more conceptual, analytical work with such materials be encouraged. Edinger (1964) notes "the most notable lack in modern political biography is that it has not an explicit, conceptual framwork for the selection, organization, and presentation of data" (Mandelbaum, 1973, p. 1979).

In general, life history critics and supporters point out a past deficiency of analysis and interpretation in life history work.

THE LIFE HISTORY AND THEORY

Faraday and Plummer (1979) suggest that the most important role of the life history in theoretical work is the part it plays in the exploration and generation of theory. The technique is grounded in a pragmatist approach to knowledge in which the ultimate test of truth is experience. They contend that by applying a combination of grounded theory and analytic induction of grounded theory one can slowly build up a comparative analysis of different life histories. They say, "In order to build up a theoretical understanding that is grounded upon the empirical world, a first hand acquaintance with that world becomes necessary. Through the life history technique one is able to build up miniature sensitizing concepts, and small scale hypotheses which can subsequently be transferred to a statistical deductive method" (Faraday and Plummer, 1979, p. 778).

Frank feels that the life history offers a relatively unspecialized technique for collecting materials relevant to any set of concerns about human existence in society, by locating the individual person's life as a cross section in space and time. The material collected in the life history should be taken as evidence for answering any questions the researcher has posed. In its practice the life history demands analysis and abstraction.

HISTORICAL USE OF THE LIFE HISTORY

One of the earliest uses of the life history by social scientists was in the study of the American Indian. Historical accounts of the lives of many famous and not so famous Indians are scattered throughout the literature. These accounts tend to appear highly fictionalized.

Radin's (1913, 1920, 1926) Crashing Thunder was one of the first to give a rationale for the life history. His purpose was to have some representative middle-aged individual of moderate ability describe his life in relation to the social group in which he had grown up. Radin was aware how difficult it was to get an inside view of a culture and showed with his work that a life history narrative could add much to an ethnological account. Thomas and Znaniecki's work, The Polish Peasants in Europe and America (1918-1920) is also considered a turning point in the critical use of biography in sociology and psychology.

In 1935 Dollard's Criteria for the Life History was a major attempt to provide some theoretical underpinning for the use of life history data. Dollard formulated seven criteria for the study of life histories, of which the first six stipulate in various ways that the subject must be understood in his social and cultural context. The seventh criterion

stipulates that the life history material be organized and conceptualized. Dollard's book did much to stimulate interest in life history.

DuBois", The People of Alor (1944) demonstrated the use of life histories, along with other data, to answer particular questions about the relationships between individual personality, child rearing and the organization of society. Here psychoanalytic theories were used to interpret the informant's behavior, dreams and performance on projective tests.

Charlotte Buehler (1968) employed the life history to look at the overall structure of the course of human life. She emphasizes that each life has a structure, and that it can be understood as a system with consistent properties and potentialities. She proposes that most lives can be evaluated as in some way expressing a fulfillment of the organism's potentialities.

The work of Leighton and Leighton, Gregorio, The Hand Trembler A Psychobiological Personality Study of a Navaho Indian (1949) stands out as one of the most thorough life histories ever produced and from the standpoint of investigators one of the most honest in pointing out gaps in data.

L.L. Langness (1965) produced significant work in relation to the use of life history. His work, The Life History in Anthropological Science, highlights the difficulties as well as the assets of life history work. He concludes that life history is a ripe untapped social science methodology.

RELIABILITY, VALIDITY AND INTERPRETATION

Some researchers have been concerned with the many problems of reliability, validity, and interpretation that are involved in the use of life histories. Terry Anderson states that "there are common historical errors in psychohistory. They are basing an interpretation on sparse and biased evidence, using biographical data selectively, and explaining complex events or behavior monocausally" (Anderson, 1978, p. 15).

Kluckhorn (1945) surveyed the use of personal documents in anthropology. He recognized that many problems of reliability, validity, and interpretation are connected with life histories. But he saw their potential advantages for studies of social change, as clues to implicit themes, as documentation on roles, and as demonstration of socialization and enculturation. He recognized that the method allowed entry into understanding personality, gaining a view of the "emotional structure" of a way of life, understanding variations within society, and a view of the "common humanity" among peoples.

Watson (1976) feels that an essential aspect of interpretation is the researcher's willingness to enter into a true dialogue with the other party. He, like others, feels that it should be based on mutual agreement and a contract in which both parties try to understand the basic issues of concern.

According to L. L. Langness (1965) there are three techniques for checking the reliability of anthropological data as they are obtained in the field. They are observation, checking one account against another, and asking the same questions of the same informant repeatedly over time. The same is true when checking the reliability of the life history.

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LIFE HISTORY DATA COLLECTION

Frank states that "the unspecialized life history technique is not only a method but a form" (Frank, 1979, p. 84). She feels that in the study of personality development, data should be gathered on any and every topic that appeared to be significantly related to the individual's growth and development. She collects data in the order in which events have happened, attempting to mirror the developing personality accurately and in detail, framing it in its environment, society and culture. The reader will be provided with an "inside" to the subject's experience.

Primary to this method is an inductive, exploratory model which allows subjects to speak for themselves. Carl Rogers (1945) suggests that the nondirective interview is an unbiased method in which to study the significant and dynamic motivations in the life of the individual. He states, "It appears to me that the most promising use of non-directive techniques will be in the realm of personality research and anthropological study because the subject's attitudes may be determined thereby at deeper and deeper levels without introducing the bias of the interview" (Carl Rogers, 1945, p. 200). He summarizes his position saying that, "The attitudes of acceptance and permissiveness upon which the interviewer bases his work are enriched by specific techniques which avoid making the client defensive and eliminate the personal bias which the worker might otherwise impose on the interview" (Carl Rogers, 1942, p. 253).

Mandelbaum agrees, suggesting that there are special advantages in having an empathetic, existential understanding of the person being studied. This allows subjects to speak for themselves.

There is disagreement among life historians whether or not questions should be focused and selective or open permitting the subject to talk freely. Faraday and Plummer (1979) used an inductive, exploratory model allowing subjects to speak for themselves. They approached their subjects with a research bargain indicating the areas in which they were interested and asking that they collect their stories. In return, they promised faithfulness to their accounts and the complete protection of their identity.

Lewis (1961) claims that with the aid of the tape recorder, unskilled, uneducated, and even illiterate persons can tell about themselves and relate their observations and experiences in an uninhibited spontaneous and natural manner.

However, Wolfson's research with Speakers of United States English indicates that the free, nondirective techniques that anthropologists frequently use may be confusing for the speaker and may even be taken by the subject to indicate the investigator's incompetence to conduct research, since the conventions of a proper interview are not being observed. If the subject considers the investigator incompetent, it is not unlikely that the subject will exercise more than ordinary discretion in making disclosures.

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN NARRATOR AND INVESTIGATOR

The taking of a life history is entirely voluntary. Both investigator and narrator work together developing a relationship which is absolutely unique to this situation. This special relationship encourages the deepening of revelations about oneself and the other person. "As many persons have observed, the field worker in a foreign society is

a person between two worlds--neither simply an actor nor just a spectator. Similarly, the narrator who gives a life history may be doing something for which his culture has no prededent. Thus, both persons meet in a limbo situation that prompts them to reflect upon themselves and their society in new ways" (Freeman and Krantz, 1980, p. 8). Neither participant has any way of knowing what will be revealed about the other during the process of creating the life history, nor do they have any idea of what the end results will be nor their implications.

During the past 50 years of life history work, little has been written about the relationship between narrator and investigator. Investigators have often been hard pressed to draw the line between friend and research subject. The published research seems cold and abstract when compared to the intimate relationship the investigator has developed with the subject.

Gelya Frank suggests that "the investigator relies in a primary way on personal resources in understanding the subject of the life history as another person, that in some sense the life history may represent a personal portrait of the investigator" (Gelya Frank, 1979, p. 85). In the same sense the reader attempts to understand the subject by looking for similarities in himself using this as an interpretive frame. "When we say that we understand another person, we temporarily take over what we perceive of that person's identity. For an instant we abandon our own position "here" and go over to the other person's position, taking it in and making it our own" (Gelya Frank, 1979, p. 75).

Because of this identification phenomenon, the life history has often been presented as a document that can be understood for itself in

its own terms on the premise that every reader already has a sense of how to understand another person through his or her own life experiences.

Frank's view is that life histories have tried to rework the subject's literal narrative editing out repetitions and other passages deemed unimportant, ambiguous or contradictory in order to demonstrate some pattern which the author has perceived. The text in these instances is treated as an absent person. Its textual nature is taken for granted and not analyzed. Any analysis has tended to come after the document has been recorded and edited. Frank cautions that we try to assess whether the life history represents the life of another individual in the way we think it does.

Freeman and Krantz contend "that life histories represent a distinctive class of data requiring a different and distinctive style of analysis. In its entirety the life history is distinctive, revealing three important characteristics which cannot be duplicated by other social science data; 1) a configuration of experiences in a continuous narrative made vivid by concrete detail, 2) a compelling quality, and 3) the process of taking the life history which is an integral part of a complete life history" (Freeman and Krantz, 1980, p. 4).

ASSESSING THE LIFE HISTORY

The limited acceptance of the life history may be because investigators have omitted or underestimated the crucial role of the observer. Freeman and Krantz (1980) liken the importance of the observer to the photographic artist who produces a portrait of his subject by controlling the lighting and background of the photograph or who modifies the composition of the portrait by selective cropping. The researcher, Devereaux,

maintains that the behavior of the subject along with any disturbances produced by the observer, as well as the behavior of the observer including his anxieties, his defense maneuvers, and his research strategies, influence the nature of the data collected. Another problem with acceptance rises from the proclivity of social scientists to evaluate life histories in terms of the traditional standard criteria of generalizability and representativeness, as pilot studies needing further validation. These criteria can be misleading when judging a life history.

Kluckhohn (1945) formulated four criteria for assessing the adequacy of a life history; 1) a comprehensive narrative of a person's life, 2) a description of the conditions and ways in which the researcher obtained the life history, including an evaluation of the trustworthiness of the data, 3) a discussion of how the subject's life history integrates with known information about his group, and 4) interpretations of the life history based on a coherent and nonparochial scheme.

Researchers Freeman and Krantz find Kluckhohn's criteria inadequate for assessing a life history today, claiming that conventional social science perspectives continue to be inadequate for dealing with life histories. They note that few published life histories contain an in depth discussion of the methods used for data collection, while virtually making no mention of the investigator and his work. Other researchers support this concern, cautioning life historians against excessive editing, warning that without investigator comments and interpretations the work has little if no meaning.

Life histories pose puzzling problems for the social scientist. There is no longer a distinction between method and content, between

observer and observed or between editor and narrator. The results are a combination of all of these.

ANALYTICAL METHODOLOGY

The problem of analyzing the multitude of data accumulated is seen in different lights by social science researchers. All agree however, that the life history has much potential if a methodology can be developed for analyzing the data.

Langness suggests that "the analysis of a life history with its accounts of interaction with other attitudes toward the roles played, rationalizations for either accepting or rejecting certain roles, and the number of roles played by a given individual, would be a most effective way of getting at the relationships between members of the group as well as at problems of motivation" (Langness, 1965, p. 27). Roles are seen as behavior accompanying a status and can easily be analyzed out of a life history and then compared with the behavior patterns of others of the same status.

Watson attempts to list categories on which to ground an anthropological life history from a phenomenological perspective. He feels that "too often the integrity of an autobiographical account is violated in the very act of interpretation" (Watson, 1976, p. 98).

Historically, investigators have attempted to integrate life history material into general theories of behavior, selecting those data which fit the major principles they are investigating. However, concern with objectivity led to approaches aimed at minimizing observer error. The approach involves minimizing or explaining away observable bias as far as possible. Allport recommended this approach, in which the data of life

histories are used to illuminate general principles or concepts in the social sciences.

Sidney Mintz, in Worker in the Cane (1960), gives the reader a good view of how his material was accumulated and makes an excellent attempt to use analysis. However, he makes no pretense of how representative his case is and presents his material mainly on the basis of its intrinsic human interest. He adds that if he were to follow up the life history he would want to collect perhaps a dozen life histories from persons of similar sociocultural characteristics. "While a dozen might not satisfy some standards for an adequate sample, a dozen studies would undoubtedly further enrich Mintz' perceptive analysis of the single life history" (Waddell, Mandelbaum, 1973, p. 205).

Faraday and Plummer say that "the problem of analysis is hence the extent to which the sociologist progressively imposes his or her second order constructs upon the understandings of the subject or the extent to which the subject's own rational construction of the world is grasped and apprehended in its purest form" (Faraday and Plummer, 1979, p. 786). The most restrictive analysis would be the exploration of a predetermined theoretical thesis. At the other end of the continuum, there is a second method of exploration dubbed systematic thematic analysis. Here the subject is allowed to speak for him or herself while the sociologist slowly accumulates a series of themes partly derived from the subject's account but partly derived from sociological theory. Researchers can move through any stage on this continuum as long as they publicly acknowledge how far they are contaminating the data by interpretation.

MANDELBAUM'S PROCEDURES FOR ANALYSIS

Mandelbaum has refined the procedures for analysis of a life history showing that the life history can be of scientific value when concepts, as well as procedures, are well grounded including continuous adjustment and periodic adaptation. In 1955 Redfield noted that an intellectual form for the study of life history was needed. The approach should be able to "raise new questions and problems such as the changing states of mind in the span of life, the prospective quality of a person's life, the influence of ideals on behavior, and the differences among what a man thinks ought to happen, what he expects to happen and what he actually does" (Mandelbaum, 1973, p. 179).

Mandelbaum's scheme does exactly this. He concludes that "what a man adds up to, he builds up in stages but no one stage explains the man. In each stage he developes some qualities that are new, and in each he uses capabilities, attitudes and memories of his earlier experiences" (Mandelbaum, 1973, p. 180). Keeping this in mind, he developed three comprehensive and highly usable procedural suggestions for categorizing the profuse data collected on the life history. They are:

1. The dimensions or aspects of a person's life.

Dimensions made up of experiences that stem from a similar base and are linked in their effects on the person's actions. They provide categories for understanding the main forces that affect a life.

Mandelbaum outlines one category as the individual's organic and somatic development (biological aspects). Another category might be cultural. Here dimensions include the mutual expectations, understandings and behavior patterns held by the people surrounding the informant as he grew up as well as those within the society in which he participates.

This can include the emotional experiencing of reward and penalty in maintaining or changing behavior.

The social dimension is concerned with the person's relations, choices, and decisions which have not been culturally stipulated. It includes an individual's behavior which has occured by personal choice and may be characteristic of the individual's social group.

The psychosocial dimension concentrates on the person's subjective views in their constancy and in their successive phases. It focuses on the subjective feelings and attitudes of the individual. Even though individually experienced these feelings are likely to be similar in some degree to those of others in the individual's culture and society.

2. The principal turnings and the life conditions between turnings.

During a life there are periods which are marked by major transitions and changes. These turnings are accomplished when a person takes on a new set of roles, enters into new relations with a new set of people and acquires a new self concept. A turning can occur after a single event or may be more self selected.

These major transitions tell something about the main parts of a life. They illustrate important roles, social relations, and self concept.

3. The person's characteristic means of adaptation.

Personal adaptations are changes that have a major affect on a person's life and on his basic relations with others. Each individual changes his ways in order to maintain a sense of continuity whether this be within his social group, or in relation to his own self image. Perhaps his very survival is at stake. Personal adaptations can be both a source of social adaptation and also a response to it.

In his comments regarding Mandelbaum's work, L. L. Langness suggests that a further category be added to dimensions, turnings and adaptations. This category he labels "consequences" reflecting the consequences of an individual's behavior. He submits that consequences of ones acts are as significant as any one behavior and often determine the individual's choice of behavior later on.

Researchers have supported Mandelbaum's work, acknowledging the difficulty in systematically analyzing life history data and recognizing that for the life history to reach its full potential, conceptual frameworks must be developed. Charlotte Buhler found his work to be highly stimulating, scholarly, and valuable (Mandelbaum, 1973, p. 198). Others felt that his methodological refinement would resurrect the neglected field of life history. "Mandelbaum simply reminds us once again that it is after all the human individual life that underlies the social and the cultural, playing a major although not always discernible part in the social cultural configurations and processes" (Mandelbaum, 1973, p. 204).

ONE LIFE HISTORY STUDY REVISITED

Psychologist Edward Klein and his associates at Harvard used the life history method to research the Seasons of a Man's Life. Using a small group of five researchers representing four occupational groups the lives of 40 men were studied over a period of years. Each researcher had the support of an individual supervisor as well as participation in a biweekly faculty seminar. In these seminars, overall theory, research theories and findings, including the work of Erickson and Jung, supplied important concepts for the emerging research.

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Klein and his associates felt that they were charting new methodological ground, discovering that over the years they had become social psychological biographers. The life history method allowed them to collect a fuller description of a man's life than available through other research methods, allowing direct comparison of a man to others within his occupational group as well as comparison of the four occupational groups studied.

An important element of their research technique was the use of research supervisors. Supervisors reviewed each case with interviewers regarding background, personality dynamics and the interviewing process. This was particularly important in helping interviewers build supporting environments which enabled interviewees to speak candidly. The use of supervisors is believed to have helped control for bias in the study.

Interviews of 10-22 hours in length spaced over a period of 2-3 months were conducted emphasizing the researchers' interest in human development in adulthood and how this is affected by circumstances at work, in the family, personal commitments and changes in the larger society.

Each man was told he would meet in weekly sessions over a period of a few months. The conversations would be tape recorded so that the researcher could be more involved in the interview process. Tapes were later transcribed for analysis. Only members of the research team ever heard or saw them. Once transcribed the interviews were coded to insure anonymity.

After the completion of the interview, one formal psychological test was administered. Participants were assured that its rationale would be explained or any questions answered after it was conducted.

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A research contract was drawn up between interviewer and interviewee. Here a strong collaborative intent was stressed, "...that you and I together will try to get a picture of your life; the world you live in, what you do, how you experience it, and how things are changing. It is not our purpose to put you under a microscope but rather for both of us to be working at a common task, learning together about your life" (Klein, 1981, p. 317). This helped the interviewee feel more relaxed and helped in the initial rapport stages of the interview. It became apparent that adults are more than interested in the development of their lives and would raise questions between interviews that would then be reflected in the next sessions.

At least three things were also offered each man. First, an opportunity to learn about one's own development, "how you got there, and where you want to go." Secondly, after the formal talks were completed, the researcher offered to answer any questions and offer any thoughts about what he/she might have learned about the interviewee. Thirdly, the researchers agreed to show each man what was written, "that it would not be so much about you as a separate individual but how your life and that of others reflects common patterns" (Klein, 1981, p. 318). Finally, suggestions were elicited for improving anything they had written.

Klein and his associates found it was best to start the interview at the point where the man was now in his life, interviews were conducted with no standard interview format but with ten predefined areas to be covered. They started with work, occupation, and career. Later other areas were brought in. These included family, marriage, lifestyle, and

children. Family of origin focused on parents and memories of early relationships, discussion of social class included income, residential area, and style of living. Researchers talked about the man's ideology, affiliation, identity, membership and reference group under the topic of ethnicity and religion. In the political area, questions were asked about local, state and national political affiliation, general political ideology and specific attitudes toward civil rights, poverty and war. Leisure time activities included recreation, cultural interests and how he spent weekends and vacations. Questions regarding his social networks, personal and familial as well as friendships and acquaintances, were asked. Lastly, interviewees were asked how they saw the past, the present, the future and their connection.

Over a period of years, a systematic case analysis method was developed using coding procedures and worksheets which led to a set of guidelines to describe and organize the man's life in a number of areas. The areas were social background and family origin, schooling, sexual history, family or procreation, fatherhood, occupations and social class, military service, work history, relations with men, leisure interest, death, illness, disturbance and bodily decline, psychological difficulties, crisis, and contact with mental health professionals, religion and philosophy of life, current life issues, and states of the interview.

SUMMARY

In summary, the life history offers a comprehensive method in which to study the individual within his society. It has been used to

complement ethnographic description and idiographic portrayal as well as to test and refine personality theory. Its greatest merit is its ability to give researchers an inside view of an individual and his culture.

Over the last fifty years, the life history has been used to study the lives of many individuals; however, the method has not yet reached its full potential. Researchers have failed to develop methods for analyzing the enormous amount of data accumulated during the taking of the life history.

Critics have delineated some of these failures. Nevertheless, the method has many social science supporters who believe it to be a technique which can explore and generate theory which can later be transferred to a statistical deductive method. Its reliability, validity and interpretation can only be as good as the researcher conducting the research. There must be careful adherence to objective data collection and reporting, as well as later disclosure of how the data were collected.

Methods of collection need to be carefully planned, and carried out. Relationships between the narrator and the investigator need to be cultivated and protected.

Analysis of the life history requires meticulous rigor. Mandelbaum's procedure of the categories of dimensions, turnings and adaptations incorporating Langness' suggestion of consequences holds much potential. Klein and his associates have proven that life history work can be meaningful and thorough, contributing much to the social sciences.

CHAPTER III

LIFE HISTORY METHODOLOGY

The purpose of this study is to explore, describe and compare, through case study and life history interviews, the self-reported life experiences of eight teachers of the emotionally impaired from the mid-Michigan area. Inferences regarding the influence of particular life experiences on the development of participants' empathic capacity are drawn in concurrence with objective affective sensitivity (empathy) scores as measured by the Affective Sensitivity Scale Form D (Werner 1977).

OVERVIEW

Eight teachers of the emotionally impaired were selected randomly from a population of sixty-six EI teachers in the mid-Michigan area. These teachers were asked to participate in life history research, telling their story from birth. A collaborative relationship developed between researcher and subject during the life history gathering process.

Each subject was engaged in a series of interviews for a total of eight to ten hours. A focused, moderately structured interview procedure, to be described later, was developed for use during this research, incorporating the work of Sullivan (1954), Saslow (1945), Chapple (1945), Owens (1963), Charles (1963), Klein (1980), Spradley (1979), and Weiner (1981). Descriptions of life events were based

on a developmental sequence; the feelings that each participant experienced during crucial life events and the consequences of their personal adaptations to these events were explored.

Audio recordings were made of each interview. Interview content was transcribed and evaluated as the study proceeded, and the interview focus was changed where it was necessary to obtain relevant information. Written summaries were kept of each interview, along with an interview journal recording the interviewer's personal experience in relation to the interview process.

Subjects completed the Affective Sensitivity Scale, viewing the video portion of Form D and completing the multiple choice section at some time during the interview process. The test was brought to the interview site via video cassettes or film. Scoring was done by the researcher subsequent to completing the interview analysis for all participants.

Data from life history interviews were evaluated and analyzed as the data collection proceeded, using Mandelbaum's scheme for life history analysis and adding a fourth category as suggested by Langness. The categories were, Dimensions, Principal Turnings, Adaptations and Consequences. In the last stages of data analysis, an holistic view of each subject was drawn by triangulating life history data with affective sensitivity scores (empathy). Descriptive life summaries were written for each subject. These summaries were then used to draw inferences concerning the development of empathy in the lives of the participants.

RESEARCH DESIGN

The researcher used a two dimensional approach triangulating qualitative and quantitative data. On one dimension the researcher used an historical case study design. Eight volunteer EI teachers were interviewed by the researcher in order to obtain as much relevant information as possible regarding the research question. A detailed account of each teacher's life experience, feelings, dates of events or sequence of events was completed over a period of at least eight interview hours.

The second dimension incorporated subjects' test scores on the Affective Sensitivity Scale Form D. These scores gave the researcher a quantitative estimate of each EI teacher's empathic capability. Thus the researcher was able to look at both the historical background and the empathic ability for each subject.

VALIDITY CONCERNS

At the inception of this research, the researcher had a number of validity concerns. Did the use of historical case study provide information which is directly applicable to the question: What life experiences have influenced the development of empathy in EI teachers?

The life history offered a rich in-depth study of human development. Participants willingly shared their stories. In most cases participants themselves attempted to find answers in their histories as to what made it possible for them to work with EI children while others could not or chose not to. Each participant shared his/her story openly. In only one case did the interviewer feel that an informant was withholding. This

participant avoided personal feeling statements, keeping the life history closely to a description of events and a description of others.

The discussion of life events ranged from early infancy to the present. Informants retrieved clear information concerning events and feelings. The developmental progression of the interview appears to have made this possible. Participants did not avoid discussion of emotionally difficult events. At times participants expressed overt emotion; some even cried during the retelling of a painful experience.

Confidentiality was assured participants from the beginning of the study. A research contract gave participants a written assurance of such protection. The researcher, as an insider (EI teacher), was able to build trusting relationships with informants which facilitated honest communication. Since the research took place over a period of four or five contacts, informants had a chance to reflect over each previous interview, and elaborate on issues they thought about between sessions. In many cases participants were able to predict what was to be talked about before an interview and had already given it considerable thought. These interviews tended to be rich in information. Most interviews required little direction from the interviewer; participants only needed assurance that they were going in the right direction and a little directed support that what they said was meaningful and important to the research. Each participant understood that the researcher was genuinely interested in his/her story.

The researcher believes that informants represented their life story honestly and that each story exhibited actual occurrences in the lives of participants. Interview data were validated when cross checked with the maps each participant drew of their life travels. The researcher found

no discrepancies between interviews. Nonverbal cues indicated that informants were honest and open in regard to their story. The researcher fostered an open relationship through early disclosure of her own teaching experience (qualifying her as an insider) and establishing herself in a learning, investigatory role. All participants were interested in being helpful. Because the interviews were either held in their homes, classrooms or at locations of their choice, informants felt comfortably in control.

The interview covered as much of the subject's life as was possible and was detailed in terms of how each subject felt about each event. A typical response is reflected in the words of one subject, "I think you know everything about me now, from birth on up. I didn't keep any secrets. I can't think of anything major that happened I didn't tell you." By interviewing over a period of time fatigue did not interfere with the collection of life history data.

Although audio recording was considered a possible deterent to data collection this did not prove to be so. Participants almost nonchalantly agreed to the taping procedure. In one case a participant asked that the recorder be turned off during a discussion in which she was about to use foul language. The biggest problem in this regard was a technical one: tapes recorded in classrooms were hard for the researcher to understand. In all cases the tape transcription process was to be difficult, time consuming, and tedious. The tapes however proved to be distinctively precise.

The Affective Sensitivity Scale Form D uses a broad range of stimulus vignettes including informal interaction between friends, teachers with students and group settings. Test-retest reliability is

.64 after one week while its index of homogeniety using Cronbach's alpha for an N of 2000 is .74. The scale is reliable, stable over time, internally consistent and able to distinguish between persons identified as high or low empathizers.

Face validity is reported to be good. People who have taken the test generally felt that there was a high correlation between their test results and their own perceptions of their life experiences. (Werner 1977). Werner found that people did better on items from familiar settings. He also notes that people using English as a second language found it hard to read the questions and answer them in the alloted time period. Most scenes involved middle class white Americans discussing problems within their own cultural framework.

As reported by Werner (1977), Form D is able to distinguish high empathizers from the general population. It is a valid measure of some component of empathy. Test authors are not yet sure which of many empathic behaviors this might entail. It is likely that these behaviors include an ability to detect and identify the feelings of other persons, or perhaps the ability to recognize the meanings feelings have for others or the likely feelings associated with particular experiences or events.

Currently scores are achieved on six subscales (Kagan, Schneider, 1983). A total score is achieved by summing all scores. Werner concluded that an high empathizer referent group could be distinguished from the norm group on total scale scores and on most of the subscales. The subscales include Between, Within, Male, Female, Child and Adult.

The subscale Between includes all items where the examinee is asked "What was X feeling about Y at this point?" It is concerned with interpersonal awareness, a person's sensitivity to what is going on

Between individuals. The test authors have provided no other information concerning this scale.

The subscale Within includes all items where the examinee is asked "What was X feeling at this point?" It is concerned with intrapersonal awareness, a person's sensitivity to what is going on Within individuals. The test authors have provided no other information about this scale.

The subscale Child includes all items where the examinee is asked how a child (under 18) is reacting. The situations are largely educational and involve subjects of school age. Because of this, test authors hesitate to generalize to sensitivity in children in other settings or to sensitivity to childhood psychopathology since it was not measured.

The Adult subscale includes all items not scored in the Child area. This category has been found to be the most reliable and generalizable because of its size and the breadth of the individuals used as stimuli.

The subscale Male includes all items in which the examinee is to respond to a male adult or male child. Werner discovered that a high score in this area was due to one or more of several factors elucidated in independent interviews. For some in his study, sensitivity had survival value. Individuals "needed to be aware as children what father or some other dominant male in their lives was thinking or feeling in order to avoid punishment, rejection etc." (Werner 1977). Or there was "little anxiety in the interactions with dominant male figures in their current lives" (Werner, 1977). Some individuals, he found, were generally sensitive and able to go beyond sex role stereotyping, seeing the generic problems of men and women.

The subscale Female includes all items in which the examinee is to respond to a female adult or female child. Werner found that the factors influencing high male sensitivity also applied to females. There were also some possible reasons for both male and female low sensitivity scores. He suggests that nonawareness of what is going on with a person of the opposite sex may be based on a lack of contact in any depth with members of that sex. In some cases it may be based on the use of defensive strategies developmentally which emphasize the use of denial, projection or making general assumptions about the way individuals of that sex react. He hypothesized that for those individuals who grew up in or currently live in situations where affect is openly expressed and where each person takes responsibility for his feelings there may be little need for being sensitive to subtle cues for what is going on. There are also those who may not be motivated by their personal or professional life circumstances to see such sensitivity as necessary.

The Total score represents the summation of all subscale totals. Werner found it to discriminate between high and low empathizers. Considerable variability of scores has been found within different education and professional populations. Some populations are more likely, however, to have a disproportionate number of high scores while other populations have a disproportionate number of lower scores.

Test authors limit the use of this test to the discrimination of high empathizers. It does not measure:

Self-awareness: the capacity of individuals to be aware of how a situation or another person is affecting them on an intellectual, emotional or physiological level.

Response skills: those skills including basic listening, interpretive skills and facilitative skills.

Memory/continuity factors: the capacity of an individual to associate previous knowledge of a person with his current concerns. Nor can it assess an individual's capacity to understand a person's difficulty in depth.

Interactional skills: the capacity of an individual to act in a therapeutic capacity.

SELECTION OF SUBJECTS

A small sample of eight was selected for the study. It was felt that a sample number larger than eight would be too large to allow in depth study of each participant. A smaller number would decrease the likelihood of selecting a sample with a wide range of empathy skills. A

list of sixty-six EI teachers was procured from four mid-Michigan intermediate school offices. Using a method of random sampling, the researcher placed each name on a slip of paper, mixed the slips thoroughly and then drew out twelve names. These names were recorded. This list became the subject source. Beginning at the top, the researcher contacted each teacher by telephone explaining the research and soliciting his/her participation. Since the first eight persons contacted agreed to participate the remaining randomly selected names were discarded. Subjects typically responded with enthusiasm. First meeting dates were settled on during this initial contact. A letter followed, confirming the conversation explaining the research and confirming time commitments for both parties (See Appendix A). Subjects were required to be certified in the area of emotionally impaired and to

have taught emotionally impaired students in a self-contained classroom. No subjects withdrew from the study.

Both subject and researcher signed a research agreement. Subjects signed that they understood the intent of the research to map out a picture of their life and that they understood the time commitment necessary. The researcher agreed to maintain the anonymity of the subject and to accomodate the participant's time schedule (See Appendix A).

INSTRUMENTATION

A focused, moderately structured interview was developed to gather data (See Appendix B). The interview guide incorporated the researcher's questions and categories with some selected from the Psychiatric Interview by Harry Stack Sullivan, A New Life History Form by George Saslow and Eliot Chapple, The Life History Questionnaire developed by William Owens and Don Charles in their work Life History Correlates of Age Changes in Mental Abilities, the work of Edward Klein and associates in the Seasons of a Man's Life, The Ethnographic Interview by James Spradley, and The Mind Test by Rita Aero and Elliot Weiner. Its intent was to provide some limited structure for the researcher. Questions were added or deleted as the interviews progressed and as the data analysis indicated. Topics explored during each interview flowed with the needs of the subject to explore certain events and feelings. Although the guide provided a framework, the interview was carried out as a cordial discussion.

The interviewer attempted to build a realistic picture of the subject's experiences from early childhood. Following Klein's example, the interview began with the present, in particular his/her teaching job,

and then moved into the past. It progressed from early childhood through adulthood. Interview questions concerned major events in the family and school environment. Situations which had a significant impact were investigated in depth. A subject's sense of self was explored repeatly at each developmental level. Interview progress was recorded on the Interview Progress Summary Sheet (See Appendix C) enabling the interviewer to keep track of topics covered.

Subjects were administered the Affective Sensitivity Scale Form D developed by Werner, Schneider and Kagan 1977, at a convenient time during the life history interview. The scale was taken to the interview site via video cassette or film. Subjects viewed the video portion of the test consisting of a series of filmed encounters between two or more persons. After witnessing each scene, they answered multiple choice questions about what the participants in the encounter were really saying to themselves.

DATA COLLECTION

All interviews were tape recorded. These recordings were then transcribed into typewritten form. Following each interview the researcher wrote a summary of the information gathered. This proved helpful in cases of audio distortion. After each interview a short entry was also made in the interview journal representing the researcher's interpretation of informants' nonverbal behavior cues, as well as her own impressions concerning the interview process and her growing relationship with the subject (See Appendix F).

The Affective Sensitivity Scale Form D was administered to all subjects during one of the interview sessions. The results were scored

using the current scoring standards developed by Jon Schneider and Norman Kagan (1983).

DATA ANALYSIS

Interview Analysis

Following each interview, the researcher wrote a short summary as well as noted in her journal her own reactions to the participant and to the interview. These notes became invaluable when a tape was discovered to have distortions.

Interviews were then transcribed into typewritten form, a task which could never be overestimated. Each interview easily filled 60 to 80 typed pages. Transcripts were then checked for accuracy by listening again to each tape. Immersed in the data, the researcher began to generate categories and classes which would help to identify similarities and differences between stories. These eighty classes helped the researcher write accounts of each subject's life and to ask more probing questions of later participants and of the data themselves. (Refer to Appendix D). Subsequently each interview was reread and marked in terms of the Mandelbaum-Langness categories.

These again are:

> Dimensions. These are the experiences that make up the foundation for one's life. They include biological, cultural and social development. They include the mutual expectations, understandings and behavior patterns held by the people surrounding one as they grow up as well as those of the society in which one participates. Also included are one's subjective feelings and attitudes as he/she passes through the successive phases of life.
>
> Principal turnings. These are periods which are marked by major transitions and changes. The individual may make adjustments by taking on a new set of roles, entering into a new relationship or may acquire a new self concept.

Adaptations. These are the person's characteristic means of adapting to life. Individuals change these ways in order to affect relationships with others or in relation to one's felt self image. Often survival is the reason one makes changes in his/her characteristic form of adaptation.

Consequences. These are the reflected consequences of an individual's behavior. One's acts often determine later choices of behavior.

Interview data were placed into Mandelbaum-Langness categories on a category sheet. (Refer to Appendix E). Specific examples as well as quotes were pulled from interviews and recorded.

The map of each participant's life's travel was examined after the Mandelbaum-Langness category analysis to check the accuracy of the category determination. They were also used to form later classes and categories. Using all the information generated during data collection and analysis the researcher has summarized the life story of each participant.

Analysis of Affective Sensitivity Scale Scores

Analysis of the A.S.S. scale did not begin until all interviews had been analyzed. The researcher wanted to be sure that her perception of the interview data would not be influenced by the test scores.

When the scale was developed, vignette participants were asked what they really had been feeling during the filming. These answers became the "correct" answers for each question. Currently (1983) scoring assigns one point for each correct answer. The number of correct points is counted for each subscale category and a summation of all subscale points taken for a total score. Using standard deviations given in the current test manual, standard scores were figured and then converted to percentiles. These were then compared with scores achieved by groups of

subjects in Werner's study who were independently determined to be either high or low empathizers. This scale was shown to distinguish high empathizers from the general population (Werner, 1977). The 1983 scoring procedure divides affective sensitivity into seven subscales. These are:

Between: (Interpersonal Awareness). The person's sensitivity to what is going on between individuals. These items where the examinee was asked "What was X feeling about Y at this point?"

Within: (Intrapersonal Awareness). The person's sensitivity to what is going on within individuals. These items are ones where the examinee was asked "What was X feeling at this point?"

Adult: The person's sensitivity to adults

Child: The person's sensitivity to children

Male: The person's sensitivity to males

Female: The person's sensitivity to females

Total: The accumulated scores

These scores were compiled and recorded in graph form on individual acetate sheets so that the researcher could study them and make comparisons using an overlay technique. Since the instrument can be used to discriminate high and low empathic abilities the researcher was able to compare individual scores with high and low empathic ability protocols. Note example (Figure 1).

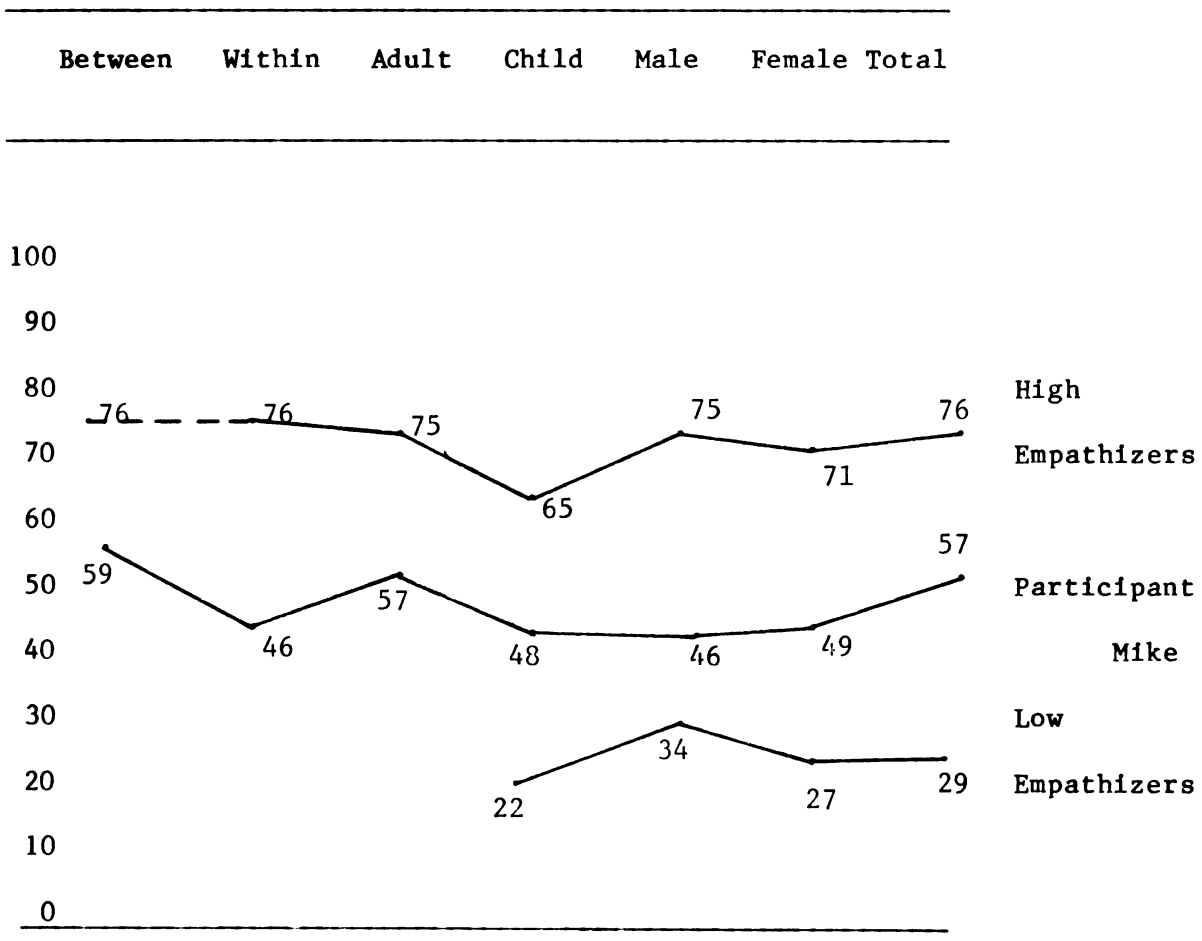

Figure 1. Affective Sensitivity Scale Scores Form D

Participant - Mike

CHAPTER IV

THE PARTICIPANTS OF THIS STUDY

INTRODUCTION

Of the eight EI teachers participating in this study two were male. The youngest participant was twenty three while the oldest was thirty five. Participants represented a variety of ethnic backgrounds! Black, Lebanese, Canadian, Irish, Polish, Jewish, as well as Anglo-Saxon protestants. A number of religious orientations were also represented. They were, Catholic, Baptist, Jewish, Methodist, Jehovah's Witness and Born Again Christian.

Participants worked with EI students from the pre-school level to young adult. Years of teaching ranged from two years to thirteen. Scores on the Affective Sensitivity Scale ranged from very low at the 10th percentile to the high empathy range at the 82nd percentile.

In the following pages the reader will meet the participants of this study. Loran was the youngest of the participants. She grew up in a small rural town. Here her life was filled with happy memories. Her parents provided her with a strong sense of religious conviction. Life in this family was traditional in nature; Loran reports a family philosphy of helping others and hurting none. She was successful with her peers and in school. Today she lives at home and teaches in a primary

self-contained EI classroom in her home town. Loran scored the lowest of all participants on the Affective Sensitivity Scale.

Anne is introduced next. Her total A.S.S. score is just a little higher than Loran's but, she did score in the high empathy range on the Child subscale. Anne (20) grew up in a traditional old country family, both parents being Lebanese. She was one of two girls in a family of six children. Anne reports life to be one of success and love. Family life was rich in happiness and emotional support. Her parents strove to give their children a sense of security. The family goal was to accept others and to learn to feel relaxed and comfortable with everyone. Anne reports that her parents always helped others and that she does too. Anne's marriage and career have been very satisfying.

Lynn, a young black woman, scored a bit higher than both Loran and Anne on the Affective Sensitivity Scale. She grew up in a middle class black community. Her family based most of its activities around the Baptist church. Lynn was active and successful in school and with peers. During high school Lynn's parents separated and eventually moved into separate bedrooms in the house in order to keep up the charade of marriage. Lynn reports that she did not want anyone to know that her parents had separated. During high school Lynn was introduced to the philosophy of the Jehovah's Witness. After college, Lynn took a job teaching EI students, married and had a child. Soon after her son's birth she decided to divorce. Today she has remarried and returned with considerable faith to the church of her early childhood.

Mike's is the story of an abandoned child. At twelve he was running the streets, stealing, and destroying property. Several significant men entered Mike's life during adolescence. Through them he learned how to

control his angry feelings and to apply his energy to sports instead of to crime. At fifteen "he came to know the Lord." He credits this experience with his change towards more positive living. Today he teaches seriously delinquent young men. He applies much of his own experience to his work.

Chris's story is the story of a young woman filled with excitement for life. She grew up in a warm nurturing family of three girls. Her parents were supportive and warm, both sharing in child rearing. Chris attended parochial schools where she was happy and successful. She remembers always feeling sad for children who were different. Early in adolescence she felt quite sure that she could work with difficult children in order to make them better for their parents. She scored high on the Child subscale, high on the subscale area Between (what is going on between persons) and high on the Female subscale.

Ellen is the oldest of all participants. She reported her childhood to be one of good times and fond memories. However, during much of her life her mother was ill with Hodgkin's disease. Ellen reported a need to gain acceptance from others. She believes that she has done things for others in order to gain this acceptance. As Ellen entered adulthood she experienced a series of significant losses. Her response has been an increased awareness of death and a growing fear of personal tragedy. She scored high on the subscale Between (what is going on between individuals), high on the Adult subscale and high again on the Female subscale.

Donna's story is one of personal accomplishment. She was abused by her father as a child. The family was poor. Donna felt persecuted by her school and community because of her poverty, personal appearance, and speech. She was young when she decided to escape her circumstance. She

saw a college education to be the only way out of a life she considered painful and unfair. Planning her escape carefully, Donna made her way to college, graduated, married and found a job working with EI youngsters. Donna achieved a total score which fell in the high empathy range. She scored high on the subscale Between (what is going on between individuals), the subscale Within (what is going on within a individual) and on the Adult subscale.

The last story to be reported is that of Bruce. Bruce teaches secondary EI students. He grew up in a small rural town. His mother and father offered a strong nurturing home. Both modeled understanding caring behavior. Bruce's father worked with difficult children himself. Bruce was an excellent student, in fact the smartest in his school. When he was nine a critical event occurred. Due to an upset within the community, non-Catholics, particularly Bruce and his family, were ostracized. Bruce, in fact, was beaten up by a group of angry Catholic youngsters. Other unfair rejections have occurred in Bruce's life. These situations have played a significant part in his attitudes and behaviors today. Bruce achieved scores that fell in the high empathy range on five subscale areas as well as on the total score. These subscales were Between (what is going on between individuals) Within (what is going on within an individual) Adult, Child and Female.

The reader should note that in this chapter, participant stories are presented in an ascending order according to scores (empathy) achieved on the Affective Sensitivity Scale Form D. A discussion of each participant's Affective Sensitivity Scale scores and their implications follows each life story. Similarities and differences regarding the eight life

histories along with factors which may have contributed to the development of empathy are identified in conclusion.

LORAN

Loran, barely an adult at 23, lives with her parents and teaches in the town in which she grew up. In fact she teaches under a past grade school principal of her childhood. Growing up in a traditional midwest middle class family, Loran's experiences were seldom frought with frustration or unhappiness. She has many happy memories. Loran's A.S.S. scores seem to support the contention that until recently she has seldom been forced by circumstance to test her beliefs or values and that she has had little motivation to look outside her world and to examine the behavior of others. On the A.S.S. she falls in the low empathy range. In fact, Loran's scores fall lower than all other participants taking the test.

Loran was excited about the interviews, greeting the interviewer each visit with enthusiasm. She seemed able to remember the tiniest detail of her life experience as one can see from the self-charted life history (Figure 3).

DIMENSIONS

Initially the family's home was in Ohio farm country. As her father's professional life grew the family moved to mid-Michigan where he ran the 4-H program for a farming county. Although Loran's mother had a college degree in home economics, she preferred to stay at home and use her homemaking skills there, devoting her time to her four children, two boys and two girls, Loran being the oldest.

In this family, traditional roles are important. Women and girls do the cooking and sewing while men and boys work on the cars, and the lawn.

All family members are expected to be interested in gardening and 4-H activities. Church attendance at the local Methodist church is expected. Church involvement helps to support the family belief system that everything will happen in its own time and that prayer changes things. Explicit middle class values have been expressed by Loran's parents guiding their judgement of themselves and others.

Implicit were the expectations that Loran earn good grades, graduate from high school and go to college. As a girl she was expected to learn to cook and sew and to do "typical girl things." She was expected to do her part in the family chores without complaining or asking why. The most important value of all was that she TRY. It was important to be a good kid and to be honest and sincere with others, "You don't hurt people, you treat people well", says Loran.

At the conclusion of one interview, Loran's mother entered the room and asked whether Loran had told me about her brother. She admitted that she had not shared that because she could not remember much about it. Her mother went on to explain that one of Loran's brothers may have been emotionally impaired. She reported that he destroyed furniture and sometimes in fits of rage he had to be held for extended periods. It is interesting in that Loran had many opportunities to bring this up, particularly when asked whether she had known any children who were different or special in some way. When she was asked if her parents ever explained the behavior of others she answered, "Maybe if I asked about the whys of people's behavior they would have explained. However, if it just came up in the conversation it would have gone over the top of my head." The interviewer believes that Loran accurately portrayed

herself as not particularly affected by the behavior of others and was not taught the importance of understanding others.

As a rather tall girl, Loran felt uncomfortable with her tallness. In traditional female roles Loran was able to feel successful at caring for her little brothers while perhaps avoiding some of the other traditional activities such as cooking, sewing and gardening.

The family did many things together including, church, school and vacation activities. Home and community were safe, nurturing places to grow. Loran's friends shared her family's values. When confronted with those who did not, she followed her parents lead and tended to shy away from them.

Loran's story is the story of a young woman who has been untouched by circumstance. Few early events forced her to examine her perception of the world. As a young adult Loran is being forced to change her perspective at the turning point of young teacher socialization.

LORAN'S STORY

Loran begins her story about the time she entered kindergarten. The experiences during these years seem to have been significant in suggesting to Loran that she was deeply loved and an important addition to her parent's relationship. She remembers a trip to Safety Town, family friends and her mother's hospitalization for pneumonia. Although not able to remember her brother's behavior, Loran was able to remember an incident concerning an EMI child while she was in kindergarten. Once while the teacher was out of the room, the kids started picking on this child because his pants were unzipped. Loran remembers feeling badly

about this but she did not recall questioning the reasons for the children's behavior.

Sometime during Loran's second grade year, the family moved from Ohio to mid-Michigan. To help in the transition, her old school sent letters that she could not open until she got to her new home. That Christmas, in the classroom gift exchange, Loran received an apron from a very poor girl in the class. The girl was very proud to have an apron to give. Somehow realizing how important it was to that little girl, Loran put on the apron and volunteered to help the teacher with the dishes. Meanwhile the other children were laughing at Loran and her gift. "I'll always remember, it was neat." says Loran. She still feels good about that good deed.

Not an agile child, Loran was usually picked for games middle to last. She reports that she used to wonder how come she could not be picked first. Still in her new home she made many new friends.

There were other times of insecurity after her brother Dan was born. She wondered whether she had lost her place in the family. By being particularly attentive to her brother she was able to sublimate her feelings. By the time her youngest brother was born, Loran had discovered that she would not have to spend as much time in the kitchen if she was playing with her brothers.

The fact that Loran was a nail biter (she still is) suggests that she may have used biting to reduce tensions. She did not report that she talked with anyone about things that might have been troubling her. Loran's mother tried to help her stop biting her nails by offering her a ring if she quit. She quit she says, "got my ring, went back to biting."

In college Loran tried again to stop fingernail biting by using a behavior modification approach. She wore a rubber band and snapped her wrist every time she bit them, for punishment. Now she says, "I bite them when I get nervous, when I'm insecure and sometimes in my sleep."

Junior High was also a time of few cares and many good times for Loran. She "hung around with a group of girls, played in the band and attended 4-H." Loran was friends with everyone. She helped a friend with math while her friends helped her through the impossible task of finishing a simple industrial arts project. In sewing she found the machine hard to work so stubbornly hand cranked the needle all the way around her apron. The most significant event of these years was getting in trouble for talking in her favorite teacher's class. She could not understand why talking was considered disruptive. "It wasn't like she had been throwing paper wads."

By ninth grade Loran had a boyfriend. Although her mother forbad her to ride on his motorcycle, she did count his kisses. Mom intervened because this boy was not to her liking. Trusting her mother's judgement Loran ended the relationship. She was not happy about it but would not have considered doing anything behind her mother's back. She says she was honest with her mother.

Loran was actively involved in many high school activities. She was a class officer and a band member and always was striving for indepen-ence and achievement. She reported that she had been part of two social groups. For the first time she had friends that had different values. "You liked them for what they were and they liked you for what you were."

Just as Loran marked a good deed from earlier years so she marks one from high school. This one, backfired, however. One of the girls

running for class office had to have her jaw wired shut and therefore could not give her speech. Loran volunteered. During the speech, however, Loran said the wrong office. "It embarassed the heck out of me. I thought I was a complete fool, stupid. But she got elected," stated Loran.

During these years Loran became interested in women's rights. She tried hard, particularly in speech class, not to be "your typical boring person, to be funny instead of serious." Several relationships continued with friends who embraced her values. Those who behaved in an anti-social manner were low class and not to be associated with.

Attending a small college, Loran found dorm life to be a big change from home. In this environment she was exposed to people from "all walks with different styles." She found that people could be deceitful. In one situation, her roommates decided to choose another dorm to live in and did not tell her. She felt hurt, mad and insulted. Another year she found that two of her roommates were involved in a homosexual affair. Loran caught them kissing. She was not able to accept their behavior saying, "I didn't want to talk, they got mad. This is middle class America you're talking to here." Loran did rise above her feelings when the mother of one of the girls died. She insisted that all the girls attend the funeral.

College offered her the chance to do things that she had never done before. She applied for an Resident Assistant position. She did not get the job but her roommates (not the homosexuals) sent her flowers and a note saying "You gave it your best shot." Later she was offered a desk job which turned out to be the best thing. She indicates that this supported her philosophy that things will work out.

There were repeated problems with roommates during Loran's college years. People argued and "bad mouthed" each other. Loran was now trying to understand that some people in this world did not measure up to her values. Her value that you could do things for people, that you could date and you were able to be polite, that your best friend liked you, that other people liked you, that they didn't hate you, despise you, turn their nose up at you, was tested. "It was kind of a blow when you went to college and some people didn't act like they liked you," states Loran.

Today Loran works in her home town and lives at home. Teaching at her old elementary school with a past principal has brought Loran some problems. There appears to be a large generation gap between herself and the older teachers. Her personal as well as professional values are constantly clashing with those of the older staff. She feels that no one appreciates her hard work. Her teaching style (a strong reward-based program) which brings smiles and happiness to her students, is sourly disapproved of. Teachers, she finds, must be the principal's "girls", something she cannot swallow. "It makes me furious to be considered a girl," she said.

Recently she received an evaluation which was not complementary. There were complaints about her not spending enough time in the teacher's lounge, socializing with the other teachers. Although she cried and was upset about it, Loran found work to be the best antidote for disillusionment. She holds that "I'm not the kind of person that you're going to bend into this shape." In defense, she wrote that a rebuttal would be on the way and that she had talked to an Union attorney. The principal almost immediately rewrote her evaluation. Loran feels that she has

learned "who you talk to and who you don't." "It is hard to accept that people in education aren't being honest with me. I could have never believed that it was going to be like this in college." I'm trying to make the effort to be friendly. I'm an optimist. You have to work at it, it's like when you say the weather is partly cloudy or it's partly sunny." For Loran it is partly sunny.

Loran is in search of more experiences. She has traveled to Europe plans to return there. Travel is extending her cultural understanding. Someday she intends to teach overseas. She has indicated that she is asking more questions about the backgrounds of the children she teaches.

LORAN . . . THE AFFECTIVE SENSITIVITY SCALE

Although Loran has a history of "doing good deeds" for others her Affective Sensitivity Scale scores did not indicate that she is yet able to understand how others are feeling. Loran's total score fell in the 10th percentile. Her score with Children fell at the 16th percentile. Her highest score fell at the 47th percentile in the area of interpersonal awareness, a person's sensitivity to what is going on Between individuals.

Loran's score indicates that she will need many more experiences with identified emotions in order to become more empathic with the children she teaches. At present she is trying to take risks with her environment through traveling. The researcher believes that she will make an attempt in successive years to get closer to the emotions of others.

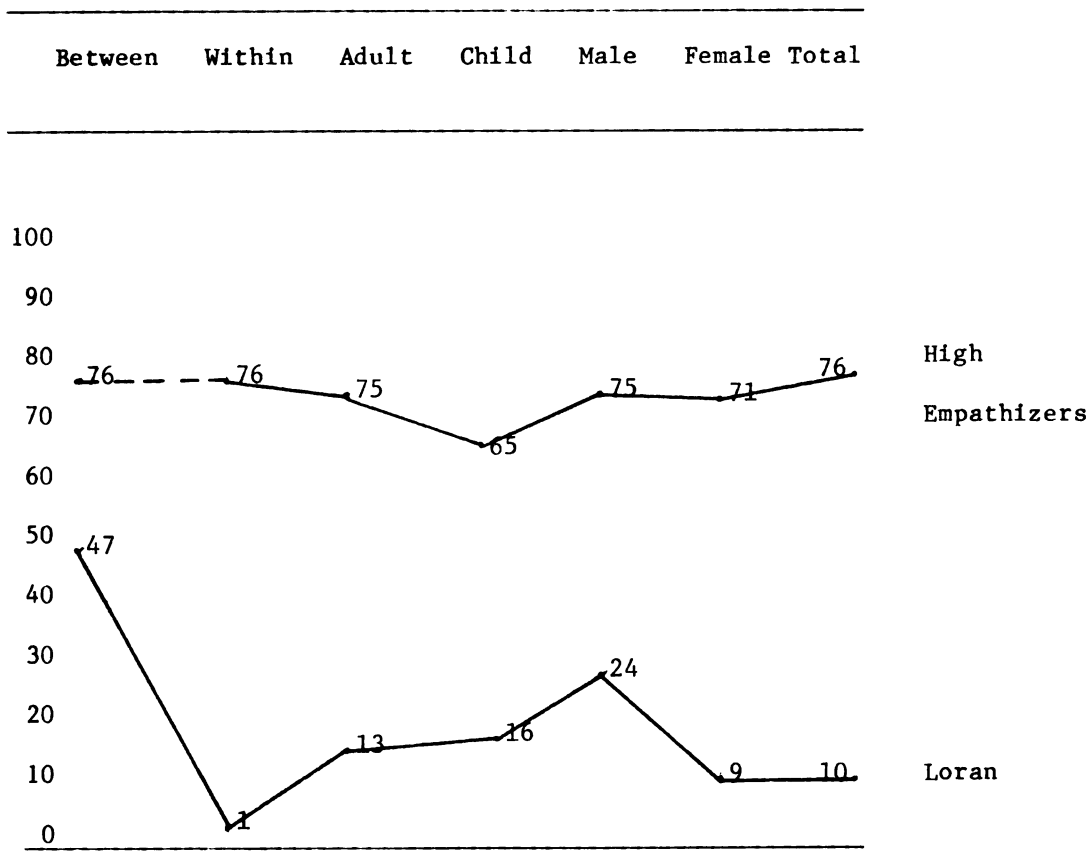

Figure 2. Affective Sensitivity Scale Scores Form D

Participant - Loran

LORAN - SUMMARY

Loran, the youngest and lowest scoring on the Affective Sensitivity Scale, grew up in a small rural town. Her family embraced traditional middle class values based on their Methodist beliefs. It was important to behave in a caring way towards others and to do "good deeds". Loran felt deeply loved and wanted in her family. She relates a long string of happy, successful experiences during childhood and adolescence. Typically, Loran talked with no one except her sister about her feelings. Although Loran's mother reported the possibility of one son being emotionally impaired, Loran did not report witnessing any unusual behavior. She could not remember any instances in which her parents articulated the possible reasons for the behavior of others. As she reached college, Loran's experience with human differences increased. Finding that her roommates were homosexual and that others might be dishonest was difficult. Loran resisted accepting this behavior. Today as a young adult, she finds getting along with her older teaching colleagues difficult.

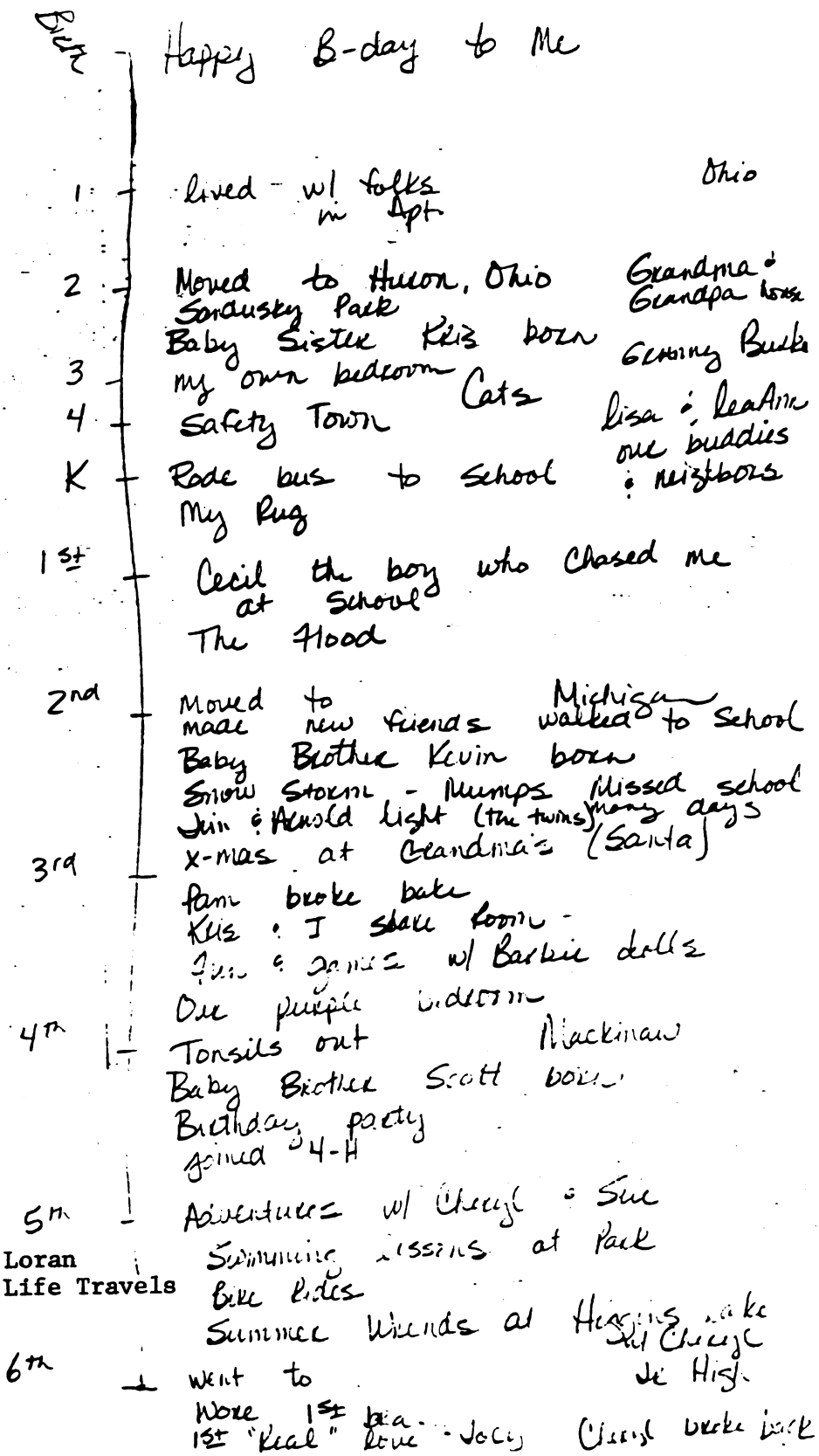

Figure 3. Loran
A Map of Life Travels

Figure 3. (continued)

7th

Became a woman

experienced new people

" new class

Chorus Econ Shop Foreign L.

Band Shopping w/ Gl.

Summer Band

Visits to the lake

8th

Swimming Lessons

Skiing at Snowshoe w/ Sis. class

Class Disturbance

Dec. w/ Santa x-mas

Soap Box Derby

Kisses from Jim

Summer Band

9th

went to the HS.

got lost in the new school

HS. dances

Homecoming w/ Perry

Volley ball team

Babysit in summer

10

Band Camp

Dissecting frogs : crawfish

Babysit in Summer

Shopping Adventures

Cheryl's surprise party

11

Mary Helen B-day

skiing at Skyline → hospital for x-rays

Band Camp

1st Job Waitressing

12

Senior year

"Senioritis"

Senior Dinner

Band camp Flute solo

Graduation : Graduation pictures

Figure 3. (continued)

Fresh

Sharing a Room w/ 3 other girls
Working in Food Commons
"Dave"
Bible Study
Witness

Soph

Sharing a Room w/ 2 possible
Co Ed life
Playing Cards until 4:00 am
Zoning Sybils RA interviews
X-mas spirituing Summer
Blind Date w/ Rick - Ugh!

Jr

Sharing a Room w/ Julie Jenny

Senior Seminar
in love w/ John Dest Job Summer
Flowers
Key West w/ Jenny, Elaine, John F.
Parties Plastic Surgery
Karen, Kellie.

Sr

New Practicum Summer

1st Apartment w/ Kathy
Student teaching in Hemlock
Tony fixes dinner

Surprise Party to Me
John
Graduation!!!

Figure 3. (continued)

Summer

New Job

walking to work

loving single life

Bobby Stacy Stacy Danny Eric

Cheryl graduates | Teeing

Melvin, Dale

Shopping Shopping

Cheryl sits RN

Air plane trips

Europe !!! ☺

White Water Rafting in Reno

Canada via train

Back to work.

John graduates

Evaluations

Europe in Summer '83

ANNE

Loran's theme might be called "do good things for people." Anne, a young woman from the Detroit area, lives by the theme "get along with everyone."

The interviewer spent three lengthy afternoons interviewing Anne in her home. During the interview Anne held her baby, often hugging her and giving her warm motherly looks. Anne has been teaching for five years. The first years she spent teaching in a Detroit suburb in an autistic program. She was quite successful using a clinical approach instead of a behavioral management approach, so much so that visitors often came to observe her teach. Anne married after this experience and moved to the mid-Michigan area where she teaches in a rural community. Here she teaches in a self contained classroom of cross categorical high schoolers mostly functioning at low ability levels. She is anxious to teach severely emotionally impaired youngsters again. She volunteers weekly at a residential school in order to keep up her skills.

Anne grew up in the city of Detroit. Her family, being Lebanese, was traditional in its values. Anne's father worked at Cadillac Motor while her mother stayed home and took care of the six children. Their small home was located in a friendly neighborhood where the neighbors were practically family. The many children played together and walked to and from school in a large group.

DIMENSIONS

In this traditional family the children learned traditional sex role behaviors. Mother took care of the two girls while father took care of the four boys. Father was a strong disciplinarian as far as the boys were concerned but was more lenient with Anne and her sister. The children grew up with a strong sense of nationality. Many nationalities were represented at the public school they attended. Although Anne's father was not Catholic, the children were raised in the Catholic Church, attending catechism but not parochial school.

Anne's parents have made family a top priority. Her father "lives and breathes for his family." Old fashioned in his values, he has always been supportive. Ann's mother, cheerful and concerned, has kept things jovial. In a crisis, such as a child with an injury, they would go together to the hospital. If there were ever any fights between them it was kept from the children.

This large family ate their meals together. If someone wanted something out of the refrigerator four people would have to move. There was never much rivalry between the children. They were never forced into anything. They were, however, expected to help out, to do well in school and to get a college education.

Anne feels that her parents demonstrated that people can work through hard times. They modeled accepting behavior, and were relaxed and comfortable about individual differences. The children were exposed to many ethnic backgrounds, the expectation being that you learn how to act in new situations in a relaxed manner, to act like you belong.

In this safe, kind, loving environment the family lived by the philosphy that "if it's meant to be, it's meant to be."

ANNE'S STORY

Anne's story, too, is the story of a young woman who has not been forced by circumstance to examine her belief system seriously. The turning points of her life are few. Going to elementary school was a happy experience for Anne. She enjoyed learning and was quite successful. Teachers and students liked her. She enjoyed playing in a baseball league even though her four brothers were not athletic. During the third grade Anne started the violin, discovering not only that she was talented but that she gained great pleasure in playing. She grew close to her violin teacher, continuing to play through high school and college.

At home, life was hectic with six children. Anne learned to fend for herself and to deal with the fact that there were often things she wanted to do or wanted but couldn't have. As an adult, she says, "I guess I like feeling that if you have it all when you are real young then there's nothing else to strive for."

The only thing Anne ever felt uneasy about was her appearance. She was very "skinny," and in her estimation, "ugly, real homely. People teased me about how skinny I was. I felt self conscious about it. My parents were always worrying. I used to be a real picky eater. I had to have every tiny bit of fat off my meat." Luckily Anne's parents did not insist that "you finish everything off your plate." Today Anne still feels embarrassed about her childhood appearance. "I see pictures and I would like to burn them all," she says.

Anne characterizes herself as "the kind of kid who would bring home stray dogs and wanted to help when she saw someone in need." Anne's parents were like that too. Anne says, they're the kind of people that stop by the side of the road for others."

Breaking her brother's finger was the only event that Anne remembered as traumatic. The children were playing croquet in the backyard when one of her brothers hit the other over the head with the mallot. Anne went to take the mallet out of his hand. His finger got stuck and broke in six places. She felt horrible, "I think it was the first and last time I ever really harmed someone. I thought my dad was going to kill me. I asked my dad 'aren't you going to punish me?"

"No, you had punishment enough. I think you were crying more because you hurt your brother than because your father's going to punish you." he said.

"I'm sure that was true", says Anne. "I've never felt that bad since."

It is note worthy that in this situation Anne's father behaved in an empathic manner demonstrating that he understood how she felt, acknowledging its value and worth. In other situations Anne's parents took the time to explain people's behavior. There were some people in Anne's mother's family who behaved rather strangely. Her parents, as the neutral family, would explain to the children what was happening, and some of the reasons why.

Anne's parents made an effort to be accepting of others. They always said, "Don't be prejudiced. Don't judge a person by their color, religion or anything else." They sought to feel comfortable in any situation. The children were exposed to many ethnic backgrounds and expected to get along. Today Anne feels that she can in fact get along with everyone. Her husband says, "No matter who's around or what kind of people you're with you get along. I feel comfortable with just about anybody," remarked Anne. "I try not to judge them."

Anne feels lucky to have had experience with other nationalities as well as with black Americans as she was growing up. She is glad that she was not exposed to just the American culture. During junior high school, Anne had many black friends and white friends. The two races mixed congenially in her school. Today she believes that these cultural experiences have enhanced and enriched her life. As an adult Anne embraces many of the old country ways, and traditional values are important to her. Her closest friends now have ethnic backgrounds and can relate to the old country ways.

The junior high years were probably the least happy for Anne. During these years she can remember resenting the fact that she had to make dinner and watch her little brothers so that her mother could go to work. She was pulling away from her parents some. At age thirteen, Anne had her first experience with a special education youngster. She babysat for her mentally impaired hyperactive cousin. Acutally she did quite well. Anne says, "It felt like a natural thing, a real natural thing. He always did real well with me."

Other memories include the Detroit riots, the trip the children took with their father to see the destroyed Twelfth street, the day Robert Kennedy was shot and the fact that her parents were both upset. It was the first time she had ever seen her father cry.

As Anne entered high school the racial climate in her school was changing. Detroit was busing. During the first week there was a racial incident in her school. This separated the students along racial lines. They no longer did much together. The black kids attended dances while the white kids were involved in other activities. Anne's parents did not

"make a big deal" out of this incident. Their expectation was that "you adjust without making a judgement."

In spite of the racial overtones, high school was a fun time for Anne. She organized the mock election convention, was in the Glee Club, Student Congress, on the journalism staff and was official scorekeeper for baseball and football. She received a great deal of joy from playing the violin in school musical performances. She continued to do well academically. Although her father did not really approve, she dated one boy throughout high school. Anne tried smoking once and did a little drinking on one occasion. Even though her parents raised her to be liberal, Anne's own actions were and appear middle of the road.

In probably the greatest compromise of her life, Anne quit the tennis team in order to get a job to help out with her college education. Working as a day care center aide, Anne was exposed again to children with special needs. The center served children whose mothers were on welfare. Often mothers came with different male friends each day. It was obvious that these children did not get the love Anne received in her home. She became very attached to the children. She suggests that this may have been her first experience with EI children.

The large university Anne attended was some distance from her home. She missed her family terribly, often traveling home for the weekend. Her chosen field of study was criminal justice. Early in life she had wanted to work with juvenile delinquents. One day when talking with her advisor about what she might do with the degree, they agreed that for Anne's purposes special education might be more appropriate. The area of emotional impairment sounded interesting, and "I wanted to work with juvenile delinquents," says Anne.

Anne's first volunteer experience was with severely mentally impaired children. She did not enjoy this experience at all. But her next experience at a residential center for emotionally impaired children was so successful that she knew she had made the right choice. Today she has returned to this center to volunteer. "Over the years I have been kicked on and spit on. But I feel once you break them down they really are neat kids and they're so intelligent." says Anne. "I like to be challenged and I'm definitely challenged. I just always feel real comfortable with them."

In her sophomore year Anne met her future husband. "He was real different. He was just head over heels when he first met me. He really loves me and cares and its a very secure relationship." says Anne.

After graduation, Anne began teaching autistic children in the Detroit area while her future husband went North to teach the emotionally impaired. After a period of a couple of years they decided that the separation was too difficult and decided to marry. It was a real adjustment for Anne to leave her family. For some time she needed to return home on weekends. Today she feels she has made the adjustment. "I'm a pretty adjustable person," she says. "But if I'm sick I like to go home and have my mom take care of me." Anne doesn't share much with other people. "I do a lot of inner problem solving. I keep a lot in but there are a few select people I would tell about it. My mom is one." she says.

Soon after Anne's marriage she had to be hospitalized for some biopsies. There was a short time they thought she might have cancer. Anne "pretty much fell apart; her husband was her rock." The final medical conclusion was that she was suffering from some imbalance which might be corrected by a pregnancy. Weighing the alternatives, they

decided to have a child. Today their baby daughter represents health and life for all of them.

ANNE . . . THE AFFECTIVE SENSITIVITY SCALE

The fact that Loran is a avid doer of good deeds was not necessarily a predictor of high empathic ability in her case. Likewise, the fact that Anne makes a genuine effort to get along with everyone and to accept individual and cultural differences did not predict high empathic ability in her case.

Anne's score fell in the low empathy range, at the 20th percentile. In the one subscale area for Children hower, she did score in the high empathy range with a score in the 67th percentile.

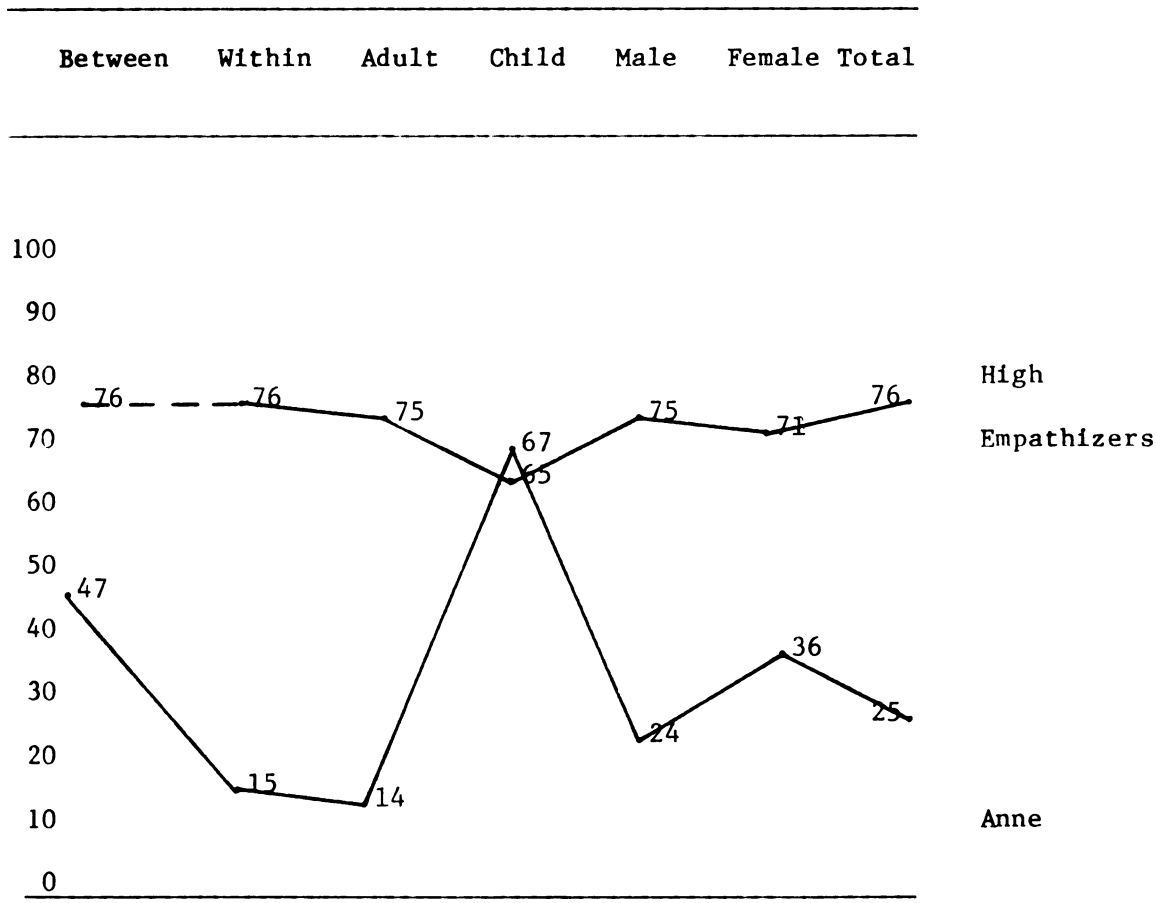

Figure 4. Affective Sensitivity Scale Scores Form D

Participant - Anne

ANNE - SUMMARY

Like Loran, Anne also scored in the low empathy range on the Affective Sensitivity Scale. Unlike Loran, however, Anne scored in the high empathy range on the Child subscale. Anne grew up in a traditional old country family, her parents being Lebanese. She reports her parents to be particularly child centered, both entering into parenting activities.

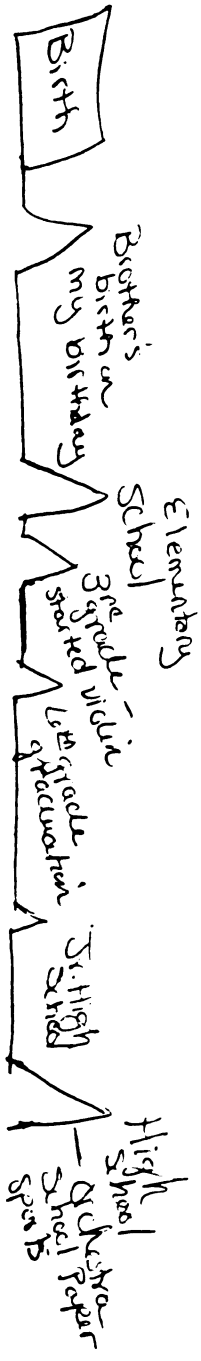

Figure 4. Anne A Map of Life Travels

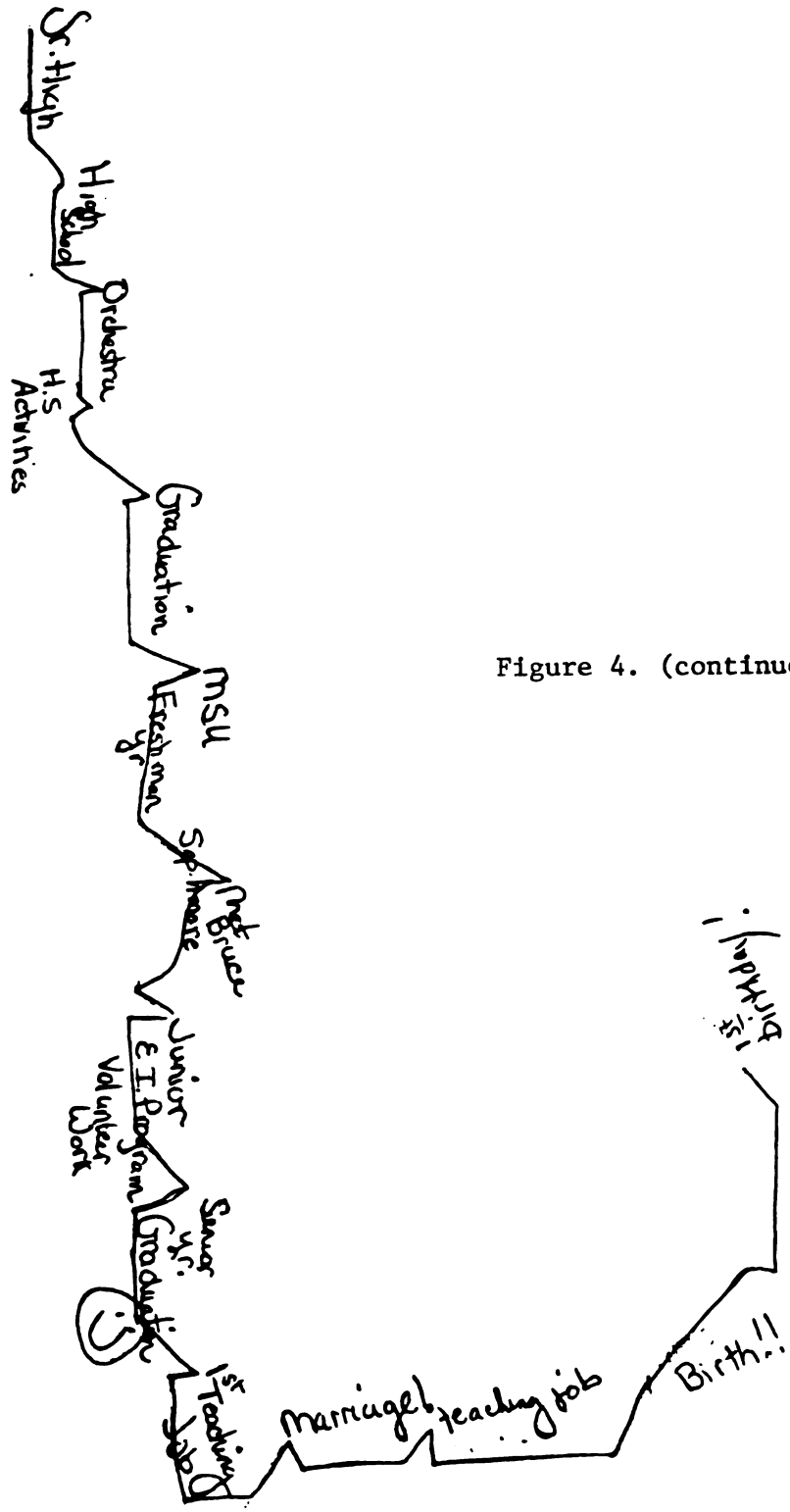

Figure 4. (continued)

Six children were a heavy financial burden, so the children attended public school instead of the more preferred Catholic school nearby. Anne did well and was particularly popular with peers and teachers alike. Anne claims to have learned to accept human differences from her parents. They expected their children to learn to get along with others and to feel comfortable in all situations. They demonstrated this behavior themselves. Anne remembers times when her mother or father would explain the behaviors of others. Sometimes, however, the children were allowed to draw their own conclusions about the reasons behind certain behaviors (e.g. the Detroit riots). She cites many examples of times when her parents demonstrated sensitivity to their children and others (e.g., Anne breaking her brother's finger, her parents helping people with flat tires).

Both Loran and Anne tell of loving nurturing home lives. They report that they were successful in school and were well liked by peers and teachers. Neither reports a crucial event which forced them to reexamine their values or caused them to change their typical style of adaptation.

LYNN

Like Anne, this young black woman was quite successful in school with teachers and students alike. Lynn has been teaching special education for nine years. Every few years she has changed her job in order she says, to keep it interesting and challenging. For a while she taught in a self contained primary EI classroom. Then she became a resource teacher. She now teaches in a junior high where her main responsibilities are to teach social problems to a cross-categorical group of special education students. Lynn feels that behavior management is the best form of classroom control. She is very strict. She maintains that she has a contingency for every behavior. She feels that children perform better under straightforward expectations. "No one talks when they come in my room except me," she says. She does, however, offer time for socializing either at the end of the period or at the end of the week. During this time she has a chance to interact with her students on an informal level. She enjoys teaching and is confident that she can and will meet her student's emotional and academic needs. "Its real gratifying to be able to work with kids other people can't," says Lynn.

Lynn and I talked while our children played. We spent several relaxed evenings together. At their conclusion Lynn commented "I think you know everything about me from birth on up. I didn't keep any secrets. I can't think of anything major that happened I didn't tell you."

DIMENSIONS

Lynn was the second of three children born to her parents, the only girl. Her birth was traumatic with complications. The family resided in a small, middle class black community outside of Detroit. Both parents

worked, her father at a General Motors plant and her mother as a dental assistant. Lynn's mother tended to be intense and to overreact, while her father was quiet, calm and not prone to demonstrate his feelings. Sometimes Lynn's mother could be irrational about discipline and might hit her while Lynn's father was almost never angry.

Home life was basically, uneventful. The children were very overprotected. They were allowed to play only in their immediate neighborhood, mostly with their cousins who lived near by. The family attended the Baptist church where family activities were centered.

Family expectations were to do well in school and at least for Lynn, "you do not mess around. You'd better be good or else we kick you out of the house." Lynn says, "I didn't look at either my dad or my mother as forgiving me. She just had to meet their standards. Drinking, drugs or other antisocial behaviors were out of the question. Overt anger was not acceptable so when Lynn felt angry she would go to her room and keep to herself. She doesn't ever really remember being angry.

By age seven or eight Lynn was keeping house. She remembers feeling that she was taking care of her dad since her mother was "not into housekeeping." At an age six, she would ask for a chair so she could get up high enough to wash the dishes. As she grew, Lynn came to keep everything to herself. Her mother was too intense and her father too quiet to confide in. Eventually she learned to find the answers in books as she did one day while reading about cancer. At age eleven she discovered a lump in her breast which, when removed, turned out to be benign.

By the time Lynn was in late high school her parents had separated once, eventually reconciling enough to live in separate bedrooms. During Lynn's college years they divorced and both remarried.

LYNN'S STORY

The early school years were very gratifying for Lynn. She attended public school near her home. A loner and a hard worker, Lynn was academically successful. During the middle elementary years several girls (possibly emotionally impaired) terrorized her. She became frightened about going to school. These girls found ways to make Lynn's life miserable. Social relationships became traumatic, but, Lynn continued to achieve academically. Lynn wondered why these girls behaved as they did. She wanted to understand why. She believes that the search for that answer may be why she selected special education.

Lynn calls her junior high years happy, stable years. She was suddenly part of a group where her standards were their standards. The girls from elementary school were out of the picture. "It seemed like I took on a new personality from being a super shy girl that never said anything to being a lot more outgoing. Different from night and day." Lynn has maintained the friendships she developed during these years throughout her life. As a seventh grader she became interested in boys. "I don't think I ever have had a period of more than a couple of days since that I didn't have a boyfriend, somebody," she says.

As she entered high school, life took on even more sunshine Lynn as indicates on her life line. Students in Lynn's high school were tracked for academic ability, so that Lynn continued her education with a group of students who had like interests, values and abilities. She loved it. Every day her group met in the lobby, went to class and reassembled again after class. Lynn, a member of the student council, the band, Del Sprites (a social sorority) and the teen group at church, dated one

steady boy. School was so much fun that she remembered being heartbroken when school was closed for a snow day.

During these years a number of significant events occured. One day Lynn overheard her mother on the telephone describing her birth. To Lynn it sounded like a nightmare. She had not known that the hospital staff had asked her father whether to save Lynn or her mother. Lynn began to think that birth was a horrible thing and "didn't want to hear about having kids after that."

Things started falling apart at home. Lynn's mother left. The children did not know where she had gone. Lynn was so embarrassed about it that she told no one. At that time, divorce wasn't very common, particularly in her community. "I chose not to look at it. When they separated I was very unhappy," says Lynn. Eventually Lynn's mother returned to take up residence in another room in the house.

At school another significant event was developing. One of Lynn's teachers suggested that a few of his students stay after school to study religion. Lynn, being very religious, was interested in attending. Class instruction gave the impression that not everyone was going to receive the message taught, only special people. "He made it seem like we were the ones," said Lynn.

Continuing in the after-school class throughout high school, Lynn learned that the world was going to end by 1975. "I was thinking, that's one of God's men, I believed him." says Lynn. Lynn sometimes thought "what's the use in going to college if the world's going to end." She was to finally decide to to attend college while she was waiting for the world to end. She might as well have a good time since she was going to die anyway.

Lynn was taught that she should not associate with other churches. She thought, "Well I'm not going to join them but I'll just not go to any other churches," and she did not for at least six or seven years. "This teacher really did have an effect on me," says Lynn. "It turned out the he was a Jehovah's Witness."

Another important event was the awarding of Salutatorian to Lynn. She was called into the office one day and told that she had won. She knew that she could not possibly have good enough grades but thought, "grownups must know best." Her family and friends were excited. Later the error was discovered and the honor withdrawn. The school staff felt so uncomfortable about their mistake that Lynn was asked to give a speech at commencement. Lynn reports feeling very sorry for the adults who had made the error. Their apparent anguish was soundly felt by Lynn.

The large university Lynn attended allowed her to see that, "Everybody's having problems. Everybody's getting divorced." She did not have to hide her parents divorce anymore. She did not feel uncomfortable talking about it anymore. Extremely major issues were always and continue to be difficult for Lynn to talk about. But "reading about things and talking to friends" helped Lynn understand how others felt about what was happening to them. "Up until then I had always gone around like nothing was wrong," says Lynn.

Lynn never looked back. She rarely went home. She pledged a sorority. In her sophomore year she met her first husband. "I was looking for somebody I could depend on," says Lynn. It was a difficult relationship. "I did everything, he was happy. Since I had gone through so much with this guy I thought I ought to marry him," and she did.

The summer following her freshman year Lynn spent with her parents. She and her cousin were shopping in a shopping mall. Neither of them had much money. Lynn did not feel comfortable asking her parents for money. Typically she would get a job to earn money for herself. On this day, however, Lynn's cousin began picking things up and putting them in her purse. Lynn did the same, "I knew I wasn't supposed to do that but it seemed like it was so easy. Once we got away with it in one store we went to a record store and decided we could get a record too. This is a store with windows all the way around. We were so stupid that we went right in that store and picked it up and put it in the bag. "On the way out of the store, of course we got caught."

"My dad couldn't believe that his little girl did that. It was the first time I had ever seen him cry. I felt so bad I stayed in my room for two days punishing myself. I didn't go out of there I was so embarrassed. It is absolutely the worst thing that ever happened to me." My parents probably blamed it on themselves because it was during the period they had separated. I imagine they thought that. My father went with me to court and all."

Lynn did not indicate that this experience impacted her in a way that has since helped her with the students she teaches. But the researcher sees this event as potentially helpful. Many emotionally impaired children take things for various reasons, anger being the most probable. If aware of this, Lynn might be able to make useful the memory of this event when she works with other children who steal.

"Student teaching really affected me," says Lynn. "I started to get involved with what was happening in the kids' home life. I started

saying, "Wow, I can understand why this kid is like this. It made me more interested in working with these kids. It made me a little bit more committed, a little bit more empathic with them. It helped me stick with it."

After college, Lynn took a teaching job in a mid-sized city, married and within a few years gave birth to her son, in spite of her fear of childbirth. She claims that she adjusts to anything and in this instance simply reconciled herself to the inevitable.

The decision to divorce came from Lynn. She was doing all the work. "I knew it was the right thing. It was not real traumatic. It did change how I dealt with men," she says. "I had a lot of barriers. I wouldn't let anybody get close. If they did anything wrong, that was goodbye."

Single parenting was difficult. "I felt guilty. I was unhappy." But it did help me relate to other single parents and what they were going through and what they did with their kids," says Lynn. She dated one particular man for a long time after the divorce. When that broke up, it was the first time Lynn had really experienced a devastating heartbreak. She became physically ill for a long time. She had never before been able to relate to her friends who had experienced a heartbreak. "I'm glad I went through it," she says.

Lynn reports here that her own moments of personal unhappiness have helped her relate to others. These turning points allowed her to have a better understanding of how others feel.

As a single, Lynn had returned to her church. Life was hard, she needed something. She feels she has changed through religious study. She has gained a sense of peace with herself. Lynn has married for

the second time. She met this man at a church activity. She reports that he is very supportive and is helping her parent her son. Because of her single experience Lynn believes that if something were to happen to her husband she could take care of herself. "I feel better being married," she says, "I feel that my last traumatic experience will be my last."

LYNN . . . THE AFFECTIVE SENSITIVITY SCALE

Lynn's highest area of empathy fell in the Adult sub scale where she scored at the 57th percentile, falling in the low empathy range. Other scores also fell in the low empathy range.

The researcher found these scores curious since Lynn had reported such a keen interest in understanding why people behave the way they do. "I get into trying to figure out why does this person do this or that. From what I can remember I've always been that way. The older I get the more I get into it. I have a lot of friends who always want to talk to me. We go through and try to figure it out.. I've wanted to understand people so I started talking to people and observing them trying to figure out why they were like that." Maybe I went into EI to help kids since I didn't have anyone I could talk to."

As the researcher considered these scores, the question of test bias came to mind. Test item vignettes included mostly white participants. One or two items include a black participant. Lynn grew up in a black community, has black friends and works with black children. There is reason to question whether this is a valid affective sensitivity measure for her.

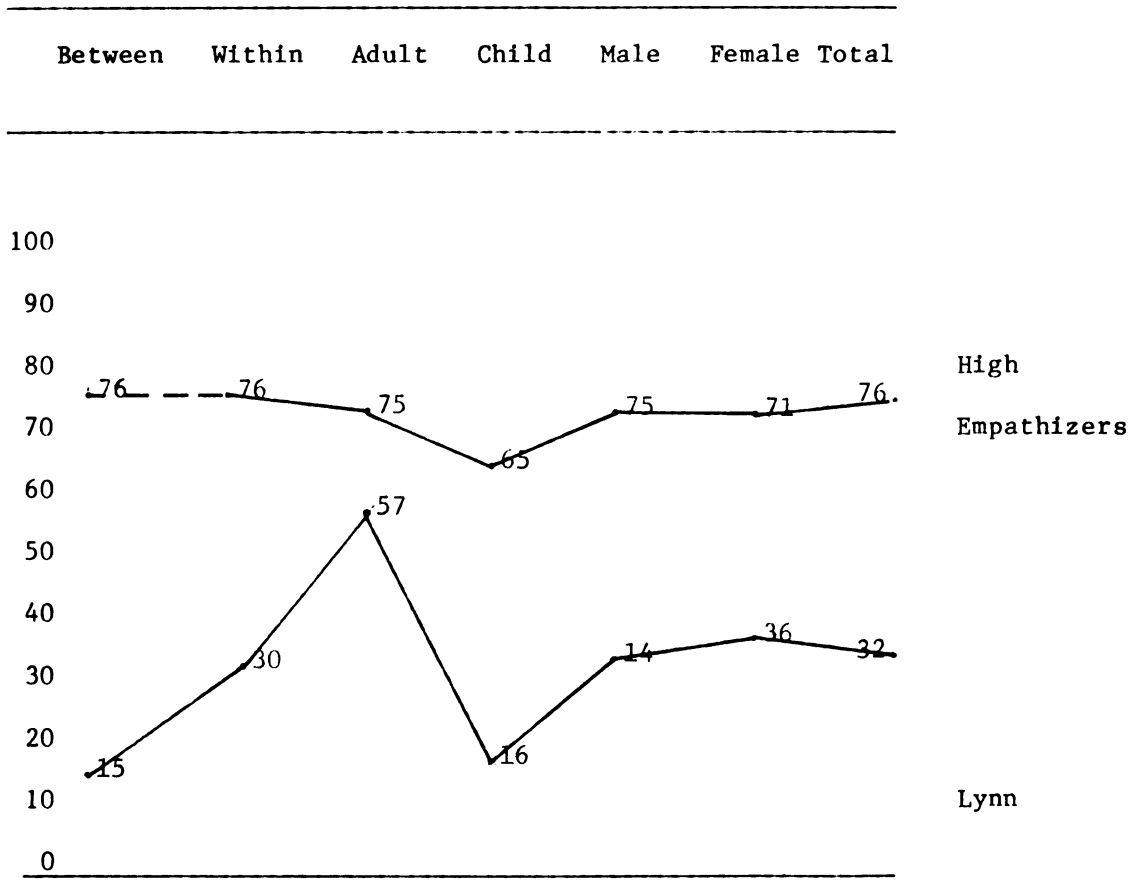

Figure 6. Affective Sensitivity Scale Scores Form D

Participant - Lynn

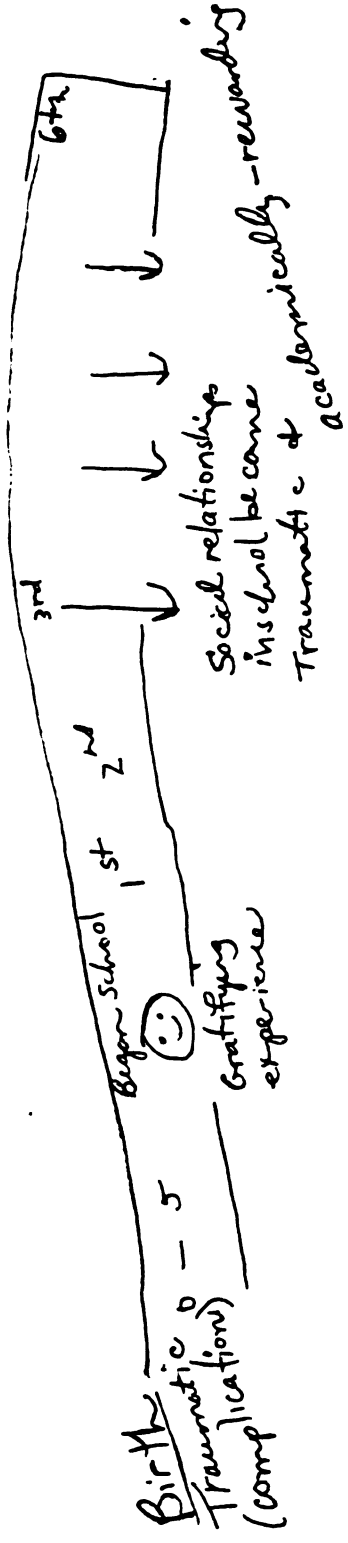

Figure 7. Lynn A Map of Life Travels

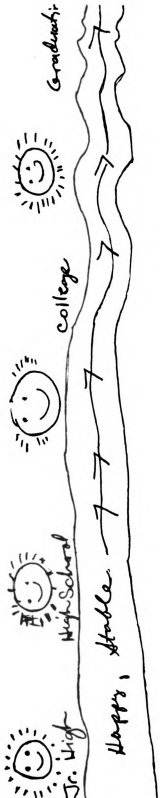

Figure 7. (continued)

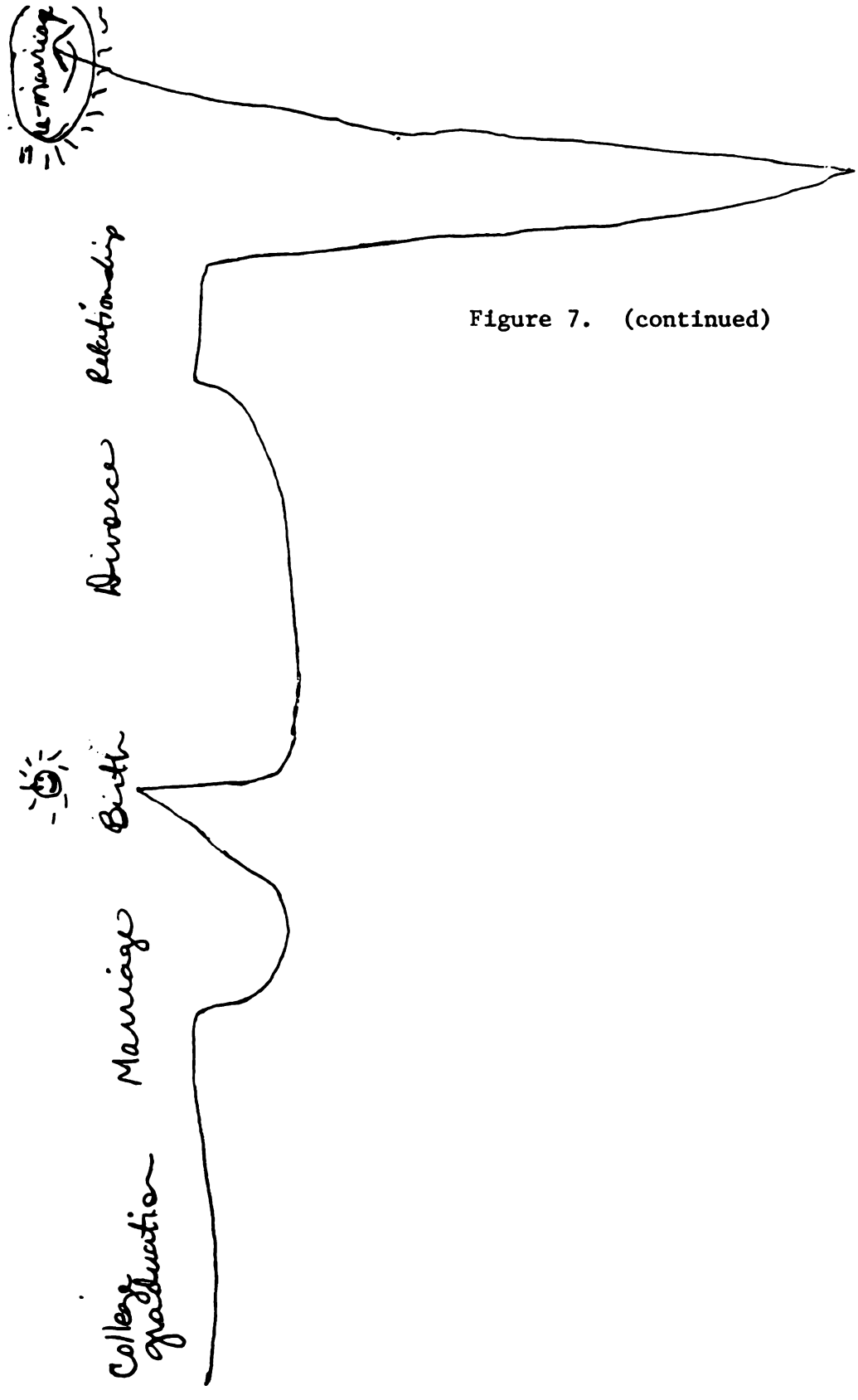

Figure 7. (continued)

LYNN - SUMMARY

Lynn's Affective Sensitivity Scale scores also fell in the low empathy range. This black woman grew up in a middle class black community. Here her family based its activities and beliefs around the Baptist church. Her mother tended to demonstrate her anger while her father was very quiet. Lynn learned to keep to herself and to look to books for answers. Most of Lynn's school career was successful and happy except for a few years during grade school when she was harassed by several other girls. During junior high and high school she participated in many activities. It was during high school that she was introduced to the beliefs of the Jehovah's Witnesses. This had a significant impact on Lynn's decisions for the future. She stopped attending her church and decided to go to college only for something to do while waiting for the world to end. Her parents separated during this time. Lynn hid this from her friends. Eventually she grew into early adulthood and learned from others that she was not alone. As a young adult Lynn had an increasing number of important experiences. Her parents divorced, she married, had a child and herself decided to divorce. Single parenting was a difficult experience. Lynn returned to her own Baptist church. She studied her religion with a new fervor. She has remarried.

Lynn reports a number of critical experiences which forced her to examine herself and her beliefs. During each period she turned to her religious belief system for support. Loran and Anne both reported that they have used prayer and a strong belief in what "will be will be" to survive stressful circumstance. In Lynn's story there is no strong empathic model nor any report of someone pointing out how Lynn's feelings

were linked to the feelings of others. She made this discovery as a young adult with the help of books and conversations with peers.

MIKE

The story of this young man is much like the students he teaches. The turning points of his life are dramatic in contrast to the stories of Loran, Anne and Lynn.

On the third and final visit I noticed a bulletin board in the hall that said. "A stranger is a friend you haven't met yet." That's how I felt about Mike. "I did not want to say good-by to this intensely sensitive young man." (Field notes Journal entry 3) "I think the process of bringing all this stuff back has caused him a lot of anxiety. He keeps saying that he doesn't trust people but here he is spilling his guts to me. I feel flattered and know I must be doing a good job." (Field notes Journal entry 2).

Mike is twenty eight and has been teaching at a residential school for juvenile delinquents for six years. He deals with boys who have been involved in crimes and are wise to the ways of the street. In this teaching situation there is blatant student aggression. Mike is responsible for the physical education program as well as a few academic subjects. He also coaches athletics in the recreational therapy program. Evenings he coaches in a public school near by. Mike believes in fairness and consistency. He says, "When they are swinging you're just holding." He tells the kids, "My hand is there, I can't force you to reach out and grab it. You want it, grab it."

DIMENSIONS

In Mike's large family he falls in the middle child of six siblings. His father, an engineer for Consumers Power, and his mother, a housewife, have their roots in the South. The family had its first home in a small

city in mid-Michigan. Here Dad was well established, providing well for the family. Each weekend the family visited their northern cabin or visited relatives in Detroit. Family vacations were spent in North Carolina visiting relatives.

Mike remembers that Dad was the enforcer at home; he didn't tolerate much. He worked very hard, having little emotional energy left for his children. Once in a while he would play catch with the boys. Mom, described as sincere and caring, might use a glamour stretcher to physically enforce her rules. Mike says he would rather have faced his father. Both parents found it hard to demonstrate affection.

About the time Mike was eleven the family was struck by crisis. Mike's father left, abandoning his wife and children. Mike did not hear from him or see him again for ten years. Mike's mother tried sewing to bring in some income. It was not enough. The situation went from bad to worse. There was poverty, constant fighting and parental lack of control. Moving twice, they finally settled in a small rural town.

By age twelve, Mike was on the streets committing crimes, pursuing his own amusements and keeping his own hours. The older children stole and poached in order to put food on the table, Mike included.

When his mother remarried, more strife ensued. Mike saw her as selfish and just out for herself. The new step dad literally had to fight for his place in the family. Standing firm through all this, he helped some family members turn to religion for guidance and peace.

Athletic skill was important to Mike's father; he encouraged perfection. He may have also encouraged academic performance.

For Mike, athletics took on a life of their own after his father's departure. Athletics made life bearable. As in most things concerning Mike, his athletic skill appears to have gone unnoticed by his mother.

The story of Mike is the story of a young man who, in spite of a neglected bitter childhood, is able to help other young people in the same circumstance.

MIKE'S STORY

After completing college he had looked around for teaching jobs. All he heard was no, no, no. There weren't any jobs. So, at twenty two Mike was working in a factory. One day he noticed an ad for a recreation aide at a residential care facility for juvenile delinquents. He interviewed for the job. Although reluctant to hire him because of his small size, he did get the job.

At first it was a shock to find the kids so hostile. It took him nearly a year to adjust. "I'd feel it was my fault a kid was having a problem. I used to talk to the counselor about the kids and cry. I went through therapy in how to work with these kids," says Mike.

In the next few years, Mike not only learned to work effectively with the residents but says "it helped me to grow as a person. I came to grips with myself." Today Mike runs the sports therapy program and teaches a few academic subjects. The kids really like and respect him. He has a reputation for being COOL around campus.

Not long ago Mike was in the same situation as the boys he teaches. Life had had some nice components while Mike was young. He enjoyed playing ball. He remembers his dad teaching him how to throw a curve ball. He remembers the cabin up north and the trips to North Carolina.

There were some clouds on the horizon by the time Mike was sent to kindergarten. During this year the family moved from a small city to a small rural town. Mike remembers being so terrified in his new kindergarten that he just sat there and screamed. School was difficult. Mike had problems learning how to read. He remembers being very embarrassed in reading group one day. Someone had scratched the word "I" out of his book. The teacher said, "How can you tell me you don't know what that means. You're so stupid its an "I". Mike said, "I didn't ever want to read again."

Mike remembers looking out the window not wanting to listen to the teacher. He had determined that there wasn't much the teacher could do but yell and that would be over quick enough. "How many times can you tell me to pay attention anyway?" Maybe a nurturing teacher would have been better for Mike. He says, "I think I would have done better with a nurturing teacher. My mom and dad didn't touch me very much. I have a real problem with touch now. I believe touch has tremendous power. Touching tells something nonverbally."

During middle childhood Mike began stealing from his mom and dad when he felt angry. He started to develop what he calls his "con". "I knew how to run a con." He wanted desperately to respect his teachers but anyone who allowed him to slide by he considered weak, a "pussy."

His fifth grade teacher was the biggest guy he had ever seen. He'd have to duck his head when he came in the door. The problem was that every time Mike challenged him he backed away. The teacher took a liking to Mike, however, and wanted his picture. True to form Mike wasn't going to give him one. With a little encouragement from mother, Mike begrudgingly gave him the picture. "He goes, 'I really didn't think I was

going to get this picture. That means a lot to me." Mike thought, "This guy really likes you." But he just walked away like so what, it doesn't bother me.

That was not the only front Mike showed the world. In order to protect himself Mike started cheating. "If I couldn't do anything right, I thought, what's the hell's wrong with you. I just worried about whatever I filled in. I didn't care what it meant. I was good in math. But I had a real problem with English. "But," says Mike, "I thought of myself as very smart in terms of common sense. That's how I could run a 'con.'

One day in sixth grade Mike got an 'E' on a paper. It read, 'E see me.' But Mike read 'Easy' "Like she was making a joke about my E. I never even went up there. I said, If you're going to make fun of me, I don't want your help."

"My family was taken from me at age twelve," says Mike. "I had no way to turn, no one there. Everywhere I ran there was just a hole and I'd just run through the hole. I didn't understand why my dad left. I had never seen a fight. All of a sudden he was gone. It was never talked about. He gave up total responsibility for the family."

Mike went to street life. He didn't want to be at home. "I didn't want people to get close to me. I tried to push them away. Mom didn't care. Dad didn't care. Everything became fuck or mother fuck. I was barking, trying to tell somebody something." Mike found he could run right over adults. They didn't back up what they said. Today Mike checks language hard with his students. His theory is that a dog barks before it bites. He knows.

Mike, his older brother, and a friend ran the streets at night. They routinely stole gas from the school buses for Mike's brother's jeep. In fact, they were so bold that one night they siphoned gas with a police car sitting near by. Volatile, Mike intimidated the other kids. One day a kid deliberately did something to Mike. Mike was going to punch him in the face when a substitute teacher tried to intervene. Cool Mike said, "I'd advise you to let go. Get your hand off me." The man did not let go. "I just looked at that dude and says, "Before the day's over your throat's going to be cut." "I just looked at him right in the eye and said that."

At home Mike was just as physically aggressive. His mother tried to draw the line once. Mike slugged her right in the face sending her to the floor. She didn't try to control Mike after that.

As if life wasn't bad enough this tough boy was also overweight. AT 5'4" he weighed about 155 lbs. He was embarassed. He'd rather not play than take off his shirt. One summer he dug out a basement while living on pop and potato chips. At the same time he discovered that he could run for long periods without getting tired. The weight disappeared.

Luck was on Mike's side. He met a caring sensitive teacher, a coach, one who could see through his front. "This man had tremendous impact for a man who was only nine months in my life. I think about him all the time," says Mike. Realizing that Mike had basketball talent, he showed him things. Mike would practice for hours in order to perfect it, showing him that he wanted his respect.

Another significant person was the big guy that Mike used to play ball with down at the court. "One day," says Mike, "I'm downtown, I look

up and here's this big goon walking down the street with this stick and a police uniform on. I became very close to him. I trusted him a lot. I started telling, but I still did my shit when he wasn't on duty."

It was these two caring men who made arrangements for Mike and his cohorts to work off a mini bike theft and destruction instead of going to jail. Every Saturday they had to go to the owner's house and work. "I got to thinking," says Mike, "I don't know if I want to continue to do this kind of stuff."

"I've seen kids who haven't done any more than steal something. Well, that could be me. I have been very sensitive to them. I've learned to hear out their problems. I mean really listen to them." This is just one of many times that Mike draws comparisons between himself and the kids he teaches during the interview.

A few years ago Mike attended a coaching clinic. One of the coaches conducting the clinic was his old friend. "He remembered me," says Mike. "He says, 'you've come a long way.' It made me feel so good I almost cried. He was there when no one else cared. He saved me from prison. Oh, I challenged him but he was strong. He understood my front. That's how I protected myself, my sensitiveness. I'd put it up that it didn't matter, you can't hurt me. But you already had."

There was an incredible tension that built up in Mike when he felt frustrated, sad or angry. One minute he was fine and the next he was negative. He says, "I almost had to do something to get it out. I cried a lot. I ran a lot. It made me feel good about myself again. But it wasn't long before things were building up again." He released them by stealing, and physical aggression, until he started changing directions through athletics.

As a JV basketball player, Mike learned that if he wanted to play he had to keep his mouth shut. "One practice the coach told me to break out and I looked at him. 'Why I did break out, man. The fool didn't throw me the ball.' He made us all line up and sprint because of me. The guys were thinking, Why the hell do I have to take your punishment. I had to think twice about spouting off." Finally, a lesson in self control and another lesson in trusting that an adult will follow through on their decisions. A lot of adults failed the test for Mike. He says that is what probably helps him to be patient.

During the early high school years, Mike stole food from the high school in order to feed the family. He would leave a window open after he left practice and come back later. "I'd take great big 20 lb things of hamburger, big things of mashed potatoes and vegetables. I'd steal money. I knew where the key to the pop machine was. I wouldn't take it all. I'd just take what I needed to get by, four or five dollars. It made me feel good. Every one at home would be happy. Mom never discouraged it. It was putting food in her mouth too."

There was not much at home. Mike used to talk to one of his sisters, once in awhile. She did his laundry. The other ones were young enough that he'd just slap them up side the head, say shut up and be on his way. There was nothing at home for Mike.

The girl of Mike's interest attended a church in town. One day he walked into the church looking for her. But in doing so he got interested in what was being said. "Those things really bothered me. They were talking about exactly what I was doing. They were saying there was a choice to do it. I knew I wasn't a good person, I didn't have to be told that. I knew the difference between right and wrong." It bothered

me so much I kept going back. I hated being there but I was trying to find a hole in the word being preached, testing the Bible. I could never find a hole."

"One day," he continued, "I just understood exactly, as far as coming to know the Lord. Fortunately, after I studied it, I was able to hear that many times. I made that prayer to the Lord with another witness there. I truly believe today. I was fifteen, when I came to know the Lord Jesus Christ, my lord and savior. Today, I have a strong conviction that stealing is wrong. But I'm human, I still have other faults. I still have downfalls."

Mike's mother's remarriage was a problem. He felt she was being selfish. No man was going to come in and tell him what to do. He was an intruder. On one occasion there was almost a physical confrontation. Standing firm, his step dad did not step down. Instead says Mike, "He showed me the scriptures. He led me to the Lord." He was Mike's witness.

Personal relationships were so difficult for Mike that, "Anytime something got close to me and things weren't going right I'd want to destroy whatever it is around me. Even though I really didn't. I've seen a lot of kids at school try to destroy a relationship when really they want to build it. They don't know how to tell you they're hurting."

Even in high school Mike could not always control himself. "It would just keep burning inside me until I had to go and do it." The basketball coach was a patient, subtle type of man who let you go through things. He knew you were going to have to work things out. A counselor by training, he would give direction but no answers. When Mike would go to his office he might break down and cry, trusting him with his feelings

of despair. There were testing times too. But usually Mike would work hard just so he'd say something to him like, "that's a good left hand." Mike remembers practicing on hot summer days. "I was not leaving that court until he saw me there. He was the driver's ed instructor. All I wanted was for him to wave to me. It was my way of saying; I want your respect. I want you to help me.' There'd be days I'd play eight, nine, ten hours."

The problem was Mike was so serious he was not able to take a joke. One day the coach made a joking remark about Mike not practicing. "I was very sensitive. It was something I valued so much, don't even try joking. I looked at him and I swore at him. 'I ain't ever coming back here.' I didn't show up the next day." So the next day the coach drove over to Mike's house and knocked on the door. Mike was the one who opened it. When he saw who it was he slammed it. Standing behind Mike was his mother. She got him to let the coach in. Then all three sat down to hash it out.

As a high school senior Mike was still volatile. The coach rarely called a foul when the kids fouled Mike. But if anyone else got fouled, it was always a foul. He felt Mike needed to learn how to take that stuff. "One time a kid fouled me and I was going thirty points a game. I got so angry cause it was right in front of him. He didn't say nothing. I ran right across the floor and physically kicked that kid and it was on a full run. It just knocked him down. The coach told me to take a shower." Mike's answer was, "Well, fuck your shower, I quit." At this point, the coach ordered the team into the locker room for a meeting.

The meeting's purpose, of course, was to help Mike think about his impulsivity in a safe supportive environment where it was important to get along. Being part of a team, being accepted, was really important to him. He felt pressure to behave in a prosocial manner. The coach wanted him to learn that things are going to happen but the guys are still your friends. You're not going to kick ass because you can't score on somebody or take the ball away from them. According to Mike, that's why sports therapy is so important.

Separating his relationships into daytime straight people and the night people he hung with, Mike felt confused when two of the daytime people were killed in car accidents. He wondered why the good people were taken. He wanted to do something for them. So he played for them, thought about them during a game, and gave a little bit more in their memory.

Mike attended a small northern college after receiving an athletic scholarship. His new coach was a screamer. It frightened him. For awhile he had a "real confidence problem." "I'd isolate myself," he said, "I was shy. I didn't contact my mom either. The things I had done, why should she care." He almost quit during his freshman year.

Even though the family lived not more than 50 yards from the school, Mike's mom had only seen him play three games. Their communication was limited, blocked by hard feelings on both sides. Finally, as Mike entered adulthood they began to talk. The bad times between them are over. Today they can sit down and talk. "But," says Mike, "I still can't go up and hug her. She understands, we've talked about it. I don't spend a lot of time with her. My mom came to know the Lord before I did."

The woman Mike married was fourteen when he met her. He was three years older. Because she also came from a broken home, they had some things in common. Marrying after she completed high school, they have worked hard to maintain their relationship. Neither wants to repeat the mistakes of their parents. The pain they felt as children is still very real. They are becoming closer, but for both, trust is hard. Mike is striving to provide a good home for his two children. He appears sensitive to their feelings. He is proud of them, making plans to someday coach college ball. He thinks a college environment might be good for them.

Mike's wife was instrumental in getting him to reunite with his father. After ten years, Mike initiated a meeting. Although they have not talked about the reason he abandoned the family, Mike believes that he is sorry. When his father cautioned Mike to always treat his wife with respect, Mike heard, "You have to go through the hard and the good times." Of course, this was something his dad could not do.

Running has always helped Mike release his tensions and helped him to think. When he returned from running "no matter what the crisis there was going to be tomorrow." Things looked different. Running as much as eighty miles a week, Mike suffered a stress fracture last year. At first he wouldn't accept it. But it took four long months before he could even run again with no pain. It was a tremendous loss. He had felt secure in the athletic image he projected to others. Now who was he? Worse yet he had no way to release things, a very real problem for Mike even as an adult.

Today, Mike is debating whether he will try to return to his previous running schedule. He realizes now the potential for serious

injury. He had taken his mobility and athletic prowess for granted. This is an agonizing realignment for him. Running has provided him with an outlet for his feelings for many years. It has made life bearable during unbearable times. It has brought him enormous pleasure. In his worst times it has helped him control his impulse to do himself and others harm.

At work Mike is also ready for a change. He thinks maybe he's outgrown the residential school. Even for Mike its difficult to start relationships with boorish kids over and over again. "I'm looking to advance myself," he says. "I've worked there over five years, it has helped me grow as a person. I've become very sensitive to these types of kids. It grinds me that they are treated like criminals. They are not criminals. They're human beings who just haven't had a lot of positive type experiences in their lives. It's been an education. I feel I can deal with any kind of crisis. I've learned that you've got to be a counselor, friend and a coach."

Those men who reached out to Mike were able to look beyond the facade he showed the world, the front that said "I'm a tough guy." Today he says, "I give it back every day. For five years I've given it back. I think now, I've probably given more to them than they've ever given to me." You know some of the people who knew me make a joke, they say, "Now you're working with criminals!"

MIKE . . . THE AFFECTIVE SENSITIVITY SCALE

When Mike took the Affective Sensitivity Scale he seemed rather hurried. It appeared that he chose his answers without even reading the questions. He is either a very fast reader or he had some difficulty

reading the questions in the time allotted. The researcher thus has some concerns about the validity of his scores. Perhaps this scale was too threatening for him to apply himself wholeheartedly. The A.S.S. vignettes may have returned so many unbidden memories that he could not attend to the questions.

According to his scored performance, Mike falls close to the 50 percentile on all the subscale areas. His performance did not seem to support the many instances during the interview that Mike talked about his experiences and how they have influenced his teaching and ability "to give to a kid." Then, too, Mike works with seriously delinquent boys whose thoughts and feelings would be much different from the benign middle class vignettes of the A.S.S.. No seriously aggressive or destructive thoughts or behaviors were portrayed.

The researcher, believing that Mike represented his skills and understandings honestly, used an alternative or additional method to detect empathic ability. This method was based on an informal checklist using Carkhoff's heirarchy of empathic ability (see page 126). On the checklist were the four levels of empathy the researcher felt could possibly be discerned from each participant's interviews. The researcher then recorded one tally mark for each time a participant indicated that he/she performed empathically at that level. The tally marks were then totaled.

	Loran	Anne	Lynn	Mike	Chris	Ellen	Donna	Bruce
Reacts nonjudgementally	11	111	111	11	111	1	1111	1111
Explores depth of feeling		1			1111		11	1
May be able to accurately identify contradictions in behavior		11	1	1111	111		1	1111
Can identify relationships between feelings, attitudes and values	11	1	1111	1111	111		11	111
Total	4	7	8	12	13	1	9	12

Figure 8. Informal Empathy Checklist

This scale showed that Mike reported using the higher levels of empathy more often than any other participant. Since the researcher was counting empathic responses in relation to the students each participant taught, it is probable that Mike is highly empathic in his work related setting. Here he works with young men like himself.

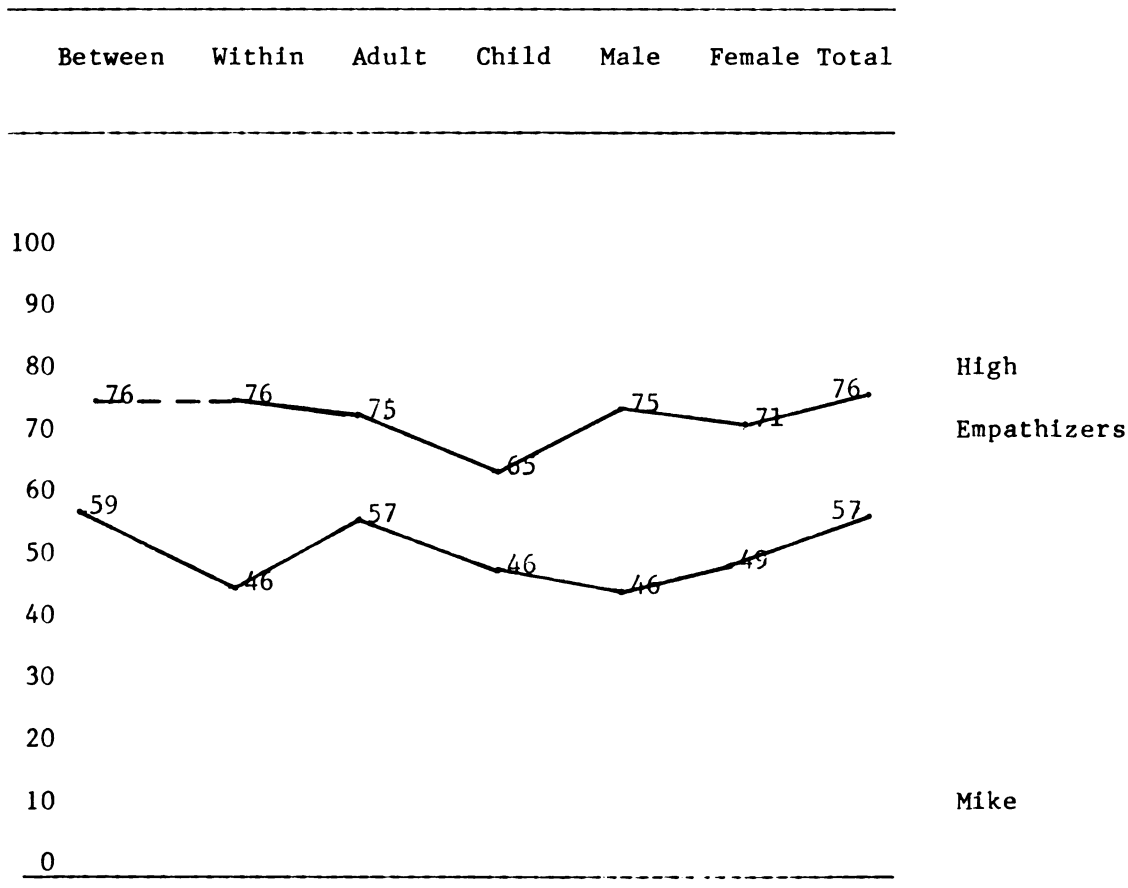

Figure 9. Affective Sensitivity Scale Scores Form D

Participant - Mike

MIKE - SUMMARY

Mike's story is that of a youngster abandoned by his father. At twelve he was running the streets, stealing, and destroying property. At home there was fighting, poverty, and a lack of parental guidance. Mike and his brother stole food to feed the family. Mike's high school basketball coach was significant in his shift from antisocial to prosocial behavior. This man, also a school counselor, spent time talking with Mike about his feelings. He helped him gain control, on the basketball court as well as with his everyday behavior. Mike "came to know the Lord" when just fifteen. This conversion began a long series of prosocial changes for Mike. He began to see that stealing was wrong. Mike was agressive and angry. Athletics grew to be his way of dealing with adversity and frustration. A coach took an interest in Mike's athletic ability. He spent time showing him things about basketball. A police officer also became Mike's friend. They played ball together. Eventually this friendship developed to a point in which the officer would come to Mike for information about crimes.

As an adult, Mike has married the girl he dated in high school. He uses running to control his still sensitive emotions. Mike works with severely delinquent young men. He reports using the memories of his experience to understand and program for the youngsters in his charge.

Nevertheless, Mike did not score in the high empathy range on the Affective Sensitivity Scale although he did score higher than Loran, Anne and Lynn. The researcher believes that he may have had trouble reading and answering the questions in the time period allotted. It is also possible that the vignettes of the A.S.S. did not represent the more

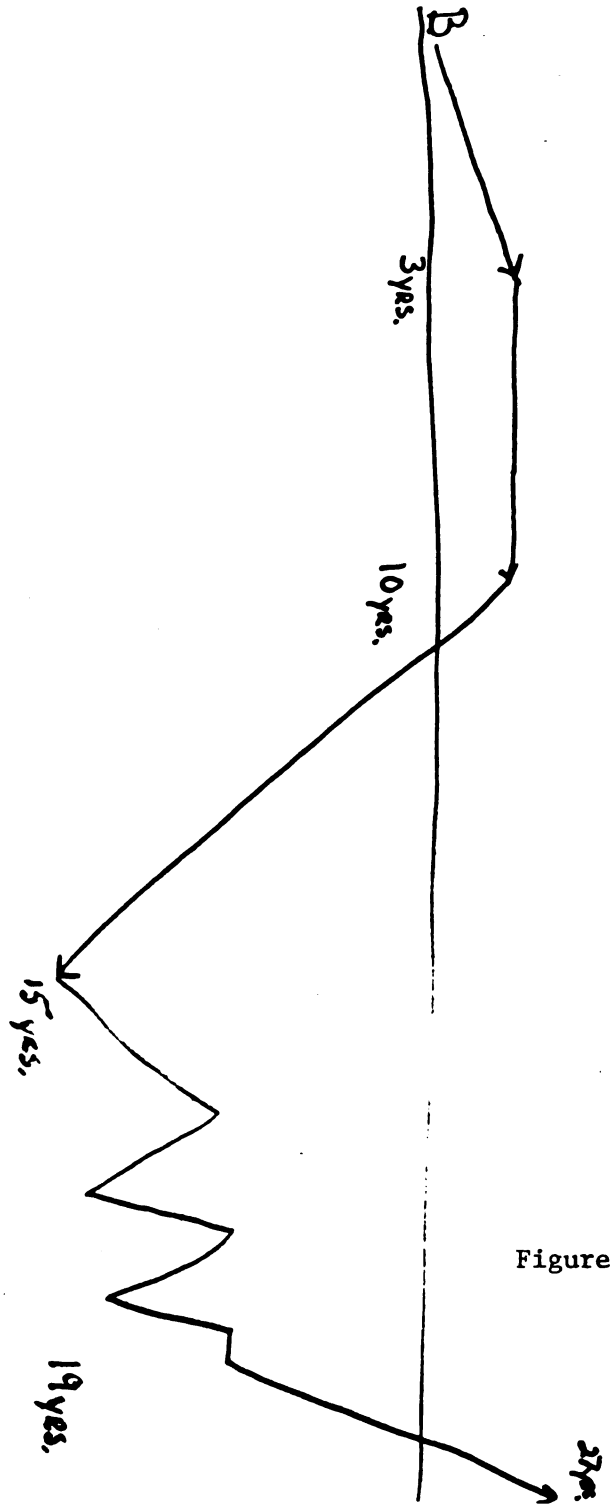

Figure 10. Mike A Map of Life Travels

violent experiences of Mike's life. In his experience, the human response is more extreme than those depicted.

Using another method of empathy evaluation the researcher suggests that Mike is probably highly empathic in his work related setting. Here he understands the extremes in thoughts and behavior of the juvenile delinquent.

Unlike Loran, Lynn, or Anne, Mike's life has been one of struggle and hardship. Thanks to several significant men, Mike's behavior changed for the better. One of these men, a counselor, helped Mike learn to talk about his feelings. Since working with delinquent boys, he has also participated in therapeutic counseling in regard to learning how to help the youngsters of his work. Neither Loran, Anne or Lynn reported such an experience. Mike was exposed to several empathic role models (his coaches, the cop). He was also very much impacted by his coming to know the Lord. He reports that this was the most significant experience of his life and that his changed behavior can be accounted for by this experience. Loran, Lynn and Anne also reported a significant impact by their church and its beliefs. Mike's life experience has been frought with emotional pain and suffering. He reports many years of feeling desperately unhappy. He would have done just about anything to alleviate it. Sometimes he stole, sometimes he destroyed property, sometimes he hurt others, but in the end, he gained mastery with the help of several kind, caring men, his new found religion and athletics.

CHRIS

Chris's story contrasts sharply with Mike's struggle. A plaque in her kitchen held the essence of her story. It read.

May these rich blessings be your due
A wealth of friendships old and new
Time for prayer and time for praise
Service rendered, solace given
And gentle peace with God and heaven.

Chris was excited about the interviews. We completed them in four very pleasant visits to her home. It was Christmas time, "I loved sitting in her little house full of warm colors, candles and Christmas listening to her laugh and enjoy the story she spun. (Field notes entry #2) "She was specific about the time periods she had available for the interview so we kept strictly to her schedule. She has some special things she likes to do with her husband, such as watch MASH or MAGNUM." (Field notes entry #3).

Chris reports her teaching day to be one of fun and challenge. She teaches in a primary classroom for emotionally impaired children. She says she loves EI kids and has since she was very young. She reports herself to be particularly insightful, understanding children more than adults. She says she can predict what's going to happen in the classroom. Devoted to teaching, she tries to perfect her style more each year, doing Magic Circle and on-the-spot interpersonal problem solving with her students. Only one other participant reported being as comfortable as Chris with the affective area (see checklist Empathic Attitudes).

DIMENSIONS

Chris's father is Irish while her mother is French Canadian. Their home, in Saginaw, Michigan, provided each of their three daughters a place in which to grow from birth until marriage. The girls attended the same Catholic school from kindergarten through twelth grade.

The family celebrated religious holidays together, kneeling at the table while each person took a turn saying a rosary bead. Christmas continues to be a big event full of decorations, anticipation and concerned giving. Besides being very religious, the family relies heavily on humor, love and warmth. "When we're together we just try and have a good time, usually playing darts or pool together. Even today, the family gets together for a big dinner on Sunday."

As Chris was growing up she shared many of her thoughts and activities with her sister. They shared a room, talking together before they fell asleep each night. A strong bond developed between them.

Chris's mother, a nurturing, touching kind of person, is happy to play what Chris calls the little housewife role. She is a true lady. According to Chris she has never smoked one cigarette in her life, drinks little to nothing and has never gotten mad at anybody. She is floored when someone says "shut up". Swearing is twice as bad. She says, "I wish you girls wouldn't swear." "She's real holy," says Chris, "she goes to church all the time." She has been real protected during her life." When she married Chris's dad she had never been to the United States in her entire life and had never even seen a black person.

Chris and her sisters went to their mother for reassurance. Most problems were talked out. The children were never grounded, hit or sent

to their rooms. Aware of others, Chris's mother often explained to her children the reasons behind the actions of other people. When feeling bad herself, Chris's mother might cry while "she talks and talks and talks."

Her father, Chris says, is the center of attention at parties, just happy go lucky, crazy. But about his feelings, he's Mr. Silent. However he is very interested in the feelings of others, having told Chris that he wishes he had studied psychology instead of engineering. He is the type of person who plans things very carefully. When he remodeled the basement, he kept careful step by step records of his work. When a fire destroyed the basement, he was able to get the carpenters to recreate his work by showing them his drawings and slides.

Chris's story illustrates how a person may extrapolate from their own as well others life experiences. For this reason, her story is unique to the participants of this study.

CHRIS'S STORY

An important event occurred when Chris realized that she was a girl. She wasn't happy to find that she would be constrained by certain social customs. As a little girl she played mostly with her sisters and with the boys in the neighborhood. One summer day, the boys decided to build a fort and form a club. To enter the fort "you had to take off your shirt." Of course they informed Chris that she couldn't join the club because she was a girl and couldn't take off her shirt. Feeling thunderstruck by such a pronouncement, she rushed home to ask her mother. Indeed, her mother agreed. She was devastated.

At five, Chris made her desire to have a dog well understood. One day she was pestering her mom about having a dog and started to cry. "I remember I wanted a dog so bad I knelt down on the ground and I said please dear God, bring me a dog. I want a dog so bad. I'll be so good with a dog dear Jesus." Somehow her mother snuck away to the telephone. Ten minutes later her dad walked in with a puppy under her arm. Chris thought, "Oh my god, a miracle, my first miracle."

There was a problem, however. Chris would go out and play while the puppy had to stay on its chain, crying and barking. After about two weeks her mom said "forget it." They took it to the pound. For the rest of her childhood Chris begged for another chance. On her tenth birthday her Aunt told her she would get her a dog. She found a charm bracelet at the bottom of a huge box. On it was a "dumb dog charm." Chris wanted to burst into tears. "Here is this unliving thing." What she wanted was a real dog.

Early in her marriage, Chris and her husband purchased a puppy. After a few weeks the puppy fell ill. The puppy was near death by the time the problem was diagnosed. Chris felt that she might fail again. Determined to save the puppy, she used all her birthday money and savings to pay the veterinarian bills. She called the animal hospital each day and even snuck in to visit. Eventually the puppy came home where Chris could administer care around the clock. It was so upsetting it was all she could think about. She even wrote about it on the back of a graduate school final. The puppy, now a huge healthy dog, has a firm place in the family at home with Chris and her husband as well as with her parents.

As the middle child, Chris often acted as the mediator between her older sister and her younger one. As an adult she continues to try to help others communicate. "I try and voice what I'm seeing. It's a helping thing I want to do. I always try to put myself in their place. During elementary school a couple of teachers had really helped me out when I felt confused."

School was a wonderful place for Chris. She loved the nuns and the classroom organization. Something she loves today. She wanted to be a nun. The greatest thing was being allowed to help one of the little boys keep his desk neat and clean. Today she wonders whether that little boy was emotionally impaired. School was a joyous place to be. "I remember getting up on Monday morning and saying, this is Monday morning the first day of the week. I'll put on my crisp white blouse and I've got my uniform on and I've got my clean knee socks and I'm going to school. Every day was special, but I remember Monday."

Chris vividly recalls her first memory of a special education child. One day her mother said, "see that little girl skipping home." She had "super" long braids all the way to her waist. "I asked my mom, 'why does she always skip home alone.' My mom told me, "She's in that special room at that school and the kids tease her and the kids are really mean to her." I thought how awful. I felt sorry for her, I wished I could see the kids be mean to her because I was littler and I knew I could take my shovel and hit those kids and they'd stop being mean to her."

Chris discovered later that the little girl had died and been buried in her new pajamas. Often reminded of this story, Chris believes that it is one reason she doesn't allow her students to be mean to each other.

While working as a waitress in high school, Chris would see a mother yelling at a little kid who was being a pistol. She would think, "I could do that better than her. I could get him to stop. I wouldn't be yelling. I have always liked kids and always felt I could reach them better than anybody else and that I think was one of the things that made me want to go into teaching."

During elementary school Chris was enrolled in a swimming program. The teacher wanted the kids to learn how to dive. It was a frightening experience for Chris who froze at the pool edge. The teacher yelled at Chris, "You must be a problem child." For the first time she knew the feeling of rejection. Devastated, she went home to find her mother. "Mom", she asked, "Am I a problem child?" "Where did you get that idea," questioned her mother. In talking about what happened Chris confided that she didn't want to go back. "You don't have to go back," her mom consoled.

Chris never did learn to dive. But what she did learn is by far more important. "I never want a kid to feel like I felt then. When ever I feel like I'm 'Oh this kid is just not getting it'. Sometimes I'll think about that and try again. It was the worst event of my childhood."

Chris's entire school career was one of positive happy experiences. She did well academically and was well liked by teachers and friends. She has fond memories of playing tricks on the nuns, decorating the school for dances, ball games and of being vice president of the Pep club. Since she attended the same school from kindergarten to twelfth grade her friends remained rather constant. Most of them embraced the same religious values and enjoyed the same home environment Chris did. She remembers how the school changed as more black students enrolled.

For the first time Chris realized that not every one lived as well as she did. She made friends with a girl whose family was poor. Chris couldn't believe that her bedroom was just a part of the kitchen.

Humor marks Chris's path wherever she is. As an adolescent, she ordered a hearing aide for her mother since she was always goofing up American words. It was difficult for her mother to get the Beltone man to leave. He insisted that she must have a hearing disorder which she was denying. The family still jokes about that as they do about the time Chris wrote Elly and Walt, two adolescent Ann Landers. Chris confided that her sister had shared (with her cousin instead of with her) the fact that she had started menstrating. She felt left out. Elly and Walt returned a letter with condolences and hope for better communication between the two. The cat was out then, everybody knew what Chris had done. Embarassed and chagrined Chris raced to destroy the letter. The family claims that's its just like Chris to jump the gun.

A friend of Chris's was also short on impulse control. If she chose to throw eggs she did. One night they stole her parent's mattresses. Another night they went joy riding in their van without licenses. "She was real crazy and opened up a whole new life to me," says Chris.

During high school ideas and realities changed a little. Chris no longer wanted to be a nun but she did want to be a teacher. Her crazy friend got pregnant and moved to Colorado. One of the teachers was anerexic and the girls couldn't figure out why she was so small and getting smaller. They worried about it.

They also worried about complexion, dress and boys. For several years Chris dated the same boy. He had a habit of drinking before school social events. Chris would be left standing alone while he spent his

time hustling the other girls. "I hated it. It made me sad. I couldn't stand being pitied. We broke up."

A friend's father had just died. He needed someone to talk to. Chris spent hours listening. "I was kind of a sounding board for him." Other friends felt the same way. They wrote in her yearbook, "If I ever need somebody to talk to I always go to you."

Talking with her friend Jeff helped her decide that she was going to make a point in her life of telling people things as soon as she thought of it. "I hear people say, 'I wish I had told my mom this before she died." "Why keep it to yourself when you know you can make that person happy? It might help them through a hard time."

When Chris tried to fix Jeff up with her best friend she discovered that he wasn't too interested. He was more interested in spending his time with Chris. He is now her husband.

One evening her old boyfriend appeared on the scene. They went for a walk, spending time talking about what had happened between them. Chris remembers thinking, "Its too bad we didn't talk like this before. We would probably still be together. If we had talked this honestly, this would have never happened." At this moment Chris consciously realized that talking can really change things between people and that she would always want to talk with whoever the next guy might be. "I'm into letting your feelings out," says Chris, "I think you should talk about them."

College was a big change for Chris. She was affronted by people who had values that conflicted with hers. At first she wanted to quit. She went home to her mom expecting her to offer comfort and escape. Unpredictably her response was "You can do it. You'll get used to it.

You always were the homesick type." So Chris returned saying to herself, "I can do it, I can do it."

The values of her first roommate were absolutely unacceptable to Chris. Chris felt furious that she was sexually involved with more than one boy. She felt terrible for the person who got dumped on. "I felt like I was picked out of the stone age and plunked in." One way to solve the problem was to develop friendships with people you have something in common with. That's exactly what Chris did. On Thursday nights they would smoke up a storm, drink and make popcorn.

Chris loved psychology and made that her minor. "I really enjoy watching people, down to earth people. During teacher training Chris had reoccuring feelings that she could do "better" with kids. "I feel I can zero in on a child just meeting him. I can usually know with adults too, the ones I know."

Her volunteer experience reaffirmed her belief that she could work successfully with emotionally impaired children. "I knew I could work with them and I could make them successful, make them better for their parents. That was what I wanted."

Chris idolized her student teaching supervisor. "She would put the kids smelling of urine, dirty and abused, on her lap. She did things with them you wouldn't believe." She let Chris get her feet wet right away. At first it was discouraging. But now she says she thinks of this woman's words every single day when she goes to school. On the notes she wrote Chris, she would remind her that "You did not greet the kids. They need to be greeted by a teacher with a smile. "Everyday now," says Chris, "I tell my kids good morning and give them a big hug if they want it."

Chris loves her teaching position. She has held it since graduating from college. At first she tried to be very academic and to have perfect management. Today she is more affective in style.

Other events helped shape Chris's ideas about teaching. Within the first year Chris and the social worker vied for control over the EI room. Neither was able to talk about the problem. Sharing did not appear to be an option, both wanted control. In the same year she had a conflict with her administrator. She says she has learned that it's best to wait and observe, wait and try to find out why people are coming from the opposite point of view before you speak. She believes she is learning to be patient, not impulsive.

In another incident a few years ago Chris discovered that it is not so easy to help everybody. Your help has got to be wanted. In trying to help another teacher, Chris was completely misunderstood. Devastated, she cried for a long time at school and on the way home later (something she often does when she's upset).

Her frustrations are usually shared with her husband who never gives her the answer. Instead he helps her to think it through from her side and theirs. In all problem solving Chris tries to rationalize why it happened. She is trying to first gather data, analyze it and then speak.

As a morning person, Chris is up by five and ready to go. Everything is ready. Everyday's a challenge. Every kid's a challenge. She says, "I always had a vision of what life would be like and I just tried to follow that. Just take one day at a time, don't worry about something in the past. Life is not worth getting super upset about.

Have a good time. Enjoy life but make your own good time." Her husband affirms that "Chris always looks on the positive side."

CHRIS . . . THE AFFECTIVE SENSITIVITY SCALE

Chris was very careful as she completed the A.S.S. She gave it her absolute attention. It was obvious that she was very involved in the scale. She commented that she really enjoyed these kinds of tests.

In the subscale areas, Chris scored at the high empathy level in three subscale areas. As she predicted she is able to tell what is going on between individuals, scoring at the 89th percentile on the subscale Between. Her score indicates that she functions as a high empath with Children, again as she had predicted. In the subscale area Female Chris again performed at the high empathy level at the 82 percentile. Growing up in a family of girls would likely explain this strength. Chris's total score fell at the 69th percentile, high empathsizers falling at 76 or above.

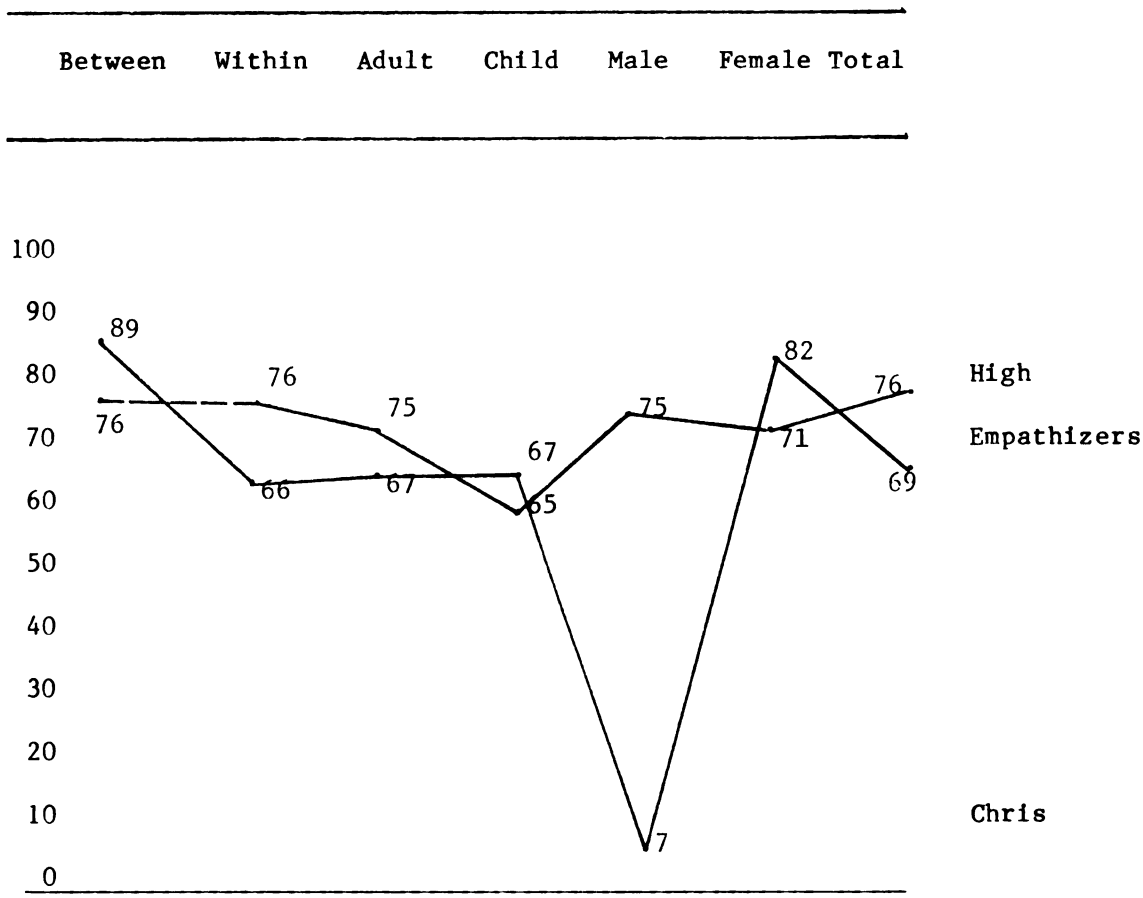

Figure 11. Affective Sensitivity Scale Scores Form D

Participant - Chris

CHRIS - SUMMARY

Chris's life experiences have been happy and fulfilling. She reports that her family was especially warm and nurturing, with both parents entering into parenting. As one of three girls, she has memories filled with joyful family celebrations and girlish pranks. Chris's mother, she reports, often discussed the feelings of others and pointed

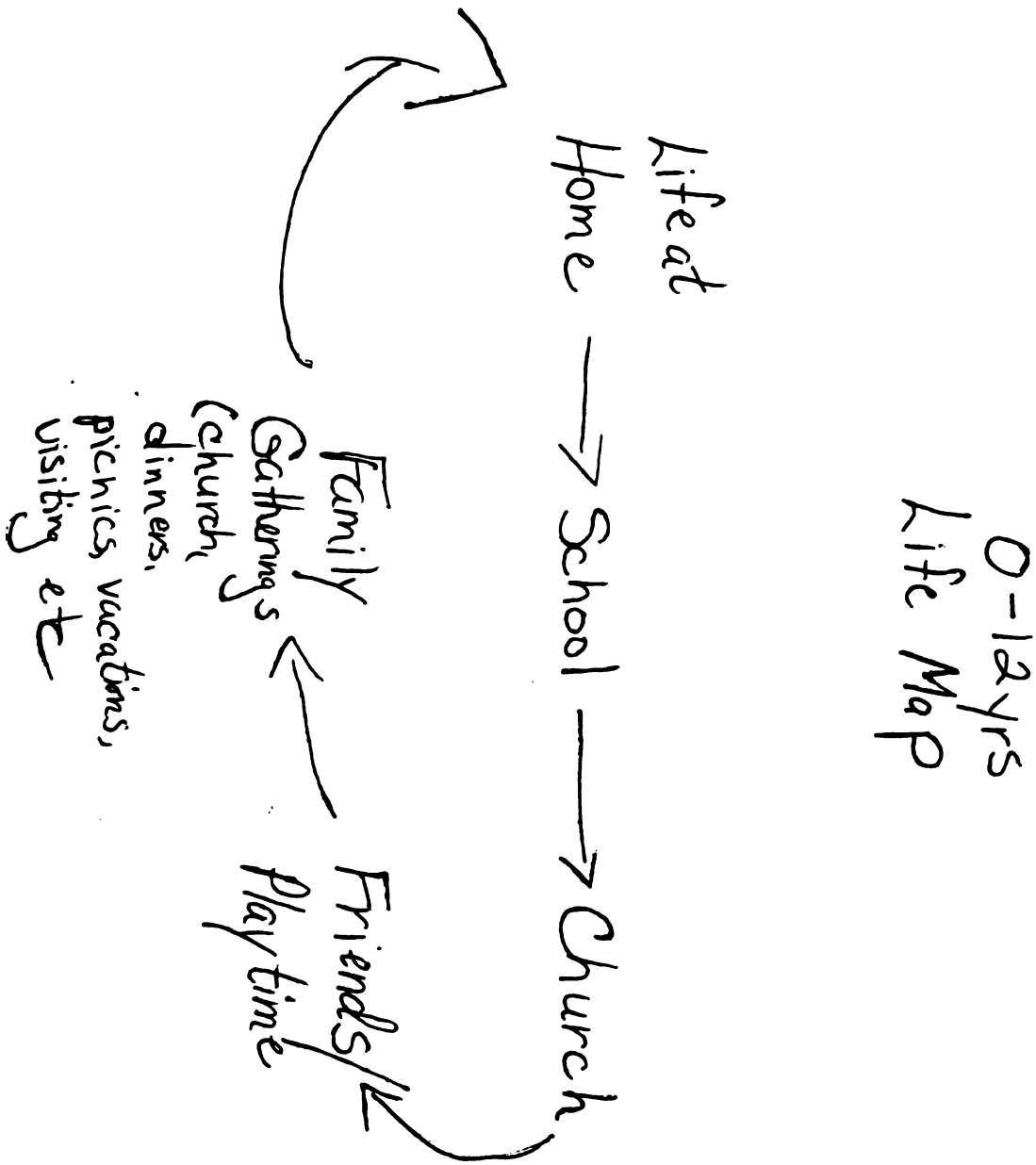

Figure 12. Chris A Map of Life Travels

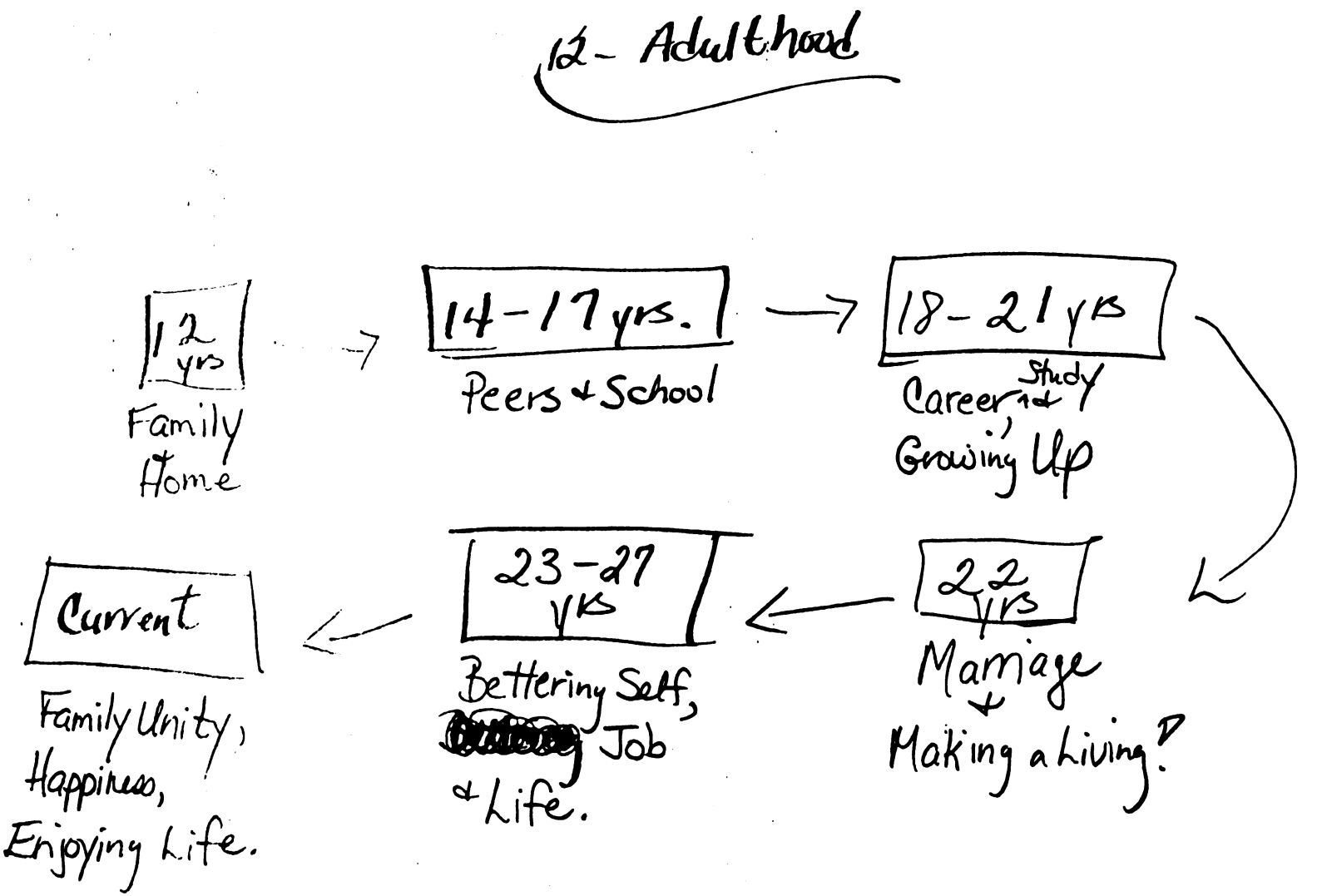

Figure 12. (continued)

out human differences in an accepting manner. Chris was certain early in her life that she could help others, particularly children. Chris attended the same Catholic school from kindergarten to twelfth grade. Here she felt secure and cared for. She was successful in academics and with her peers. She found that she could help others by listening. During high school her experience with an uncommunicating boyfriend convinced her that communication would be a top priority in her future relationships. She also came to know her future husband. Their relationship began after his father's death. Chris spent many hours listening to him talk about his loss. She made a decision to always share her feelings with the ones she loved so that upon their death she would not have to say, 'I wish I would have said.'

Chris's move to college was difficult. She left the protected life she had known. The adjustment to the values of others was very hard. She solved the problem by finding friends who's values were closer to hers. She found special education to be exciting and the right place for her. She adored her student teaching experince. Her career has been satisfying and challenging. She loves teaching the emotionally impaired and enthusiastically awaits each new day, even after five years of teaching.

Chris fell below the high empathy range but achieved higher scores than Loran, Anne, Lynn and Mike. She scored at the high empathy level in three subscale areas, Children, Between and Female. Like Anne, she scored high in the subscale area, Children. As did Loran and Anne, Chris grew up in a warm nuturing home. Like Anne, Chris reported that her parents demonstrated empathic behavior. She also recalled incidents in which her parents described the causes and reasons for the feelings of

others. Perhaps they even drew parallels between their children's feelings and those of others. Each home was particularly child centered. The feelings and needs of the children were very important. The family based activities around them.

Unlike Mike, Chris has had a number of experiences that are successful and joyful in nature. She tends to learn from the experiences of others. She often reported that she listens to what happens to others and makes decisions which will protect her from being hurt in the same way.

ELLEN

Ellen, at thirty five, had been teaching special education for thirteen years. Her story is the most tragic. Presently she teaches in a small metropolitan city in a primary cross categorical classroom which serves children labeled emotionally impaired, mentally impaired or learning disabled. Previously she taught in a self-contained classroom for emotional impaired children. Ellen's basic interest is in teaching academic skills, steering away from programs which are aimed at discussion of feelings. These things she feels are best discussed at home.

Easy to talk to, she seemed to need the time we spent together to solve some very personal problems often talking about her unhappy marriage. Speaking very quietly, she frequently turned away in her chair. After four interviews termination was difficult.

DIMENSIONS

Ellen grew up in a Polish neighborhood in Detroit. Her dad, a good caretaker and hard worker would come home from a GM plant each day to wash windows or paint. "Our house was nice, nothing was shabby, Dad used to like to give things," said Ellen.

Ellen's mother suffered from Hodgkin's disease during her childhood. When Ellen was six or seven her mother started having operations. Although ill, the three girls never knew she had been in bed all day. The house was always clean and dinner always prepared. Nothing was ever said by either parent about her illness. Intuitively though, Ellen always wanted to be close to her. She would stay glued to her side.

Ellen, the youngest of the three girls has good memories of childhood. She remembers baking with her mom and the swat her father

gave her for not wanting a hamburger but wanting a hot dog instead. She played with dolls and had a penny collection. Everyone played the piano. The family would go to Warsaw Park where her grandparents and all the Polish people would get together to play cards. On Sunday they would look at houses. Her parents loved to look at houses. Sometimes they would visit Ypsilanti psychiatric hospital where an aunt was hospitalized. Ellen remembers going to the attorneys with her mom. Her older sisters brought crisis into the family while they were in adolescense. One ran around, the other dated a married man. Ellen remembers her parents sitting up trying to talk sense to them.

Not particularly religious, her parents allowed Ellen to decide whether or not she would attend catechism. She chose not to. "My parents were always very accepting of anything that I wanted to do on my very own. I don't ever remember my mother or father telling me that I should or shouldn't do something this way or that way. I shouldn't talk this way or I shouldn't be sarcastic. They didn't like it or it hurt their feelings or you don't have to talk to me that way. They never said anything to me. I don't remember being disciplined." She doesn't remember being hugged either. "I wish my mom had taught me to be more considerate and to do all those nice things for people, that wasn't in her personality to be extra super considerate."

Ellen's parents and doctor worried about her weight. She was very thin. They ordered her to slow down so that she would gain weight. She never has. "I can't gain weight and I can't keep it," says Ellen. "I suppose its because of nerves."

ELLEN'S STORY

"I think I was happy" stated Ellen about her early elementary years. I just seem to remember a lot of positives. I don't really remember any negatives. I remember my mom giving me a permanent, cooking and baking together, how it looked when it snowed. I would miss my mom when she was in the hospital. I would feel lonely when no one was at home. I can remember how lonely I felt that she wasn't there. The sad part was my parents arguing with my sisters."

Ellen enjoyed school; the teachers liked her. She didn't do very well, though, until third grade. She had trouble learning to read. It was hard for her to hear what the teacher said and to follow directions during first and second grade. "I had a learning disability." But from third grade on she got solid A's and B's. She was the teacher's pet. The teacher even took her home. She sang in the Glee Club. She had friends (mostly boys) who liked her.

"I think I was bossy. I had to have my own way with the rest of the kids. I was verbally aggressive," states Ellen. "I liked to play by myself and to read." She played with the kids down the street. No one else liked them." I would be friends to them and not too many other people would. I found them to be nice people, they were good friends."

"I was a good kid," says Ellen, "I didn't want to get caught or I didn't want to disappoint my parents. I couldn't let myself go. I've always been very reserved. I was too stubborn to listen to my mother." Being independent, she had a hard time asking others for help. When her mother tried to teach her how to sew, she refused to listen. Instead she taught herself through trial and error. "I think I felt that my two

older sisters caused so much trouble and so much unhappiness that maybe I would try my best to be a good kid." As she got older she started to do things for her mom and dad. She would cut the lawn, help her mom with the wash, do the ironing and clean the house. She doesn't remember ever being asked to do it.

As a public school student, Ellen had observed "that the kids who went to Catholic school were the ones that ran around and had boyfrieds and girlfriends at twelve or thirteen, smoked and weren't exactly the best kids." So when the Church called to ask Ellen to enroll in catechism she decided that since she " was a semi-decent kid" it would be better not to go. But she did attend church to please her father. In junior high she felt guilty, "something about religion and dying. I don't know what it was. I thought maybe I'd better get on the stick." Her church attendance became more frequent.

Junior high was a time when Ellen felt very popular, "really good about herself." Her friends were academic achievers, she loved school and had many good friends both male and female. Many fond memories surround these years.

"I can remember being very lonely at times in high school because I think I had no steady boyfriend," recalled Ellen. Still, she was good in academic areas, in the choir and on the yearbook. I didn't do things wrong like some of the other kids. It seemed she was always different, able to resist group pressure. Ellen was confused about her effect on people. "I said the wrong thing or didn't have the dynamic vivacious personality the other girls had. I ended up being quiet and keeping my mouth shut."

In contrast she tells a story about her friend Sue whom few people liked. Sue had a party. The kids said to Ellen, "The only reason we're here at Sue's party is because of you, Ellen. We'll come because you'd like us to come." Sue herself told Ellen that "the reason she liked to hang around with her was because the sun shone on Ellen and maybe it would sort of reflect off on her."

Going to college was important to Ellen's parents. She was the first child they could afford to send. She attended a mid-sized school some distance away. Originally she had intended to study history and to later teach it. But her uncle "put the cabash on that" saying that there were too many history teachers already. One night at a party, Ellen heard some people talking about teaching special education. Thinking that special education sounded different, she selected that as her major.

College was a very difficult time in Ellen's life. It was to be the beginning of a long series of personal losses. She hated being away from home. Since she "wasn't a very social person" she found it hard to meet boys, and the competition with the other girls was steep. "It was a big jolt to find that I probably wasn't as mature as I thought I was. I didn't do the things everybody else did."

Finding a husband was the number one priority. Looking back, she questions whether any of the men she dated were a good catch, even her husband. "I'm not sure I dated anyone who I really would have enjoyed." In her last college years she was seriously involved in a relationship that ended in heartbreak. Although unable to sever herself from the hurt sufficiently enough to involve herself totally in a relationship

again, Ellen says, "I wouldn't have respected him. Everything would have been my way. But if you don't do it my way I get angry anyway. It's very difficult for me to have to compromise."

This breakup compounded the sense of loss Ellen experienced during her sophomore year when her mother died unexpectedly. Despite the agony and grief, her father never reached out to comfort her in his arms. Even in this time of need he was unable to offer or receive physical comfort himself. Ellen needed to be hugged, she had always needed physical tenderness. Aware now of this void, she gives much physical affection to her own daughter and to the children she teaches. She is not able however, to offer it to her marriage partner.

She felt cheated by her mother's death. "I do (feel cheated), you know, she died before I could make use of her. I never got to talk with her. I'm angry because she's not going to see my daughter. My sisters' never bothered to use it properly (her mother's love and caring). Until just a few years ago, I felt sad around the time she died."

As Ellen moved out into professional life she encountered some new problems. She was shocked to discover that she was hired because she had nice legs. Fortunately it was a job teaching severe emotionally impaired children in a clinical setting. Here two psychologists working with the program helped an immature, grieving Ellen begin to confront herself. It was a good experience teaching Ellen the importance of taking time to talk with kids about problems. This was not to last.

During the early career years Ellen forced herself to be social and to initiate conversation more often with people. She was unrealistic about money, spending it lavishly on beautiful clothes. She claims

overspending is still a problem which she needs to work on, although she is better about it.

After working a couple of years in the Detroit area, Ellen married and moved to mid-Michigan where she began teaching in the district she teaches in today. She may leave teaching if she decides to move to a farm with her husband. She is doubtful about the wisdom of such a move. Teaching provides her a positive identity, an income of her own and a group of peers she likes. It would be a difficult adjustment which she is not sure she has the incentive to make.

She wishes that she had looked more carefully at how her in-laws treated each other before she married. "I should have seen exactly what I was going to be. They both drank well into their fifties and battled." She and her husband used to drink together too. "We used to drink an awful lot when I was younger. It causes me an awful lot of trouble because my husband drinks." She wonders, "Am I going to be able to stand it? I can't tolerate having no control over myself." Perhaps she hasn't been able to get close again, to love again because of her lost love. Even on her wedding day she told her husband she did not want to marry him. But she did. Now eight years later Ellen is thinking about leaving. It is a marriage without love. She cannot give him physical affection. "I guess I don't necessarily need it. I figure there's someone I could get along with. I have learned how important communication is between partners. I wonder if I basically didn't find a weak, spineless person," Ellen sadly queried.

A series of deaths has left Ellen feeling that life is tenuous at best. Her sister was murdered in the house her father bought for her next door to the family's. Her father died of cancer, followed by her

grandfather and grandmother, and the list grows to include two aunts, one who died of cancer. Ellen says, "I can handle funerals pretty well." The topic of death dominates her thinking. During the interview, the researcher recorded the death of a pet fish that she had as a child, a pet dog who was put away because he was "just old," a teacher from elementary school, the choral teacher from high school, a professor from college, and a boyfriend. Routinely reading the obituaries, Ellen mused, "Sometimes death is a shock, sometimes it happens faster than you think, you know it's going to happen."

Ellen's daughter brings happiness to her life. She loves being a mother. She and Wendy spend a great deal of time wrapped in each other's arms. It's common to hear much love banter between them. Motherhood she feels has helped her to be a better teacher. Ellen fears that something horrible will happen to either herself or Wendy. She admits that she has a very slanted view of the world right now. "I'm involved with too many goofy people, not enough people who are semi-normal." I know what happens to a person's mind. There are so many goofy people. If you're in the wrong spot at the wrong time you could get it." When she was little she could play outside. She could ride her bike six or seven blocks but she wouldn't dare let Wendy do that. She says, "I'm more aware of the kinds of dangerous people that are out there. I feel closer to the reality of how people are."

To Ellen however, the essence of her story lies in the fact that she has always tried so hard to get others to like her, "I felt people probably wouldn't like me for myself so I had to do things for them so they'd like me better. I don't know where I got that from. I did it a lot for my parents. If I did more for them would they like me more?"

ELLEN . . . THE AFFECTIVE SENSITIVITY SCALE

A number of traumatic losses occurred during Ellen's young adulthood. Her ability to cope has been depleted. Nevertheless, her A.S.S. scores showed her to have some specific empathy skills. In the subscale areas, Ellen scored at the 99 percentile on the subscale Between. The researcher is drawn to her comment. "I know what's in a person's mind." In recognizing what is going on between individuals on this scale it appears she certainly does.

Ellen continued to score in the high empathy range in the subscale area Adult at the 96th percentile and again on the Female subscale at the 82 percentile. However, in the subscale areas Within. (what goes on within an individual) Male and Child she fell in the low empathy range at the 76th, 51th and 48th percentile respectively, her total score falling at the 69th percentile. High empathizers fall at the 76th and above.

Ellen's scores indicate that she should be able to perform empathically with the children she teaches. In spite of this skill there was little mention during the interview of being able to understand the children she teaches. She commented that she has decided "that the parents ought to listen to their kids and its really bad because you know these parents just can't. I don't use Magic Circle or anything in my classroom."

It can be seen on the Informal Empathy Checklist (Figure 8), developed to help understand Mike's story that Ellen mentioned only once in ten hours of interviewing a nonjudgemental response to a child. No other levels of empathy were mentioned. The researcher developed yet another checklist to compare the attitudes of participants towards using empathic responses in the classroom. It can be seen that Ellen only

mentioned a category once, while the other participants mentioned them far more frequently. It appears that Ellen has experienced so much loss that it is difficlut for her to give much from her own badly needed resources. Although highly capable of understanding others, she does not use this ability in the classroom.

Interview Evidence	Bruce	Chris	Anne	Donna	Ellen	Loran	Mike	Lynn
Listens to Kids	11	1111	111	111		1	11	11
Builds Significant (Relationships)	1111	1111	11	11			111	11
Evidence Likes Kids	111	111	11	11		111	1	11
Takes time to talk about feelings	111	11111	1111	111	1		11	111
Indicates might know how it feels	111	111	11	11		1	111	111
Indicates emotional response to kids (feelings)	1111111	11	111	111		11	1	
Indicates remembering how (it feels)	111	1	11	11			11111	11
Indicates acts on how kids feel	1	11	11	11			11111	
Total	26	25	20	19	1	7	24	14

Figure 13. Attitudes Towards Use of Empathy in the Classroom

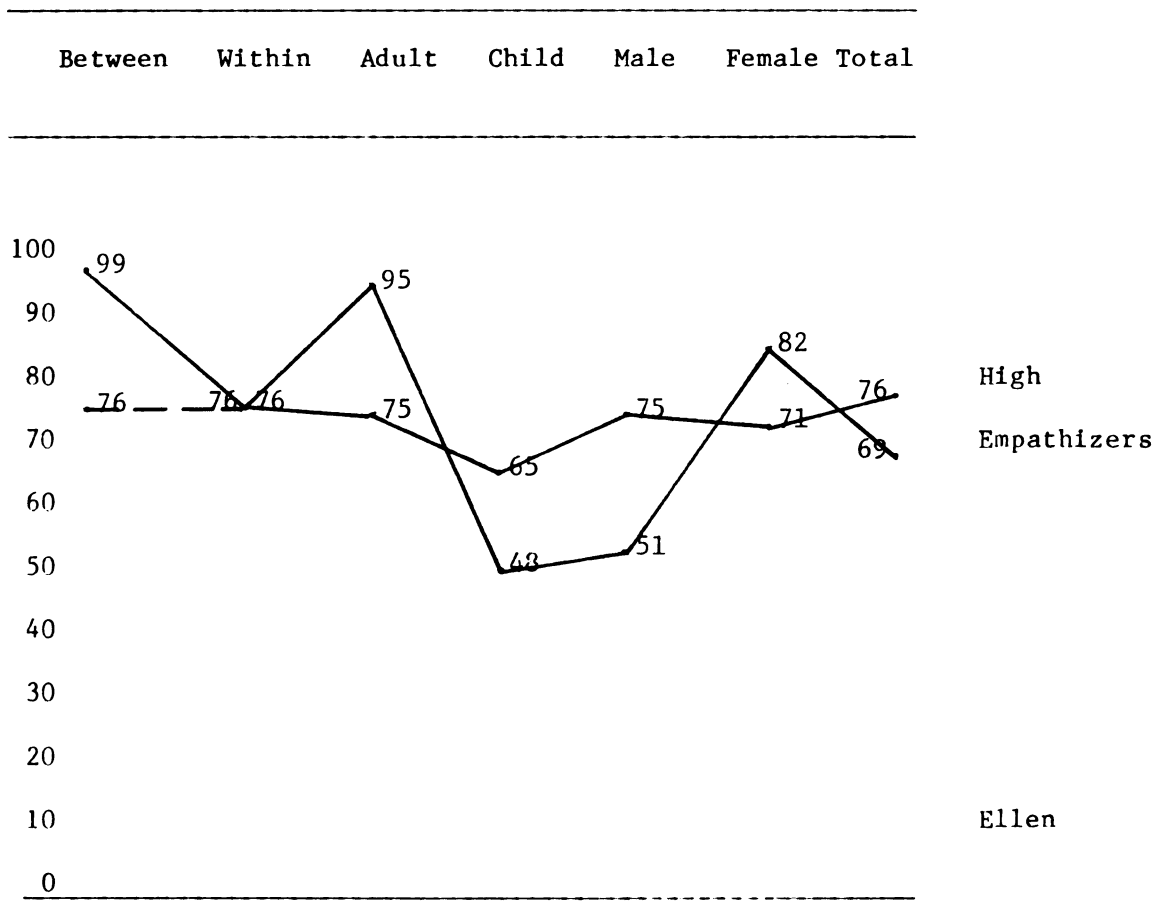

Figure 14. Affective Sensitivity Scale Scores Form D

Participant - Ellen

ELLEN - SUMMARY

Ellen's story begins in the city of Detroit where she grew up as one of three daughters. Her father worked in an automobile plant while her mother stayed at home, ill with Hodgkin's Disease from the time Ellen was small. Ellen attended public school where she had some academic difficulties for the first three years. "I couldn't understand directions,"

Mother was ill in the hospital. I missed her terribly.

Enjoyed school very much - up into high school.

, very impressed by the power & control of my teachers. They seemed so knowable & aware, capable.

I remember being very lonely, at times, in high school, because (I think) I had no steady boyfriend.

In High - had lots of good friends male & female, and very fond memories.

Figure 15. Ellen A Map of Life Travels

Figure 15. (continued)

high school

confused about my effect on people. I overcompensated.

college

Was unable to maintain, handle the relationships. I felt - I guess I never felt people could like me for just me. I felt someone different was in order.

Mother died. Wouldn't feel the sense of loss till later.

Now you can ~~more~~ much intuitively in marriage

I am aware that I am in the position I'm in (marriage) but still keep plugging away, hoping for some sense of stability now & respectability.

job - confident & capable

Responsible - sometimes too much.

says Ellen. Ellen's childhood memories are happy. She remembers wanting to be close to her mother most of the time, however. Her mother and father were not inclined to show affection. Ellen missed the hugs. As a result, she believes she has difficulty with physical affection because she had so little as a child.

After third grade, Ellen did well in school. She reports many friends. Nevertheless, she was always worrying about being accepted. She believes that she did nice things for her friends and for her parents so that they would like her better.

College brought many changes in Ellen's life. She had to adjust to people who's values were different. During her sophomore year, her mother died suddenly. In the following years a number of other family deaths occurred, including her father's death and her sister's murder. These deaths have caused Ellen to become increasingly more nonchalant about death while also preoccupied with it. She says that she is good at attending funerals. In recent years, she has become frightened of tragedy touching her or her little girl. Her marriage has been difficult. She reports that her husband has a drinking problem and that she feels discouraged and dissappointed in the marriage. She is sad. She says that she does not have the time or the inclination to talk with the children she serves about feelings.

This is surprising since she scored very high in certain subscale areas on the A.S.S.. She scored in the high empathy range on the Subscale Within, the subscale Adult and the subscale Female

Ellen has had more experiences with loss and sorrow than any of the participants Loran, Anne, Lynn or Chris. Although she reports happy childhood memories, she does not report the warm nurturing environment

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that Loran, Anne and Chris reported. She reports a subtle struggle for acceptance with both her parents and her peers. Mike also reported a struggle for his survival. Ellen did not report the existence of an empathic model or teacher during her lifetime except perhaps the training she received while teaching in a clinical program for the emotionally impaired. Interestingly, Ellen is the first of the participants to indicate that she chose not to be involved with formal religion even as a youngster. When the church called to enroll her in catechism, she chose not to attend.

DONNA

The story of Donna is the story of a woman who, throughout life, has been able to take control of her destiny. Even as a child finding herself in intolerable conditions, Donna was able to make and execute a plan of escape. Her ASS score fell in the high empathy range.

Donna has been teaching for five years, the last four in an elementary classroom for emotionally impaired children. Her school district is rather affluent, offering good benefits and salaries to its teachers. Through inservice training, Donna has adopted a developmental approach to teaching. She does not use rewards or special management techniques. Her program is designed to be non-confrontive, the teacher's role being to reflect the children's feelings verbally while providing activities designed to meet developmental needs. Donna's story was collected during four rather lengthy interviews held at her home. The writer and Donna settled in on her large comfortable overstuffed couch, the tape recorder between us. We developed a pleasant rapport. "It seemed like Donna used our time together to set some things straight for herself." (Journal entry #3). She shared some very private things with me. "I've kind of spilled my guts" said Donna. Our final interview was difficult. "It was hard to say good-bye." (Journal entry #4).

DIMENSIONS

Growing up in a Detroit Jewish neighborhood was difficult for Donna. Her parents were not rich and she did not live in an expensive house or have expensive clothes. When she went to school each day she was embarrassed by the family car as it pulled up next to the others, in front

of the school. Her father worked in a warehouse and her mother was a legal secretary. They lived in a little flat above the woman her dad worked for. The woman didn't like noise or the yard played in so that Donna and her younger brother had many restrictions. Here, Donna shared a bedroom with her brother until she was fourteen.

She remembers playing Barbie dolls and board games with her friends. On Sunday mornings she and her brother sometimes used sheets held up by chairs to make a play house. She remembers delightful times as a Camp-fire girl.

But there were problems in this home. Donna's father was abusive. There were many days she went to school with bruises and puffy eyes. Dad's anger was unpredictable.

She remembers an incident where he raged because she did not want to change her underpants. Today Donna feels that he may be learning disabled. She has never seen him read or even drive a car. She does know that he attends therapy. There appears to be a certain mystery around his abusive angry behavior. Donna's mother never explained it or even came to her defense. Now that Donna is gone he vents his anger verbally towards her mother.

As a child, Donna was expected to take criticism without recourse. She was expected to help around the house and to not talk back. Talking back was sure to bring on dad's rage. She was not expected to do much at school, least of all attend college. The expectation she feels was for her to be a "nothing."

The family was not particularly religious. Donna did attend Hebrew school and was part of Jewish youth organizations but the family did not

attend synagoge together. Donna attended public school where she found little if any support. She had reading problems until third grade, as well as speech problems for a long time after that. She was ill quite often and overweight. Her teachers, she feels, were unjust, unfair, and unreasonable. Donna grew up with one thought in mind: to get out.

DONNA'S STORY

Donna's earliest memories are around her father's abuse and her early school life. She says, "I used to cry real hard whenever I was really upset.. and my eyes always were real puffy, like little slits. I never cried except because of him." Well," she continued, "I've had kids sobbing in school and just behavior that's not typical for the child. You know something's wrong. Dollar for doughnuts you know something happened at home." In Donna's case the teachers did not act as if something might be wrong. She felt persecuted instead. The school that should have taken care of little children allowed her to suffer in torment.

In first grade Donna reports that she received D's because she talked too much. "It was real cruel to give a little six year old D's" asserts Donna. She wasn't favored by the teachers because she was poor and didn't have nice clothes or a big car. Donna felt she could not compete with the other little rich girls.

She hated going to speech. It was a torment. She thought the teachers made her go. She hated the speech teacher because she thought she was ugly.

"She was a nice lady but I was embarrassed to go because she looked so bad." Then, too, Donna hated the way she sounded on the tape recorder. "I thought the tape lied, it was a distortion," says Donna.

Donna was not happy about the way she looked either. "I ate a lot. I was always kind of heavy. I had real thick eyebrows." Her aunts nagged her about being fat. She was either on a diet or being told to go on one. She wasn't rich enough or smart enough or pretty enough. But she tried real hard. She wanted to be pretty, she wanted to be smart, she wanted material things. She wanted, wanted, wanted.

Out of this came two consequences. First, she decided early that she would be a teacher. "I'm going to do it right." She would undo the injustices she felt in elementary school. Secondly, Donna now satisfies her own need for material things. If she wants something, she buys it.

As a little girl, Donna would try to stand up to her father and for what she believed was right. But she didn't ever feel that she had any control. There was no escape. She used to wish her mom would divorce him or that she would be able to go and live with her uncle who was fair and compassionate. In time she just tried to stay out of the house.

A significant other entered her life, a friend of the family. This woman would comfort Donna and provided her with a safe environment in which to grow. Donna credits her with establishing her value for education and personal achievement. She is, Donna believes, the reason that she did not become a delinquent.

Donna remembers that the art teacher would only put the real pretty things up and that the music teacher would make people stand and sing the Star Spangled Banner for choral tryouts. She felt destroyed by these teachers. She was trying. "You can't expect any more than that."

Happily Donna made the Glee Club in junior high. "Oh," says Donna, "I was so thrilled, I wanted to snicker at that elementary teacher who had passed me over all those years."

"Being judgemental is very cruel. I'm not judgemental, its real important to me." Donna puts everyone's picture up. Recently she overcame some of her fear of singing. With the help of another colleague, Donna was able to sing into a tape recorder in front of her students. "It made me feel so good." she says.

In junior high Donna's schooling lacked a strong academic component. She feels that her junior high teachers did not provide her with a strong enough science and math background for her to choose the career she desired. And she desired nursing.

As a preadolescent, Donna resented her father, she resented her mother for not getting out, she resented her teachers for not behaving fairly and she wanted, wanted, wanted. She did not want to wait for Chanakuh or her birthday. She did not want to wear hand-me downs. "I wanted to buy what I wanted and be happy. I did not want anyone telling me what to do. I had to get a college degree." In the most important decision of her life Donna decided to leave when she got old enough. "I would leave and get out of there. Things would be different for me. Very early I would tell myself that I would live almost like I am living now."

When the going got tough Donna would comfort herself with the thought that she was going to get out. She did better academically in junior high and a lot better in high school and college. "Thank God for me." she mused.

She had no privacy in the little flat the family lived in. She had managed to use a dresser to divide her shared bedroom into a section for

her and a section for her brother. She resented that her parents didn't provide a bigger place. She knew she should have a room of her own. The community was changing. Donna decided that she simply would not go to a high school that was beginning busing. She flatly refused to go to high school in Detroit. For awhile she took the bus to school in a nearby suburb. Eventually the family moved out of the city into their own home. Donna had forced the issue.

In her new school Donna made some new friends. She did not feel she could belong in the popular group but was somewhat content in her circle of friends. She did not feel free to share what went on at home but the girls did talk about other things, mostly boys. They admired boys from afar. The ones Donna took an interest in never called. The boys who did "weren't good enough."

Donna did a lot of baby sitting. She noticed that the people she babysat for would tell her their problems. She liked babysitting. Once she had a chance to work in a camp for Jewish youngsters. It got her out of the house for a whole summer even though she made only seventy-five dollars a week. Surprisingly, she got homesick. But when she did come home the situation had not changed, it was still the same. Donna realized it wasn't going to change. She was more determined than ever to go college.

Working a secretarial job as a work study placement convinced Donna that secretarial work was not for her. She wanted to be a nurse but after investigating found that she didn't have the math and science background. Deciding that she wasn't smart enought to be a nurse or something better, she selected teaching. There were jobs in special education.

Donna applied to a large university, doing all the work related to financial aid herself. It took patience and perseverance to get her mother to fill out the financial aid forms. Finally her escape plan was executed. Donna went to college, rarely returning to the "hell" she had known. Arriving on campus on Saturday morning, she was soon to meet her future husband. By Monday they had struck up a friendship. He was very bright, especially in math and science. Donna was attracted to his potential. He was her ticket out. Their relationship moved quickly. A month later they were discussing marriage. Their relationship continued through college. Jim had a terrible temper like her dad. Donna felt overwelmed by it. She had gone from Dad to Jim. Over the next four years they fought and broke up always returning to the relationship. In the last college years they lived together. Jim helped pay for things since Donna's parents did very little. They married after college.

School success was not important to Donna's parents but it was to the significant other, mentioned earlier who helped make Donna's home life more tolerable as a child. She made a big deal about A"s. They were a big deal in their family. At Donna's home there were not rewards for doing well. Donna had never made the honor roll. But in her college sophomore year Donna made the university honor roll. She had tried and gotten there. When her parents came to visit, she said, "I was like a little kid. I took them over so I could see my name up there because it never happened when I was a kid. It wasn't a big deal to them. But it was a big deal to me."

It was important for Donna to do well. She prides herself on trying. Unfortunately, she was placed in a volunteer situation where the supervising teacher was impossible. No matter what Donna did it was not

good enough. She complained about her Levi's and sweaters and particularly about Donna's weight. Donna was crushed. Her solution was to try harder. She bought new clothes, she made instructional materials and taught creative lessons. Nothing made her supervisor happy. Donna was miserable.

As she entered her student teaching it haunted her. She clashed with this supervisor too. One day she fell on the playground. The supervisor would not allow her to go inside and wash her knee. Again, nothing she did was right. She tried even harder. Jim was her support. She bitterly resented how she was treated. "I can't believe anybody would treat a human being like that. I was treated like a dog, like a slave. I always tell my student teachers about that story. I tell them that there's nothing that I would have you do that I wouldn't do myself. I learned a lot, but I will never forgive those women. Never."

After graduating Donna spent a year substituting until she landed her present job. This job has offered comaraderie and success. She enjoys the relationships she builds with her students, especially the ones who come from "pitiful homes." She is very organized. Teaching academics seems easy but she feels she needs to improve her art and music skills.

Interpersonal relationships have been both good and bad. She has several people to whom she can turn for support. However, she did learn that she must compromise as a teacher under contract. In one IEPC meeting she felt she was forced to act cutesy for a particular male principal. In spite of the fact that the woman administrator knew she must compromise her values, pressure was brought to bear on her to behave

girlishly for this man. This was very difficult for Donna who may compromise but bitterly resents the offending agent.

Donna feels that one of the most difficult things she is learning to deal with is feeling guilty about her students who have not improved or are not doing well. A friend has helped her a great deal in this area. She is becoming more realistic about being able to help kids, saying, "Its OK if you did the best you could, (the motto of Donna's life) That's all that's expected."

The biggest compromise of Donna's life, however, was the discovery that her husband was having an affair. Together they pursued therapy which has even helped Donna in the classroom. It helped them become more in touch with each others feelings. She realizes now that he may be smart in math and science but that she has some very strong communication and social skills. They don't argue anymore, they discuss things. Donna doesn't cry anymore. "I've changed, I'm a lot happier, I've put up with an awful lot of crap, I try to understand." Her goal is to put this all behind her. She does not want to worry about her marriage anymore, she wants to be able to trust him completely again.

Recently, the working climate in Donna's school has changed. The staff feels spied on and criticized at every turn. This is too uncomfortable for Donna. No one laughs anymore. She can imagine what it would be like if she stayed. She would like to move into another teaching position in another school. Just as she planned ahead for her escape from her parents so is she planning this move. She has laid careful plans for becoming proficient as a resource teacher. She will move when the time is right.

Donna has discoved that her ability to help others is an important skill, right up there with science and math. She has entered a masters program in counseling. She feels that she has found her niche.

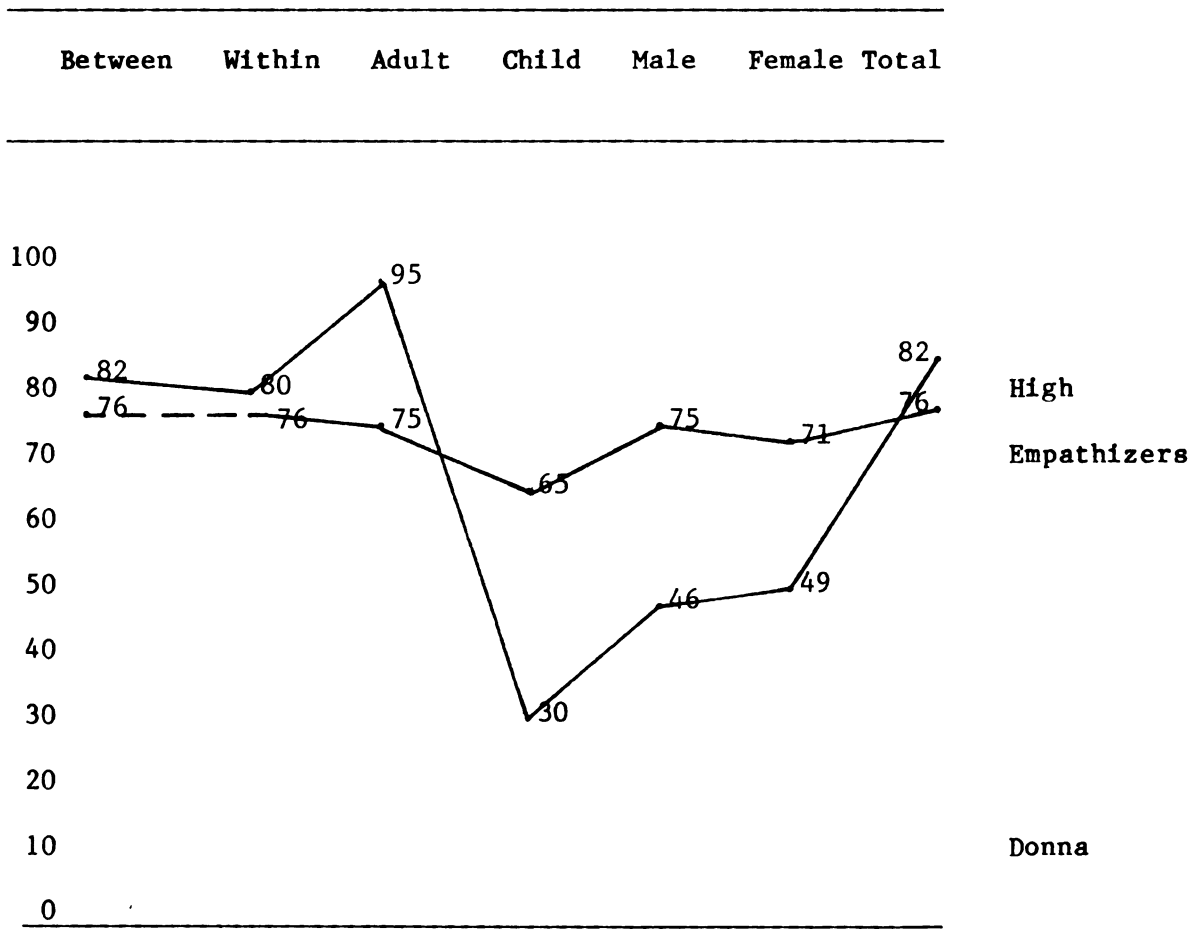

Figure 16. Affective Sensitivity Scale Scores Form D

Participant - Donna

DONNA . . . THE AFFECTIVE SENSITIVITY SCALE

Donna's A.S.S. total score fell at the 82 percentile, placing her in the high empathy range. She was one of two participants to fall in this range. In the three subscale areas Between Within, Adult, Donna scored in the high empathy range. Her percentile scores being 82,80 and 93 respectively. Surprisingly, she fell at only the 30th percentile on the subscale Children, being one of the few to score that low. She did not, however report the use of higher levels of empathy on the classroom as often as did Chris or Mike. Perhaps, as in Mike's case, the child-related vignettes were far removed from her experience. She also fell within the low empathy range on the Male and Female subscales. One would think that with her experience she would have needed to be able to predict what her father was going to do. She also wanted to be part of a female peer group so much that again one might think she would have developed skills to earn their acceptance.

She is skillful at understanding what is going on between and within individuals, a trait useful to the teacher of the emotionally impaired. The fact that she scored so high in the adult area may indicate that her skills would be better used with an older age group. These scores support her feelings that she may have found her niche in counseling.

In looking at the researcher's checklist of attitudes towards empathy in the classroom (Figure 13), Donna shows a positive attitude, taking time to talk with her students about feelings. She reported that she sometimes feels quite moved by the expressed feelings of her students.

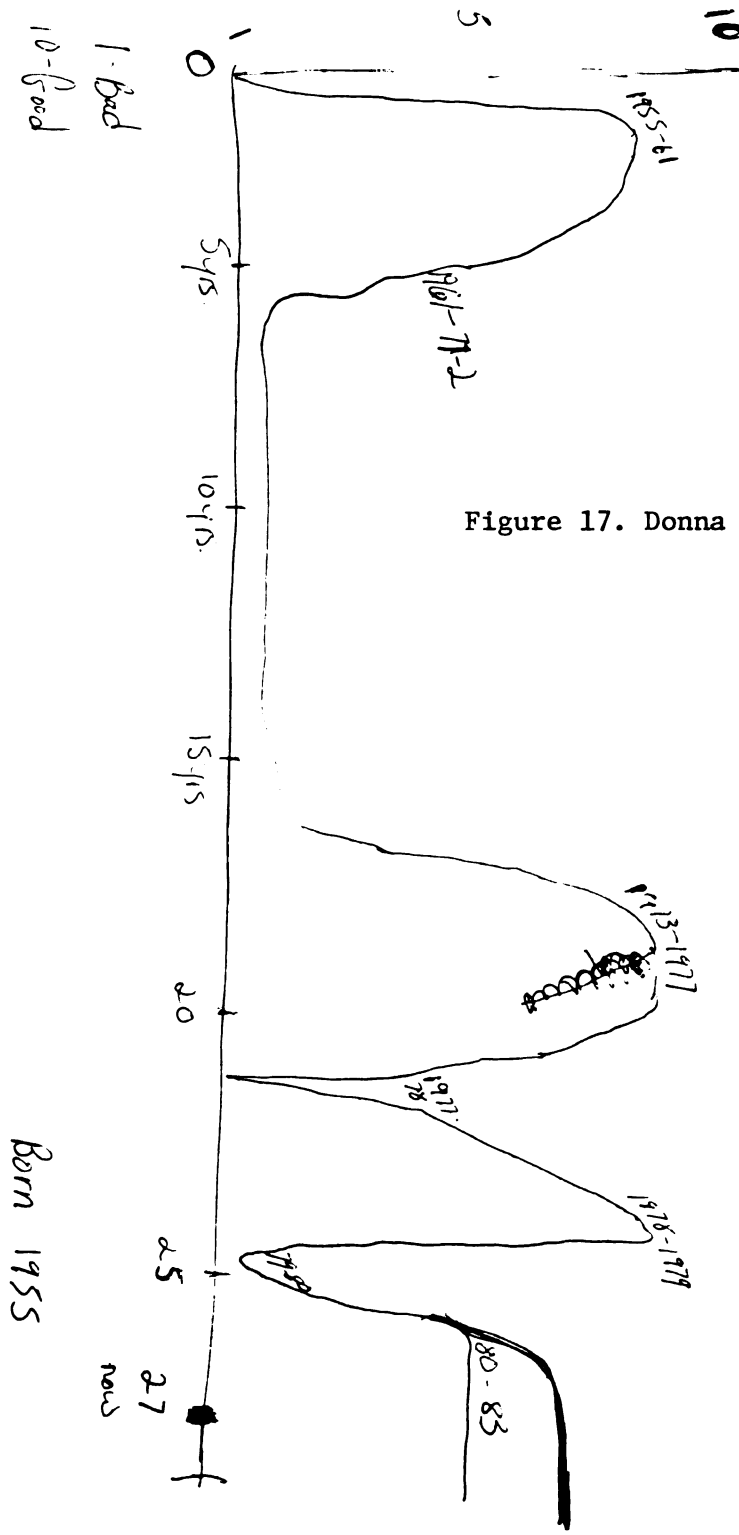

Figure 17. Donna A Map of Life Travels

DONNA - SUMMARY

Donna's total Affective Sensitivity Scale score fell in the high empathy range. She was one of two participants to do so. Her story begins in a Jewish neighborhood in Detroit. Here she and her brother lived with her parents in a small flat. Unlike most of the children in her school, Donna's family was poor. She felt very ashamed of this limitation as she also did about her seemingly limited academic ability, her overweight condition and speech impairment. She felt tormented; persecuted unfairly by the teachers and the circumstances of her life. At home her father was unpredictably abusive. Her mother did nothing to change this. Donna wished her mother would divorce and get them out of the situation. Early in adolescence Donna decided to escape her unbearable circumstance. She would live this way no longer than she had too! She decided that she would go to college and find a job which would get her out of poverty. She would live very much as she does today.

Donna chose teaching because she did not feel capable of handling math and science of a nursing program. She has married the young man she met within her first few days at college. He, is talented in the math and science area. Her marriage has had some difficulties. Both partners have attended counseling. This has increased communication and understanding between them. In Donna's work she has been exposed to empathy training at an inservice level.

Donna has experienced long term emotional pain. She reported that as a child, she cried often and that her eyes were often puffy. A friend of the family took Donna under her wing. It was here in this home that Donna gained a more positive sense of self. She learned to value an

education. She had respite from the cruelity of her environment. As with Mike, Donna's empathic role model was not a parent but a very significant other.

In college, inservice training, and in therapy Donna has learned much about empathic understanding. With her background of experience she has been able to link her feelings with the feelings of others. In her classroom, she reports feeling very sad for some of the children, particularly those with poor home lives. She reports that she does not often miss the clues which tell her that something has happened to a child at home. Her empathy scores however, indicate that she is better able to sensitively understand adults than children (see Figure 16). She has begun a graduate program in counseling which appears appropriate to her abilities.

Unlike the non-traumatic home lives of Loran, Anne, Lynn or Chris, Donna has experienced compounded emotional pain. She has had to struggle for survival. Nothing has been easily achieved. She does not report returning to any religious foundation for support during difficult times. It appears that she makes a decision about the potential of a situation; will it meet her needs? On this, she lays her plans for the future. Using all the information she has, she executes her plan for survival. This careful plan requires a great deal of insight. It must be protected in order to assure success. Being sensitive to others assures Donna of no surprises. She is protecting herself and her plan for personal freedom from pain.

BRUCE

It is intriguing that the last participant interviewed is also the last life history to be reported. Bruce's score fell in the high empathy range on the A.S.S. He uses his empathic abilities often in his classroom as confirmed by the individual informal checklists (Figure 8).

More than willing to participate in the life history interview, Bruce and the researcher met afternoons in his classroom. The interview he said reminded him of the M*A*S*H show where a newscaster came to interview everyone about the war. "It was amazing," said Bruce, "I kept thinking about it. Hawkeye talked and then Potter talked and then Radar talked. The feeling you got from them is the same feeling you get doing this interview. You feel a little bit on stage. You feel a little bit like you've got to say something that makes sense. You feel a little flattered that someone would take five hours to listen to your life story. Its just fun and you were real easy to talk to," he continued. "A lot of people aren't easy for me to talk to. It was very comfortable."

For Bruce, who teaches secondary emotionally impaired students, it is important to work on relationships. "I attack affective and behavior before cognitive. I work on how kids feel about themselves. My goal is to make them happier than the day they walked in. I'm much less apt to say 'back to work.' I'm more apt to talk as long as its appropriate. I have only one rule. You do what I say. You can do that if you aren't arbitrary. If the rules you make make sense and if they're handed out evenly, kids will basically respect that."

DIMENSIONS

Bruce spent the first ten years of his life in a small town he describes as Nirvana. Here his father was principal of the town's public school. His mother stayed home to care for their two boys, Bruce being the youngest. Her children were her life. Bruce remembers the family hour she instigated. Each evening the family spent at least one hour together playing games or other things selected by the children. She wanted them to have as many experiences as they could in spite of living in a small rural town. She exposed them to dancing, piano and the theater. She expected them to try at least. If they did not like it they could always quit. The same was true of religion. The boys were exposed to three different churches and allowed during their teens to decide whether to continue or not. They decided not to.

Education and learning were very important to this family. They were a smart, curious, and thoughtful lot. "We thought about things. We talked about things," said Bruce. The children could ask their parents about anything they wanted to know and get an answer. They were involved in family decision making and allowed to cast their vote about anything that would ultimately affect them. The family doctrine was to treat people fairly, to walk out with pride and to tell the truth. Bruce feels that the family was liberal minded, "a very non-prejudiced family unless it was against prejudiced people." The words honesty, integrity and pride came to Bruce's mind.

Bruce's father was a short heavy man who did not talk about emotional issues. He was more old world, much more set in his ways than Bruce's mom. For generations his family had been lumberjacks. "If he asked you to do something once you were expected to do it. You didn't question."

Bruce found his dad to be a contradiction. He had been a soldier, a teacher of typing and shorthand, a principal, a football player and a construction worker. When depressed he wrote poetry. This man returned to the classroom after being a principal, because he wanted to work with kids. He always leaned towards the kid who wasn't making it - the kid from the wrong side of the tracks, the kid who wasn't quite smart enough, the kid who got in too many fights or the kid who was a little bit too lippy. Bruce feared and idolized his dad. He would never have thought of saying no to him. But on the other hand, he could tell him anything, ask him anything. Says Bruce, "He was one of the nicest people you ever want to meet."

Bruce feels that he is most like his mother. She would try to explain other people's behavior to her children. She always talked about what was going on in the family. She would explain Bruce's brother's behavior and try to explain his dad's behavior, saying that his family background made it difficult for him to be a father because he did not have a father. She never kept any secrets.

When Bruce was ten the family moved to a bigger town not far away. The circumstances around this move made Bruce very aware of discrimination. Although the brightest child in the class, Bruce felt discriminated against because, as he puts it, "I was short, fat and talked funny." "The world," he says, "is cruel to fat kids."

BRUCE'S STORY

Bruce's childhood memories are happy. He remembers being popular with the other children, enjoying school and playing sports. Before bed his father would read him stories. The little lost duck story would

always make him cry as did Lassie and some of the Walt Disney stories. "I still cry when I see Lassie," says Bruce. It was OK to cry because of emotional reasons or because you were scared or hurt but it was not OK to cry because you wanted the extra cookie. Neither anger or meanness were acceptable. Intentional meanness was out of the question.

While attending second grade Bruce colored his name on a desk. His dad, being principal, gave him a piece of sandpaper and set him to sanding. It took him three days. He says, "I've never written on a desk again." Based on his experience he assigned a student to sand his name off a desk sharing with him first the story about his dad. He's confident that his student will never write on a desk again either.

When the speech teacher came, Bruce would be called to go with her. Explaining his feelings he says, "You don't have to be called out of class to go to speech very often without feeling bad about it. When they come to the door and they say, you, you, and you come to speech class and two people talk funny and you have to go, its not hard to identify that there's something wrong with you. So I quit, I refused to go. I refused to acknowledge that I talked funny. My dad being principal made it easy. They encouraged me to go, but they made it my choice."

During Bruce's ninth year a public school millage was held. Bruce's small town, Nirvana, was mostly Catholic, and the Catholics did not support public education. They sent their children to the town's Catholic school. At the school board meeting, Bruce's father called the town hypocritical. Bruce is sure he probably said some other things too.

The next day Bruce was told by some of the parents that he could no longer play in their yard. He was jumped and beaten up by seven or eight

Catholic kids, just because his father was the public school principal. He could not understand why parents would tell their kids, "You can't play with Bruce anymore because his dad's not Catholic." Unexpectedly, Bruce experienced the rejection and pain of prejudice. He says, "It had a pretty big impact on me. I will never be prejudiced. I don't tolerate that narrow-minded bigotedness. The unfairness is what I'm kicking out at. I always have and always will be the champion for the people who are getting treated unfairly."

"I can remember when I came home after I had been told that I couldn't play in these people's yard. I came home crying. I can remember my mother talking to me about that, trying to explain to a ten year old kid these people's thinking. I also remember her getting on the phone and getting in an argument with this lady."

At a family meeting, the family voted to move out of town. Bruce voted against it. The move to a town nearby brought Bruce more experiences with the feelings of rejection. In this community Bruce became painfully aware of his fatness. "I was the third fattest kid in the class. It wasn't so much that I didn't like myself as it was that other people didn't like me. I remember a nickname of 'pig'. I think being fat probably gave me as much of my identity as anything else. Probably gave me the most pain in my life."

"They gave me an underdog feeling. I wasn't really an underdog. I was always smart, I was always athletic and I always got along with people. But I was never the golden guy. I was always short, fat and talked funny." During his adolescent years Bruce began to tie his shortness and fatness to his sexual identity. In his mind his fatness became more pronounced. He says, "If you think about asking a girl out, the

first thing that you are thinking is that you're fat and that she isn't. It doesn't matter that you are captain of the football team and president of the class or one of the smartest kids or have a new car."

"My background says walk out with pride. My mom used to say 'be like a bobo doll with sand in your feet. They may knock you down but you'll always come back up.' I used to do it with humor. I still do. If you laugh at yourself people won't laugh at you cause you're laughing at yourself."

"I was part of the crowd but I was a little bit different than that crowd. At least in my mind. Maybe in their mind. At least in the way they acted towards me. I was popular. In an election I got 170 votes out of 183. But asking them for their vote is definitely different than asking them to come over to your house or asking to be part of a clique."

Early in life Bruce began to fight against unfairness and injustice. The year Bruce was on the JV football team some of the kids stole some stuff out of the lockers at an away game. "They wanted to hang the kids," said Bruce. "I stood up and defended them. Not what they did, but that hanging them wasn't the answer." It cost him a year on the varisty football team because the coach "didn't want his type" either.

The summer of his junior year, Bruce and a friend decided to get in shape before the football season started in August, that way they would not be dying in the late summer sun. Bruce lost forty pounds. All of a sudden he had new friends. People treated him differently, including his teachers and peers. "I rejected them all," he said. "The hypocriticalness of them now inviting me to their house when I wasn't accepted the year before. I felt mad. I felt mad that it made a difference. I was the same person who had walked out in June. I told them all, some of

them point blank to just stick it. I hadn't dated up to that point because of my weight. The only girl I ever did date was a girl who moved to my high school that year. She didn't know me before."

As a senior, Bruce seriously questioned the behaviors of adults and particularly questioned rules which he deemed unfair or prejudicial in nature. Bruce considered the rule banning chokers (beads worn close to the throat). He thought, "that doesn't make sense. Just cause you're wearing beads it doesn't make you a queer," as the teachers and principal insinuated. He decided to test their reasoning. He was captain of the football team and class president, if he wore beads and they called him a queer that would show everybody how foolish the idea was.

Explaining his reasoning to his father he said, "I'm wearing these beads because people are saying that these kids are queer. I think its unfair. I don't think its right and I'm going to wear them and say what are you attacking here?" His dad answered, "Well if you've got to do it then you've got to do it. But I wish I didn't teach in the same building."

The next day Bruce was in the office when the principal noticed his beads. He started questioning him about it. In walked Bruce's dad, building trade teacher, wearing his corderoy pants, old shirt, hard hat and choker. When the principal got an angle on his dad he reached up to grab the beads. His dad's words were something like, "you better be a better man than I think you are if you grab those beads." The principal turned around and walked away. Bruce's dad turned to him, "I figured you might need help with this one."

"I think," said Bruce, "that it was probably two things that affected me the most. They were feeling prejudice and being treated

unfairly. Being judged for the wrong things. It shaped how I looked at the world."

Bruce's peers recognized his ability to relate to others. He was surprised to read comments written in his yearbook like. "Remember all those talks." "We could talk together." "Thank you for talking to me." Says Bruce, "I didn't even realize that I was doing that. I didn't realize everyone didn't do that. I don't think I realized the importance of those kinds of conversations and self divulgences and introspection of what you think of yourself until I was in college."

One education class in particular focused Bruce on self-disclosure and the risk-taking involved. It was during college that Bruce began to admit how he felt about himself. He spent time talking with people about themselves and about each other. "I think talking about it made it less scary, less bothersome, less frightening. You melt away the insecurities just by talking about it. I do," says Bruce.

Bruce knew when he went to college that he wanted to be a teacher. In second grade he had drawn a picture of himself standing in front of a class of students. He was wearing a sweater with a big letter C on it. He was going to be the coach too. The question then became what kind of teacher? He had had some experience teaching ninth grade math while he was a senior in high school. He had helped other students most of his life.

But after completing a few college math classes Bruce lost interest in math. He attempted to enter the special education program. He was advised to enter the regular elementary education program instead. In this program his first experience was in a kindergarten. On the first day of this placement he knew that he belonged in education. He loved

the little children and felt very happy. He often spent time watching his dad teach and would spend time talking to him about teaching.

During his student teaching Bruce had an opportunity to visit a classroom for the emotionally impaired. He developed a keen interest in special education. Instead of taking the job offers he had after graduation, Bruce continued class work in order to complete his special education certificate.

Bruce took his first job teaching secondary emotionally impaired adolescents. He says quite comfortably, "I love em." I guess I remembered back to my high school days with kids that I knew I thought, if something a little different had been done with them they could have made it." As a teacher of secondary emotionally impaired students Bruce says he has had experience dealing with suicides, parents pulling guns on kids, girls who are pregnant, thieves and drugs. "If it's something that happens with teenagers I've dealt with it. One way or another. Sometimes very well, sometimes not so well at all," says Bruce.

He marks his experience of sending a kid to jail as the best and worst experience of his seven year career. Aware that one of his students had broken into a house, Bruce gave him the choice of either turning himself in or having Bruce do it. True to his word, Bruce turned him in. Then went to court with him. After his six months in jail the kid returned to tell Bruce that he had grown up a lot. "I feel bad for these kids," says Bruce, "But I respect society too."

Probably the worst teaching experience for Bruce was the day he became physically involved with a student who, much bigger, was picking on a smaller kid. "It was the last time I ever touched a kid," says Bruce. Its possible he thinks that the program lost the kid because of what he

did. Though his peers told him they felt the boy was "pretty much lost anyway," nevertheless, it took Bruce a long time to get over it.

One day at an inservice Bruce was introduced to I Am Lovable And Capable). He says, "Its the best thing I've ever seen. This is a demonstration of what happens to someone when they continually get negative messages. IALAC stands for I am Lovable and Capable." Bruce grabbed a sheet of paper and started tearing pieces off to represent what happens to a kid when something goes bad for him. "My job," he says, "is to put the pieces back on. That's what I do the best. I think about this probably once a month. I go back and think about where I've torn signs off of kids where I wouldn't have had to. Anybody can rip a kid out. Its hard to put the pieces back on that kid. That's what I've got to do."

As a new teacher Bruce soon learned that he must compromise at least some of his actions. In one incident, he became very angry with the administrator because he was sure that the teachers weren't being told the truth. His solution, not one which he is proud of today, was one of overt anger and hostility, including obscene language. He feels that his behavior early in his career may have cost him a chance to advance in the system. He is trying now to change his image. For the time being, he has decided against seeking an administrative position. He has committed himself to try to make positive changes for kids, instead.

Probably the most important event in Bruce's life occurred while he was in his second year of teaching. A young woman college student volunteered in his classroom. Bruce had not dated for a long time. He felt rather shy about asking her out. But it became apparent that he was interested when on the last day of her volunteer assignment one of the kids stood up and asked Bruce, "Well, are you going to ask her out or not?

We checked her out and she's not married, she's got no boyfriend and we know you haven't any girlfriends and you're not married." So, embarrassed but willing, Bruce and his future wife began to date. Today they have a warm open, relationship. They are each other's best friend. Bruce says, "there's nothing that I do that she's not included in or couldn't be if she wanted to be. When I was single I used to say to myself, "How the hell do you be married and do this job? Now I say, "How can somebody be single and do this job and not have someone to go home to?"

A few years ago Bruce's father died after his third heart attack. The family had no idea that he had even had the first. When he was hospitalized for his second attack, the doctor verified previous sustained heart damage. The family then learned that he had recognized the heart attack but had chosen not to seek medical care. During this hospitalization the family spent at least 48 hours wondering whether he was going to live or die. When feeling better he pronounced that he would live until he died. He could not tolerate restrictions. Returning to his old activities, he was to die a few months later moving some things for a friend.

His death was easier for Bruce than it might have been during the hospitalization. He was buried on Bruce's second wedding anniversary. "I grew up a lot that day. I miss him more than I did the first year." Sometimes there are situations Bruce feels his father could handle better. He would have the right thing to say. While he reminisced Bruce told of the time he and his mom and dad had returned to his dad's home town. It answered a lot of questions about his dad's behavior for Bruce. "I think he went back only because we went with him," says Bruce, "He had an unhappy childhood."

Bruce's life has been moving along much the way he had planned. When he interviewed for his job, someone asked him about his future plans. His answer was that he wanted a house, a late model car, two dogs and a cat. Today he says, "I have everything I want, a house, a loving wife, 1 dog, 2 cats, a good job, children are still an option." He feels sastisfied with teaching. "I knew I would be the minute I walked into that kindergarten class when I was a sophomore in college."

BRUCE . . . THE AFFECTIVE SENSITIVITY SCALE

Bruce appeared comfortable as he completed the A.S.S.. He scored in the high empathy range in all the subscale areas except Male. His percentile scores were:

Between	89	(what goes on between individuals)
Within	80	(what goes on within individuals)
Adult	92	
Child	67	
Female	73	
Total	82	

Of all participants Bruce scored as the most empathic. The informal checklists (Figure 8) supported this. Interview data show him to have a deep respect for the use of empathic understanding in the classroom.

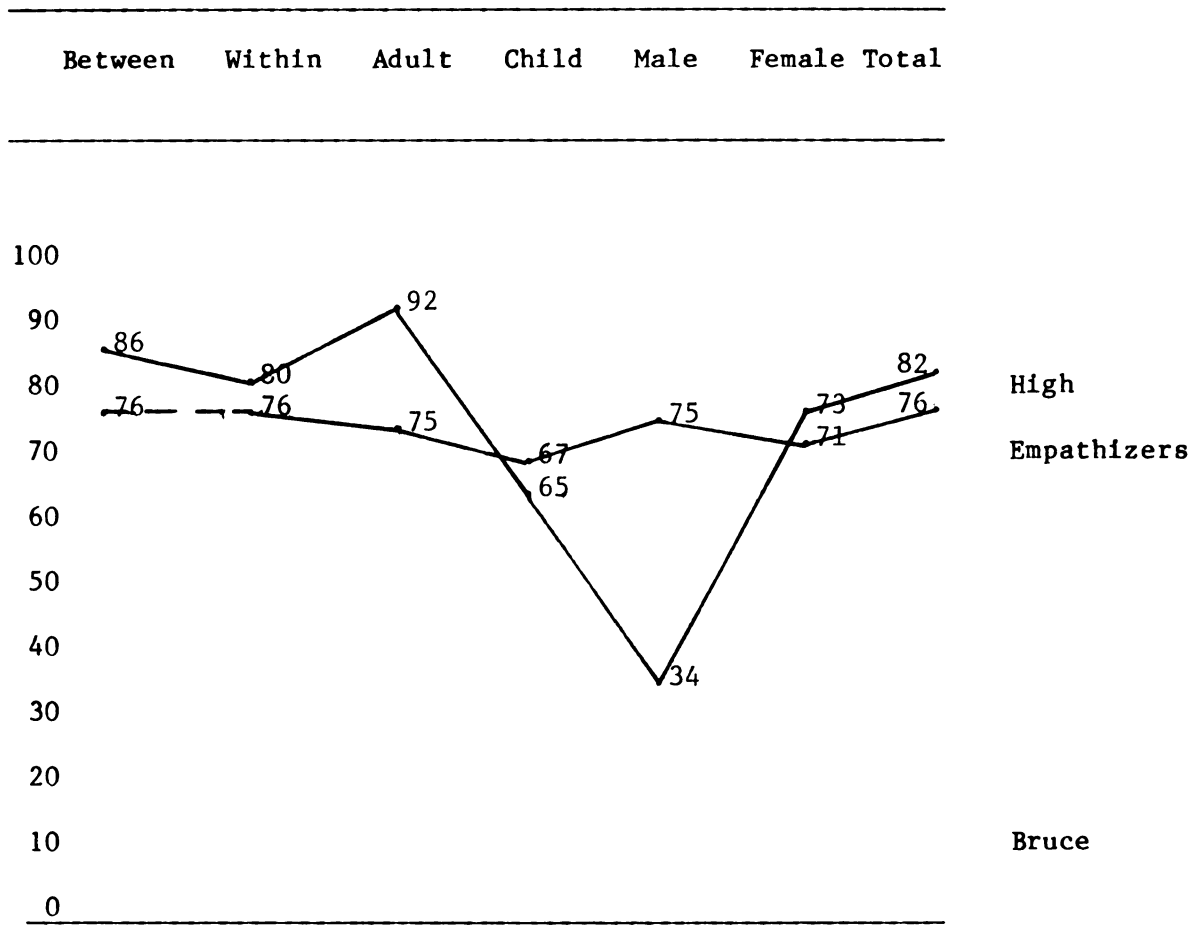

Figure 18. Affective Sensitivity Scale Scores Form D

Participant Bruce

BRUCE - SUMMARY

Bruce was to score the highest in all subscale areas. His story is unique in that it contains the elements of all the stories told. Bruce grew up in a small town. His family was particularly caring and warm. His mother loved to care. His father, a teacher, often chose to give time to the "difficult kid." Bruce was bright and successful in school.

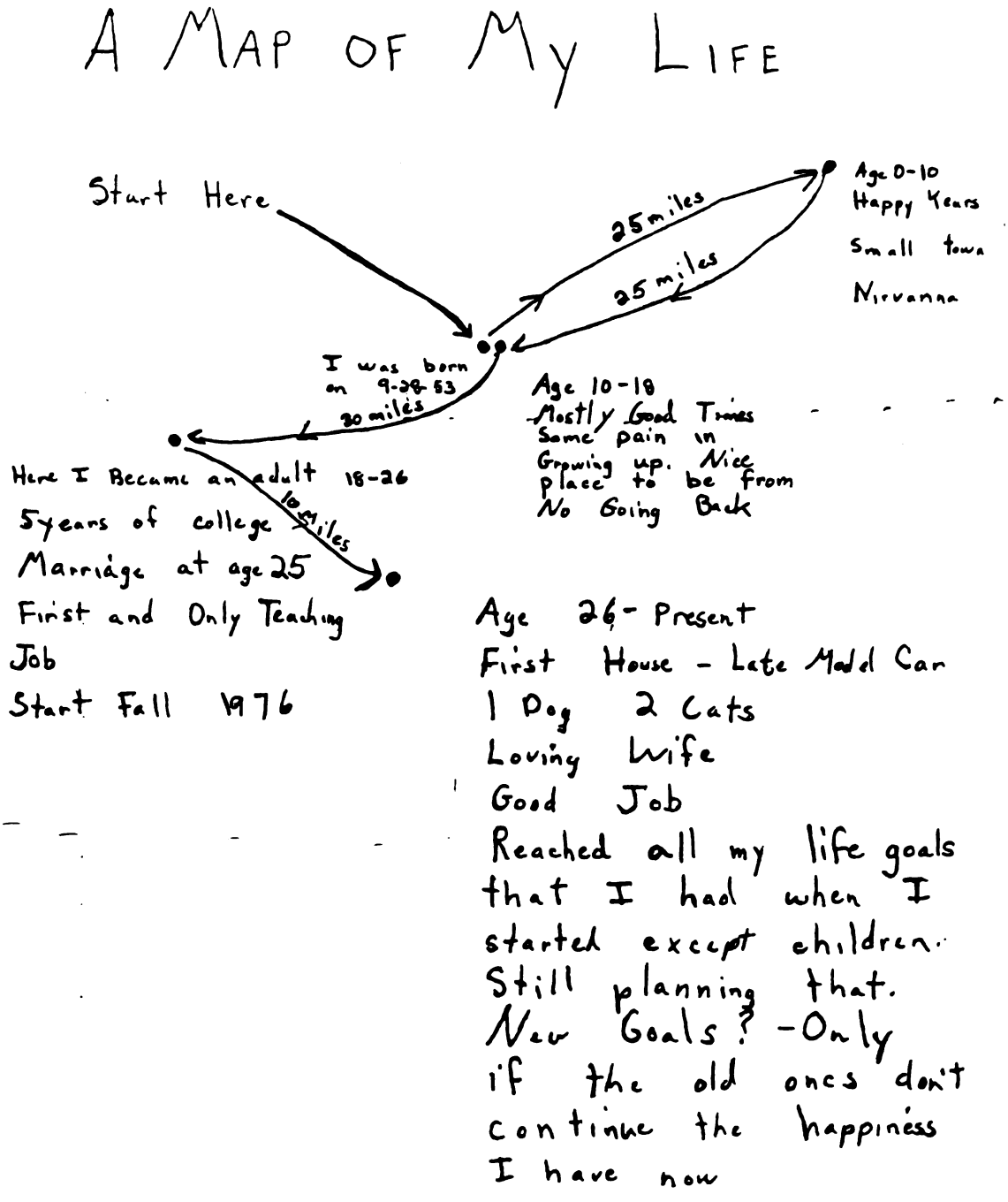

Figure 19. Bruce A Map of Life Travels

His mother enjoyed talking about problems. He can remember her explaining his brother's or father's behavior as early as age four. His, father, though macho in image, wrote poetry when depressed.

On this warm, safe, nurturing foundation were to be laid a number of crucial experiences. At nine, Bruce experienced an unforeseen turning. The town's people, being mostly Catholic, had extreme resentment for the public school's request for an increased school mileage. Bruce's father was school principal. In retaliation, the Catholics struck out at the non-Catholics, particularly Bruce's father and family. A dramatic shift in Bruce's social acceptability occurred. He was not allowed to play with the other kids and was even jumped and beaten up. This experience with what he considers unreasonable prejudice was to form the basis of Bruce's life's philosophy. He will always be the champion for the people who are being treated unfairly. Bruce's family moved to a new town. Here Bruce was to experience a new form of prejudice. Because he was short, overweight, and speech impaired, he was not accepted by others. Each problem offered Bruce its own form of torment. He hated to go to speech. He hated the fact that weight made a difference to others. He knew people were the same heavy or thin.

As a high schooler, Bruce was a successful athlete and student. He was involved in many activites. On several occasions he fought against the injustice he felt other students were receiving. His parents, particularly his father, supported this activity. His peers noted in his yearbook that they could always go to him when they needed to talk. He lost weight during high school. When he discovered that he suddenly had new friends and was socially acceptable for the first time. he rejected

them all. If they hadn't been a friend before, they weren't a friend now.

During college, Bruce spent many hours talking with others about his feelings. He began to take risks in talking about himself. He feels it was during these years and during this intense self search that he came to accept himself.

His job teaching secondary EI students is fulfilling. Even in the second grade he wanted to be a teacher. He is married to a woman he considers his best friend. His goals, he feels have been met.

Like Donna, Bruce struggled for social acceptance for many years. He felt tremendous emotional pain for an extended period of his life. In order to survive he needed to be able to predict the behavior of others. Luckily he was able to go home to a safe supportive environment where he could talk with his parents. From them he saw sensitive understanding of others. They also articulated these feelings routinely. Thinking and problem solving were an important family activity.

During painful times, Loran, Anne, and Lynn have turned to their religion. Mike, too, turned to religion but received support from his relationships with significant others. Athletics has offered comfort for him. It has taken the edge off his pain. Chris talks with her family and perhaps turns to her church although she did not report this. Emotional pain seems to be something she has a great resilience against or perhaps a way of predicting and avoiding. Ellen does not recall turning to anyone or anything for support during childhood. Although perhaps feeling that she would have liked that nurturance, she choose not to accept her church as a place of refuge. As an adult her experiences with tragedy have been many. She has suffered a great deal. It appears

that her own personal resources are depleted. She has typically turned to her husband who has been unable to be helpful. His own personal needs seem to preclude his understanding of another. Donna, the abused child, learned to turn in some way to a significant other. She did not find solace in her religion. Her parents, neither mother or father, offered her no relief from suffering, her teachers very little if any. Bruce was the only participant to experience extreme long periods of emotional anguish in an environment in which he could return for understanding and support. His mother and father both supported his feelings, validated his continued self worth and helped him come to understand his feelings as well as those of others. Bruce chose not to base his beliefs on a religious structure. Instead he developed his own belief system. In this the researcher believes he gains strength during periods of adversity.

PARTICIPANT REVIEW

In this portion, the stories of eight teachers of the emotionally impaired have been retold. Discussion of each participant's performance achieved on the Affective Sensitivity Scale Form D in regard to empathic ability concludes each story.

Introduced first was Loran, the youngest of all participants at twenty three. Of all participants, she achieved the lowest A.S.S. scores. Her story is that of an individual raised in a sheltered middle class home. Her beliefs center around her family's church. Life has been happy and carefree for Loran. She teaches primary emotionally impaired children in her home town.

Ann's story followed Loran's. Her A.S.S. scores also fell in the low empathy range, however her total score was higher than Loran's. Her performance on the Child subscale (being sensitive to children) fell in the high empathy range. Anne grew up in a large Lebanese family. Her experiences have been ones of happiness and success. Her family has always offered nuturance and support, her parents being particularly child centered. They offered an empathic example as well as empathic explanations to their children.

Lynn, a young black woman, grew up in a middle class black community. Her beliefs have been strongly related to her church. During her years of maturation she felt successful and in tune with her environment. As she neared maturation, her parents divorced, she married, had a child and herself divorced. These experiences brought turmoil to a once tranquil life. She was forced to evaluate her beliefs and to adapt as best she could. Her A.S.S. scores did not fall in the high empathy range. The researcher questions the validity of these scores.

The story of Mike is that of a young man deserted by his father and abandoned by an emotionally shattered mother. Mike turned to the streets for solace. Here he stole, destroyed property and fought. Eventually, a school coach, a police officer and a school counselor made a significant impact on Mike's behavior. At fifteen, "he came to know the Lord." This precipitated more positive change. Using athletics as an emotional catharsis, Mike grew into a sensitive positive individual. Today he teaches juvenile delinquents.

Chris is an active, primary teacher of the emotionally impaired. Her story is one of an enthusiastic loving family and nurturing home. Her mother took time to teach her about individual differences. She often explained the nature of other's feelings. Chris's experience has been one of joyful living. Her experiences are delightfully cheerful. She scored high in the Child subscale area and again on several other subscales.

Ellen's life was not particularly difficult until young adulthood. Her memories of childhood are happy. However, adulthood has dealt her a series of tragic losses. Her family, through death, has diminished to just a few. Her marriage is difficult and unfulfilling. She is fearful of more tragedy. Her empathy scores fell in the high empathy range on a number of subscales. She does not report the emotional energy to communicate this understanding to others.

Donna has made her life a successful conquest. Raised in an abusive home, she made plans for escape. As an adult, she is living the life she had planned. Her A.S.S. scores fell in the high empathy range along with those of Bruce. He also strove to overcome adversity. He felt persecuted because of his religion and appearance. He has become the champion

of those who are treated unfairly. His home offered him a safe secure environment in which to return after unfair treatment in the world. His parents modeled empathic behavior as well as communicated to their children a sense of understanding in regard to the feelings of others.

SYNTHESIS

Having completed the life histories of the eight subjects interviewed for this study, the researcher will conclude this chapter by drawing together the similarities and differences found in these life histories. The section seeks to compare and synthesize participant experiences, further analysis can be found in Chapter V.

Like Bruce, Anne, (who got along with everyone), Loran (the youngest) and Chris (the enthusiast) were raised in child centered homes. They believed themselves to be extensions of a strong mother-father bond. They each reported a strong sense of being wanted and cared for. These tolerant families avoided punishing their children. Life revolved around the children's needs. Problems were typically talked about and resolved using an intellectual approach. Learning and education were important tasks for all family members. Each of these participants was bright, well-liked by their peers and successful in school. Their lives were enriched through exposure to dance, violin, 4-H and travel. They were taught to treat others fairly, kindly and with respect.

Of these four participants, Chris, Anne and Bruce scored in the high empathy range on the Child subscale. Each had early exposure to thinking about the causes of another's behavior. Bruce remembers his mother trying to explain his brother's behavior to him as early as age four. Chris and Anne report that their parents typically talked about problems explaining the causes for people's behavior. In each family, verbal explanations were given to the children in regard to the feelings and behaviors of others. Neither Chris, Anne or Bruce reports that it was difficult to talk with their parents. Chris reports the story of the little girl skipping home from school and how sad she felt as her mother

explained how the other children treated her. Anne's family made it family policy to accept others no matter what the difference. As children, these three participants learned about the feelings and behaviors of other children as their parents explained them. Although living in cozy nests of security, their parents pointed out what was happening outside the nest and how it might feel to those experiencing it. As adults, these three participants all reported a strong devotion and caring for emotionally impaired children. Each made comments much like Bruce's "I love "em."

The nurturing warmth of Bruce's home did not protect him from feeling the pain of social rejection. The fact that he was not Catholic in a Catholic community was a circumstance he could not control. He was short, fat, and talked funny, again circumstances he did not have much control over. But he was nourished emotionally in his home environment. He had parents he could share his problems with. He felt loved and successful in other areas such as academics and sports. This was not true for Donna (the abused child) who felt the pain of social rejection and the devastation of parental rejection. She feels that her appearance, poverty and lack of academic skill were the reasons for her unfair treatment at school. Except for the involvement of Donna's significant other, she knew little about emotional nourishment. Mike, the juvenile delinquent, felt rejected too. At first he felt the unfairness of the school environment when he had trouble with reading. Then he was to know the abandonment and rejection of his parents. More than any other participant, he felt unloved and unprotected.

On the subscale Between Bruce, Donna, Chris, and Ellen (the one who fears tragedy) scored in the high empathy range. This subscale measures

a person's sensitivity to what is going on between individuals. This skill is an important empathy skill, particularly in an EI classroom where students are continually interacting with each other. Being able to predict what is going on between individuals is crucial to good teaching. Typical A.S.S. items asked, "What was X feeling about Y at this point?"

Each of these participants had strong needs to develop an intuitive skill which would help them predict what was going on between others. Each reported the desire for social acceptance; Bruce because he was "short, fat and talked funny," Donna because of her felt sense of disgrace. Her poverty and appearance discredited her with others. Ellen, who scored highest in this area at the 99 percentile, reported seeking acceptance from both her parents and peers. She felt that if she did more for others they would like her better. The circumstances surrounding these participants lives gave each good reason to develop survival skills which would help them predict what was going on around them. By being able to read intuitively what was happening between others they could ready themselves for combat or prepare for flight. Bruce's description of laughing at himself may be just such an example.

Chris needed to be able to predict what other people would do, too. She valued happiness so much that she wanted to be able to predict if anything would threaten this state of well being. When she saw others being treated unfairly she became concerned that that could happen to her.

In each of these stories is the reported sense of unfairness experienced by these participants. In Bruce's case he says, "he is kicking out at the unfairness of being judged for the wrong things."

Donna says, "being judgemental is very cruel. I'm not judgemental. Its real important to me." In Ellen's case she felt cheated by the death of her mother and father as well as by other family members' deaths. She feels trapped in a marriage with a possible alchoholic. She has become fearful of unexpected tragedy. Chris reports that she has always been able to watch people around her and to learn from their life experience. Although the little girl skipping down the street was not a friend she felt the unfairness of her death. She felt the unfairness that she lived in a nice home and that one of her friends did not even have a bedroom but instead a room off the kitchen. When her husband's father died she was able to make predictions of how she should live her life in order for her loved ones to know how much she cared.

Each reported a sense of disillusionment early in his or her career. Bruce believed that administrators should be honest and above board with teachers. He reports that he was soon to learn that teachers are not privy to the same information as the administrator. Donna learned that in some incidents she would have to compromise her beliefs and behave like a girl rather than as a woman. Chris reports that she learned that administrators will not always be up front with teachers. Ellen of course learned that hiring may in fact be based on what "your legs look like." These disillusionments have forced all four to look seriously at their own behavior and to protect their job by being able to predict further maltreatment.

Of the last four participants; Bruce, Donna, and Ellen were to score high in the Adult subscale area. These three participants have experienced significant losses during adulthood. Bruce, and Ellen have both lost family members through death. Donna and Ellen have both experienced

the pain of strained marital relationships. The loss of a dream. The dream that marriage will bring you happiness and melt away the pains and fears of childhood.

Although not scoring in the high empathy range (perhaps for reasons of test bias or test anxiety) Mike and Lynn (the only black participant) also experienced significant losses as adults. Mike reports the sense of loss he felt when not being able to run, while Lynn reports her heart-break and single parenthood to have been periods of loss. As religious individuals, Mike and Lynn used their religious beliefs to bring them comfort and relief. Loran, Anne and Chris also find support in their religion.

The subscale Within measures a person's sensitivity to what is going on within individuals. Typical items ask "What was X feeling at this point?" Participants Bruce and Donna scored in the high empathy range on this subscale. They also were the only participants whose total score fell in the high empathy range. They each considered their experience during maturation to be one of felt discrimination. Donna says "I was tormented." Bruce asserts that "the world is cruel to fat people." Although both felt abused by society, Donna's experience also reached into her home life.

At an early age both Donna and Bruce recognized rejection and discrimination to be unfair and unjust. Neither used religious reasons for developing early intent to rectify the wrongs of others, but each planned to do so. Both have grown comfortable with a full range of expressed emotionality. As did Mike, both Bruce and Donna have had experiences with talking about their feelings in therapeutic settings. Talking seemed to bring them all a sense of relief from their suffering.

Bruce says he came to terms with his body image in talking about it. Donna learned more about communicating and Mike came to better understand his feelings, dissipated his anger, and learned to help other young people in similar circumstances.

Overall Bruce scored the highest on all subscale measures (Figure 18). The most remarkable feature of his life, in contrast to other participants, is the fact that although he suffered deeply from social rejection he was able to return home to an environment which regenerated a positive sense of self worth. Returning to his support base, he was able to talk about the behaviors of others. He was taught to hypothesize as to their reasons. He learned to predict others' behaviors in order to prevent the pain of rejection. Survival and learning are the keys to his experience.

Participant

Bruce	Donna	Ellen	Chris	Mike	Lynn	Anne	Loran
			High Empathy Subscale Areas				
Between Within Adult Child Female	Between Within Adult	Between Adult	Between Child Female			Child	
Total	Total						
			Related Life Experiences				
Warm Nurturing home			Warm Nurturing home			Warm Nurturing home	Warm Nurturing home
Learning Education Important		Learning Education Important	Learning Education Important		Learning Education Important	Learning Education Important	Learning Educa. Impor
Did well school		Did well school	Did well school		Did well school	Did well school	Did well school
Felt discrimination body appearance	Body appearance overweight	Body appearance thin		Felt discrimination body overweight			
Felt socially rejected	Felt socially rejected	Felt socially rejected		Felt socially rejected			
Planned for self protection	Planned for self protection		Planned for self protection				
Felt world unfair want to be accepted	felt world unfair want to be accepted		felt world unfair want to be accepted	felt world unfair want to be accepted			
emotional	emotional		emotional	emotional			
was taught about others			was taught about others			was taught about others	

Figure 20. Affective Sensitivity Scale Performance and Related Life Experience

continued

Bruce	Donna	Ellen	Chris	Mike	Lynn	Anne	Loran
speech problem	speech problem						
	reading problem			reading problem			
	abused by parent			abused by parent			
Family model accep-tance			Family model accep-tance			Family model accep-tance	
			strong relig-ious back-ground	strong relig-ious back-ground	strong relig-ious back-ground	strong relig-ious back-ground	strong relig-ious back-ground
Family love			Family love			Family love	Family love
exposed to broad-ning act-tivities			exposed to broad-ning act-tivities			exposed to broad-ning act-tivities	
			Church	Church	Church	Church	Church

TABLE 1

Participant Affective Sensitivity Scores

	Between	Within	Adult	Child	Male	Female	Total
Bruce	89	80	92	67	34	73	82
Donna	82	80	93	30	46	49	82
Chris	89	66	67	67	46	82	69
Ellen	99	76	96	48	51	82	69
Mike	59	46	57	48	46	49	57
Lynn	15	30	57	16	34	36	32
Anne	47	15	14	67	24	36	25
Loran	47	1	13	16	24	9	10
High Empaths	76	76	75	65	75	71	76
Low Empaths				22	34	27	29

CHAPTER V

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

SUMMARY OF THE STUDY

This study began on the premise that the ability of teachers of the emotionally impaired to behave empathically, to put themselves in the place of their students, would have a positive impact on student behavior and academic achievement. The purpose was to explore the self-reported empathic development of a small sample of EI teachers over the course of their life times.

Theorists have attempted to define the nature and dynamics of the empathic relationship for at least forty years. It is defined by Carl Rogers to be "The very special way of being with another person," (Rogers, 1975 p. 3). Empathy has been found to be an important factor in therapeutic relationships, child rearing and teaching. Effective therapists and teachers have been found to promote conditions of nonposessive warmth, genuiness and accurate empathy.

There continues to be a good deal of ambiguity around the concept of empathy. Some define empathy as the ability to see things from the other person's point of view. Others define empathic understanding as the ability to experience accurately another's private world and to sense the immediate affective quality and intensity of another's inner

feelings. Rogers (1975) defines empathy as entering the private perceptual world of the other and becoming thoroughly at home in it. Kagan and associates narrowed the empathy concept to something they call affective sensitivity. It is defined as the ability to detect and describe the immediate affective state of another.....the ability to receive and decode affective communication (Kagan, 1965).

Numerous attempts have been made to try to measure empathy. Dymond began to develop empathy assessments as early as 1948. Others including Chapin, Cassell, Barrett-Lennark, Hogan, Charkhoff, Truax and Guerney have also attempted to develop accurate empathy measurements. Showing the most promise is the Affective Sensitivity Scale developed by Kagan and associates. It is a multiple choice response protocol in which subjects are shown videotaped vignettes of actual counseling interviews, then required to select responses that identified the affective state of vignette participants. Form D of this scale was found to distinguish between persons identified as high and low empathizers.

Empathy can be a powerful agent in any interpersonal relationship, but there appears to be distinct individual ability in this area. Researchers have disagreed about how empathy develops. Some suggest that development of empathy can be explained by use of role theory. This means that individuals practice taking the role of others, thus developing social sensitivity. Other researchers suggest that it is actual similarity between individuals which lends itself to a sense of empathic understanding. Schachtel postulates that a person projects his own feelings onto another in such a way to merge with the perceptions of another. Still yet, Rogers contends that empathy can be learned from other empathic persons and can be developed through training.

Halpern's psychoanalytical behavioral model suggests that empathy is learned in the first mother-infant contacts where the infant responds to mother through a special sense. Depending on whether or not the infant receives pleasant or unpleasant experiences with the communication determines what types of people and the types of human situations in which he will behave most and least empathically.

Others postulate that family experiences will determine the empathic abilities of the individual and that a broad history of experience will tend to increase the individual's ability to behave empathically in an increased number of situations.

High empathizers are said to be able to invest in others and to feel rewarded by such an investment. They were, according to Dymond, individuals who were less guarded, more flexible, less hostile, more optimistic and more spontaneous. They tend to have control over their emotional experience while at the same time richly enjoying their emotionality. Many theorists maintain that empathy is a prerequisite of prosocial behavior, a motivational process that mediates between perception of others' needs or distress and prosocial acts.

Research has continued to seek an understanding of the nature and development of empathy. However, empirical research has not lent itself to understanding the depth and richness of this human experience. Life history allows a very personal view of the developing individual. His unique set of attitudes, feelings and experiences reflects the commonality of man aside from his own very individual circumstances and abilities. Striving to document the inner experiences of individuals the life history can be used in an exploratory fashion for generating concepts, hunches and ideas, as a basis for formulating questions and as

a method of linking existing theory. It provides a method of refining personality theory and testing it on the lives of individual human beings.

The purpose of this study has been to explore, describe and compare the self-reported life histories of eight experienced teachers of the emotionally impaired from the mid-Michigan area. Because empathic skills are considered important to successful EI teaching, the researcher sought to discover what life experiences have influenced their lifetime development and in particular the development of empathic ability. Empathic ability was measured using the Affective Sensitivity Scale Form D.

Eight teachers of the emotionally impaired were selected randomly from a list of sixty-six EI teachers whose names were collected from four mid-Michigan intermediate offices. Each teacher selected was contacted by telephone and asked to participate in the study. Subjects were told that the researcher would like to hear their life story in hopes of discovering just what it was that made EI teachers different and somewhat special in comparison to other teachers. The subjects contacted were more than willing to participate and quite willing to set up meeting dates shortly there after. A follow up letter summarizing the research, with an explanation of the time commitments, involved was sent to each participant.

At the onset of the first meeting the researcher and subject each signed a research consent form. Signing of this form indicated that participants understood the life experience study in which they had agreed to participate and that they understood the necessary number of hours (up to 10) it would take to complete the history. The researcher agreed to maintain confidentiality and to accommodate participants's

time schedules as much as possible. All were again reminded that they would take the A.S.S. sometime during the interview process. Again, each willingly agreed.

Meeting in participants' homes, classrooms, at bars, and restaurants, the researcher engaged each participant in a series of lengthy collaborative interviews in an attempt to gather descriptions of his or her life experience. The interviews followed a developmental sequence from birth until the present. Events, feelings, dates and sequence were explored. Family and school environments were carefully sketched. Situations which may have had significant impact were investigated. All participants agreed to audio recording of the interview. These tapes were later transcribed to typewritten form. At some time during the interview process the researcher brought the A.S.S. via video tape or film to the interview site for completion.

Participants were asked to draw a map of their life travels. This map, along with interview summaries and research journal entries, enabled the researcher to assess the reliability of their stories.

Life history analysis began during the interview. Written summaries were intended to help the interviewer sort out meaningful events and feelings. Journal entries allowed the researcher to record her own perceptions of the subject and the life story told.

Data were analyzed according to the Mandelbaum-Langness categories of Dimensions, Principal Turnings, Adaptions and Consequences. Dimensions are one's home, biological, social and cultural inputs. Principal Turnings are those events which force one to take on new behaviors or perceptions. Adaptations are those behaviors which one must change in order to maintain a sense of continuity. Consequences are

the results of one's chosen behaviors or adaptations. They often determine an individual's choice of behavior later on.

Eighty categories and classes were generated from the interview data which helped the researcher identify similarities and differences between subject's life experiences. Analysis of the A.S.S. scale did not begin until all interviews had been analyzed so that researcher's perception of the interview data would not be influenced by the test scores. These scores enabled the researcher to make comparisons between life experiences and the development of empathy. Using all the information generated during data collection and analysis the researcher summarized the life story of each participant and drew conclusions in regard to empathic development.

CONCLUSIONS

Participants Can Be Separated Into Three Groups

Based on the quality and nature of the principal turning points reported by participants, it was possible to divide informants into three groups. Group One included participants Loran (the youngest and Anne one of six children). They reported no major changes or periods of transition which forced them to adapt by taking on a new set of roles. They could name no such events even when queried at least four times during the interview. Each continued to report that their own manner of adaptation had remained basically constant throughout life. They reported that the quality and nature of their experience allowed them to maintain a comfortable equalibrium.

In the second group fell participants Lynn (the only black participant) and Chris (the enthusiast). They reported an increased number of

major changes or turning points. Among other turning points, Lynn described her parents' divorce as well as her own. Chris described going to college and her first teaching job as periods in which her behavior changed. They reported adaptive behavior change after a number of turning points in order to accomodate events. The nature of these experiences forced some change in the participant's sense of equilibrium. Whether due to personal resilience or the nature of the experience, participants in this group appeared less traumatically affected by life events than those in group three.

In this third group Bruce (the champion for fairness), Mike (the delinquent) Donna (the abused child) and Ellen (fearful of tragedy) report major transitions of attitude and behavior. Amidst other turning point stories, Mike described going to the streets in just a matter of months after his father left, consequently living through an hostile, aggressive adolescence. Bruce describes angry bitter adjustments to his sense of social rejection due to his religion, his physical appearance and speech impairment. Donna describes a bitterness towards her teachers, her abusive father, and her mother. Each adapted by personally finding some way to gain control over unfair, unjust circumstances. Ellen describes an increasingly casual attitude towards funerals after a number of family deaths. These deaths have resulted in a fear of personal tragedy for herself and her daughter. In this group participants tell of life experiences which have demanded from them reevaluation and changed perceptions of the world.

Participants naming few major changes or traumatic turnings tended to score in the lower range of empathy skills, while those recalling imperious turnings tended to score in the high empathy range. Donna and

Bruce scored in the high empathy range for the entire A.S.S. scale while Ellen achieved high empathy scores on the three subscales, (Table 1).

The Lives of High Empathizers

The lives of high empathizers Bruce, and Donna had similar features. Each experienced emotional pain and anguish during extended periods after early childhood. This pain did not abate easily. They felt rejected for the varied reasons of poverty, obesity, poor academic skill, speech disorders, and parental displeasure. Each felt a sense of hopelessness and unfairness in his/her plight. With an early intent for changing circumstance, Bruce and Donna developed a plan of mastery. They were going to do something about it, (see pages 163,178 for discussion). Participants from Group One (Loran and Anne) and Group Two (Lynn, Chris) reported that they typically turned to their religion for support and purpose when faced with life's turnings, (see pages 74,103 for discussion). The three high empathy scorers, Bruce, Donna, and Ellen from Group Three did not report use of religion as a support base and foundation for adaptation. They did not report that they used a spiritual belief system to ease the emotional pain of life's turnings as did other participants. The pain they experienced during difficult periods was perhaps more intense than for those participants resorting to prayer and faith in the hope that things would work out, (see pages 163,178).

Importance of Personal Mastery

The need to establish personal mastery over a threatening environment may have been the reason these participants developed empathic skill. Perhaps they became adept at predicting others behavior so that

they could ready themselves for fight or flight. Role theory explains that when individuals respond to each other over time, the activity of each becomes a stimulus for a response pattern in the other. In this way an individual becomes able to anticipate or construe the feelings expectations and informational requirements of others. Hence, Donna and Bruce learned to predict the behavior of others so that they knew when it was a safe environment and when it was not. In this way they gained control over an uncontrollable set of life circumstances.

Empathy Development Theory

Robert Hogan believes that there are four components in the development of empathy. First there is an intellectual component. Second, he believes that empathy may be encouraged by parents who try to inculate into their children humanistic values, such as consideration for the rights of others. Thirdly, he says empathic tendencies can almost surely be modeled, thus empathic parents will tend to raise empathic children. Finally, he says, "it seems to me that a degree of suffering is necessary before one can resonate to the suffering of others," (Hogan 1975, p. 16).

Piaget's work supports the cognitive aspect of empathic development as do others. He suggests that a child is not ready to adopt another's perspective until he becomes less egocentric, between the ages of five and eight. He maintains that young children do not have sufficient cognitive maturity to take another's point of view. By the time they have entered the period of concrete operations they can "decenter" and attend to more than one dimension of a situation at a time. Aronfreed, a learning-theorist, offers that empathy is acquired by repeated pairing of

the child's feelings with someone else's expression of the corresponding feelings. Bruce, Chris and Anne reported that a parent taught them empathic understanding during childhood as a lesson of life, perhaps pairing their feelings with another child's but most definitely pointing out how another child or adult was feeling (i.g. Anne's experience when breaking her brother's finger, Chris's mother's explanation about the handicapped child). Some participants report learning about how others feel from therapeutic experiences in later childhood and as adults. (Donna's marriage counseling experience, Mike's therapy experience with school counselors).

Importance of Home Life

In Bruce's case empathy and humanistic values were both encouraged by his parents. However, Donna did not report this parental encouragement, while low scorers, Chris, Anne and Loran reported a strong family value for helping others. Empathy, by definition, is not necessarily a general prosocial humanistic value. It is being able to put yourself in another's place. This study does not support the notion that encouragement of humanistic values is a factor in empathy development.

It does support the importance of an early home life which values sensitivity to children's needs and offers warmth, nurturing and dignity. Participants Anne, Chris and Bruce achieving high scores on the Child subscale reported that no physical discipline was used in their home, and that they felt loved and nurished in their home environment.

Research shows that "a parent who used physical force or threat is acting as an aggressive model and at the same time shows the child aggression achieves some goals. If parents reason with their children,

pointing out the "rights" and "wrongs" of their actions, they inevitably model consideration for others and at the same time, stress the social implications of one's own behavior, thus strengthening their childrens' empathic tendencies," (Mussen, 1977 p.93).

Importance of Modeling

Hogan suggests that empathic parents will probably raise empathic children, that children learn through modeling. This appears to be supported here, Chris, Bruce and Anne modeled their parents. Anne reported her parents to be particularly accepting, as did Bruce, (see pages 84,104). Bruce idolized his father and his love for difficult kids, while at the same time reporting that he was most like his mother who was quite empathic in nature. Chris reported that both her parents gave serious consideration to the feelings of others. Mike and Donna chose to model significant others. Mike strove to repay the men who helped him by trying to be like them, while Donna tried to meet the expectations of her significant other (see pages 118,165). In other cases participants learned and modeled behavior from therapeutic experiences, such as Mike's experience with the school counselor and Bruce's college experience in talking with others about his feelings and theirs. In these circumstances participants learned empathic skills through both modeling and practice. In all cases empathic models praised and reinforced empathic behavior. Bruce received family support in his fight against the wearing of chokers in high school. Anne was rewarded for feeling badly about hurting her brother.

Importance of Child-Caretaker Interactions

Hogan's fourth component for the development of empathy is suffering. Of the four components named, suffering has appeared most often during this research. Participants who experienced intense emotional suffering over a long period of time scored in the high empathy range on the A.S.S.. However, these participants also reported a safe, secure infancy, a time before the age of five when life was particularly positive.

During these early years a child develops a sense of confidence and the strength to tolerate and grow from later rejection and tragedy. Perhaps as psychoanalytic theorists hold, participants developed an early form of empathy which developed from infant-caretaker interactions. Here, the caretaker's moods were communicated to the infant by touch, tone of voice, and facial expressions.

Bruce, whose home life continued through life to be positive, returned home to share feelings and experiences. Here he was renourished and sent again into the world with a little more understanding of what was happening around him. It is not clear how other high scorers continued to find support during critical turnings of childhood. Here capacity to deal with adversity appears to play a part.

Importance of Suffering

Intense long term suffering does appear to force one to consider the behavior of others and to enable one to feel empathy for others. Theorists contend that one is more likely to feel empathy for those that one feels are similar in circumstance and feeling than some abstract concept.

If this is true, high scoring participants were able to see similarities between themselves and the A.S.S. vignette participants. Bruce, Donna, Mike and Ellen also have reason to find similarities in their experience and that of the children they teach, (see pages 110,162). Each suffered a great deal, each resolving his/her pain differently. Most have been forced to stretch in order to cope and adjust. But in Ellen's case, her suffering appears to have robbed her of the personal resources needed to attempt to understand others. Her overwhelming sadness prevents her from being able to express her empathic abilities, (see pages 150,157). It is possible that one can suffer too much, that after a while the pain takes all one's emotional energy. No energy then is available for understanding the plight of others. Suffering may help one add an empathic dimension to one's life, if indeed it is not too much suffering. The limb must be bent, not broken.

Importance of Emotionality

This research corroborated the studies of Dymond in finding high empathizers open to the emotionality of their experiences. High empathizers in this study have talked with others who have validated their feelings and experiences. They have read about the experiences of others and gained mastery with the help of concerned family and friends. Low empathy participants have gained mastery too. They have talked with friends and read avidly about the experiences of others, as did Lynn in learning about single parenting. However, in hard times low scorers often have turned for support to their religious beliefs. Their sense of mastery thus seems to be based on a world view that they are not alone and will be cared for rather than on a firm understanding of their own

emotions as well as those of others. Religious beliefs are mentioned here only because the low empathy participants in this study seemed to rely on them. One might postulate that immersion in or identification with any large group, such as an occupational group or peer group, could serve to protect a person who has not learned to empathize with the human problems suffered by all.

Importance of Identification with a Group

Donald Werner found that those who scored high on the A.S.S. tended to suspend judgement or interpretation of what they have just witnessed while low scorers were generally inclined to make assumptions or judgements about what they had just seen. We return again to the fact that in this study high empathy scorers and low scorers differ in their involvement in formal religion. All low scorers attend their chosen church while high scorers did not embrace formal religion.

Most formal religions teach compassion, sympathy and helping ones neighbor. But formal religions also teach a certain rigidity. There is a right and wrong way to do things. Certain thoughts and acts are taboo. If one is to avoid these taboos themselves, one is not likely to attribute these thoughts and behaviors to others. One is then limited in terms of what empathic feelings one might have. This limitation and subtle judgment of others may significantly interfere with empathic understand- ing. Although religion is specifically mentioned here, rigidity inherent in any group a person might identify with would seem to be anathema to empathic development.

Empathy Development as Seen in this Research

This research tends to strengthen the findings of previous empathy development research. For each individual, empathic development appears to depend on a unique multi-dimensional balance of experiences. These may be a role model who demonstrates, teaches and reinforces empathic behavior, most likely during a time when the empathy lesson can be best received; a period of intense emotional suffering distinguished by overt emotionality, or a perceived sense of hopelessness follwed by individual mastery. Each individual brings to the empathy development process his own unique personal essense which, when coupled with empathy promoting experiences, either supports or discourages the empathy development process.

IMPLICATIONS

A life history study such as this verifies theory while contributing new ideas to the field of study. The implications of this work are important to further understanding of empathy while also important to EI teacher selection, training and classroom behavior.

Implications for Theory

The research of this study supports the work of many theorists in regard to the development of empathy. Empathy development was found to be multi-dimensional in nature. It appeared that there might be an ideal mixture of life experiences which foster empathic development, perhaps even an unique formula for each individual. This formula would blend security, hardship and cognitive experience in the proper proportions to

allow an individual to experience pain and rejection without devastation, while developing a capacity to understand others sensitively.

The sense of personal esteem reported by participants in this study appears to have played an important part in their empathic development. Both Donna and Bruce (high scorers) struggled to gain social acceptance. They reported ambivalent feelings about themselves. This ambivalence caused them to struggle continually for acceptance with others as well as with themselves. This perpetual struggle may have kept them keenly tuned to the behavior of others. Their personal sense of self worth appears to have played an important role in the development of empathic ability. This suggests that an individual's self concept relates closely to the ability to make use of personal experiences in a manner which promotes empathic sensitivity.

The individuals in this study reported uniquely different capacities to cope with emotional pain. In some cases the endurance of emotional pain was so difficult that the individual became emotionally incapacitated while in other cases individuals coped, mastered and even thrived. Emerging then is the possibility that one's unique ability to cope with emotional pain (resilience) may be related to the development of empathic capacity.

The stories of the participants in this study point out the individual uniqueness of life. For each, crucial experiences, or lack of, occurred during different developmental periods. The sequence and

timing of these turning points, as well as their quality, appears to increase or decrease empathic sensitivity development.

Chris (the enthusiast) indicated feeling very sensitive to others even as a small child. She reports that her life has been one of consistent pleasurable experience. She recalls no intense personal emotional pain as did others who scored high in subscale areas, yet she continues to respond sensitively to the emotional pain of others. This suggests that heightened empathic capacity may occur naturally even when not fostered by training or life experience.

Implications for Philosophy

In our western society parents sacrifice many of their own needs to provide a life for their children which is free from emotional pain; a life of joy and plenty. If the capacity for empathic sensitivity depends on at least one dimension of experience being felt suffering, the importance of the empathy goal may have to be reevaluated. Is empathy so important to positive interpersonal relations that we will come to encourage personal suffering in order to enhance empathic development?

While some researchers believe empathy to be the forerunner of prosocial actions, the self reports of research participants indicate reason to question this assumption. There was evidence in this study that participants elected to use empathic capacities at will. Participants reported the use of empathic sensitivity in order to manipulate or control others, sometimes in a somewhat antisocial fashion. This

suggests that high empathizers may use their empathic sensitivity in either prosocial or antisocial ways or even a combination of both.

Implications for EI Teacher Selection and Training

The participants Mike, (the delinquent) Chris, Donna (the abused child) and Bruce described how they apply their own experience to the experience of the children they teach. They use their experience to generate teaching strategies for the emotionally impaired students they serve. Each reported finding it personally challenging as well as satisfying to be of help to the children. This being the case, teacher training might be improved by encouraging potential teachers to recognize the similarities between their experience and those of the children they serve.

In contrast, some researchers found that the empathic response of individuals with similar experiences was merely a projection on the part of the empathizer. In some cases in this study, participants reported that EI student experiences rekindled painful feelings from their past. These feelings were difficult to reexperience daily on the intense emotional level of the EI classroom. Selecting EI teachers with experiences similar to those of students may be burdening teachers with emotional pain which will eventually actually disallow an empathic response, since the teacher will necessarily have to protect himself/herself from the emotional overload of pain which reoccurs frequently and successively during a school day.

The results of this study indicate that an empathy training program for teachers incorporating a discussion of one's own experiences with others, drawing parallels between ones feelings and the feelings of others, along with a discussion of the probable experiences of the children they serve, would be particularly effective if taught by an empathic model using insightful as well as direct teaching techniques.

Recognizing that a teacher may not have developed a sensitiveness to others during his/her life time, and that personal circumstances may not have forced them to seek out an awareness of others, supervisors might be able to help teachers respond sensitively to a child by drawing parallels between the child's experience and the teacher's, while carefully explaining the child's point of view.

Implications for EI Teacher Classroom Behavior

Several participants who scored in the low empathy range reported successful teaching experiences. Since this study had no way to determine successful teaching, it becomes an interesting question whether successful EI teaching is possible when a teacher has limited empathic sensitivity. Is it possible that a successful EI teacher does not need an heightened empathic sensitivity in order to perform successfully in the classroom?

Unfortunately not much attention was paid in this study to those people who chose not to use their empathic capacities in the classroom. Recognizing that the positive use of empathic sensitivity may be a

personal value choice, the goal of teacher educators in the future could be to develop a positive attitude towards the use of empathy in the classroom and to attach a prosocial value to its use.

Participants in this study who developed empathy as children learned through their own painful experience and with the help of a caring sensitive teacher what the feelings of others meant. If we want to encourage the development of empathy in children and in teachers, we as educators will need to learn to tune into the critically painful periods of another's life when they are most open to the empathy lesson. During these crucial moments, the student is in readiness; the teacher too must himself/herself be ready with the empathy lesson.

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

There are several possible avenues the researcher might take in furthering the life history study of EI teachers in regard to empathic development. In this study the Affective Sensitivity Scale did not prove to be appropriate because it did not really address itself to the teacher of the emotionally impaired. Subscales dealt with middle class problems mostly with adults, not with youngsters with emotional impairment. Future researchers might choose to develop their own empathy scale or perhaps use an empathy scale such as Carkhuff's.

This method requires that raters be provided with an audio or video recording of some dyatic interpersonal situation. The scale itself consists of a set of operational definitions which correspond to five levels of improving empathic understanding. Raters score empathic

responses in terms of these five levels. Subjects achieving scores at level five are considered most empathic.

Future researchers might consider validating participant life histories by interviewing an informant's parent or sibling. While validating the life history the researcher could simultaniously gain information concerning the participant's empathic capacities. Several visits to a participant's classroom would also fortify the researcher-subject relationship and further validate empathic ability, particularly with emotionally impaired students.

An individual's philosophical beliefs appear to be an important aspect of empathy development and use. Future researchers might spend time exploring the philosphical foundations of informants, asking questions about religious beliefs, family belief systems as well as personal and social philosophical positions. This would perhaps explain the reasons some informants choose to use their empathic skills as they did and why others reported performing well in the classroom without this skill. The research of this study suggests that individuals must have a reason to behave empathically. What these reasons are is a question for further research.

It would shed more light on the development and use of empathy if the participants of this study were to be engaged in a life history sequel in say ten or twelve years. How the developmental periods of adulthood impact on empathy development could be addressed. Life history studies of other occupational groups could be made in order to contrast and compare their life experiences with EI teachers and how they have adapted to life's turnings in order to bring meaning and fulfillment to their lives.

Future research might follow individual lives in relation to religious convictions, how they are formed, how they impact on a person's decisions and how they are used or not used to enhance the quality of one's life. These beliefs change over time and in relation to life events. Following the path of these changes might tell us how belief systems serve to add dimension to individual lives. Life history research may illuminate how the turning points, adaptations, and consequences of lives are significantly determined by one's belief system.

The question of body image and its role in a felt sense of social acceptance is also a worthy question for future research. How does the obese child come to see himself? Will he see himself as inadequate and unacceptable for a lifetime? Are there obese children who have a positive sense of self esteem? How are the obese child's self image perceptions internally processed? Is the fear of being fat in our society so great that children learn to fear this early? With their immature perceptions do children who might not be considered fat by medical standards see themselves as fat by social standards? Do adults have any idea of the pain and anguish the fat child experiences?

The importance of role modeling, teaching and positive reinforcement in empathy development has been demonstrated by this research. None of the participants had been involved in affective education as children. It would be interesting to follow the development of empathy in a group of individuals having been so involved. This might further strengthen the concept that empathy can be learned and promote continued affective education in schools.

Part of the researcher's commitment to informants of this study was to share with them the Affective Sensitivity Scale results and to allow

them to read what had been written about them. Continued research might include a study of participant's reactions to this information and a follow up study documenting any changed professional or personal behavior precipitated by their participation in this life history study.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

INTERVIEW FOLLOW UP LETTER

AND CONSENT FORM

INTERVIEW FOLLOW UP LETTER

Dear

As you know from our discussion, I am doing my doctoral dissertion study on the life experiences of teachers of the emotionally impaired. I am interested in whether or not EI teachers have some common experiences with each other and how their life experiences have lent them a special capacity to work with emotionally impaired students. To finalize this study, I will complete in-depth interviews with EI teachers from the mid-Michigan area.

EI teachers participating in the study will gain an opportunity to learn about their lives and perhaps gain insight into the development of their career choice and continued career activity. This might be an opportunity to put one's life experiences in perspective. The researcher seeks to involve each participant in a collaborative effort to gather information which will form a picture of the participant's life, the world in which we live, and what the participant does with his life and life experiences. The researcher and participant will be working together to learn more about the lives of EI teachers.

Participants will have an opportunity to learn more about their own development. They will have an opportunity to discuss with the researcher and voice questions or thoughts that have occurred during the interview process at the conclusion of the interviews. Lastly, the participant will be given an opportunity to see what has been written. It will not necessarily be about the participant as an individual as much as how the participant's life reflects common patterns.

The anonymity of participants will be maintained at all times during the study and in the final document. Anything shared with the researcher will be held in the strictest professional confidence. Participants will be asked to share life experiences with the researcher over a period of weeks or months depending on time schedules. Interviews will be tape recorded in order for the interviewer to give her absolute attention to the interview process. Recordings will be destroyed after data collection is completed. The typical interview will last from one to two hours. Also asked of the participant is completion of videotaped presentations which ask the participant to answer questions about interpersonal vignettes using a multiple choice format.

Participants will be committing themselves to a time commitment of a number of hours, perhaps as many as eight or ten. Results will be treated with strict confidence. Participants will be free to discontinue if they choose.

If you have any concerns about this research you might contact Dr. Gene Pernell a faculty member and dissertation committee member, Michigan State University. Your interest in this project is very much appreciated and I look forward to our meeting.

Sincerely,

Carol L. Hatcher

CONSENT FORM

I have read the explanatory letter regarding the EI teacher life experiences study. I freely consent to participate and understand the commitment to which I have agreed. I understand that the researcher and I will be working together to map out a picture of my life.

Signed:_____

Date:_____

As researcher, I agree to maintain the highest degree of confidentiality and to accommodate participant's time schedules as much as possible.

Signed:_____

Date:_____

APPENDIX B

INTERVIEW GUIDE

INTERVIEW GUIDE PREFACE

- Introduce self.
- Disclose information which qualifies interviewer as insider.
- EI teacher, years of experience, etc.
- Short period of rapport building.
- Establish interview purpose and background information.

This research study is concerned with exploring and describing the life experiences of EI teachers. The research is aimed at compiling biographical information about EI teachers. I would like to tape our meetings together. It will help me a great deal to analyze the data. Do you have any questions?

INTERVIEW GUIDE

PRELIMINARY INFORMATION

- Name
- School
- Level of teaching
- Length of teaching experience
- Can you describe a little about your present job? - How tiring is your work?
- What kind of training did you have and where? - Are you involved with school now?
- What is most important to you in your job?
- Can you tell me something about your present class?

VOCATIONAL HISTORY

- Did you work in any other jobs before you were a teacher?
- Can you tell me a little about them?
- Why did you work?
- How did you feel towards your job?
- What did you do with the earnings?
- Did you have any special training?
- What has been your most important reason for desiring to change any job you held in the past?
- Was there any commonality in your other experiences which have helped in your EI teaching?
- Any particular event may have been siginificant to your later work?

- In your experience before selecting teaching as a career, can you remember particular events or persons which influenced your choice of special education?

- When you were in teacher training, can you think of any important events you personally experienced? Perhaps one significant event over others?

- During training did one individual adult or child make an impact on your teaching now?

- During training did you have contact with any human service organizations?

- Did you have any sensitivity training?

- What is most important to you in a job?

- What have you disliked most in jobs you have held: Working situation? Pay? Superiors? Security? Other?

- Where have you spent most of your adult life? How satisfied with your surroundings are you?

- What has given you the least difficulty on any job you have held?

- In your work, would you prefer to work at one thing at a time, to work on two things at a time, to have many things on the fire simultaneously?

- If you could work on what <u>you</u> would consider an ideal job, would you:

  1) work autonomously?
  2) work under suggested priorities?
  3) expect to be told what to do, but not how to do it?
  4) expect to be told what to do and receive suggestions as to how to do it?
  5) expect to be told what to do and how to do it?

PRESENT WORK SITUATION

- Work is a good teaching day like for you?

- What has encouraged you in your teaching experience?

- What has discouraged you in your teaching experience?

- To what degree do you feel that your most recent job makes use of your abilities and capabilities?
- How much recognition do you receive for doing a good job?
- How tiring is your work?
- How does your spouse feel about your career? Does your spouse ever complain when you seem preoccupied with job problems while you are at home?
- How do you react to an unpleasant situation?
- What makes you feel best when you are teaching?
- What's easiest about teaching EI kids for you?
- What's most challenging about teaching EI kids?
- What's the most ordinary?
- What is the most fun?
- Can you tell me how you typically relate to your students?
- What's the most difficult thing for you to do when you are teaching?
- Do you ever have dreams about school?
- How do you feel about certain behaviors you see in your classroom such as aggressive behavior, swearing, sexual promiscuity, antisocial behavior. Why?
- Do you get enough sleep? Do you tire more easily than you used to?

REASONS FOR CHOSING EI TEACHING

- Can you tell me why you chose to teach EI students?
- Did you have nay personal knowledge of handicapped individuals?
- Did you personally have any disabilities?
- What had the greatest influence on you in determining your choice of a major field?
- Did you change your major during college?

- Would you choose the same curriculum again?
- How did your parents feel about your career?
- What keeps you in EI teaching?
- What people, things, events influenced your choice?
- What age did you determine your choice?
- Would you want your child to be an EI teacher?
- Did negative or positive things have an influence on your career choice?

WHEN YOU WERE GROWING UP - THE YEARS BEFORE SCHOOL

- Where did you live? What section of town did your family live longest? What size city?
- Who lived at home?
- Birth order of siblings.
- How did your mother, father react to crises?
- Any traditional family member with influence? Grandparents? Aunts? Uncles?
- Who did you get along with best?
- Who did you have the most difficulty getting along with?
- Dad's work--What was Dad like?
- Mom's work--What was Mom like?
- How did you feel about Mom's work?
- Who took care of you?
- Who did you feel most comfortable getting help and reassurances from?
- How did they help?
- Religion?
- Did you have any special pets?

- What did you like to play?
- Can you think of any significant events which might have changed the direction of your life? Tell me about them?
- Where you ever upset by some tragedy which you brooded over?
- How did you act when you got angry?
- Can you think of any significant events which might have changed the direction of your life? Tell me about them.
- Can you characterize the kind of child you were?
- Did you have any special problems?
- What made you happy? Sad? Angry?
- Did you ever get in trouble?
- Would you say people cared about you? How?

EARLY SCHOOL YEARS

- Can you characterize your school experience?
- What kind of school did you go to?
- Did you have any experiences with children who were different from you?
- What did you like best?
- Did you like school?
- Did you have any troubles?
- Who was most helpful to you at home? How were they helpful?
- What special things did you do at school?
- What special things did you do out of school?
- Did you get any special help or can you remember any special teacher?
- What kinds of things did you do as a family?
- What kinds of friends did you have?

- What kind of child were you?
- What kinds of games did you play?
- What did you like most about yourself?
- Perhaps a particular teacher made a lasting impression, good or bad?
- What did you like least about yourself?
- Did you have any special talents?
- What made you happy? Sad? Afraid? Angry?
- Were you ever upset by some tragedy?
- How did you act when you got angry?
- What kinds of things did you do as a family?
- Name three things you did that got you into trouble?
- Can you remember any particular person who made a lasting impression? How? What were they like?
- Did you ever get really angry at a teacher?
- Can you think of a critical event which changed the way you behaved in some way?
- How did a good event change you?
- How did a bad event change you?
- Would you say people cared about you? How?
- Were you part of a group?
- What kind of role did Mom play in your life?
- What kind of role did Dad play in your life?
- Name three emotional needs that characterize these years
- Would you please draw a map showing your travel through life to this point? Please label it.

MIDDLE SCHOOL YEARS - PREADOLESCENCE

- Can you characterize your middle school years?
- What kind of school did you go to? What did you like best?
- What did you like least?
- Did you have any academic or social problems?
- Who helped you? How?
- Were you competitive? How?
- Did you compromise?
- What did you like best? Least?
- Did you have any experiences with children who were different from you?
- Would you say that you were able to compromise with other kids and with adults? How? Tell me about a situation in which you compromised.
- Would you say you were ambitious? How?
- What were your goals?
- Were you active at school or at home in extra activities?
- Were you part of a gang?
- What was the worst trouble you got in?
- Were you ever upset by some tragedy?
- Did you help others in any capacity?
- How did you act when you got angry?
- Did you have any special friends? Tell me about them?
- Does anyone stand out in your recollection?
- What kinds of rules did you have at home?
- What did your parents expect from you? Did they help you achieve these goals?

- How did your home experience and your school experience achieve these goals?

HIGH SCHOOL - ADOLESCENCE

- What kind of high school did you go to?
- How much did you learn?
- Did you live in a place in which you felt well treated? Happy?
- What did your parents expect from you?
- What were your goals for yourself?
- Can you remember anyone in particular--someone who was instrumental in causing you to change your perspective on the world?
- Did you talk on the phone a lot? To whom?
- Tell me about an event that was particularly good. Bad.
- What was an ordinary day like?
- What was the worse trouble you got in?
- Did you help others in any capacity?
- What were the feelings between you and your parents? Can you characterize them?
- What kind of games did you play?
- What were your attitudes toward swearing? Dirty talk? Why?
- Were you ever lonely?
- Did you smoke, drink, use drugs, steal?
- What kinds of rules did your parents have?
- What did you worry about?
- What made you happy? Sad? Angry? Uptight?
- Was it easy to make friends?
- Did you have any adult friends?

- What kinds of experiences did you have with people who were different from you?
- What kinds of things did your family do?
- Was there perhaps a critical time or event that changed things for you?
- Did you compromise? How?
- How did you feel towards teaching then?
- How much independence did your parents allow you? As much as your friend's?
- Were you ambitious? How?
- What was the worst trouble you got in?
- Did you help other in any capacity?
- Did you have any special friends? Tell me about them.
- Does anyone stand out in your recollection?
- Does any particular event stand out in your recollection? Extra-curricular activities? Organizations?

COLLEGE

- How would you characterize yourself during college?
- Did you help other in any capacity?
- Did you have any special friends?
- Did you smoke, drink or use drugs?
- What did you worry about?
- Were you ever upset by some tragedy?
- Which of your courses were easiest? Which did you like best?
- Were you ambitious?
- Can you think of any significant events which changed the way you looked at the world?
- To what extent did your college education contribute to your life goals?

- Do you think you were regarded as unduly sensitive, overconfident, radical or unconventional, physically lazy, introverted?
- What setting did you have your most outstanding negative/positive experience?
- Organizations.
- Would you please draw me another map of your life depicting the time period we have just talked about. Please label it.

DURING THE GROWING-UP YEARS

- What did you want to be when you grew up?
- What did you like best about yourself?
- What didn't you like about yourself?
- How did you compare yourself to others?
- What did you like about being a boy? Girl?
- What kinds of friends did you have?
- What distressed you most? Physical illiness? Feeling not wanted by parent or peers? By teachers? Failure in some activity?
- What kinds of disagreements occurred in your family?
- What kind of discipline was used? How did you feel about the way you were disciplined?
- Were there any significant events? Death? Divorce? Remarriage?
- What were some family rules?
- What were the chores, expectations?
- What did you do in your free time?
- Did your family eat together? Do other things together?
- As far as religion is concerned, would you consider your parents to be very religious?
- Looking back on your life up through adolescence, what best described you?

YOU AS AN ADULT

- Have you married?
- Tell me about whether this relationship has helped you in the classroom?
- Have you been divorced or separated?
- Did this experience help you any in the classroom?
- How well do you do most things you have decided to do?
- How greatly disturbed are you if something is left unfinished?
- Do you have any children?
- What are they like?
- Is there a problem child?
- Is there an exceptional child?
- Is there a preferred child? Why?
- Has parenthood helped you in the classroom? How?
- Were you ever upset by some tragedy which caused you to brood?
- What is most likely to give you a headache?
- Have you suffered any great personal tragedy in the past ten years?

PRESENT SENSE OF SELF

- Can you name three things you really want from life?
- Do you feel satisfied with the results of your work?
- How satisfied do you feel with your work?
- Do you ever feel physically ill because of certain things that bother you? How do you feel? Does it last long? What do you do about it?
- Do you ever feel different from other people?
- Is this a true statement? I feel confident that I can do something about the problems that may arise in my life.

- Can you think of someone you have intensely disliked? Tell me about them.

- Where do you feel you have obtained your convictions about the meaning of life and how to live?

- When people express ideas which are different from yours, what do you do?

- What do you do when you really want your own way?

- Do you feel your major contributions to others have come through: Job? Family? Community? Something else?

- As you grow older, how have you felt about your abilities? More confident? More respect for abilities of others?

- How do you feel about your achievements to date?

- Has religion played any part in the major decisions of your life? Occupation? Marriage?

- As you grow older, have you become more or less religious?

WHICH DO YOU DO?

- Improve a sporting skill by playing a game?
- Improve through systematic practice?

- Plan ahead?
- Take each day as it comes?

- Always try to finish your work before enjoying yourself?
- Frequently going out for enjoyment before all your work is finished?

- Taking risks?
- Going through life safely?

- Steady routine in life?
- Continual unexpectedness or surprise?

IS THIS TRUE OF YOU?

- I'm comfortable with nearly all kinds of people.
- I can enjoy being with people whose values are very different from mine.

I WOULD RATHER BE:

- Neat. Sympathetic. Forgiving. Gentle. Imaginative. Helpful. Individualistic.

GENERAL QUESTIONS.

- Have you ever had major surgery?
- How is your health?
- Do you feel there is a lot of good in all people? There is some good in most everyone? A surprising number of people are mean and dishonest?
- In your relations with others, how do you try to behave? Please? Act according to your own feelings without regard to others feelings?
- When it is necessary for you to influence people to act how do you do it?
- Would you describe yourself as most like/least like: A dreamer? A joiner? Not a joiner? Unconventional? Not much influenced by precedent? Physically lazy? Dislikes routine or detailed work?
- What period of your life do you remember as your happiest?
- What period do you remember as least happy?

AVOCATIONAL INTERESTS AND RECREATIONAL INTERSTS

- What do you do in your free time?
- What fields of interest do you have?
- Are you a risk taker?
- What would you say characterizes your life? How? Why?
- What do you enjoy most? Talking with friends? Spending time with family? Physical activities? Reading?
- What do you enjoy least?
- Organizations.
- Would you please draw another map of your adult life? Label it please.

APPENDIX C

INTERVIEW PROGRESS SUMMARY

APPENDIX D

CATEGORIES AND CLASSES

WORKSHEET

INTERVIEW PROGRESS SUMMARY SHEET

Subject	Interview		
	(1)	(2)	(3)
Preliminary information			
Vocational history			
Present work situation			
Perceived reasons chose EI teaching			
Growing-up years			
Early school years			
Lifes travel map:			
Early years			
High school years			
College years			
Life travel map:			
Young adult			
General feelings about growing up			
You as an adult			
Personal life			
Professional life			
Sense of self			
Avocational interests			
Recreational, leisure time interests			
Lifes travel map:			
Adult life			

DATA ANALYSIS PROGRESS SUMMARY

Journal notes	
Summary Interpretive summary	
Mandelbaum, Langness categories	
Preliminary hypotheses	
New questions added to interview	
New hypotheses	
Affective Sensitivity Score	
Triangulation of data	

Categories and Classes Worksheet

(example)

	Religion	Teaching Style	Ethnic Background	Birth Order
Ellen	Catholic-as child	academics	Polish	Youngest
Lynn	Baptist exposure Jehovah's Witness	units-academic behavior modification	Black	Middle
Chris	Catholic	behavior modification Magic Circle Affective	Irish Canadian	Middle
Donna	Jewish	Worries about not being able to teach the arts. - Dev. Therapy	Jewish	Oldest by 1 Year
Anne	Catholic	very tight control strongly affective	Lebanese	Middle
Mike	Born Again Christian	Recreational Therapy	South-U.S.	Middle
Loran	Methodist	Behavior modification Academics	W.A.S.P.	First
Bruce	None-exposure to Methodist - Presbeterian until age 12	Strongly Affective	W.A.S.P.	Youngest

Categories and Classes Worksheet

Continued (example)

	Problem Solving	Health Problems	Secrets?	Where Obtained Convictions
Ellen	confusion bitterness fear- trying to futurize trying to find alter-natives	very thin metabolic diarrhea when upset grinds teeth	there may be many	life experiences
Lynn	reading talking to others Turns to God	breast tumor benigh	No	her religion and that of parents
Chris	Emotion talking/Jeff introspec-	No	No	whole pro-cess of growing up Talking about fami-lies, reli-gion, doing things families
Donna	talking with friends	colds-fatigue	No	when in school be-lieved tea-chers to be unjust, un-fair, unrea-sonable-know what didn't want to be
Anne	Keeps it inside talks with mother	colon problems cancer-scare	Maybe?	Church parents
Mike	Sometimes gets angry trys to explain	stress fracture	Maybe	significant others church self
Loran	Turns to God. Talks with best friend	none	none	church parents
Bruce	talks it out. Turns inward	overweight	Maybe	parents self

APPENDIX E

MANDELBAUM - LANGNESS

CATEGORY ANALYSIS

WORKSHEET

Mandelbaum - Langness Category Sheet Example (excerpts from one participants analysis data). Name _____

Turnings	Adaptations	Consequences
Dad leaves Mike age eleven	went to street life didn't want to be home stealing, conning felt Dad didn't care--Mom too! "didn't want people to get close to me." "Tried to push them away." "Had a hard time trusting" "Learned could run right over adults."	Got caught for stealing mini bike Ripped it up-totally
Policeman and school coach make arrangements for Mike to work off damage (had to go over to owners house every saturday and work) "Took us and showed us the jail"	"I got to thinking. I don't know if I want to continue to do this kind of stuff."	"I've seen kids who haven't done any more than steal something. Well that could be me. I just been very sensitive to them. I've learned to hear out their problems. I mean I really listen to them."
Basketball coach recognized Mike's basketball talent. Would show him things	Wondered how he could care, challenged him, cussed him, but would spend hours trying to perfect what he showed me.	Went to a coaches clinic. He was there. "He remembered me, he says, you've come a long way. It made me feel so good I almost cried."
	Got involved in athletics-walked both lines. "Acted out until I was about fifteen."	"I work well as a coach"
Went to a church in town to find a girl interested in. "The things they said really bothered me. They were talking about exactly what I was doing. That there was a choice to do it."		One day I just derstood exactly I made that prayer to the Lord with another witness there. I truely believe today." Witness-Stepfather "Strong conviction that stealing is wrong."

continued Mandelbaum - Langness Category Sheet
(example) Name_____

Dimensions

Lived in Jackson
Family
6 Kids
Mike middle child

Father engineer - well established - family never went without
Mother at home
Visits to Detroit, North Carolina (visit relatives)
Had cabin up north
Mom and Dad had a hard time showing affection

Dad
enforcer at home
not at home much - no time for kids
didn't tolerate much - short on patience
always downstairs working
didn't give much emotionally ("It might be a minute then "No" "I'm busy"
Taught Mike how to throw curve ball

Mom
sincere caring - "up until the problem"
hit kids with "glamour stretcher."

<u>After Father leaves, Mike is Eleven</u>

Kids felt Dad didn't care
Mom felt real guilty - fell apart
Couldn't give kids support they needed - worked as professional sewer
"I used to steal to have something to eat"

Family
fighting
poverty
moved four times - ended up small rural town
no rules, encouraged stealing lived close
kids didn't come home at night to school

Mom remarried
Mike saw Mom as selfish, just for herself
Stepdad - stood firm - showed Mike scriptures

Mike's wife - sincere, honest, very understanding "someone you could trust
2 children

APPENDIX F

REFLECTIONS

THE RESEARCHER'S PERSONAL EXPERIENCE

WHILE CONDUCTING THE LIFE HISTORY STUDY

When I undertook this life history study, I was excited about the challenge of collecting life histories. The question for me and for those guiding me had been whether or not I would really be able to elicit life stories from my participants. I knew that people liked to share their experiences and feelings with me. I could remember people sharing with me as early as high school and as a teacher, children, parents, and colleagues had also shared. But I was not prepared for what happened during data collection.

When I contacted the teachers whose names were on my sample list, I was terrified that no one would participate. Instead participants almost jumped at the chance to share their story. The first time that this happened I could almost hear myself saying. "Really, you really want to? It didn't seem to matter that it was going to take ten hours of their time and that they would have to complete the A.S.S..

I willingly met with participants in their homes, classrooms, at bars and restaurants. First visits were anxiety provoking. I always wondered if they would want to back out after the first visit. In spite of my fears, first visits were easy and smooth, and rapport was established almost immediately. Participants, to my delight, reported that they felt comfortable talking with me.

All of a sudden I was faced with a problem I had not considered. The life history interview was one of the most intense experiences of my life. Each interview was two to four hours. I had to be alert every second, reflecting their feelings and promoting with gesture and word a climate that would be conducive to learning more about the participant. They needed to know that what they said was important and valuable to the study. In most cases it really was. The aftermath following each

interview was unexpected. I was exhausted. I did not want to talk to anyone, to be near anyone. I needed to be alone with the story and my response to it. In many cases I needed quiet time to deal with my own feelings.

I enjoyed each story and very much enjoyed knowing each participant. But in some cases I had conflicting feelings. I felt trapped while interviewing Ellen and Donna. I wanted so much to be able to give them some words of support. I hated just retrieving information. I wanted to reach out. I noted in my journal after an interview with Ellen "Ellen's sadness is difficult for me. She has born a lot of tragedy. When I leave I cannot feel more like I'd like to help" (Journal entry Ellen #3).

I felt such a need to do something helpful for Ellen that after we completed the interviews I sent her a thank you note saying some of the things I had felt but had not been able to say during the data collection process. I continued to send thank you notes to other participants. This turned out to be a good way for me to close on some very special relationships.

Ellen's read:

> Dear Ellen
>
> I want to thank you for spending so many hours talking with me. I know that at times it was difficult but I appreciate your openness. You have a special ability to overcome problems. I think you will come to rest with a peaceful solution soon. If you think of other things that might be important we can get together again. You are a special lady. I wish good things for you.
>
> Yours, Carol

The evenings I spent with Donna were just as intense. She was usually willing to talk well past two hours. She was particularly articulate about her feelings. I could imagine the little girl she must have been, heavy, angry, and overwhelmed by a world she felt was unjust. I worried about saying good-by to Donna just as I did Ellen. She didn't seem ready to end our relationship. She needed our talks. I brought her a rose on our last visit to express my thanks. "I think of her often, rarely smiling with her long fine hands and her pretty teeth," (Journal entry Donna #4).

On the other side, was Chris. She was so much fun. She was enthusiastic about teaching and about life. We laughed often. Her home was full of warm soft colors and celebration. It was joyful. However, in my journal I noted, "Oddly her energy, enthusiasm and love of special education feels almost threatening. I would have wanted to be like her. I hope I was," (Journal entry #1). After the second interview I noted, "Chris is remarkable. She is so happy and capable. Her life has been so rich with love and caring. Its hard not to feel a little jealous," (Journal entry Chris #2).

Meeting Mike was probably the most rewarding experience of the project. In many ways he found it difficult to share. He wasn't too sure that the information might not get back to people who might use it against him. But we developed a rather special rapport. When he told me, "You sit right there and suck things out of me, you know. You could go to my job right now and work." I felt I had achieved one of the highest complements possible. I hoped that he was not unlocking too many emotional doors too fast through the interview process. I often worry about what he has done with some of the insights he gained. Did they

cause him problems? Did he have someone else to share with? If he didn't did he find someone? In my thank you note I wrote, "You have overcome many obstacles and are now in the position to help others. Those that you touch will gain much from your experience." Completing this young man's story was probably the most difficult.

Anne was not sure she could be helpful to the study, saying that she had had such a good childhood and felt so secure and happy that her story wouldn't be very interesting. She was however, more than willing to share. As she talked she almost always held her baby. Holding her baby and lovingly stroking it Anne easily convinced me that her parents had been equally loving and warm. One day when the baby bit her she simply responded as she said her mother would by gently saying, "I know your teeth hurt, that's not a good thing to bite." She easily returned the baby to her shoulder. Her expressions of warmth were easy and comfortable. It wasn't hard to imagine that she was also like that in the classroom. Nevertheless, I felt that of all the participants Anne was the most withholding. I noted in my journal "I kept wondering if any life could be as perfect as Anne portrays. While I was waiting for her to get off the phone I heard her tell a colleague that she would fight something to the top. She appeared calm and relaxed with this attitude. Later when we talked about it she said that she had learned to hold her own in her big family. Our discussions don't usually do more than brush over these, almost deliberately." (Journal entry Anne #3).

Lynn and I developed a rather close rapport. She enjoyed our sessions, finding that it helped her put her life in perspective. I found her gentle open attitude to be rather inspiring. Her eyes shine and she laughs warmly holding little back when she talks. In my journal I noted,

"This open, gentle lady has added to my life I have enjoyed our time together. In some way she has given me courage," (Journal entry Lynn #3).

My relationship with Loran was easy from the very beginning. She said, "When you came to the door it's like I knew it was you. It's just that you didn't come in as a short, dumpy looking lady. You didn't fit that kind, you didn't sound like that kind of person. Kind of easy-going, kind of natural, you know, go with the flow." She was fresh and hopeful Her eyes were clear and enthusiastic. "She hasn't known much pain. I'd like to interview her in 10 years," (Journal entry Loran #3). Loran loved to talk. She remembered the tiniest details of her life.

During her interviews I was to feel a bit inhibited as her parents tip-toed in and out of the room. It was a little hard to ask probing questions with them so near by. Thankfully they were gone for a portion of the interviews. Loran needed some validation of her teaching. She asked me to come and observe. I felt complemented and spent an enjoyable day visiting her classroom. Her classroom and her teaching style were just as she reported. I felt a pull to maintain a lengthier relationship. I decided that if Loran initiated another visit I would accept. She did not.

My first contact with Bruce was quick and to the point. He agreed to participate and we arranged a time to meet. During our first meeting there were moments when he appeared open and willing and others when his manner would become abrupt, almost hostile. During later interviews he was to confide that he often does that to people he meets. Its a test of sorts. If he likes your reactions, you're in. He claimed that he had

not given me much of a performance because he had already checked me out with some of his friends, and he didn't feel it was necessary.

It was in my relationship with Bruce that I discovered the real importance of body image to children. Since I was a skinny little kid always being bugged to eat it hadn't really occurred to me how tormented a fat child feels. I couldn't stop thinking about Bruce's statement that once you are fat as a kid you will always be fat in your mind. Rationally he could look in the mirror and see that he's not fat yet in many ways he still operates as if he is. I think he still expects to be rejected because he is short, fat and talks funny. His body image is the same as it was as a child.

As I thought about this I tested out others who had been fat as children. Indeed, they too still consider themselves to be fat. They have been imprinted with a fat body image which has stayed with them through both the fat years and the thin years. Bruce's pain was apparent over this issue. I wondered how many children right now are feeling this enormous social repudiation. Mike's and Donna's stories fit here too. They had both suffered from the pain of being overweight, but neither had articulated the pain as well as Bruce.

Although not knowing that Bruce had scored in the high empathy range, I was sure that he was indeed empathic. He seemed tuned to the feelings of the kids he taught. However, Bruce's philosphical stance was one of toughness as well as sensitivity. He claimed to reject most of the upper middle class values of the nearby communities almost to an obsession. He could callously reject people who he felt had materialistic values. He asserted that he would always get his needs met first and that it was up to other individuals to get their own needs met.

If they didn't protect themselves or say what their needs were he didn't feel sorry for them. He also asserted that he sets prescribed times for others to pull themselves together after a crisis or depressing period. He would provide sensitivity only as long as he felt it was appropriate. Then they were on their own.

His attitude brought home the fact that with empathic ability does not necessarily come consideration, sympathy, tact, helpfulness, compassion, charity or self sacrifice. In fact, it was becoming very clear that empathy does not have a value. You can use empathic ability to help others, help yourself, to manipulate others or to even hurt others. One's values in this concern are probably the most important element. Ellen chose not to use her ability in the classroom but most probably uses it to survive in her marriage. I had felt early in the interview process that she was so sad and almost lifeless that it would be difficult at best for her to think about the emotional needs of the children she teaches. Her resources are terribly depleted.

But the participants scoring in the low empathy range seem excited and alive with energy to give to kids. They may not be as empathic but I would bet they infuse the children they teach with hope and create an atmosphere in which laughter is possible even for these children. I witnessed this in Loran's classroom. I heard similar accounts from Lynn, Anne, Chris and Mike.

As I conclude this research I wonder how the lives of these special individuals will change. My prediction is that Chris, Mike and Ellen will probably increase their empathy skills as their experiences change. As Loran matures and leaves her family behind, she may allow herself to experience more emotionality. During the interview she began to question

the causes of her own behaviors. By the end of the interview process, she reported that she was seeking to understand the causes for the behaviors she witnessed at school. With her strong early childhood background and appetite for new experiences she may paint herself into circumstances which will allow her to learn more about how others feel.

Anne has learned to understand children's behaviors and feelings. Over the years this skill may extend to others around her. She is quite protected in her environment but given the opportunity to experience events at an intense emotional level I believe she will grow in empathic skills. I can't help but wonder what will happen to those falling in the high empathy group. Will they remain there? What will they do with their very special skills?

I have some regrets about concluding the research. Life history work is not only challenging but a very personal experience with the participants. I myself felt validated and revitalized by the experience. In every case I felt honored to spend a number of intimate hours with each participant. I believe that they represented themselves honestly to me. In these hours I came to see that special education, particularly in the field of EI, is served by committed, caring teachers who do their best to meet the needs of the children they teach.

APPENDIX G

ABOUT THE RESEARCHER

ALSO NAMED BY HER CHILDREN

LIFE IS TO LIVE

The completion of this endeavor is a celebration of life. First and foremost, it is a celebration of the uniqueness and special qualities of each individual participating in this study. It is also a celebration of my life. Not long before the initiation of this study, I was seriously injured doing exactly what these special people do. It was probably the greatest loss of my life, for I loved teaching emotionally impaired children.

I spent a year or more in and out of the hospital with an undiagnosable back injury. It was a long period of emotional upheaval and searching for a medical answer to the problem. Most of the twenty-five physicians I saw were so confused by my symptoms that they hurriedly referred me elsewhere. It looked as if I would never teach again.

I had grown up in a family much like the participants' Loran, Chris, Anne, and Bruce. Love seemed to abound. My father laughed often and my mother seemed able to understand every feeling each of her three daughters experienced. Our home was particularly child centered. My mother spent long hours talking with us about everything imaginable including the causes of others' feelings. There was much emotional support.

I began teaching soon after graduation from college. My first experience was in a residential facility for emotionally impaired children. This experience was particularly positive. The students were very receptive to me. But the same time I was learning about the cultures of others' and believe it or not heard my first use of foul language.

Seeking more experience, as I believe Loran may do, I left this facility to work in the Virgin Islands. I remember the students lining up thirty in number so that they could each give me a hug goodby. When I

reached my car and turned to look, they were hanging out the windows waving and screaming, "good-by, Miss."

Life in the Virgin Islands was a critical time in my life. The West Indian culture was so different from the one I had grown up in and the one in which I had trained to teach. The people were angry and hostile. They screamed and insulted each other. The children were violent and unmoved by adult caring. Teaching in the special education classroom was an enormous challenge. You had to keep the doors and windows locked because if you did not, the children ran into the fields, where you could never find them. They resisted any caring you might bestow on them. Eventually with some new perceptions and candy treats in my hand I made some inroads. At least the ten children I dealt with were starting to learn about kindness and caring.

My husband was a police officer. He became the main investigating officer in a bloody massacre, which occurred one hot September day. In this small community, everyone seemed involved at some level. My child's and my life appeared to be in danger. On the advice of the FBI we left.

I began teaching EI children again, in the culture that I had grown up in. Kindness and understanding seemed to work. My many experiences gave me a new, more global understanding of the plights of the children I served.

My husband and I divorced, and I became a single parent trying to take care of two children's needs and do a good job at school. I also was completing graduate school.

As I look back, I can see that each of these crucial turning points was handled much like some of the participants handled their experiences. I talked often with my mother about my feelings and read avidly about

others experiences, as did Lynn and Donna. At no time, did I really feel that I was without support, and a rational way to solve any problem.

At least not until the injury, at which time an enormous sense of loss prevailed. I did not feel I could solve a medical problem, twenty five doctors could not solve. My second husband left two months after the wedding. Many working acquaintances appeared to forget my existence. Being healthy and mobile seemed to be a basic prerequisite for normal interactions with others. Hopelessness and quiet resolve to stop trying perched on my shoulder. At my lowest moment, just as in Donna's case, I resolved to get well. With the help of a physician who has been my friend as well as doctor, we have tried many controversial things. Some have worked some have not. But little by little I have improved. And as the stages of this study have sometimes moved slowly, so has my healing.

During the analysis of the interview data, my friend Jeff bought a pair of running shoes for me. During the first stages of writing he helped me to begin exercising, and now at it's completion I can walk and run and dance.

I'm sure that every reader of this document will also consider their own life experiences and personal meaning, as they read through the eight participant stories. In my story, I see many comparisons to the young lives of Loran, Anne and Chris. As an adult, the critical turnings of my life have forced me to reevaluate and change my perceptions of the world as they did study participants. My adaptations to adversity have somehow enhanced my life.

Every reader's story is as significantly important as ours for in all our stories there is the beauty of our uniqueness and the wonder and magic of personal growth.

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