

Probatus

PERSONALITY DIFFERENCES IN TWIN RESEARCH

By

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ABSTRACT OF AUTHOR'S EDUCATION AND EXPERIENCE

The writer graduated from the University of Notre Dame in 1937 with a Bachelor of Arts Degree. He then attended the University of Chicago Graduate School of Social Work where he received the Masters Degree in 1940. Previous to this second degree, and afterwards, for a total of three years, he held the position of Psychiatric Social Worker with the Cook County (Chicago, Illinois) Juvenile Home.

During the War he served four years at sea as an officer in the United States Navy.

After discharge from military service, in late 1945, was employed for six years by the United States Veterans Administration at Boston, Massachusetts as a Psychologist. Concurrently during this period he carried on graduate study toward his Doctorate.

In December 1951, the writer was again called to active Naval duty, in the rank of Lt. Commander, and since has been stationed at the United States Naval Hospital, Portsmouth, Virginia as Chief Clinical Psychologist.

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INTRODUCTION

The primary concern of this research is to obtain a better understanding of the causes for the similarities and differences in personality of twins through personal adjustment counseling and integrating the literature appearing on twin research. We are here interested in the normal personality rather than in severe pathological conditions which would necessarily be a study in itself.

Studies of twins which have appeared in literature in the past years indicate that although there have been many researches dealing with the physical and intellectual resemblances between twins, until comparative recent time, little attention has been paid by experimenters to similarities and differences in personality development. In the past twenty-five years there has been a number of works carried on both in America and Europe as a result of the recognition of the value of the twin technique, and particularly identical twin technique, as an approach to an understanding of the nature-nurture problem.

The method of analysis employed in this research involves: (1) integration of previous twin personality studies to ascertain their methods, common findings, to give appropriate criticism, and, if possible, to discover ways and means of improving their methods; (2) through personal adjustment

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counseling of twins a new approach and a much improved method, the writer believes, was realized.

In general the literature dealing with personality differences in twins includes studies of three types: first, those involving the use of tests and other objective measures of personality, second, those employing questionnaires, observation, interviews, and case history, and third, those combining number one and two. Each study has its own peculiarity as one will discover as he reads. However, taken as a whole their emphasis was misplaced. The authors gave too much attention to their objective measures and charts and numbers and outward signs and far too little to the real understanding of the individual himself. The writer's attention will, through personal adjustment counseling, help to reverse this attention and place it back where it belongs -- on the individual twin.

It is inevitable, at the present stage of our knowledge, that personality studied through twin research should yield suggestions rather than final conclusions. Therefore, we must keep in mind any conclusions are tentative and should be taken more in the light of suggestions.

If this research serves to emphasize the progress in the form of a more perfect understanding of the nature-

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nurture relationships, as it relates to personality,
rather than in any dramatic solution of any one problem,
then the efforts put forth here will have been many
times repaid.

CHAPTER I

PREVIOUS TWIN PERSONALITY STUDIES

That personality is a resultant of intricate interplay of both heredity and environment is accepted in the field of psychology. But as pointed out by one authority when we ask whether the differences between human individuals or groups are caused from their differing heredity or to differences in their present and previous environments, we have a genuine question and one of great social importance.¹ Both heredity and environment have an influence; obviously they are essential in order that the development of personality may take place at all.

The problem of what determines personality has been studied by various methods and procedures. Penrose² names five specific types. There are inferences that can be drawn from the genetic experiments on animals, direct observation of families, correlating likeness in relatives employing the correlation technique, the search for gene linkage with pairs of siblings, studies

¹ R.S. Woodworth, "Heredity and Environment" in Soc. Sci. Res. Co. Bull., Vol. 47, issue of May 1941, p 219.

² L.S. Penrose, "Heredity" in Personality and Behavior Disorders, edited by J. McVHunt, New York, Roland Press, 1944, pp. 511-515.

of twins.

This study confines itself to the last of the above mentioned methods. It will consist of a review and integration of twin studies made thus far in regard to personality and then investigate twin personalities through personal adjustment counseling and some case study of twins selected for this research. The present work, as will be seen later, will have much more meaning and significance after we look into previous studies to discover their approach, tools used and findings.

The twin method is based on the theory of twins.
³ Newman ⁴ and Rifle, two eminent authorities in the field, and others have come to the conclusion that there are two types of twins and only two. They are one-egg twins or monozygotic (identical) and two-egg twins or dizygotic (fraternal). All the studies to be presented here have made their diagnosis on criteria accepted by the biologists.

A. HISTORICAL OUTLINE OF TWIN STUDIES

3 Horatio H. Newman, Multiple Human Births, New York, Doubleday Dorn Co., 1940, p. 83.

4 D.C. Rifle, "Genetic Studies of Monozygotic Twins: A Diagnostic Formula" in J. of Heredity, Vol. 24 issue of March 1933, pp. 334-342.

The history of twin research starts with Francis Galton's pioneer venture beginning in the early eighteen eighties.⁵ Galton reported that illness or accident was the only cause which appeared to be adequate to make similar twins unlike in personality traits. His final conclusion was that environmental differences, such as are to be found in the same community and at the same time produce slight change in the individual's personality and that physical and personality characteristics are determined chiefly by inborn nature.⁶ It is noticed, however, that Galton's evidence is much stronger in relation to physical traits than it is in relation to personality characteristics. It should be noted further that the difference in environment which were brought to bear upon the similar twins did not appear until adult life.⁷

⁵ Francis Galton, Inquiries Into the Human Faculty and Its Development, London, Mcmillan, 1883, pp. 216-242.

⁶ Ibid, p. 239

⁷ G. Murphy, L. B. Murphy and Newcomb, Experimental Social Psychology, New York, Doubleday Dorn, 1937, pp. 29-36.

Galton was considered by many a genius of his time, but for a person to utter today the same words of Galton, that environment causes slight changes in the individual's personality, would be considered stupid. A number of studies since Galton's period,⁸ notably Newman, Freeman, and Holzinger, and our own twin study, as we will see later, clearly refutes this conclusion.

The first study of twins which made use of tests⁹ was made by Thorndike in 1905. He found that there was no higher correlation between the attainment of twins in the so-called "trained" functions and the so-called "untrained" functions and concluded from this that the similarity of twins was inherent rather than acquired. This assumption is of doubtful validity since training in the schools subjects and methods employed in school are fairly uniform.

The second comparison which Thorndike made was between the correlation of abilities in the case of twins

⁸ Horatio H. Newman, Freeman, and Holzinger, Twins: A Study of Heredity and Environment, Chicago Uni. Press, 1937, pp. 218-227.

⁹ Edward L. Thorndike, "Measurement of Twins" in Archives of Philosophy, Psychology, and Scientific Methods, No. 1, issue of September 1905, pp. 1-64.

nine to eleven years of age as contrasted with twins of twelve to fourteen years of age. Since he found that the correlation between abilities of older twins are slightly less than those of younger twins he concluded that the resemblance is due to inheritance and is not influenced by environment. The error here is even if a similar environment were assumed to increase the likenesses of twins, we should not expect to find much increase between the ages of ten and thirteen. Furthermore, the finding that the older twins are actually less alike than the younger ones seems to prove rather too much from the standpoint of heredity. Thorndike's most glaring error is that he made no attempt to distinguish between identical and fraternal twins.¹⁰

About twenty years later, 1924, the next study of importance was made by Merriman.¹¹ His was the first study in which modern intelligence tests were used. He followed Thorndike's procedure of finding the correlation for the younger and older age groups. In the case of three of the

¹⁰ H. H. Newman, Multiple Human Births, New York, Doubleday Dorn, 1940, p. 73-75.

¹¹ Curtis Merriman, "The Intellectual Resemblance of Twins" in Psychological Monographs, Vol. 33, No. 5, 1924, p. 58-87.

four tests, the correlation was somewhat lower for the older than for the younger. The scores on the fourth intelligence test constituted a slight exception, but not a marked one. Merriman added a new comparison by finding the correlation between twins of like sex and twins of unlike sex separately. In this comparison Merriman found that the correlations between the scores of twins of like-sex were higher, and in most cases considerable higher, than the correlation between twins of unlike-sex. He interpreted this as meaning that identical twins are much more alike than fraternal twins in mental characteristics, and that the presence of these in the group of like-sex twins raises the correlation.

This same investigator also found the difference in I. Q. between the pairs of like-sex and unlike-sex twins and compared the distribution of these differences with that of the differences between siblings. He found the curve of distribution for siblings resembled that for unlike-sex twins more than that for like-sex twins.

The same criticism can be applied to Merriman's study as was applied to Thorndike's study, but to a lesser degree.¹²

¹² H. L. Koch, "Some Measurements of A Pair of Siamese Twins" in The Journal of Comparative Psychology, Vol. 7, No. 4. 1927, p. 315.

Merriman was not quite so positive in his findings plus the fact he made some attempt to distinguish between identical and fraternal twins.

In 1925 another investigation was reported by¹³ Lauterback and in 1928 Alex Wingfield¹⁴ reported on his study. In general we may say Lauterback's and Wingfield's studies confirmed the findings of Merriman and also confirmed at least two of Thorndike's results. One was that there was found to be no significant difference in the correlation of older and younger twins and second no significant difference was found between the correlation of the intelligence quotients and that of the educational quotients. In both the works of Lauterback and Wingfield there was found no objective method to identify the identical twins. The correlation between the abilities of identical twins as measured by the I. Q. were much higher than those of the fraternal twins.

¹⁵
In 1930 Hirsch reported a study of "similar"

13 C. E. Lauterback, "Studies in Twin Resemblance" in Genetica, Vol. 10, issue of November 1925, pp. 525-568.

14 Alex H. Wingfield, Twins And Orphans: The Inheritance of Intelligence, London, Denton & Sons, 1928, pp. 1-127.

15 Nathaniel D. Hirsch, Twins: Heredity and Environment, Cambridge, Mass., Harvard Univ. Press, 1930, pp. 1-159.

twins reared together, or dissimilar twins reared together, and of "similar" twins who had lived apart for various periods of time. He, however, defeated the value of any of his findings as the similar twins included only those who were very much alike not only in physical characteristics and appearances but also in mental ability and attainment.

The ones we reviewed thus far were serious studies, but all lacked proper criteria for adequate diagnosis between identical and fraternal twins. Although their value is thereby limited their real worth was in pioneering the field, developing interest, and pointing the need and direction for future work.

B. STUDIES OF IDENTICAL TWINS REARED APART

The study of identical twins reared apart is generally accepted as one of the most sensitive of available methods for appraising of inherited and acquired characteristics of a human being.¹⁶

The first two studies of identical twins reared

¹⁶ Carl Rexroad, "Recent Studies of Twin Resemblance" in The Psychological Bulletin, Vol. 29, No. 3, issue of March 1932, p. 213.

apart were made by Miller¹⁷ in 1923 and Saudek¹⁸ in 1934. They were all studied in early adulthood through testing and case study. Neither work was very broad nor did they show much depth of gaining insight into the personality of the individual. The authors were, however, real pioneers in this type of twin investigation.

The general results of both of these studies indicate agreement. First they suggest greater similarity in intelligence than in emotional reaction between the respective sets of twins. Secondly though measured emotional differed to a considerable extent there were marked similarities between them when they were observed. Both studies failed to distinguish between any basic similar traits and the expression of these same traits.¹⁹

17 H. J. Muller, "Mental Traits and Heredity" in The Journal of Heredity, Vol. 16, issue of October 1925, pp. 433 to 448.

18 Robert Saudek, "A British Pair of Identical Twins Reared Apart" in Character and Personality, Vol. 3, issue of September 1934, pp. 17-39.

19 H. D. Carter, "Twin Similarity In Emotional Traits" in Character and Personality, Vol. 4, issue of May 1935, p. 67.

1. THE NEWMAN, FREEMAN AND HOLZINGER STUDY

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Newman, Freeman and Holzinger study, published in 1937, was the most extensive single twin research ever made from the point of view of our present work. The study was divided into two parts. The first section analyzed results obtained on tests from fifty-two pairs of fraternal twins and fifty pairs of identical twins; the second part dealt with the cases of separated identical twins. The problem was to determine the effects of variations in heredity, on the one hand, and variations in environment, on the other, in producing variations between individuals. The assumption of this study is that differences between fraternal twins are caused chiefly by their differing hereditary make-up, while the identical twins reared together serve as a control group with similar heredity and environment. The identical twins reared apart have genetic make-up in common but differ in their environments. Comparisons can thus be made among the three groups to determine the influence of heredity and environment on the personality factors selected. The factors

20 Horatio H. Newman, Freeman, and Holzinger, Twins: A Study of Heredity and Environment, Chicago, Univ. Press, 1937, pp. 3-363.

selected for this study were physical characteristics, intelligence, educational achievement and personality. The first part of this large twin study will be discussed later. The identical twins reared apart will be treated in this section.

a. CASES OF TWINS REARED APART

Nineteen cases of identical twins reared apart were selected for study. The selection of cases was quite rigid, care being taken to guarantee that only monozygotic twins were chosen. The cases came from many parts of the country and were fairly representative even though the sample was small. The twins were both interviewed and tested. The personality factors were measured by the Woodworth-Mathews Personal Data Sheet, the Kent Rosanoff Free-Association Test, the Pressey Test of Emotions and the Downey Will-Temperament Test. Samples of the handwriting of each of the twins were analyzed.

b. RESULTS OF THE STUDY

Dividing the environmental factors into social, physical health and educational and correlating differences in the environment with differences on the traits measured proved negligible, though they yielded results for differences

in ability. The conclusion reached was that differences in personality are not susceptible of interpretation by comparison with some common feature of the environment. The comparison between personality differences and differences in environment is not simple. The difference in personality in general were consonant with the environment but it was easier to seek these relations by analyzing the case studies.

The tests in general seemed to show differences between the identical twins in quality; that is, when the responses to the test questions were analyzed the twins differed in their content of expression of the trait. However, the tests showed similarity between the twins in the kinds of traits they possessed. The degree of similarity or difference between identical twins on certain traits depended on the nature of the traits measured. On the Downey Will-Temperament Test there were five pairs of twins with profiles that were almost identical, ten pairs of twins whose profiles were similar in a considerable part, and four pairs of twins whose profiles were widely divergent. The analyses of the handwritings resulted in two pairs of twins who were found to be closely similar and twelve pairs who were widely divergent. To explain the different results obtained from different measures the authors postulate a theory of levels of behavior. They state personality designates a great variety of forms

of behavior. The first level of behavior is more fundamental, more permanent, and more stable than the others. Muscular reaction is of this order. The second level of behavior is less stable, less innate, more affected by experience than the first level. But the activities of this level may not be greatly modified by experience because they are not specific complexes of behavior which correspond to definite situations in the environment. They are abstract. The Downey Will-Temperament factors are of this order. The third level of behavior are those activities of personality which develop in the course of social adjustment. Handwriting is designated as an activity of this order. The authors find Galton their authority for postulating styles of handwriting as a characteristics in which identical twins are not alike. The responses made to tests of emotions and of neurotic disposition are also put in this category, representing behavior which is organized in the individual's adjustment to his environment. These activities are supposedly influenced in large measure by the character of the environment. The authors also state that the environmental differences so far as they affect personality are complex and made up of elements which may vary independently of one another and affect specific features of personality in

divergent ways. This makes it difficult to suggest relation between environment and personality to statistical analyses or to summarize them.

The only significant statistical results were the intra-paired correlations of the different characteristics. The experimentors found a correlation for standing height between the identical twins of .96, a correlation of .76 for the Binet I. Q. and a correlation of .56 for the scores of the Woodworth-Mathews Personal Data Sheet. If the Woodworth-Mathews Test is as reliable as the other measurements it would appear that this personality factor is much more influenced by environment than either the physical measurement or intelligence. The authors say that this lower correlation could not be due mainly to the lower reliability of the measure because it has shown in other studies to have a fair reliability, and also the correlation of test scores for their fraternal twins were not correspondingly lower. They suggest that the personality factor may not be an expression of genetic character to the same extent as ability. However, when we compare the intra-paired correlation of the different groups of twins on the Woodworth-Mathews Personal Data Sheet we find a correlation of .56 for identical twins reared together, a correlation of .37 for fraternal twins, and a correlation

of .58 for identical twins reared apart. This test appears to show no trends. The authors say it might be due to the nature of the trait.

c. AN ANALYSIS OF THE CASE HISTORIES

The case histories suggest much more than the results from the statistical analysis. There are a number of instances in the case histories where differences between the personality of the twins as shown by tests or by observation are also accompanied by large differences in the environments of the twins. It seems plausible to infer a relationship. In Case 1, one of the twins was brought up in a narrower, more restricted and conservative type of environment. She had a constrained manner and was more inhibited in contrast to her sister. The difference in manner and social intercourse seems to be consonant with the difference in the environment. In Case 2, one of the girls twins was brought up in the country, the other in the city. Mary, who lived in the town, was more feminine in manner, and more excitable. her twin, by contrast, was phlegmatic. Case 10 suggested that Betty's home influence made her more neurotic than her twin sister; and in Case 11 it appears that Helen's superior education lead her to her easier manner of life. There is a large contrast in the social environment of the two girls in Case 13. Mildred

who had a free and stimulating social environment appeared more spontaneous, poised, self-confident and vivacious. In Case 17, one twin had a less happy foster home life than his twin brother. He received a higher score for neurotic trends on his personality test than his brother. The authors emphasized Case 18 where they found the twins to be very similar on the personality tests and yet completely different in their adjustment to society. The twins were brought up separately, one by his paternal grandparents, the other by his maternal grandparents. They never saw each other. James was brought up in strict manner and became a law abiding citizen, working rather hard for his uncle. Keesee never held a job, was shiftless and irresponsible, and went to jail for various shady acts. The case suggests to the authors that the environment didn't modify their basic modes of reaction though it modified their behavior. Their conduct from the point of view of direction and social significance differed widely. One was oriented along socially destructive ends, the other, socially constructive ends.

d. INTERPRETATION OF CRITICISM OF THIS STUDY

The cases on the whole suggest that there is not

a "one to one" relation between a gross environmental factor and a given type of behavior. A good environment in the economic sense or the social sense does not lead to fewer or more neurotic symptoms or more or less emotional responsiveness. The features of the environment that affect the personality are much more subtle; and the interaction of both organism and environment is important. The study does possibly suggest, though, that environmental factors such as kind of home life, the relationship between parents and child, the treatment of the child, the cultural aspects of the home, and the ideals of the home are of great importance in determining a personality. This writer uses, in the previous sentence, the word suggestion appropriately as the Newman, Freeman, and Holzinger work does not come out and state definitely one way or another. The findings of the present writer in his own twin cases will, it is believed, demonstrate more clearly this suggestion besides adding more to it by giving definite clinical findings.

2. THE NEWMAN AND GARDNER STUDY AND THE STEPHENS AND THOMAS STUDY

H. H. Newman and I. C. Gardner conducted a study in 1940 of a pair of monozygotic twins reared

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apart. This pair of girl twins was separated eight days after birth. They remained separated except for a few short visits until they were eighteen years old, at which time they entered the same college. They were together only a short while before the study was begun.

The authors interviewed the girls and gave them a series of personality tests. Samples of the girls' handwriting were analyzed also. The results of the tests were checked against their life history to see which environmental factors could have determined the differences.

The authors' conclusions were that, on the whole, the resemblance in personality traits between these two girls far outweighed their differences. The neurotic symptoms were no greater than those found in average persons and differences were slight. The explanation for these results assumes a threshold of reactivity to environmental factors. The authors state that unless a certain threshold of difference in environment is reached organisms do not respond differently. There are possibly different thresholds for the various and sundry variables and the threshold of effectiveness for some may be more easily reached than for others.

21 I. C. Gardner and H. H. Newman, "Mental and Physical Traits of Identical Twins Reared Apart" in The Journal of Heredity, Vol. 31 issue of Sept. 1940, pp. 119-126.

This study has found a degree of correspondence for identical twin girls on tests of temperament and emotional reaction. The similarity was mainly one of kind, not of quality of expression. The subjects differed slightly in content of expression of the emotional and temperamental traits. It would seem that those aspects of personality measured by the tests have a large component of genetic determination, but their expression and direction are influenced by environmental factors. The author reported that the overt behavior of the girls differed in the respect that Louise was more timid than Lois, whereas Lois met the public somewhat better than Louise. Other aspects of their social behavior are not given.

In being critical of this study we can emphasize that it is too brief to estimate the environmental factors that were operative in the development of the girls' personalities to reinforce similarities or produce differences. Further as Woodworth²² points out how can we assume a threshold of reactivity to environmental factor? If it were possible then what factors go to make up this

22 Woodworth, op.cit. p. 234.

threshold? Are they physical factors? Are they social or economic factors, etc? As can be seen there is much more to be desired from this work before any tendencies or indications can be drawn.

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The Stephen and Thomas study brought out much similar information as noted in the above work. This is the case of identical twin boys separated immediately after birth and did not see each other until tested and interviewed by the authors at the age of . The results of the study showed the boys were identical in five of the twelve points measured on the Downey-Will Temperament Test and differed by only one point in five others. On the California Test of Personality (the first part of which is concerned with social adjustment) the boys made only twenty different responses in the one hundred and eighty questions asked. The greatest variation was in social standards, freedom from anti-social tendencies, school relations. Their interests were not very different.

23 F. E. Stephens and R. B. Thomas, "The Case of Millan and George, Identical Twins Reared Apart in The Journal of Heredity, Vol. 34 issue of Sept. 1943, pp. 109-114.

The authors concluded the differences in the environment of these two twin boys did not seem to be sufficient for creating variances in the characteristics studied. The environmental differences between the twin boys were in physical environment and types of families. George was brought up in a large eastern city as an only child, while Millan was reared in a western city with an adopted sister. There was little resemblance in the general home attitudes or interests of the two families.

Our criticism of this study is to some extent like that of the previous one. It is not broad enough in scope or varied enough in technique to suggest anything very definite. The results of the Downey-Will Temperament Test are in line with other studies of this sort. The author states too little is known about the kinds of environmental factors that are necessary to produce significant differences in genetically identical individuals and yet adds no light to this very thing he was investigating.

3. BURKS' STUDY

Barbara Burks published a study in

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1943,²⁴ of a pair monozygotic twin girls separated when nine days old and reared apart under differing types of family relationships. One of the purposes of the study was to appraise the degree of stability and plasticity of developing human organism. Other purposes of the study were to provide some information on the nature of traits; their focal character, their variable modes of expression, and their developmental transformations. Her technique for investigating the personality of these identical twin girls were as follows: interviews; observations made by herself and other psychologists; ratings made by foster parents and a camp director; testing with such instruments as the Strong Vocational Interest Blank, the Bernreuter Personality Inventory, and the Rorschach; and a handwriting analysis by a graphologist. The study was begun with the two girls when they were twelve and a half years of age, and a follow-up was made when they were eighteen years of age.

a. RESULTS OF BURKS' STUDY

Burks emphasizes the similarity between the

24 B. S. Burks, "A Study of Identical Twins Reared Apart Under Differing Types of Family Relationships" in *Studies In Personality* edited by Q. McNemar and M. A. Merrill, Stanford University, University Press, 1942, pp. 35-70.

twins with respect to maturation, parallels in behavior such as nail biting and enuresis, observed expressive movements such as gait, handshaking and writing tempo, and certain traits. She infers from this behavior an underlying "physical vitality" and "non-adaptive irritability" common to the twins. She stresses this aspect of personality and attaches less importance to the differences between the girls in social-emotional traits. She suggests that this study, if continued, might show that early emotional experiences do not permanently affect personality but that individuals are more free to develop behavior patterns congruent with their native potentialities. The greater similarity between the twins vocational interest schedules at eighteen years of age than at twelve years of age indicates this kind of development. The study suggests to the author that the interests of an individual are determined by his native potentialities more in late adolescence than in earlier years because his option of choice and range of experiences have been more restricted. The author finds nothing conclusive in the study in regard to the "plasticity" or rigidity of the individual.

In being critical of this work it is only fair to say that on the whole it is a very worthwhile study

and follows Newman, Freeman, and Holzinger's works next to importance. Burks' study does indicate similarities between the twins which she stressed, however, it also indicates differences which the author overlooked altogether or, at best, understressed. At twelve years of age the manifested similarities between the twins were in physical energy, impulsiveness, talkativeness, competitiveness, irritability, and lack of perseverance. These traits indicate a common physical vitality for the twins which color certain adaptive patterns. The girls differed at this age, however, in certain social-emotional traits such as humor popularity, generosity, cheerfulness, sympathy, leadership, emotional independence of parents, and ability for facing facts. B had the more social ratings. At eighteen the trait ratings for the girls changed somewhat, but the change occurred in those traits designated by the author as having an underlying hereditary basis. Also the girls differed at eighteen to a noticeable degree in generosity, sense of humor, cheerfulness and popularity on their trait ratings. If we combine this above picture with the twins' answers concerning earliest memories and the Rorschach analysis of quality of social feelings, we find the two girls differing consistently in their patterns of social-emotional adjustment. Also, it

appears as if this pattern of development has not isolated itself from other aspects of the personality but has influenced the development of traits that are more non-adaptive reactions such as perseverance. The size, direction and nature of the differences here in social-emotional traits then would seem to yield definite evidence in support of the operation of environmental influences.

At this point it may be well for us to look back at the studies covered thus far to see if we can find any common ground or contrast among them. The earlier from Galton on, in spite of their scientific approach, had some general agreement with later, more scientific of studies of twins reared apart. This agreement can be seen when we compare Thorndike's, Merriman, and Wingfield's material with the later works of Newman, Freeman, Holzinger, Saudik, and Burks. All point toward the fact that there was definite and more marked similarity in identical twins in all physical characteristic and measured intelligence than in fraternal twins. This was true whether the twins were raised together or separate. Hence here it cannot be denied that heredity was the major factor when compared to environment. Therefore it was quite easy for the earlier

people to carry this same conclusion over into emotional reactions. The later studies of twins and others also helped to bring this suggestive thinking to a halt. However, these same later investigations committed somewhat the same error when they carried their interpretation to the point where they felt environmental influences were by far the major factors influencing personality. This complete swing from emphasis on heredity to environment was quite natural when we consider from Galton's study on we find stress was laid on heredity and sometimes without sufficient evidence as noted above. Hence when evidence appeared to support environmental influences in personality serious students quite natural had a tendency to over stress this newer "major influence".

In going further and deeper into this twin study it is well for us to recognize these general trends we have found so as not to be caught in the web ourselves.

C. CASE STUDIES OF IDENTICAL TWINS REARED TOGETHER

The studies to be presented here are cases of identical twins reared together. However, not all the studies have the same purpose or are based on the same logical assumptions. Some of the studies aim at showing

differences between the identical twins reared together; other studies have investigated the identical twins reared together for purposes of a control group. Some studies are concerned only with finding out as much as is possible about the personality of individuals who are genetically alike. All of these studies will be analyzed with one purpose in mind; the question ever before us is, namely, what has this case study contributed to our understanding of the determinants of personality.

A set of monozygotic twins, women age forty-three at the time of examination, were studied by use of standard tests, observation, and interview.²⁵ They lived together until reaching age 21 and a few years later each married. The personality traits of the twins showed some differences, but generally speaking the more noteworthy fact was the high degree of similarity as found in the tests. Nevertheless, upon observation it was interesting to note that some outward expressions and feelings changed in Carter's set of twins. These changes came in adult life while the twins were separated. One became more confident, easier to know and happier while the other

²⁵ Harold D. Carter, "Case Studies of Mature Identical Twins" in The Journal of Genetic Psychology, Vol. 44, No. 1, issue of March 1934, pp. 154-173.

became more reserved, less happy and lived more within himself. This was directly traced to their environment in one way or another. This finding is not in agreement with the earlier findings of Thorndike,²⁶ but Carter here has actual evidence rather than partial assumption.

In 1940 Burnham published a study of three cases of identical twins reared together.²⁷ The subjects were college students. They were tested and interviewed. It appears this study as well as Koch's²⁸ work, investigating a pair of Siamese twins were made for use more as controls for comparison with studies of monozygotic twins. As far as these two investigations are concerned the authors report that the diversities in twins' scores on tests must be interpreted in terms of small intangible environmental differences that existed in each instance. Both authors provided rather inadequate data for an evaluation of the personality differences between identical twins.

26 Thorndike, op. cit., p. 41.

27 Robert W. Burnham, "Case Studies of Identical Twins" in The Journal of Genetic Psychology, Vol. 66, issue of June 1940, pp. 323-351.

28 H. L. Koch, "Some Measurements of A Pair of Siamese Twins" in The Journal of Comparative Psychology, Vol. 7, No 4. 1927, pp. 313-333.

They could have substantiated their findings on the tests by a great deal more complete investigation of the life histories of the subjects.

Misback and Stromberg presented a case study in 1941 of a pair of identical twin girls, A and B, age ²⁹ eleven years and seven months. They analyzed the case in terms of the structure of the family field and attempted to show that structuralization of the social field produces dissimilarity of personality in non-separated twins. The analysis was based on interviews with the family and the twins, observation and tests. The authors believe that unwarranted dependence upon quantitative scales and weighted selection of cases for psychiatric case reports, such as one by Slater, ³⁰ have favored under estimation of personality dissimilarities between unseparated twins. They related that with more analytic methods dissimilarities became more apparent as shown in

29 Lorenz Misback and Roland Stromberg, "Non-Separation As A Source of Dissimilarities Between Monozygotic Twins" in The Journal of Genetic Psychology, Vol. 59, issue of Dec. 1941, pp. 249-257.

30 E. T. P. Slater, "Twin Research in Psychiatry" in The Journal of Neurology and Psychiatry, Vol 1, issue of Dec. 1938, pp. 239-258.

studies with the Rorschach Test by Kerr³¹ and Troup.³²

These cases will be taken up later. Twins reared together, the authors admit, are no doubt in general more similar than are twins reared separately, but this, they feel, is only a general statement of probability which does not signify that in any given case unseparated twins must be more similar than if they had been reared apart.

The case is considered by the authors as exceptional in degree, and illustrative of how properties of the social field can produce divergences in the development of identical twins as well as between siblings reared together. They believe the dissimilarities in the personalities of the twins to be profound. They do not attribute it to a physiological handicap in B resulting from her early illness because they find no evidence for it and because her illness was not in harmony with the specificity of B's handicap in ability.

31 M. Kerr, "Temperamental Differences in Twins" in The British Journal of Psychiatry, Vol. 27, issue of Feb. 1938, pp. 51-59.

32 Evelyn Troup, "A Comparative Study By Means of The Rorschach Method of Personality Development in Twenty Pairs of Identical Twins" in The Genetic Psychology Monograph, Vol. 20, issue of Sept. 1938, pp. 461-556.

Their answer is the dominance of A, and B's dependence on her. B had been, in the family situation, consistently regarded as inferior in capacity to A. At the same time the twins, as a dual unit, were compared with their more capable older sister, and were urged to meet her standards. A treated her environment realistically while B's responses to reality were considered neurotic. The authors believe this neurotic pattern of B, involving awareness of inferiority, correlated with the increase in her range of social experience. With increased social experience B found it more difficult to maintain identification with her twin.

In being in some disagreement with these authors we can cite as one authority Woodworth who cautions us against such social field theories when he states that it is not explanation enough.³³ Here all properties of the field are not considered. We could not ascertain to what the authors attributed B's speech defect. They negate consideration of its being physiological, thereby dismissing that as a difference between the girls. The

³³ R. S. Woodworth, "Heredity And Environment" in Soc. Sci. Res. Co. Bull., Vol. 47, issue of May 1941, p. 219.

speech defect is there as a factor, though, and causes differences in the psychological environments between the girls. The authors also neglect a discussion of the genetic factors as producing any similarity between the girls.

In 1943 Newman and Gardner did a study on the ³⁴ Keys' Quadruplets, Roberta, Mona, Mary and Leota. The sygotic diagnosis found the girls to be a double set of twins. Roberta and Mona were one-egg twins, and Mary and Leota were two-egg twins. They were born in 1915; up to the time of this study they had always lived together. The authors investigated the personality of the girls by means of observation, interviews and tests. When together their responses were quadruplet group responses rather than individual. When apart they showed marked differences. Roberta and Mona always tended to act as a unit. They were extremely similar in behavior and reaction. Leota and Mary were more independent. Mary seemed the happiest; Leota the most popular with other people of the four. The authors state that there has been no tendency for the

34 Iva Gardner and Newman, "Physical and Mental Traits of The College Quadruplets" in The Journal of Heredity, Vol. 31, No. 10, issue of October 1940, pp. 419-424.

four girls to grow more similar physically or in personality traits. Being quadruplets and subject to the same external environment, therefore, did not make the girls more alike in personality except when there was identical heredity as in the case of Roberta and Mona. The identical twins measured intelligence was only one point difference; the fraternal twins measured 9 and 14 points lower. The only conclusions we can draw from this investigation is that the identical twins are more alike in their adjustment than their fraternal sisters. The monozygotic twins are not identical in their traits as measured by the tests and observations, but are more alike than they are like their sisters. It appears from an analysis of the study that environmental factors alone do not determine adjustment patterns, but that adjustment patterns are molded by combined subtle action of heredity and environment. These findings are very similar to that of Newman,³⁵ Freeman and Holzinger works.

36

In 1929 Gesell and Thompson published their

³⁵ Newman, Freeman and Holzinger, op. cit., pp. 119-174.

³⁶ Arnold Gesell and Thompson, "Learning and Growth In Identical Infant Twins" in Genetic Psychology Monographs, Vol. 6, issue of August 1929, pp. 1-124.

first report on twins T and C. The girls were forty-six weeks when the investigators first started to work with them. The study was concerned with the effect of training on motor behavior, and the authors used one identical twin for the training procedure and the other twin for the control. Gesell and Thompson continued their study of these girls until the twins were fourteen years of age. We shall report, discuss and criticize this research only as it relates to our present study.

Twins T and C who were reared together displayed, to a degree, different social-emotional adjustments. The authors minimize the difference in environmental factors between the girls, such as the home relationships, and attribute their personality differences to biological differences. The authors have inferred these biological differences between the girls from their behavior. Admitting with the authors certain fundamental bio-genetic differences in motor demeanor and postural sets, we cannot then take their next step and attribute the differences between the girls in social-emotional adjustments to this bio-genetic difference. We cannot dismiss the evidence that at forty-eight weeks T was more outgoing, more vivid and reactive to social situations than C. Nor that, at this time, her vocalization showed more social reference than C. But C soon developed more outgoing patterns than T.

She, also, came into an environmental setting that favored her, while T was scolded and punished. C enjoyed her home and preferred it to visiting her grandmother. T spent week-ends with her grandmother and aunts. The question is, why? We can not attribute it to T's greater "tonicity, or to C's" neutral motor equilibrium. We cannot attribute T's less sociability to "tonicity" either. The authors approached the problem to mechanistically.³⁷ T's greater speed and energy, they say, lead to over-reaction, more mood swings, poorer social adjustment. C's bidexterity is interpreted as leading to motor equilibrium, emotional poise, and better social relationships. The essence of this theory is the relationship of activity to trait, attitude development, and differentiation. But the relationship of activity to trait is more complex than is supposed by these authors. For social activity is an enormously complicated matter and not just a mere doing of something. It is an activity when and how and under what conditions and for what aims. And it is also not the act per se, but the conditions under which the act is carried out that determines the

37 L. S. Penrose, "Heredity" in Personality And The Behavior Disorders, Vol. 1, edited by J. McV. Hunt, New York, Ronald Press, 1944, p. 508.

38
kind of personality involved. It was not T's motor behavior that made her less happy in the home than C, but her behavior in relationship to her foster mother who then scolded her for it. It was not just the act, but when and under what conditions and with what effect. The authors regard the role of society more or less as a conditioner and pose the problem in terms of: Is it nature or conditioning? But this is not the case. The process of the development of personality is more than one passive acculturation of the individual. It is the active interpenetration and interaction of the two, individual and society, which in turn molds a personality.³⁹
The authors emphasize the physiological differences between the individuals but they minimized the preponderant subtle social differences. It can be seen from the report of the seventh grade teacher that T's moods and depression were due to the subtle complex factor of social relationships. When the teacher asked to be a "special friend" T became happier and gayer in school. We cannot assume that T's bio-genetic make-up lead to poorer social-emotional

38 Gordon W. Allport, Personality A Psychological Interpretation, New York, Henry Holt Co., 1937, pp. 267-279.

39 Ibid, p. 143-148.

adjustment and C's bio-genetic make-up produced better social-emotional adjustment as it was shown beyond a doubt that the girls were "one egged" twins. We conclude here that the differences were caused largely by personal relationships in the home and between the girls. It does seem to indicate, as Troup⁴⁰ also discovered, that in a social situation where there is division of responsibility between the twins and one has been favored, either consciously or unconsciously, the other will play a more retiring role. T seemed to have been so affected and thus had less of the outgoing behavior of her sister.

In 1937 Blatz and others published articles on the Dionne Quintuplets.⁴¹ They studied such aspects as mental growth, development of self discipline and the early social development of the Dionne girls. The

40 Evelyn Troup, "A Comparative Study By Means of The Rorschach Method of Personality Development In Twenty Pairs of Identical Twins" in Genetic Psychology Monographs, Vol. 24, No. 4, issue of November 1938, pp. 543,545.

41 Blatz, W. E., et. al., Collected Studies On the Dionne Quintuplets, Tronto, University Press, 1937, pp. 1-47, 2-29.

biological study included in these series of articles discuss the measurements and tests used to ascertain the type of sibling relationship among the girls. The quintuplets are a set of identical siblings derived from a single cell. The study was started when the girls were twelve months old and completed at thirty-six months of age. The authors suggested that the factors underlying differences between the twins in personal-social adjustment was environmental. A response which a child makes to his social environment becomes part of that environment, so that occurrences, by chance, of a unique response starts a divergence of environmental influences which grow wider as the child grows. The study has presented evidence of differences among the girls in motor development, adaptive behavior and personal-social adjustment. The differences in motor development and adaptive behavior seem irretrievably bound up in the biological differences between the girls. Marie, who was born weakest and least developed of all the girls, ranked lowest on motor and adaptive behavior. Her adjustment was hampered, to an extent, by her motor development. However, Marie was not lowest in rank order on language ability. There, it seems, environmental stimuli were just as effective for her as for her sister.

Personal-social behavior presents another picture. The girls displayed stable social profiles which the authors found qualitatively and quantitatively different. The investigators attribute these patterns to chance unique responses that set in motion a pattern of development. They adequately explain how an environmental factor can underly and determine a behavioral reaction. The complexity of personal relationships are clearly presented and the explanation of the differences are sound. We agree that responses to a social situation become part of the environment and create differences in the environment among identical siblings as point out also by Newman, Freeman, and Holzinger⁴² and Carter⁴³ and others. But we do not accept all these initial responses as being chance responses. The physiological development of the girls were not identical and we stress that some of the factors causing differences in the environment are due to differences in physical prowess which the authors treat as an environmental factor.

⁴² Newman, Freeman and Holzinger, op. cit., pp. 186-193.

⁴³ Harold D. Carter, "Case Studies of Mature Identical Twins" in The Journal of Genetic Psychology, Vol. 44, No. 1, issue of March 1934 pp. 161-172.

Initial responses to a situation will be in part determined by the physiological conditions of the individual. But this does not mean that the later behavior development will have been primarily caused by the biology of the person.⁴⁴ It means that both heredity and environment interact, cause a response that therein becomes part of the environment of the child. As the child develops, this interaction and development becomes very complex and can not be simplified by attributing the resultant behavior to either biology or environment. What does seem to happen is that these pattern set up in childhood become pretty stable but are constantly being influenced by new environmental influences. The environment can and does continue to play a role in the determination of a personality. Its influence seems greatest in such aspects of personality as personal-social adjustment.⁴⁵

Thus far we have covered the early studies of twin research as it relates to personality from about 1880 to 1925 and the later studies of identical twins

⁴⁴ L. S. Penrose, "Heredity" in Personality And The Behavior Disorders, Vol. 1, edited by J. McV. Hunt, New York, Ronald Press, 1944, pp. 522-523.

⁴⁵ Evelyn Troup, op. cit., pp. 546, 554.

reared separated and reared together. We noted previously how the early investigations emphasized heredity as being the major factor in determining personality. Then the pendulum swung to over stresses on environment or at best a lack of understanding the subtle inter-relationships of environment and heredity. Now in the study of twins reared together we get a mixture with authors such as Gesell and Thompson making personality a biological-mechanical type process; Blatz ignoring much physiological development and represents much initial response as "chance"; Gardner and Newman bringing out the interplay of environment and heredity, but giving heredity the nod. Carter noted interesting changes in adult of identical twins in outward expression of feelings. This was in direct contrast to Thorndike's findings. Then Misback and Stromberg went overboard for their environmental influences and came up with the social field theory.

4. PERSONALITY TRAITS STUDIED BY MEANS OF THE TWIN METHOD

Each of the following studies considers only one aspect of personality. The range of the studies is wide. There is no pattern to the investigations. The range of

traits run the gamut from anti-social behavior to temperament, and to adjustment patterns. Some investigators have utilized a particular test; others have used case studies. All of these studies will be discussed.

In studying the causation of child behavior difficulties, juvenile delinquency, and adult criminality Rosanoff and Handy used cases of four hundred and nine
46
pairs of twins. There were well over 400 cases of both identical and fraternal selected. Concordant results represent both twins having the same behavior difficulty. Discordant results represent one twin having a behavior difficulty and the other twin having no such difficulty. The authors considered concordance as complete or partial, and in partial concordance they noted both quantitative and qualitative intra-paired differences. However, they grouped partial and complete concordant results together. The frequencies of concordant findings are 86.9 percent for identical twins, 41.7 percent for same-sex fraternal twins, and 29.3 percent for opposite-sex twins. In adult

46 A. J. Rosanoff, Handy and Plesset, "The Etiology of Child Behavior Difficulties, Juvenile Delinquency and Adult Criminality, with Special Reference To Their Occurrence In Twins" in Psychological Monograph, Vol. 48, 1941, pp. 1-135.

criminality they found concordant results for male fraternal twins to be 47.1 percent and 35.7 percent for the sisters of these boys.

The authors state that their findings seem to indicate that heredity plays a major part in the etiology of the difficulties they considered. But the heredity factors do not in all cases produce these conditions. They found discordant findings in 13.1 percent of the cases of the monozygotic twins. Moreover these were quantitative and qualitative intra-paired dissimilarities among the identical twins who had presented concordant findings. This fact tends to discount the importance of the heredity factor still further. They likewise found a higher incidence of concordant results among fraternal twins as compared with findings among single born siblings. These figures are only for incidence of concordant results in adult criminality, but they do suggest that non-heredity factors are operating because there is no genetic difference between singly born siblings and fraternal twins. The authors' detailed analysis of material indicated that cerebral birth trauma is a factor in the etiology of child behavior difficulties, juvenile delinquency, and adult criminality. Rosanoff and Handy indicate that the part played by the heredity factor produces its effect

by determining an "undue vulnerability" of the brain tissue, thus greatly increasing the hazards of cerebral birth trauma. Males seem to be more vulnerable than females. The authors found qualitative and quantitative differences between the sexes in anti-social behavior. They suggest that the part played in the cerebral trauma as an etiological factor in anti-social behavior is that of impairing or destroying the brain mechanism which controls and regulates behavior. No two cases are alike even in the most closely concordant identical twins, and there is no reason to expect the lesions in any two cases of cerebral trauma to be identical in severity, extent or localization and therefore in their clinical manifestation. Environmental factors found to be operative in delinquency and criminality were those of an economic and social nature and toxic nature. Such factors as broken homes and delinquency areas in large cities are mentioned. The authors feel that these circumstances play an important and real part in providing occasions for anti-social behavior.

The results of this investigation point strongly to the impression that causes for differences in the behavior of identical twins was due in a large part to the physiological nature. We think this is important

even though we cannot carry over the implications of cerebral injury to differences found in twins who have normal adjustment patterns. The factor of the internal environment causing physiological differences between identical twins is interesting, however, Newman⁴⁷ postulated differences in the blood supply between twin fetuses as one of the causes for producing differences in their physiology. An interesting conclusion of the authors was that social and economic factors produce occasions for anti-social behavior in individuals who are so endowed physically as to be susceptible. For the normal person these factors operate not only as occasions but as causes.

MENTAL DISORDER IN ONE OF A PAIR OF IDENTICAL TWINS

Hobbs investigated five cases of identical twins in which one twin was normal and the other twin had a common type of mental abnormality.⁴⁸ He assumes that if

47 Horatio H. Newman, Multiple Human Births, New York, Doubleday Dorn Co., 1940, p. 114.

48 C. E. Hobbs, "Mental Disorder In One of A Pair of Identical Twins" in The American Journal of Psychiatry, issue of November 1941, Vol. 98, pp. 447-450.

one identical twin has a mental disorder and the other twin is normal the heredity factor is ruled out and the environmental factor is left to be considered. Then by a careful study of the life history of the twin who had a mental disorder, it might be possible to determine in what way it varied from that of the normal twin. If there was any marked difference between the life histories of the twins it would be considered important etiologically.

The types of abnormality displayed in the five cases were mental deficiency, mental depression, petit-mal epilepsy at the ages of eight to twelve years and a psychotic episode at adolescence, grand-mal seizures, and hysterical attacks simulating epilepsy. The differences in environmental factors which Hobbs feels important in the etiology of the cases were in keeping with the conception of etiology in the field of personality. In the cases of mental deficiency, Hobbs states that injury due to forceps in delivery was the cause. Idiopathic epilepsy, the second case, had some unknown factor. Brain pathology was the factor underlying the case of epilepsy. The fourth case showed a family history of mental disorder. Therefore, both heredity and environmental factors were present. The patient, however, had a definite personality disturbance with feelings of guilt. The

other twin lacking the experience remained perfectly well. Hobbs finds heredity not sufficient in itself to precipitate the psychosis. The fifth case revealed differences in the personality of the twins. The twin who became ill was the more dominant and aggressive twin. She took more part in domestic difficulties and tried to raise the environmental status of her family. Her reactions to the intolerable situation was to break down with hysterical reactions. The twin who did not strive did not react with hysteria.

Hobbs study suggests that the interaction of environment and heredity is important for the determination of a mental disorder. When the condition is such that there is more susceptibility to illness, the environmental factors act as precipitants for the disorder. In cases where environmental factors cause large physiological differences between the twins and endow a twin with brain pathology, the future force of the environment is decreased. But in normal individuals where the differences in threshold for reactions between identical twins are not so great the strength of the environmental factors interacting with the individual maintains itself.

LANGUAGE DEVELOPMENT

Day's investigation, though undertaken primarily

to compare language development in twins with that in single children, obtained some information in regard to the twins studied in mental test performance and some personality traits.⁴⁹ The author's material consisted of eighty pairs of two to five year old twins, fraternal and identical. The author, based upon questionnaires and and mothers' information, states that sixty percent of all the twins were different. However, only thirty-two percent of the identical twins were thought to differ in this respect as compared with seventy-two percent of the like-sex fraternal and sixty-five percent of the unlike-sex twins. How and in what way the twins were different emotionally the author did not say. Neither did he advance any reason for like-sex twins differing more often than unlike-sex twins. The whole study rather a rough one but the sample large. In another trait-leadership - seventy-five percent of the cases, one twin was reported as showing the qualities of a leader more than the other twin. This was reported as being the case in thirty-seven percent of the identical twins, eighty-seven percent of both the

49 Ella J. Day, "The Development of Language in Twins: Their Resemblances and Differences" in Child Development, Vol. 3, issue of December 1932, pp. 298-316.

like-sex and unlike-sex fraternal twins. In the unlike-sex twins the girl was the leader approximately twice as often as the boy.

1. STUDIES OF TWINS THROUGH THE KORSCHACH METHOD

TEMPERAMENT

Kerr tried to estimate the resemblance of different types of twins with respect to temperamental differences such as those measured by the Korschach Test.⁵⁰ The age range of her subjects was from ten to seventeen years. The results of the study indicated that more identical twins belong to the same psychological type than fraternal twins of like or unlike sex. The differences were not very great except between identical twins and unrelated pairs of children. She found correlations of one member of a pair of twins with the other member to be insignificant. The results also indicate that there was no sex influence on psychological type. Kerr concludes that the low order of similarity between identical twins and the small difference in the order of similarity for different types of twins suggests that the differences measured by the test were not exclusively due to differences

⁵⁰ Madeline Kerr, "Temperamental Differences In Twins" in The British Journal of Psychology, Vol. 27, issue of July 1936, pp. 51-59.

in genetic equipment. She suggests that the interaction of the temperament of identical twins causes differences in their temperamental reactions. She suggests that this could be the basis for the concept of "protest". The concept of "protest" assumes that identical twins become unlike each other temperamentally because of a conscious or unconscious protest against identification with each other. This is very much in agreement with some other authorities in the field, notably Newman, Freeman and Holzinger.⁵¹

2. TROUP'S STUDY - TEMPERAMENT

Troup studied twenty pairs of identical twins by the Rorschach Method to investigate similarities and dissimilarities in the tempo and direction of personality development.⁵² The subjects were twenty pairs of identical twins (ten pairs of each sex) between the ages of ten and fourteen years of age. Six months after the first test

⁵¹ Newman, Freeman, and Holzinger, *op. cit.* p. 187.

⁵² Evelyn Troup, "A Comparative Study By Means of The Rorschach Method of Personality Development In Twenty Pairs of Identical Twins" in Genetic Psychology Monographs, Vol. 20, No. 4, issue of November 1938, pp. 461-556.

five pairs of twins of each sex were retested and studied intensively. The Rorschach test was chosen, the author states because it affords a means of studying the integrated psycho-biological organization of the subject. The method of appraising the similarities and dissimilarities was two-fold. Troup analyzed the qualitative differentials of the protocols and also did a quantitative study of the degree of similarity as revealed by the Rorschach Test by means of the method of correct matching. Six judges who were chosen on the basis of their skill and experience with the Rorschach Test matched the psychograms of the ten pairs of twins selected for retesting. The judge was to match the first test of one twin with the second test of the other twin. The protocols were included with the psychogram to give the judges the complete picture of the personality as shown by the test. The qualitative analysis was based not on the interpretative values of separate categories alone, but upon inter-relationships and relations to the total number of answers. In her interpretation of results she compared the distribution of psychic energy in the two members of a pair of twins: the probable basic constellation if indicated, the type of development at the time and the way the individual differed from the original pattern. The degree of emotional stability, impulsiveness

and egocentricity was also examined. She interpreted the evidence of the mental approach to life and indicated its inter-relationship with temperament. Her analysis was always made independent of any knowledge of the social histories of the subjects.

"Tempo of development" relates to the type of development of the psychic energy at the time of study. "Quality of development" relates to the emotional stability, impulsiveness and egocentricity of the individual. "Direction of development" was inferred from a comparison of the two tests of the individual. It refers to the way the individual differs from his original pattern.

The results of the inter-twin matching indicated that the degree of similarity in personality development between identical twins, as shown by the Rorschach Test, is not as great as the degree of similarity found in respect to physical traits or intelligence.⁵³ This same conclusion has been reached by a number of studies including that of Carter. The quantitative analysis yields no high degree of correlation in temperament for the twins. The inter-twin contingency coefficient .40 suggests the presence of a substantial environmental component in personality

⁵³ Harold D. Carter, "Case Studies of Mature Identical Twins" in The Journal of Genetic Psychology, Vol. 44, No. 1, issue of March 1934, pp. 166-168.

development. From the qualitative analysis of the test, Troup noted similarities and differences in the personality development between the twins. The data of the first test yielded this information, and the data of the retest supplied information about the trend in development over the period intervening between the tests. She found that the twins were similar in basic personality constellation, but with one exception none showed evidence of a closely similar development. In one pair of twins she found differences in tempo of development accompanied by similarity in direction and quality. Two pairs of twins showed differences in quality accompanied by apparent similarity in direction and tempo. Four pairs of twins showed twins gave evidence of differences both in quality and tempo. In two other pairs of twins there was evidence of a difference in direction of development.

The author found a coefficient of contingency of .94 by matching ten pairs of twins psychograms on the first and second performance. Therefore, the qualitative differences found should not be attributed to the unreliability of the test. Since these twins were identical and since their major environmental factors were the same the author suggests we seek the subtle environmental influences that are so important in molding personality.

This study was sufficiently comprehensive to

indicate that identical twins do not show similar personality development on the Rorschach Test. The study indicates that there is similarity between twins in the basic constellation of psychic energy but that this basic personality constellation can be expressed in a variety of ways. Even though there is a similar heredity for identical twins, social adjustment and emotional control need not develop similarly. The influence of environment in the development of personality is a major factor to be considered.

3. NEUROTIC TENDENCIES

The first section of the Newman, Freeman and Holzinger study concerns itself with fifty pairs of identical twins and fifty-two pairs of fraternal twins.⁵⁴ The scope and structure of the complete work was described previously. In this present section the only personality factor treated in neurotic tendencies measured by the Woodworth-Mathews Personal Data Sheet. With the consideration that only one personality factor is treated in this study certain general statements on personality

⁵⁴ Hortio H. Newman, Freeman, and Holzinger, Twins: A Study of Heredity and Environment, Chicago, Univ. Press, 1937, pp. 3-128.

will be drawn from the material.

The results of the study showed the differences in resemblance of the two classes of twins, identical and fraternal, is not the same in the different groups of characteristics. The only characteristics in which identical twins were not very much alike is that trait measured by the Woodworth-Mathews Personal Data Sheet. This can be seen when we look at the chart showing the intra-paired correlations of the different groups on a physical measurement, intelligence, and the personality test.

INTRA-PAIRED CORRELATIONS FOR THREE GROUPS OF TWINS			
	Identical Twins (Reared Together)	Fraternal Twins	Identical Twins (Reared Apart)
Standing Height	.981	.934	.969
Binet I. Q.	.910	.640	.767
Woodworth-Mathews	.562	.371	.683

The quantitative estimate of the variance due to the genetic factor was .82 for standing height, .69 for the Binet I. Q., and .15 for the Woodworth-Mathews Test.

The authors conclude that any fixed ratio of the heredity and environmental influence for all traits and condition is impossible. Their relationship must always be considered in connection with the kind of trait and the grade of environmental influence. From their statistical

analysis of the estimate of variance they postulate that physical characteristics are least affected by environment, intelligence is affected more, educational achievement still more and personality the most.

The authors state that their analysis indicates that the role of heredity and environment in producing twin differences is a function of the type of environment. Thus for identical twins reared together most of the differences between members of a pair must be due to the nature factors. The nurture factors will have a relatively greater influence with identical twins reared under strikingly different environments.

With regard to personality traits the writer feels we cannot assume that the relative influence of environment becomes negligible for identical twins reared together. The conclusions of the authors of the study might be justified for such characteristics as intelligence or educational achievement where the degree of genetic influence is very great. But the environmental factor will always play a role in personality development because an individual is always acting and reacting in an environment and being influenced thereby. For identical twins reared together the effect of an environmental factor may be the same or very different depending upon the situation and

the relationship of each twin in the situation. Differences of reacting may result. We cannot assign these differences to either heredity or environment until the whole complexity is examined.

4. MENTAL ABILITY

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In 1929 Butts made a study of fraternal triplets, Sally, Irene and Mary. They were six years old when examined, having just started in first grade. The school psychologist primary purpose was to test them for mental ability, but in addition secured much insight into the girl's personality with the help of the teacher. In intelligence Sally ranged slightly above average, Irene average, and Mary in the dull normal group. The triplets were markedly dissimilar. Sally was more robust; Irene was healthy, but thin; Mary had much sickness. Sally was the leader and the one who took the initiative, mothering the other two, particularly Mary. Sally had a great deal of confidence, self assurance, was capable and aggressive in a pleasant and helpful fashion. It was her efficient use of her ability, self reliant manner and her charm of personality that were her chief assets which made her

55 Anna L. Butts, "Triplets" in The Psychological Clinic, Vol. 18, No. 9, issue of February 1930, pp. 261-273.

outstanding in the classroom. Where Sally lead, Mary tried to follow though she seldom reached Sally's mark. Mary was slower in her responses, in grasping new ideas, and in thinking out a problem for herself. She had definite feelings of inferiority and dependency; she wanted reassurance and lacked confidence, yet she was enthusiastic and interested. She was excitable and rather emotionally unstable. Irene was more the "middle child." She had neither the confidence and assurance of Sally nor the dependency of Mary; she lacked Sally's color and Mary's enthusiasm, but she was a child of ordinary mental ability, responsive, alert and confident to a reasonable degree.

Why these children, born of the same parents at the same time and reared in the same environment, were so different in mental and personality endowment, is an interesting question. Here we see quite forcefully the difference which could be caused by heredity. Now, for example, these fraternal triplets with somewhat different heredity make-up, but with the same environment were so unlike as compared with our previous studies of identical twins who were reared apart in very different environments. But here too we can not overlook environment as the subtle influences here must have been great. The difference in intelligence undoubtedly set off many different reactions to social situations which we have as yet been unable to measure or detect accurately.

5. TWIN SIMILARITY IN EMOTIONAL TRAITS

56

Carter administered the Bernreuter Personality Inventory to one hundred and thirty-three pairs of twins and analyzed the results with respect to emotional stability, self sufficiency, introversion, dominance, self-confidence and sociability, of the twins as measured by the six scoring scales devised for this inventory. He supplemented the scoring scheme with an item analysis to investigate similarity in answer the questions. He concluded from the results on the test that identical twins are more similar than fraternal twins in all traits considered except possibly introversion. Like-sex fraternal twins tend to be more similar than unlike-sex fraternal twins except in self sufficiency and sociability. On neurotic tendency the resemblance coefficient was .63 for identical twins and .32 for fraternal twins. For the six scales of the inventory the resemblance coefficient varied above the mean values of .27 for like-sex fraternal twins and .57 for identical twins. Carter states that the scales used are at least as reliable as group tests of intelligence. Thus it seems that personality tests of approximately the same reliability as intelligence tests yield markedly

56 Harold D. Carter, "Twin Similarity In Emotional Traits" in Character and Personality, Vol. 4, issue of Sept. 1935, pp. 61-76.

lower correlations for identical twins. This writer's question is why use the tests then? Others have found the same thing. We want to know something in the positive direction not negative. To give proper credit, however, the item analysis indicated a general, but very general similarity in answering inventory questions. Carter concludes that if environmental factors are operative they are not obvious ones, but must be subtle influences associated with social life, family, the personal problems of the individual, and the general experienced environment of the individual.

57

Yule tested one-hundred and fifteen identical twins for perseveration. She states that this is an aspect of behavior that does not depend on intelligence and may be considered as falling within the category of personality. She used the standard "P" test forms. The conclusions reached after analyzing the data were that identical twins were more alike than fraternal twins with respect to "P" and fraternal twins of unlike sex are less alike than fraternal twins of like sex. In criticism we can say at least the test needs more investigation and

57 E. P. Yule, "The Resemblance of Twins With Regard to Perseveration", in *Journal of Mental Science*, Vol. 81, No. 334, 1946, pp. 489-501.

second genetic similarity might tend to produce environmental similarity. The intra-paired correlation on the "P" test for identical twins and for fraternal twins are not very different from those found on the Bernreuter Personality Inventory and the Woodworth-Mathews Personal Data Sheet.

58

Catell and Moltena gave fifty-three fraternal twins and thirty-one identical twins a Perseveration Test and a Fluency Test. The Fluency Test consisted of additions to pictures, word lists, form completion, story completion and ink-blot interpretation. The authors considered the test of "fluency association" an indicator of temperamental balance. The reliability of the Fluency test was .84. The reliability of the "P" test in an individual test situation was .51. The correlation for "fluency of association" was .66/ .05 for identical twins, and .59/ .04 for fraternal twins. The results for the "P" test was contradictory to Yule's results.⁵⁹ They found a correlation

58 Raymond B. Catell and Moltena, "Contributions Concerning Mental Inheritance: II Temperament," in The Journal of Genetic Psychology, Vol. 57, issue of Sept. 1940, pp. 31-47.

59 Yule, *op. cit.*, pp. 499-500.

of .10/ .09 for identical twins, and .47/ .05 for fraternal twins. The authors pass it off by saying other factors might have been operating in their investigation and influenced their results. What were the factors one might ask?

60

Then Carter gave the Strong Vocational Interest Blank to identical and fraternal twins and found an average correlation of .28 for fraternal twins and .50 for identical twins. He concluded that interests were dependent upon environmental stimulation for their development.

Now we might ask: Is there any general agreement or trend in the results of all the studies reviewed? In partial answer we can accept and have adequate evidence to conclude that physical characteristics are affected by environment least, intelligence affected more, educational achievement still more and personality the most. To go beyond this if we find agreement to any extent, we find contradictory evidence also. For example studies using the Downey Will-Temperament Test found a high degree of similarity between the identical twins as compared to fraternal twins. This was true for both identical twins reared apart and identical twins reared together. The

60 H. D. Carter, "Twin Similarities In Occupational Interests" in The Journal of Educational Psychology, Vol. 23 issue of March 1932, p. 647.

validity of this test is open to much question. Other tests of temperament such as the Kent Rosanoff Test and the Rorschach did not yield any high degree of similarity between the identical twins. For the scales of the Bernreuter Personality Inventory the coefficient varied above the mean value of .57 for identical twins to .27 for fraternal twins. We have to keep in mind in interpreting these results the reliability and validity of personality test are not as great as test of intelligence or physical measurement. However, the reason for this lower relationship found in the area of personality than in mental and physical traits might not lie solely with tests but in the variability and plasticity of personality itself. Many of the previous authors recognized this yet they still used the tests in spite of this insurmountable difficulty. Had they given us some definite and conclusive evidence they could still not give us the "why".

61

Some authors such as Burk⁶¹ and Gardner and Newman⁶² found by observation, interviewing and rating scales among identical with differing social-emotional adjustment a corresponding differing environmental field.

61 Burk, op. cit. p. 194.

62 Gardner and Newman, op. cit. pp. 122-125.

On the other hand Carter,⁶³ Newman, Freeman, and
Holzinger⁶⁴ say that gross environmental factors such as
physical environment, social and economic status, and
educational training do not show much concordance with
differences in the personality aspects between identical
twins reared apart or even together. They say factors
such as the relationship between parents and child, the
training of the child, the cultural aspects of the home,
and the ideals of the home plus subtle interpersonal
relationship appear more important in determining the
personality. They postulate their ideas not on evidence
actually found, but more on supposition. Let us find
evidence. Some authors have meager and vague evidence to
support the thesis that identical twins do have the same
basic feelings through heredity, but it is the expression
of these basic feelings through environment which differs
so vastly.⁶⁵

Our criticism in regard to many of the studies
were given individually, but this only takes second place
to the more important, overall criticism put forth here.

⁶³ Carter, *op. cit.* p. 159.

⁶⁴ Newman, Freeman, and Holzinger, *op. cit.* p.218-222.

⁶⁵ *Ibid*, p. 237.

Not meaning to refute the several previous authors, but dissatisfied in what they had to offer or found makes one look deeper into the study of personality by the twin research method. Why so much contradictory information as to what degree heredity plays or what degree environment plays? Why the swing from saying heredity is the most important to environment the most important and then sometimes back again? Then several more recent investigators conclude with suggesting, if not openly, then implying that subtle interplay and interaction of environment which cannot be determined or is too subtle to be known. Negatively this same group says heredity and environment is not a "one to one relationship" nor is there a "one to one relationship" within environment itself. Certainly this last group has the accumulation of evidence on its side, but why are they so blocked in not being able to go further into this subtle interplay and offer us no more?

This author cannot give the answers. He can, he is now convinced, shed light to help gain a much more satisfactory answer in the future and to point in the most fruitful direction for research work to come. Had we not carefully reviewed and developed in detail the essence of each or most of these studies our own present approach may still have been overlooked.

We wish to emphasize the great number of tests given in so many of the previous studies and the contradictory evidence brought out. The larger the study the more the tests. We wish to emphasize how interested the authors were in analyzing such things as individual answers to test questions. How important or significant is one item over another? How reliable is one test over another? Then the authors sometimes would pick out one trait and try to fit the individual into the trait. When one author was critical of another it was rare to find criticism suggesting less emphasis on the above or below mentioned points.

In all the studies from Galton to the most recent, each author, to a greater or lesser degree stressed the twins social, educational, physical background almost to the entire exclusion to try to gain understanding and basic understanding of the individual's emotional make-up. They gave attention to tests results, charts, and graphs instead of the individual himself. They also gathered a lot of information about twins from interviews and observation, but their focus of attention was still not trying to understand that individual's basic integrated emotional make-up, how he really felt and why he reacted in the same manner or different manner than his twin. They were to

objective, to far removed from the individual, so to speak, to actually know him as they should have. For physical characteristics and even in mental ability this objective and somewhat "separated method" was workable and satisfactory as the results indicate, but when it came to those so-called "subtle", "unexplainable", "not observable" phenomena in personality, they were stopped. They could only make vague generalizations for which they had no proof and much conflicting material.

The present new approach employed in this study counter-acts and it is believed over comes much of the above mentioned criticism. Our focus, our whole attention will be in understanding, mostly through personal counseling, the individual twin and his own striving for adjustment and thereby gain insights and understanding of his heretofore inadequately explained behavior.

CHAPTER II

TWIN STUDY OF JOSEPH AND JOHN M

METHOD OF INVESTIGATION

Personal Adjustment Counseling during a number of counseling sessions provides our primary means of investigation into the personality structure and functioning of twins. This is supplemented by interviews with siblings and parents after counseling with the twins had been completed. Non-Directive or Client - Centered was the method of counseling employed almost exclusively since much of the writer's training and experience has been in this work.

Thus, our approach, we wish to emphasize is:

1) through personal counseling to help the twin gain a better understanding of himself and his problems and by so doing to make a more satisfactory adjustment; 2) while the client relates himself in such a manner his whole personality is revealed so that we may see his functioning basic emotions and discover the reasons behind his actions - "The Why". In personal counseling we are helping, we are understanding and at the same time, without the individual consciously realizing it, we see rather plainly his personality structure. Our whole focus, however, is first, helping the client.

Though we had this plan of research in mind our greatest problem was then to find twins who were suitable subjects for personal counseling. We had to discover sets of twins, both of whom, needed and at the same time were interested in counseling. In all, a total of twenty-seven sets of twins were contacted through the help of social agencies, schools, universities, guidance clinics and friends. Out of this number five twins thought they might be interested in personal counseling, but their twin-mates were not. In four other sets of twins both members indicated they would be interested in counseling and all of them appeared to be good subjects for such. The remaining eighteen sets of twins stated they were not interested or else were not in need of counseling although one set, in particular, was believed much in need of personal adjustment counseling. Several efforts to establish a counseling relationship with this particular set failed. Out of the four sets of twins who indicated they would be interested in counseling two twins of different sets had been well known to the writer. Both twins had completed several counseling sessions with the writer in conjunction with his work as Psychologist with the Veterans Administration. Only these two respect sets of twins completed counseling to a very satisfactory degree. The

other two sets who originally stated they were interested in counseling interrupted after a session or two. In fact one of these twins never reported for his first counseling appointment. Consequently our work is confined to the study of two sets of twins, one identical, one fraternal. Nevertheless, as we discovered later, due to the method used in this study no more than two sets of twins could have been adequately covered.

No psychological tests were employed so as not to add to previous conflicting personality test material.

All of the twins counseled were normal in the term we might broadly understand as normal. In other words none had any serious emotional maladjustment to the extent it was pathological at the time.

Complete notes, and as nearly as possible, verbatim statements of the counseling sessions were written during and immediately after each session. A few of the interviews were tape recorded.

BACKGROUND OF JOSEPH AND JOHN

Identical twins John and Joseph were born in 1926. They were raised by their mother and father along with a brother, Frank, who is two years older than the twins.

There was no obvious differences in the environmental or physical conditions between the twins as they were growing-up. Both had the same childhood diseases, both attended the same schools. They were physically so much alike it was difficult, when apart, to distinguish one from the other until one got to know them well.

They started school at age six, Joseph repeated the fourth and eighth grades and quit when a Freshman in high school at the age of seventeen to join the Navy. John on the other hand never repeated a grade and continued on until he graduated from high school. He always received average to above average grades. A month after graduation he too joined the Navy in 1944. John was released from the Service about two years later with a rating as a third class petty officer. He disliked the Navy, but he always made sure he did his job well and carried out instructions to the very letter. Joseph, after about one year's service received serious gun shot and shrapnel wounds in his lower back and legs. He was hospitalized for nearly a year and after discharge from the Naval hospital and Service was able to walk only with the aid of braces and crutches. He was given further periodic medical treatment until about the middle of 1946.

From there on he had managed to walk with the aid of only braces, but his gait was slow and unsteady, but improving.

In January, 1948, after much procrastination, Joseph entered upon a vocational training program under the direction of the Vocational Rehabilitation Division of the Veterans Administration. Four months later he was referred for personal adjustment counseling because he had twice interrupted this training as a clerk due to lack of application and poor attitude toward the training program. The writer, as Counseling Psychologist, at this time had his first contact with this World War II veteran. Personal adjustment counseling was initiated, and a series of one hour weekly counseling sessions were continued over a period of seven months when his case was closed due to sufficient progress. A total of seventeen counseling sessions were completed over this length of time. He was single and living home.

John completed a two-year Business College course after he came out of the Naval Service and then secured employment with a large department store in his home city. About a year and a half later he was given a promotion to assistant buyer of a department. He was single, living home with his mother, father, and older

brother when he was asked if he thought he might want to take advantage of counseling in June, 1951. He was quick to accept.

A. RESULTS OF INTERVIEWS WITH PARENTS AND OLDER BROTHER

The mother was not only very cooperative during these separate interviews, but gave much information and enlightening aspects of the family and their relationships as she saw it. She was an intelligent woman in many respects and the dominant figure in the household. All contacts with the mother, father and older brother, Frank, took place in October, 1951.

Mrs. M in answer to a question said she felt her twins were somewhat alike, yet their differences far overshadowed their likenesses. John was easier to raise than any of her three children. However, at the same time she said this was not altogether true. She could ask John to do things and he could be relied on to do it. If Joseph were asked one could not be too sure. John was most dependable, Frank next and then Joseph. According to her John too was the most demanding; Joseph the least of the three. The mother commented she remembers a particular change in the twins when they were about seven or eight. Until then they were very close. They played together and always wanted

to be together. Then she noticed Joseph going out to play more with neighborhood boys leaving John with herself or the aunt. She wanted the twins to play together, but liked it too when John stayed around the house. She was at a loss to give any explanation or cause for the twins not playing together other than saying she would have expected Joseph to be the one not to stay home. And Joseph was the one the mother allowed to do what-ever he wanted to do. She said scolding or whipping him only made matters worse. She never had to whip John. Occasionally she remembered whipping Frank and then he would respond much better. The father seldom, if ever, entered into the disciplining of the children. He would say "You handle them - they get on my nerves".

In school, Mrs. M said, John always received very good marks. Frank she remembers as passing, but never a student. Joseph was lazy and didn't like school. He failed, she said, because of his laziness. She felt he could do things as well and as quick as her other two sons if he wanted. She would read to John but seldom to Frank or Joseph. They were not interested, least of all Joseph. John received several E's (Excellent) and always

E in "Deportment and attitude, but at the same time she recognized Joseph many times "pick-up things" faster than John. John was always longer to learn and maybe she said he tried too hard. Frank she thought was the slowest of the three in learning. He, on the other hand, was the most optimistic and the most even tempered; Joseph she believed the most stubborn, John the least. Joseph had " more of a mind of his own". Joseph as a young child had many friends whom he would bring home. John had the least number of friends. However, as they grew older seldom did the friends come to the home. Maybe, she commented, she felt somewhat ashamed of their home as she said, like her mother, was always a proud person. Mrs. M was glad her children apparently did not either inherited or acquired this trait as she feels one is bound to suffer because of it. On second thought she said John was somewhat like her in regard to this characteristic. Joseph certainly was not.

Mrs. M said she often thought her children didn't have opportunities they should have had because of their low financial status. She stressed this point on two or three occasions. In their immediate neighborhood most families had more of the necessities than she or her

husband could provide. At times it was necessary, because of lack of clothes and shoes, to keep her children home from school. School authorities criticized her for this which she felt was extremely unfair. She could not accept her economic status or the criticism and quite often was prone to put the blame for their condition on her already withdrawn husband. At the same time he became more depressed and began acting very peculiar according to Mrs. M, not long afterwards Mr. M was hospitalized for nearly a year due to a "nervous breakdown" as the wife described it. His hospitalization appeared anything but a traumatic experience for the family. This is understandable since he did not enter into the family relationship and could not contribute any moral and little financial support to the discouraged wife. With the help of a sister the mother of the twins secured employment as a part time cleaning lady and cook in a private home. She spoke of this work in a manner that lead one to believe she enjoyed the experience which afforded her an outlet from the discouragement of her own home by being in contact with outside people and in a more pleasant atmosphere.

When the father returned from the hospital he was

much improved, but unable, for two or three years, to even seek employment. However, since 1938 he has been employed almost continuously as a skilled tradesman.

Mr. M was interviewed privately and as expected volunteered little information about his wife, his children or himself. His first comment was "my wife is better at this than me". He could not understand why the writer wanted to see him since Mrs. M could give more information about the family than he possibly could. He said his wife told him he had to see the writer. The one and only interview with him was cut short, but he was nevertheless cooperative to the extent he was capable. His answers were short and for the most part primitive. He sat slouched in the chair with his hands tightly clasped. The writer's actual picture from the personal interview was quite different from the description given him by his wife and son. It was evident he was in long remission from a psychotic episode and to induce another would appear not to remote. Although he worked steady he was nevertheless making a borderline adjustment. The members of his family conveyed the impression the father "just didn't want to bother with them or anyone else". He no doubt didn't, but for very good reasons which they did not understand. The father was coherent, but very withdrawn, emotionally blocked, and extremely difficult

for him to relate.

The following is a sample of questions and answers during the interview which may give us a clearer concept of Mr. M.

Question: "In what way or manner do you think John and Joseph act differently?

Answer: Like anyone else who is different.

Question: How are they different?

Answer: Not much different - John talks more, like his mother. (Long pause)

Question: Any other way?

Answer: Shaking his head, "no".

Question: Would you say they are alike?

Answer: They seem to do about the same things.

Question: Could you give me an example of those things. (Pause)

Answer: Pretty hard to say - no.

Question: Do you remember any problems or difficulties you and your wife had in raising the children or any one child?

Answer: My kids, same as other kids. Wife looked after them."

The value of interviewing the father was not information that could be gathered, but rather his own general reaction and personality plus a better understanding of the part played as a member of the family and why he played it.

The twin's brother, Frank, was interviewed on three separate occasions. The first part of the initial interview seemed unprofitable as Frank was somewhat hostile and negativistic. These feelings were significant when he brought out the manner the mother used in having him see the writer. She put it partly on the basis he needed help with himself and to this he objected and rightly so. In addition he was rebellious due to mother's positive insistence he come. Later in this interview and the two following ones he was cooperative, sincere and surprisingly objective with the considerable amount of material he related in regard to his family.

Frank was single, living home with his parents and employed over the past six years as a Route-Man selling bread and bakery foods averaging seventy-five dollars weekly. He likes his work, likes to serve people. He believes his work is a real service to people. Being out of doors going about in his truck from house to house meeting his same customers gives expression to his feelings. Before the war he worked two years as a retail store clerk leaving this job to serve in the Army for three years. He is a high school graduate, receiving his diploma while in the Army as he quit high school in his senior year.

Frank has an outgoing personality and well able to

meet people and life situations. He is cheerful and optimistic and feels a great responsibility towards his parents. He has the greatest fondness and respect for his mother of any one and a "big brother" attitude toward the twins although Frank is only two years older. He described his father as a "funny guy"; one who doesn't say much and adds, "I get a kick out of him (laugh) ... he wouldn't harm a soul". His expression changed a little later when he commented he feels sorry for the father. The son felt strongly the mother did not understand the father and in years gone by remembers demands she made on the father that were extremely difficult, if not impossible, for him to carry out. One such situation he recalled vividly occurring when about eleven years old, a short time after the father returned from the hospital and still unable to face the outside world. Mrs. M insisted constantly for several weeks the father seek work. Becoming frustrated and aggitated and in a fit of temper he struck the mother violently. Because of this he was re-admitted temporarily to the hospital, but returned home again a few days later. That incident was one of the very few times he saw his father show his anger.

It was Frank's opinion that the twins were different in many respects. While John would always do the "right thing", Joe wouldn't. Frank felt the mother believes John was the best of the three because he never caused her any worries.

He was always obedient and a good worker no matter what was to be done. Joseph was lazy on many occasions and more "easy going" he recalls as he was growing up, but this could not be said of him today. John would inconvenience himself to help people even when a child. He, however, has always had a severe temper, but only able to express it against the mother. John could be extremely up-set and angry with an individual, but because he controls himself so well he would not exhibit it except against the mother. Frank has, at times, corrected John for this type of behavior. John's reaction would generally then be one of remorse and the mother's one of forgiveness or finding an excuse such as "John is over-tired". While growing up John was never involved in fights with other children, but recalls several scraps in which Joseph was entangled. Frank's explanation for this was Joseph had more associates than John and secondly John controlled himself much more with people. Frank hesitated to say, but did comment that he felt John was more the mother's "favorite". He was quick to add she was a wonderful mother to all her sons and the one who held the family together during the most trying times.

Frank expressed much admiration and respect for the manner in which Joseph accepted his severe wounds received during the War. He said he saw little change in Joseph's

general outlook toward life because of it. He was not bitter as one might expect, he was not particularly anxious about his wounds although they were extensive and he experienced much pain. Frank felt the mother and he were less accepting and more anxious over the situation than either Joseph or John. Often it is not easy to always know Joseph's attitude and much of the time he has a "good way of covering up the way he is thinking, especially to us". On the other hand "we would always know what went on in John's mind, especially my mother would know". Frank thought deep down inside John would like to have been a "cut-up" like Joseph was at times. Joseph, however, was many times censured for things he did not do and would take the punishment for it rather than say he did not do it. This angered Frank when he discovered it, but Joseph was hardly concerned over it. He didn't seem to care if he was punished.

In spite of the many differences between the twins, as suggested by Frank, there were many similarities suggested by him. Both are very loyal toward one another. Even though they may have disagreements, a third party who intervenes would only draw from each a feeling that they wanted to settle their differences between themselves or even a denial there was a disagreement. They played together a great deal and even now associate with one another more

than with any other person not including Joseph's wife. They confide in one another much more than the mother realizes, especially in the last few years. Their interests in life are a great deal alike. Both are very fond of winter sports, hunting, fishing, general out-of-door recreational activities. Even their vocational pursuits are along similar lines. At one time Frank thought Joseph was more gregarious than John, especially when they were children, but now he feels John likes and is beginning to associate with people as much as Joseph. John of course was in the home more with the mother when they were much younger.

The writer received, from Frank's statement, the feeling John was more outward in his expression of his feelings than Joseph. When questioned, he said yes that was his belief, but not as much as it would lead one to believe. While John would speak for something outright, Joseph would be apt to say nothing, but in some expression or action he may let you know he wanted it also. So actually though they may feel the same way about something their approach or outward reaction to it may be very different. This Frank feels has made the twins appear more different than they actually are.

Frank believes his family, as a unit, are much closer

at this time than they have ever been as far as he can remember. Some of it is because he feels everyone, except the mother, is employed at well paying jobs and the family can have many things they were formerly financially denied. This has made a great change in the attitude of the mother who was always use to more before she was married. In addition, something other than money has caused this change to take place in the last year or so. He describes it by saying the family likes to do things together more now than before and seem to enjoy being with one another. He related even the father shows a spark of enthusiasm at times by joining the family rides or enjoying a Sunday at the beach. Joseph with his wife visits often and enters into the family activities whereas before his recreation and activities were away from home with friends.

We have presented interviews and observations of the parents and brother before the counseling material, but we want to stress in actuality all personal counseling of the twins was completed before any of the above information was received. It is believed in presenting material in this order it will give us a clearer picture as we get into the comments and understanding of the dynamics of the twins personality. Only pertinent parts of the counseling, those which bring out understanding and feelings of the

twins, will be quoted.

B. PERSONAL COUNSELLING WITH JOSEPH AND ITS INTERPRETATION

When counseling was initiated with Joseph in 1948, the feeling conveyed by him was he was being sent in to see the Counselor by the Vocational Training Officer. Joseph related he himself could not see any reason for coming in. He stated on numerous occasions the Training Officer had consistently reprimanded him for not having proper motivation and attitude toward his course work in the business school he attended. Because of poor grades his training was interrupted twice in past four months. The Training Officer was at a loss to account for the veteran's behavior since he knew Joseph had the ability to do the work expected of him. At first the Counselor wondered why Joseph never expressed any hostility whatsoever toward the Training Officer who had so many times reprimanded him or because of the interruption of his school. The following is taken from the first counseling interview.

cl. "Mr. G. told me to see you.

Co. I see -- something he had in mind?

cl. Don't know -- he said I should have a talk with you... I don't know why? He said you could help me. I don't think I need it.

Co. Mr G. feels something is not just right with you, but you are not inclined to agree.

Cl. Yeah, that's right... Just because I flunked in school -- so what! I figure because of that that doesn't mean things are all wrong with me... I could have passed if I had worked more at it -- just didn't ... Get my pension every month, have a car, a girl... Things are O.K."

He could not take the responsibility or face the fact he needed help here so he put it onto the shoulders of the Training Officer. Further this surface attitude that "all was well" with him was worked through fairly well by the end of the second interview, as we see next, and in effect Joseph was then asking for help.

Cl. "Sometimes I just want to take off and forget about everything... And when I do it helps for awhile but after I'm back a few days it's all wrong with me again.

Co. Taking-off gives you some relief.

Cl. But I can't be doing it all my life -- running away. Anyway that gets tiresome and in the end makes it worse. Just don't know what.

Co. It has you puzzled you feel.

Cl. I have tried lots of things and there doesn't seem to be an answer or at least one I can find. How I wish I could!"

From this point on Joseph put up very little direct defense as to there not being adjustment problems with

him. His need to talk about his problems became rather evident in the next interview or two but he still talked about them in a general way and almost as if the problems were not his. At this point he was still not working. He gave the outward impression he was still quite content to continue this unproductive life and have the disability pension from the government support him the rest of his life. Inwardly it was a different story.

Cl. "Here I am loafing -- not a worry in the world. Don't know how things could be much better... Most everyone in a spot like this would say I got it soft. That's the way people think. They tell me that.

Co. Just looking at you, one would get the impression you are in an ideal situation.

Cl. Well I guess so. That's the way people think it seems to me. The other guy has the better deal. How do they know he has? All the time he may be thinking same thing about another guy. (Pause) Funny thing too, some one may be having a very hard time -- he may be sick or hurt or lie in bed with a broken back or most anything that is painful. Then people feel sorry for the person, they think it is pitiful. They want to do things for him. That same guy in bed may really be happy, even happier than he was before, happier than the people around him in spite of his pain.

Co. Things are just not what they seem many times.

Cl. Exactly what I mean. That's the way life is. People are not going to change their ways so why think about it... John would try to convince them otherwise with all his might, I mean by talking."

We see too in Joseph's last response a difference in personality reaction between the twins. Joseph would try

not to think about certain things by repressing them and so avoid, for the time being, the problem while John would swing in the other direction and with all his energy attempt to change people's minds.

In the four or five counseling sessions which followed, Joseph became more and more dependent upon the counseling itself to "get things straightened out". He was hopefully feeling that in a short time the counseling would take affect so that he would be either working or start training without becoming fearful of failing again. He was trying to find an easy way out, so to speaking, to solve his problems. He was not trained for any vocation or trade and due to his disability was unable to do laborer's work. He could nevertheless have secured a temporary sedentary job but even so he rejected the thought at this time. He reasoned he would not stay with the job very long if he did take it, and this the Counselor fully realized and appreciated. His own attitudes and feelings towards life would have to be altered from within himself if he were to make any satisfactory adjustment and rid himself of fears of further failure bound up so tightly with his basic emotional insecurity and need for recognition. The following is an illustration of the above feelings which especially

ran through the fourth to the eighth counseling sessions.

This is taken from the seventh.

Cl. "Coming here early thought I could get to see you and probably have more time, but guess it hasn't worked out that way. (Each counseling session is purposely limited to sixty minutes).

Co. You feel one hour isn't enough.

Cl. Well I really have been looking forward to this time (each week)... Guess maybe to get it over so I'll be able to go ahead with school without being so scared about not being able to make a go of it. Each time I see you I think well maybe this will be it when I get myself straightened out.

Co. You feel these sessions will give you the solution to your troubles.

Cl. Well that is what I don't know forsure, but what will?... No use starting school again when I am afraid all the time... Know I can't concentrate like I should either... That's my whole trouble, probably have no confidence in myself like I try to make believe.

Co. I see.

Cl. I feel as if someone or maybe something has to happen... Like you said in the end I know it has got to be me to help myself and change... That's what I have been trying to do here lately but there doesn't seem to be any... Probably because I don't know how. It's like fighting in the dark, fighting something you don't know what it is or even if it exists. I am so confused just don't know what to do. I'll have to though..."

In this last response the client has finally come to grips with himself and his feelings. Confused? Yes, but now willing to admit he is confused over his own

feelings and really facing up to himself -- something he was avoiding all his life. It was here too he began talking about his deeper feelings and how they affected him and these added upon his confusion. The counseling sessions that followed were filled with examples of these feelings mostly in relation to how he got along with people including his family, how they reacted to him and how he in turn reacted to them. His personality continues to unfold and he gains from it both insight and ability to profit from this insight by sane acceptance of it. The following is a good sample. (Ninth session)

Cl. "Yeah, when I was a kid remembering travelling around with some tough kids -- maybe they weren't really bad, but kids that were fighting and sometimes one or two would get picked up by the juvenile people for doing something... My mother was afraid when I would be with them... She thought I might get in trouble I guess... remember her crying when she would hear about me with that gang... John would even come and drag me home sometimes...

Co. Your mother you feel was very concerned and wanted you away from this influence.

Cl. You can say that again, but stubborn as I was I just kept going back and they always wanted me with them too ... Why it never happened to me, but some of those same guys have served jail sentences... I would never go that far to do something to be put in jail ... Maybe it was a good thing I joined the Navy when I did or else I might have been influenced by them ... really never was influenced by them as I look back.

Co. You never got in trouble with them, but may have later.

Cl. Well yes, but they were not my ideals or even ideas if you know what I mean ... In fact I never knew what really made me hang around with them so much ... I always figured I was smarter than they and most of their parents didn't care much about them ... mine did a lot. I would never think about associating with them now, but then it was different. I was carefree, no troubles -- nothing bothered me like it would now.

Co. You wonder why you did have them for company.

Cl. Now that I think about it, I really do ... Sometimes when John would come after me I would find my mother at home crying -- felt terrible about that ... In a couple days I would be right back with them. My Dad didn't pay much attention to us kids even then. Maybe if he would have put his foot down it would have been different.

Co. You feel your mother was concerned over what you did, but not your father.

Cl. Well Dad just wasn't in the picture most of the time. Mother was the head of our family anyway. She wanted us kids to do what was right and she was pretty strict -- not as much with Frank and me, but more with John. Guess she didn't try hard enough with me ... John would do exactly as she said. He was always the peace-maker.

Co. You feel even though your mother was more strict with John, he still did a lot for your mother.

Cl. He not only did a lot for mother, but still does. She always was thinking more about him than anyone. He meant more to her it seemed to me. Frank didn't care though. Don't know about myself ... Now it seems John gets irritated with Mother and for that matter with a lot of people. He never did before ... Mother wants to treat him like a child as he says -- not me though ... Guess because it has always been that way. She never really cared too much about me like she did him ... I wanted to be (very difficult for him to say; much feeling). I wanted to get back at her -- so I probably did what she didn't like (crying). It's too late now to make up for it. I should never have been that way. I never wanted to really."

So we see he now comes out with his feelings toward his mother. We see as a child how he realizes now that he needed some of the attention and love his twin brother received and not securing this sought other means of securing it. The other means would be to hurt the mother, to have her over concerned because he was in bad company. He would do it even if he didn't like this company and even if it meant getting into trouble, so strong was his drive and need for this emotional security, recognition and attention. The father, of course, was far too mentally sick to help fulfill Joseph's emotional needs and at the same time the mother gave all her attention and affections (overly so) to John. The only exception was when Joseph would cause her concern such as being in bad company. Another example of this type of behavior was brought out in his school adjustment whereby he would seek punishment from the teacher to gain attention. Strange, yet not strange, the teacher he recalls with fondness was the teacher who scolded and punished him the most. She quite naturally was the one who gave him the most attention even though it was in this negative and unsatisfactory manner.

At this point we should mention that the guilt feelings he had in regard to his negative behavior and misconduct in school were relieved pretty much through punishment and scoldings he received from his teachers. However, when it

comes to his home we have a different situation. He hurt his mother he knows in causing her considerable worry and concern, but in turn Joseph was seldom scolded or punished for it. He would come home to find his mother crying because of the company he was keeping. His guilt feelings about this behavior toward his mother were seldom relieved, but instead he carried them with him as we so plainly see when he "breaks-down" crying about it in his last response above.

Again more of his personality pattern can be seen as he grew older and joined the Navy. The following is taken from parts of Interview Ten.

Cl. "There is no place I liked better than being there (Navy)... If I didn't get hurt I would still be in ... Happier than at any time of my life ... never got homesick like some did ... never wanted to come home, I guess.

Co. You feel the Navy was the place for you.

Cl. They say a man has one interest in life -- well that was mine ... If you asked me to explain why maybe I couldn't give you much of an answer ... Remember as I was growing up I liked sea stories and still do, but that wasn't the reason I liked it in the service. Guess it was being with all those fellows, gave me a good feeling that for the first time I was really a part of something and doing what I wanted to do ... felt as if I belonged there.

Co. You had something here, you feel, that you wanted all your life.

Cl. Well it represents, you may say, things that I liked ... People looked up to you and that made you feel

good too... There were a lot of regulations. Somehow I didn't seem to mind regulations because everyone had to follow them... the next fellow was just like you."

Here Joseph is saying in effect: I liked the Navy because it satisfied to a considerable extent my need for emotional security, my need for belonging, my need for recognition, my dependency. This is the first time in my life I remember having these needs fulfilled to such an extent and so I was content and happy. I never longed for home like some of the others did because this place gave me what I needed so much and which my own home failed to give me.

There can be little doubt he found much in the Navy that helped to supplement and fulfill his basic desires. However, even in such a setting the unsatisfactory behavior pattern which he had set early in life whereby he reacted in a negative, self-seeking punishment manner in order to gain his ends was still in evidence as we shall see below. This is taken from the eleventh interview.

Cl. "I'm not the one to run away from trouble, but like that time I ran right into it. Our Division Officer told us we couldn't leave the ship ... When I came back he put me on report ... I got into a couple other little jams too ... not much ... The guys said I was foolish ... My Division Officer kept talking to me ... didn't bother me then, but funny it seems more to now.

Co. You feel getting into trouble didn't affect you then like it would today.

Cl. That's right ... that kind of trouble at least or I guess any kind for that matter ... maybe I can't

take it like I use to. It seems to bother me and I feel sort'a bad about it -- not bad either -- more like I wish I had not done it because in the end it was my own neck."

We see even if placed in an environment that is greatly conducive to satisfying our needs and desires a person may still persist in unsatisfactory reaction, which was a part of Joseph's previous mode of behavior. Nevertheless his general adjustment in the Navy was far more satisfactory to himself than it had been previously while living in his own home.

Another factor we note with pleasure is the change for the better that has taken place in the client within the past few months. He sees and regrets much of his past unsatisfactory behavior, but not to the point where he has too much guilt feeling. We may say a health regret whereby he is sorry to the point where we feel he has a good chance to put in its place a more satisfying behavior. He is gaining partial insight. More than that he is accepting this insight toward a better integrated personality.

Samples of counseling sessions twelve and eight give us further evidence of Joseph's personality and his feelings toward his girl friend.

C1. "No -- (laughing) she doesn't want to get married until I'm more settled and I can't blame her ... She is the one for me and knows me to a tee -- Not the best in looks, but down to earth and a good head to think.

Co. Really a wholesome girl.

Cl. None better for my money ... She keeps wanting me to get ahead, not nagging like ... She seems to think I'm better than what I am.

Co. She has a fine opinion of you. Why shouldn't she?

Cl. (Laughing) Yeah, I know, but I don't want to let her down. I should be having her job. She works for Jones Electric Company.

Co. Your girl is a bookkeeper?

Cl. Yes, I don't think I would care for her exact job -- I mean I wouldn't mind working for her company. (Pause) She has asked her boss if he thought I could get in. I never went down myself so it fell through.

Co. You just didn't happen to be interested at the time - was that it?

Cl. I don't know -- I could kick myself sometimes for the things I do ... Then she went to Barton's Department Store and Carter's Place as she knew some girl friends there. She arranged for an interview at each place. I only went to Carter's and they told me to come back again in a month so I forgot about it."

In going back to interview number eight we gather more understanding of Joseph's fiancée.

Cl. "Sure like anyone else -- we have our scraps.

Co. You feel no more than the usual couples.

Cl. That's what I think anyway ... I may not want to do just the thing she wants to do at just the time she does -- generally though I do. That's only natural, wouldn't you say?

Co. Yes, that's right.

Cl. I believe a fellow should let his girl have some say as what to do. Alice would anyway because nobody can push her around and get away with it.

Co. You feel she has a mind of her own and uses it.

Cl. She wouldn't take advantage of anyone that's for sure, but she doesn't want anyone to take advantage of her either. I respect her for it ... (Long Pause) And then as you say, she does have a mind of her own all right. She doesn't have to have someone tell her or make it up for her and that's what I like. That's the way she is with clothes or anything. Like last night she asked me if I would decide on what we would do because she said most of the time she does. I guess girls do that -- but in the end she decided. I would rather she do it anyway because it doesn't make much difference as far as I'm concerned and I want her to have a good time.

Co. You feel they will do it one way or another -- that is the girl will get what she wants.

Cl. That's just about it. But I can lay the law down too. The fellow should be the real boss. She knows she can only go so far with us. That is the reason she actually gets afraid of me when I do lose my temper. Afterwards I feel sorry for her ... She doesn't understand why I get mad when I do ... And that bothers me too, I mean over some little thing she may set me off. That isn't right. I shouldn't be like that."

Here we have seen in samples of the above two interviews some of the personalities of both Alice and Joseph. He has chosen a practical girl, a girl who can go ahead and do things, one who is ambitious, a girl who "pushes" him yet does it in a way that is not offensive to him, a girl who not only can make decisions for herself but for him also. She is the dominant, aggressive one.

He readily admits he likes all of this, yet once in awhile he gets very angry with her for some little incident. What does all this add up to? In the first place we note in liking these very things he becomes all the more emotionally dependent on her and, not wanting to be that dependent, he rebels against it with a violent temper. This is so clearly brought out in his last response when he says "I can lay down the law". To have her working, to have her looking for a job for him while he is idle would be difficult for any man to accept and so for him too when he says, "The fellow should be the real boss". In addition, "She thinks I am better than what I am" and "I don't want to let her down".

Later it will be interesting to see the parallel rolls played by Alice and the Mother to Joseph and John respectively. Joseph has chosen a prospective wife not unlike his own mother.

In counseling session thirteen he talks about still not being in training or working and gives us some pertinent feeling in regard to it.

Cl. "Guess it really boils down to not knowing what I want to do.

Co. You don't?

Cl. If a person can't make up his mind it is just as well he did nothing. Isn't that right? Don't you think, Mr. W., it is just as well this way?

Co. I think if you can't make up your mind to such a degree you probably shouldn't make the decision. But do you think it is that you don't know what you want or something else?

Cl. What do you mean by that? I don't seem to follow what --

Co. Well, what I mean -- is the reason you are not in training or working because you can't make up your mind as to what you want to do or is it because - well - you are using this as an excuse for not working and something else is the real reason?

Cl. Oh, no. I see what you mean I think. I can't say. That's something I wouldn't be able to tell. You could tell better.

Co. It's not a fair question, I know.

Cl. Yeah, if I started in at some trade I may not like it and throw it up again. In fact a trade doesn't seem to interest me in the least, but something else like selling ... But I don't know you have to please so many people.

Co. I see.

Cl. The business field, something in it is probably my best bet ... There are so many angles to it..."

We note how Joseph rationalizes in regard to why he is not in training -- "I don't know what I want to do". When the counselor presses him by asking if it is really this or something else he clings to his rationalization just for

a short "No" and then gives way by saying he does not know. After this he rather quickly rules out a few occupations and comes back to the business field. This is another good example to bring out his more basic vocational interests even though he does not seem prepared or willing to start training just yet. However, at this time it is just as well he keep some of this defense mechanism.

Part of counseling session fifteen below brings out significant feelings in regard to the twins and mother.

Cl. "For several summers we (John and Joseph) were there (W.M.C.A. Camp). Best times ... learned to swim I remember, hiked and played all the games they had. Both of us were pretty good at sports.

Co. You and John really had a good time.

Cl. It last three weeks generally and we always wanted to stay longer. We hated to see the time come to an end and counted the days when it would start. John had the idea in the first place, but it seemed each summer Mother wasn't much for it. One summer I went up alone, but a couple days later John drove up with one of the counselors. Mother must have realized how much he wanted to be at camp. She was always afraid we would get hurt because they had a couple bad accidents one year -- even before she was like that.

Co. Your mother didn't want you up there.

Cl. In some ways she didn't -- that's for sure, but she would never say no.

Co. I see. (Long Pause)

Cl. Maybe that is why we wanted to go to camp all

the more. (Pause) John seemed little different there too. He and I always did a lot of things together and when anything came up we would keep it to ourselves. At the "Y" Camp though it seemed we were a lot more that way. I guess we liked about the same things and being twins made it more that way.

Co. You feel you and John had a lot in common.

Cl. We seemed to sometimes more than others. Just can't quite figure it out. Sometimes we were always together and then other times, maybe for weeks, we would seldom go out with one another.

Co. But it wasn't consistent for some reason or other.

Cl. That's it. I always had the idea Mother had too much sway over him, probably not. I would have been better off if she had more over me. Even so John would generally come to me about certain things before he would go to her. I felt more easy with him than anyone else. Frank would help if I was in trouble. In fact he would do most anything -- he was older and much bigger than we so I guess we just looked up to him now."

In the discussion we can gather somewhat clearer the relationship between the twins. From Joseph's feelings we see how really close the two are, but the Mother's relationship with Joseph is not the same as her relationship with John. Neither John or Joseph can be themselves so to speak except when away from the Mother. Being at the summer camp is a good illustration. When away and allowed to be free they have the same interests, but with the dominant, over-protective mother both twins change whereby John submits and Joseph rebels. It is noteworthy how each twin actually prefers the companionship between themselves rather than

among the mother and themselves. Joseph identifies rather strongly with his twin as he speaks of "we" and wonders what came between them at times. There is evidence again of the over protection and wanting to keep her sons well within her grasp as she rationalizes her sons may get hurt if they go away.

Later in the same interview fifteen, we gather more understanding of Joseph's feelings toward his twin and older brother, Frank.

Cl. "Not like me -- he (Frank) would go ahead and do things ... If he or his buddies wanted to get up a ball game Frank would be the one to lead his side ... and they all liked him. In school, I don't think he was so smart, but kids looked up to him ... He was big but he never bullied or fought kids to like him.

Co. You feel he was more an organizer and leader.

Cl. That's way it seemed like -- maybe because he was older too I thought so. Like now he is the Vice-Commander of the Veterans of Foreign Wars. He has charge of getting membership and conducts meetings. They have more members than ever ... I wouldn't be good at that stuff, neither would John. Frank isn't afraid to get up and talk at the meeting, makes me proud of him. This is something I couldn't do in front of a lot of people -- it doesn't bother him one bit; in fact, he likes it. You would have to get a team of mules to drag us (John and himself) up there.

Co. Some difference there all right the way Frank and you react in certain situations.

Cl. Yeah, since you brought it up I guess he has always been a leader and we have been followers more or less.

Co. You are almost the opposites.

Cl. Well in a way -- but as I said John will say

things, he will speak up sometimes if he thinks things aren't right -- but then people would laugh at him because he gets mixed-up and is serious about it and that makes me so mad I would like to punch them -- couple times I almost did. If I wasn't so afraid and could, I would tell them what I think ... Frank doesn't seem to care because he could set them really straight."

Frank has many extrovertive tendencies in comparison to the twins who tend to be more alike in a passive-aggressive manner. Frank, we see, is much more sure of himself with people, more emotionally secure, more at ease with people than are the twins who want to get their feelings out to people but have difficulty in doing so. When a youngster Joseph would often get out feeling through his fists and fight. He appears not to have progressed a great deal toward maturity since then as he would like to fight when he says "couple times I almost did". He can't talk-out his feeling to the group and doesn't try. John may try once in awhile, but only becomes frustrated in doing it. Again we see Joseph identify with his twin as he speaks of "us" and wanting Frank to defend "us" when he says "Frank doesn't seem to care because he could really set them straight."

The following is quoted from counseling session number sixteen.

cl. "Like I said a couple weeks ago if I start school again ... Mother asked me about it too. I was surprised! ... I had said something to John about this and she got it from him ... Figure now is as good as any ... feel more like it than before. My girl wants me to go ahead. What do you think?

Co. That is a question you will have to answer yourself. If you feel well up to it by all means do, but I can't know that.

Cl. Well Alice has been after me since I quit to start again. For some reason didn't want to ... Didn't think Mother cared too much one way or another, but she seems to. I knew she wanted me to make good at something like John and Frank.

Co. Your mother really has your best interests at heart.

Cl. Oh Yes -- well sure! Sometimes too much that way like with John. Maybe she realizes she can't just run me ... or else I'm too "thick-headed" and can't take telling ... It seemed good when she brought it up out of a clear sky and we talked about it."

It is interesting here to see how Joseph has nearly come around to making the decision of starting school again. He is not definite yet, but has good support from the sources where he most needs it. His girl friend, of course, has encouraged him, but where he feels it most is from the Mother and here he is "surprisingly" receiving it. We note he is talking over this problem of his with Mother -- something he has been unable to do to any extent previously. He is getting more emotional satisfaction from her it appears. Interesting also is the fact he wants support from the counselor who instead remained neutral as the real essence of the problem is between Joseph and Mother. He is gaining her recognition and attention in a positive healthful manner and at the same time accepting the fact he is much to blame,

as he put it because of "my thick head". (Two weeks later he was again in training at the business school).

Additional sampling of the counseling interviews which gives us a still more complete understanding of Joseph's personality is found in the seventeenth and last interview.

Co. "Would you want to say a little more about how you felt then? (at the time he was wounded).

Cl. I really don't remember -- you mean afterwards?

Co. Yes, what was your general feeling as you recall in regard to being wounded at the time, and afterwards?

Cl. Well I was dazed. My first feeling was just fear -- pretty shook up ... In Sick Bay on the ship was operated on and pain ... remember a few operations later in hospital ... wasn't afraid then ... guess had lots of faith in doctors and the hospital.

Co. When you look back now you feel there was immediate fear, but not while recovering or because of the operations.

Cl. As I say I do recall that much ... maybe in the hospital I was afraid but don't think so ... I remember getting wonderful care ... nurses, doctors, Red Cross, everyone there to talk to and whatever you wanted ... I got to thinking -- thought a lot all the time in bed ... One thing that made me disappointed was thinking all those things, what I was going to do and plans when I got out and then they fell through. It seemed as if I couldn't keep up to what I wanted myself to do.

Co. You feel you were even more disappointed when you got out because things didn't work out as you planned.

Cl. Disappointed! In myself, yes ... then I said it wasn't my fault and tried to make myself think so. It was easy then because people would say it is because of wounds ... I knew better ... If anything that put me a little more straight. In a way I'm glad it happened to me. Between that and coming here to you has helped in getting a good idea of myself and other people.

The client we see was really affected in a positive helpful way by his stay in the hospital. He was not so concerned about his physical disability. The doctors, the nurses, the Red Cross workers all helped to satisfy his emotional needs while in the hospital. In so doing it gave him an opportunity to try to understand himself better as he himself says. He needed further emotional support and assurance after he was released from the hospital from someone who understood him in his striving for emotional security and recognition. He found that support to a considerable extent in the counseling sessions. We see how he has gained a great deal of insight in his previous behavior when he was not taking responsibility for his own actions. What is more he continues to accept the fact that he had this previous unsatisfactory rationalization and is putting in its place a more secure and responsible attitude.

At the end of the seventeenth interview personal counseling was stopped, as it was felt he had progressed to the point where he could satisfactorily continue without it. Even though counseling was stopped, he was left free to return again when and if he felt he really needed it. On the two or three occasions he did return, it was believed his purpose was not for further counseling, but to reassure himself the counselor still would be accepting to him; in other words to feel more sure himself that he really had someone to fall back on again in case he needed it.

By the fall of 1951 -- two and one-half years after counseling had been completed the client had successfully finished his two-year business school course, was happily married, had a position as an accountant clerk and according to reports from his family and himself was leading a successful and satisfying life.

C. PERSONAL COUNSELING WITH JOHN AND ITS INTERPRETATION

John was contacted through his twin. No encouragement and little explanation was needed for John to accept personal counseling. First he had discussed counseling with Joseph while the latter was in the process and second John needed and wanted whatever help he could receive from such counseling. The first session was held June 7, 1951, and weekly thereafter for a total of nine interviews.

John's approach and attitude toward personal counseling can be noted in the first interview.

Cl. "He (client's boss) is giving me the time off during the day so it won't be necessary to come nights. I'll make the time up ... He told me to forget about it, but I still want to.

Co. Looks like you have made satisfactory arrangements. If you run into any snags in regard to your time we can always make other plans.

Cl. Oh no, just so long as I can get in to see you and it is O.K. with Mr. Rice. He would like to come down himself ... he is on edge an awful lot. He was

interested in what this is about because he saw a psychiatrist a couple years ago himself.

Co. That's interesting and it probably makes it easier for him to understand about you coming here.

Cl. Yes, but he knows how much I want to come anyway so he would do his best to let us."

Later in the same interview we quote.

Cl. "I keep busy all the time because I feel better when I do ... Oh other people say relax, but if I see something needs to be done I want to do it and get it over ... After while though it builds up in me it seems and I get nervous, shaking like. I'm at my wits end, don't know what's causing it, don't know what to do, where to turn. Seems as if I can only keep going at that speed for certain time and then I get all tightened up. What makes me get that way? ... My boss is a nice fellow, a great fellow really and we realize these things about one another and it helps to have some one that way. I try to help him out, you know by talking to him ... The only thing is he lets me go too much on my own. I like to do the job, but a lot of the things around there fall on my shoulders. Sure I'm being paid for it, but I would like to have someone direct me -- you know that's what I think he should do. Most of the time when I ask him he tells me to do it the best way I can. Well that's not telling me how to do it. I knew as much in the first place.

Co. I see. The work you feel is all right. It's the doubt in your mind sometimes about how it should be done.

Cl. Well don't you think that is correct? Don't you think if you had something to do you would want to know if it is done the way it should be?

Co. In other words you feel you would like to be on more certain grounds before you go ahead with your work.

Cl. Of course, otherwise I can't work the way I should. It seems I have Mr. Rice's job and my own -- that is when things come up that need settling ... Like we send our buying orders up to Mr. Briggs for the different seasons and we have to put down the estimates for a couple seasons ahead -- we are buying now for next winter and spring -- well I don't mind getting all the information and amounts of our last seasons sales and stock and all that -- then he wants me to make the estimates. I don't like that. I don't mind doing the work but when it comes to doing the deciding, that shouldn't be my job ... he signs for the estimates, but even so..."

Thus we note in the very first interview the contrast in John's approach from that of Joseph's in regards to personal counseling. John speaks openly and frankly and demonstrates he will do most anything "just so long as I can get in to see you (the counselor) and it is O.K. with Mr. Rice" and "he knows how much I want to come anyway so he would do his best to let me".

John knows he has problems, is very willing to come out and plunge immediately into some of them. He has trouble in relaxing, is tense and nervous to the point he shakes at times. He complains about his work and complains about his boss whom John describes as a "nice fellow, a great fellow really". We see John wanting help and direction from his boss, but in turn the boss is leaning on him. There can be no doubt John likes his boss but he seriously complains about him too. John can do the statistical,

clerical work and is quite content and satisfied, but to make decisions, even though he does not have to take the final responsibility for that decision, troubles him greatly.

In the second counseling session John again brings out his feelings towards his work and Mr. Rice, his boss, as well as interjecting his feelings toward a third person, Mr. Mitchell who was John's immediate superior before John's promotion from bookkeeper to assistant buyer. We quote part of the second interview.

Cl. "I always punch in around eight -- time or hour doesn't mean much (working hours are nine to five thirty) and leave around six -- that is most of the time. In rush periods like Christmas I work fifteen, sixteen or more hours a day... If a person likes his work and wants to do a job he shouldn't mind the hours, except the married fellow -- I can't say there. For me I just as soon be at the store as home or in a movie or some place else -- that is if I keep busy you understand ... I get no extra pay and maybe they don't appreciate it ...

Co. You feel then the important thing is interest in your work and not the exact time a person puts in.

Cl. If I owned a business I would hire people to do a job and not for periods of each day. Otherwise it makes people lazy and they only work until the clock runs out -- that isn't the way it should be ... You should do the job and do it the best you can -- that's what you are getting paid for ... by the employer.

Co. If you were in his spot, you feel do unto your employer as you would want your employer to do unto you.

Cl. (Laughing) The Golden Rule ... Well I don't like preaching too much but people need it I can tell you -- I need it. Everyone needs it at one time or another.

Co. I'm inclined to agree with your feelings there if the individual can profit by preaching, criticism in a positive way, but --

Cl. That's what I mean not just to talk for talking sake or something in that order or just criticize ... I tell people if I think it would do them good -- probably I shouldn't. Like people who know me say don't trouble yourself or forget it, but I think they should know. I would want them to tell me. Do you think I am right? It makes me feel good to have other people give me their advice and I do what they say ... it may not always work out."

Later in the same interview we note:

Cl. "Mr. Rice and I do most of the work ourselves ... If you ask someone to do it by the time you go back and check over their work and find where they made mistakes you waste more time than by doing it yourself in the first place ... Everyone makes mistakes, but I would rather do it myself ... We should have two more helping us, but Mr. Rice and I decided to do even the check ins and outs ourselves. Of course it takes time, no doubt about it -- this way though you don't have to be telling them what to do and be accountable for them.

Co. You feel the fewer you have under you the better.

Cl. Not exactly -- well I suppose you could say that. (Pause) I didn't seem to think so until I came up with Mr. Rice. Of course with the bookkeeper's job I just had the stock boy.

Co. You feel the bookkeeper's job wasn't a very good test.

Cl. Not for that -- not to know if I liked people to

work for me. I never believed I was very forceful or anything like that ... I think you have to be (Pause) --

Co. I see -- in other words you wonder if you have these traits --

Cl. That's what you heard so much about in the Navy and I know I was never any good at it. I can take orders if they are given in right way ... Mr. Mitchell (John's former superior in the Auditing Department) is my idea. He always knew the "score" and was willing to help you out. He was strict in lots of ways and you had to keep your end of the job up. Some complained about him -- the lazy ones I guess.

Co. Even a person like Mr. Mitchell couldn't satisfy everyone you feel.

Cl. No one can do that. I liked working for him. He put the law down, but for your own good and he was interested in you too. I wish Mr. Rice was more like him -- you know more sure and definite and really direct you and tell you like Mr. Mitchell did."

We see from the above the considerable interest and motivation John has in his work. He has an excellent sense of responsibility, but at the same time he carries this responsibility to such an extent as to interfere with his mental health. His work is almost a compulsion to him as he excludes outside and recreational activities, saying, "For me, just as soon be at the store as home or in the movies or some other place -- that's if I keep busy". Again this appears to be in direct contrast to Joseph. He was idle while in the early process of counseling. One wonders at this point if John's extreme loyalty and his

need to keep working isn't a defense mechanism against his own anxieties. We see further evidence of this when he and Mr. Rice must do all the work themselves.

John wants and needs a supervisor who is a decisive, mature, stable, aggressive and dominant individual. He himself lacks these qualities. This is brought out when he talks about Mr. Rice, his present boss, who also lacks these qualities, and his former supervisor, Mr. Mitchell who has them. John likes Mr. Rice as a person, but as a superior Mr. Rice does not fulfill John's needs, hence his ambivalence toward Mr. Rice.

Going to counseling session three and then skipping to session six we understand John's feelings and reaction towards his mother and brothers.

Cl. "I asked Joe a little more about how things went with him here ... He said he did all the talking so I suppose I'm not too far off base. I have been doing it all. It kind'a feels good talking to some one like you ... depends on who you talk to ...

Co. You are doing very well -- go right ahead.

Cl. Of course Joe thinks I'm the one. To me I have to do my best to keep up with him. He just didn't talk so much around home, and away he does plenty.

Co. You feel he does when he wants to.

Cl. Well for some reason he was different anyway. I think most people are like that ... When Mother asked him about something he just wouldn't say a thing.

He is different today. Mother couldn't get to first base with him ... Maybe she tried too hard with him. You know my mother can. If she wants something she goes after it. Something I don't do.

Co. Your mother is a "go-getter" you feel.

Cl. Well she is about lots of things. It's a good thing for our family because the rest of us are not. You would think at least one of her sons would be a little more like her. Frank probably is. Not Joe or myself."

Thus John realizes very much he and Joseph respond differently, but actually they are very much alike. He knew also there was something between the mother and Joseph. However, what it was he didn't quite know except, "Maybe she tried too hard with him". The father was significantly not mentioned by John at this time or at any previous or subsequent session. Again we see the mother to be the dominant, aggressive, figure of the household.

Turning to counseling session six we quote:

Cl. "She always wanted us to make something of ourselves ... And going to college would have pleased Mother more than anything. I could have too with the G.I. but for some reason I didn't think I would fit in there very well -- don't know -- maybe I didn't have enough confidence. The tests with vocational adviser were good because he recommended I go. I still think I would have been out of place.

Co. You feel you had the ability but not the confidence.

Cl. Well I would get sort of angry at myself for

being that way -- it made me feel bad, very bad and would get me down in the dumps. Seemed to me other fellows had more than I did, you know not especially money but other things. Even now they seem so free and more happy-go-lucky. My parents are wonderful and I wouldn't trade them for anything. They just didn't get the breaks like some people. I know as kids we had very little and Mother always reminded us about being poor and it would be on my mind.

Co. You feel while growing up you were impressed by what others had and you didn't.

Cl. Not so much with what other people had as with what Mother always said we didn't. We weren't really so bad off ... sometimes I think she made it worse. I know she did now.

Co. I see what you mean.

Cl. There were other people worse off than we ... and that didn't make things easier by complaining. Probably I shouldn't be saying this. Maybe I should just put it out of my mind.

Co. Really something you don't care to remember.

Cl. You know (Pause) -- As I was thinking the last few days the way you look upon things now and the way you looked upon them as a kid is a big difference. Then I wouldn't question whatever she said -- I mean even when I was in high school -- I believed she was absolutely right, but now I find fault, maybe too much. She means the best as all mothers do. I blow-up at poor Mom and I don't think it's all my fault. She expects too much at times. Yeah, I do too, so it's the same.

Co. Sort of a fifty-fifty proposition you feel.

Cl. When I think about the whole thing calmly it certainly is. What I catch myself doing lately is being obstinate like ... You know doing things just the opposite from what she likes. That had better stop.

Maybe she isn't always right but no use getting that way about it and blowing up. She has good common sense and I know I like her advice even if at times I say I don't."

We skipped from counseling session three to six as these parts seemed so closely related. As John knew there was some conflict between the mother and Joseph as brought out in session number three, so too in session number six John brings out a conflict between himself and mother. He speaks about a lack of confidence, an inferior feeling toward people his own age which he so closely ties up with his mother. He put the responsibility for this feeling directly on the shoulders of the mother. He became to feel inferior "not so much with what other people had as with what Mother always said we didn't". However, feeling and saying this makes for guilt feelings also on his part, so he says, "Probably I shouldn't be saying this" and "Maybe I should just put it out of my mind". Nevertheless he continues unfolding these feelings towards mother. His mother's complaining and demanding feelings are then, partially at least, resolved by him in bringing out and recognizing his own demanding feelings and says, "Yeah, I do too so it's the same".

In the last client response much significant feeling is brought out and recognized by John. Interestingly enough this parallels the feelings and reaction of Joseph up to the

recent past. John relates he has been rebelling more and more against his mother -- "What I catch myself doing lately is being obstinate like". He as an adult now can no longer be treated as a child by the dominating mother, but at the same time he cannot handle this situation adequately so he reacts by, "You know doing things just the opposite from what she likes". This same "negativistic", "opposite" reaction had been one of Joseph's main defenses all through his life. It is now clearly seen in John. At the same time John verbalizes he actually likes to be dominated by his mother as he says, "I know I like her advice even if at times I say I don't". It is this conflict of wanting and yet not wanting that underlies some of his feeling toward the Mother and causing him to "blow-up" as John describes it. It is a battle of his dependent feelings against his independent feelings as it particularly relates to Mother in this instance.

On a number of occasions John kept asking and pressing the counselor for some rules he might follow to overcome his problems such as the following taken from parts of counseling session four.

cl. "Mad! I get real mad ... I want to tell them 'off'. To give you some idea -- now just get this -- just before I came here there were three or four salesmen in the office. They weren't doing anything, just sitting around talking, laughing, smoking -- well with them being there made me sore and I wanted to tell them 'off'. Of

course I didn't and never would, but why should I get that way. There was no real harm I could see. Maybe I envied them because I couldn't be more like them. In lots of ways I would like to be -- but why should I get like I do. It gets me -- gets me so --.

Co. You feel lots of things upset you.

Cl. Seems I'm upset most of the time -- well more than I should be I know ... Isn't there something I can do about it? I mean can you give me some way or some idea on how to go about so I won't be this way?

Co. You feel some suggestion by me may help.

Cl. Now you have seen me all these times and with all the things I told you about myself, you could tell me what I may be doing wrong -- couldn't you do that? (Pause)

Co. Well that -- I don't know as I could or should at this point or any other point. However, I think the really important thing here is not my opinion or feeling in the matter, but rather how you feel about the many things that trouble you and how you are able to talk about them so as to bring them out in the open -- to have more or less a better look at them."

Then later in the same counseling session we quote:

Cl. "I think you could tell me things about myself that I may not know and if I don't know them, how am I going to make or correct them if you don't tell me?

Co. I see what you mean. As I said a couple weeks ago I am sure I could tell you something about yourself which you may not realize and at the same time you could tell me things about myself which I don't realize or don't want to realize. However, I don't feel just telling you about these feelings or you telling me about mine would help either of us in the end. I can see where it might even do harm."

The major point here is the client, pressed by his own problems, wants a solution. He wants them resolved quickly

and directly for which we can hardly blame him. The counselor not having the power or the formula for such tries to point this out to the client. Nevertheless, John still persisted and felt the counselor should give him this aid. John's approach is very direct. We note in returning to counseling session seven with Joseph, a similar situation presents itself. Instead of coming out directly and questioning the counselor, Joseph wants more time with the counselor and feels each time "this will be it when I get myself straightened out". Both demonstrate feelings of dependency, but the methods used in expressing them were different.

We turn our attention to counseling session five and quote part of it to clarify more of John's feelings.

Cl. "When I get them (headaches), if they are bad I'm in another world it seems -- dazed! I do whatever I am supposed to but not the way a person should ... and it seems the last year or so they have been worse and more often.

Co. How often do you get them?

Cl. Too often to suit me.

Co. I can well believe that.

Cl. I would say once or twice a week -- just can't say. If I take aspirin I get no relief. At one time I thought they helped, but no more. (Pause) I notice they come more on weekends than during the week. Lots of times I seem to have them on Sundays and my afternoon off. Funny but at work I don't get them nearly as much.

Co. Certainly seems unusual -- doesn't it?

Cl. Yeah, you would think when I have so much on my mind and more under pressure I would get them. Maybe it's like a person feels before a game -- all excited and after it starts he calms down.

Co. You feel this analogy might apply to your headache difficulty.

Cl. Probably not -- because when I think about it -- well it doesn't seem to be that way. I don't know what really causes these headaches. (Client has had complete x-ray examination on two occasions in past year). Do you think my nerves could really be the cause of them?

Co. I think it entirely possible. Our emotions can cause all kinds of difficulties.

Cl. At first I didn't, but now I think that may be the reason.

Co. M - hm.

Cl. It may be. What am I going to do about it? It's bad to know when you can't see what causes it but still worse when you know and can't do anything about it.

Co. You feel then your problems are almost too much for you.

Cl. If I can't do anything about making myself less nervous -- that's really what I have been looking for -- to be less nervous. You see -- can't you, Mr. B. do something -- you know (John at this point begins to visibly shake and is unable to talk).

Co. I understand your feelings and I know how you must feel -- it's very, very hard on you. I am sure though in the end this will be of some help even if I can't do something for you right now. (Long pause)

Cl. You really think, think so then?

Co. Yes, but at the same time it is our own self that will have to do the changing. All we can expect to do here for you is to get a better realization of yourself and your feelings."

In this last series of responses in session five the client is coming to grips with his symptoms but is having a great deal of trouble facing and accepting the very strong possibility his emotions are the basis for his severe headaches. To add to his confusion, if his emotions are causing the headaches, he wonders why do they come on while away from work. He may be able to face somewhat the idea his work was affecting his emotions. On the job he has "so much on my mind and more under pressure". To put it another way, although he himself did not so state, the client has these headaches while he is home on Sundays as practically all his time away from work is spent in the home. At home too, supposedly, he could relax and be less tense than at work. Significantly enough the headaches have become worse in the past year while John has been trying to gain more emotional independence from Mother. Then also as he comes to realize his emotions may be the cause of his difficulties, so too he becomes more upset until he reaches the near breaking point and his arms and legs and body tremble. He is extremely frustrated and, in his own mind, helpless. There is a great deal of hostility at this time toward the counselor as the counselor has brought the client around to the point of knowing the basis for his trouble without freeing him from this same trouble. This is clearly

explained when John states, "It's bad to know when you can't see what causes it, but still worse when you know and can't do anything about it." The hostility mentioned above is not expressed by the client as such, but is demonstrated when he attempts to address the counselor on three or four occasions, but is completely blocked. At this point the counselor tries to help him ease his anxieties, but the reassurance given was not enough at this time as we shall see.

After this interview another appointment was made as usual for the following week. The client failed to report at this time. No word was heard from him for nearly three weeks when he phoned, asking if he could return. He was extremely apologetic for interrupting adding this was not like him to do such a thing without notifying someone. He was given another appointment for the following week. However, he gave no reason or excuse for missing his counseling hour. For him to give a reason would have been interesting, but not necessary in order to gain an understanding for the interruption. In short, we suppose he could not continue at that time to face the emotional pain and confusion which he was experiencing. His emotional stress during counseling was then at its greatest. Pertinent too is the fact he in no way communicated with the counselor's office until several weeks later even though afterwards it was learned he was extremely con-

cerned in returning to counseling. This type of behavior has been previously attributed to his twin rather than himself.

When John again resumed counseling, session six, we discover some interesting facts. The first part of the interview was concerned with client's continued apologies and expression of guilt feelings over missing his past appointment. Later the discussion follows:

Cl. "I guess I couldn't take it probably -- everything was a damn mess and I didn't know what I should do ... and instead of feeling better I felt wicked. Sometimes I use to feel better after getting things off my mind -- last time was a lot different for some reason or other.

Co. M - hm.

Cl. If this ever happens again I'll let you know.

Co. Well, all right."

As stated above, our supposed evidence was correct in relation to the client's reasons for interruption, "I guess I couldn't take it probably". We continue with interview six.

Cl. "After work (yesterday) instead of going home I went over to see Joe for a change.

Co. Invited over for dinner?

Cl. No, ate down town and then went over ... He really has it made in some ways having his own place and his own boss (smiled) -- more like his wife is boss. I mean he can feel pretty good with what he has.

Judging by his weight he likes his life -- gained fifteen since he got married ...

Co. You feel married life agrees with him more than a little.

Cl. Sure does -- marriage seems to agree with a lot of people. I wouldn't mind being in his spot."

We again skip several responses.

Cl. "My main reason was (going over to Joseph's house) to see about this blueprint we were talking about last week for the boat we want to build. Might as well get some fun out of life. Joe and I don't know much about building boats -- not as much as we knew about sailing them at one time ... Joe seemed to think I wouldn't go through with it because he says I am too tied up with my job -- that was last week. I know I can't go on like I have been with my job and this is just the thing for me. Joe won't do it without me and I won't do it without him -- be a good thing for both of us."

Then toward the end of the interview we note the following:

Cl. "Like I said a few times -- well, when I talk to someone I like or someone who knows me and knows what I say -- well it sort'a makes me feel pretty good. That's the way it seemed when I got home last night. I didn't do a darn thing, but it seemed I really did something (in talking to Joe).

Co. It's almost like a feeling of accomplishment -- not the usual way though.

Cl. That's a good word for it ... because all the time I work, come home, get up, go to work, come home, day after day. I just catch myself doing this without realizing how I'm living.

Co. Sort of a monotonous routine you feel.

Cl. Well not only that -- you just get in a hole, a rut. I work too hard at one thing. Everyone needs a little variety of activities, oh, not an awful lot but enough to keep a balance.

Co. Yes, that's excellent advice. The important point there is how well we are able to keep up this proper balance of activity.

Cl. I can see why some people couldn't because they don't have the time or money. Sometimes I thought I didn't have time to get out and do things, but now I'm going to find time. I feel more like it.

Co. Then you feel the desire and wanting to do something is really very important.

Cl. Yeah, that's about it -- just like -- well the real reason I went over to Joe's home last few times wasn't so much about the boat. We will build that. I wanted to talk to Joe. I can talk to Mother any time. You know how mothers are. Well I was thinking about getting a room away from home. The last thing I would think of doing would be to hurt Mom and she would be if I moved. If I moved I figured I would be on my own and feel a little more independent. Mom does too much for me and I know how terrible she would feel if I didn't stay home ... Besides I can't be running to her with all my problems like I do. Don't you think I'm just tied too much to my mother?

Co. I see -- I don't think I should be the judge here.

Cl. Couldn't you give me your ideas?

Co. I know you are wondering but that's really a decision of yours -- this thing about being tied down too much.

Cl. Well I think I am -- I know I am! Don't you think it would be a good idea if I did find a place of my own? Mom would feel bad at first, but she would get over it. I really don't want to either, but I just think it best. Don't you think so?

Co. Let me ask this question in return -- what, if any, good purpose would be served to leave your home? If you want my opinion you would not feel any better living away from home than you do at home. We don't just change our feelings by going off some place thinking we will be a different person in this new place. We still have to live with ourselves no matter where we are. It's our own attitudes and feeling that need changing generally and not a change so much in our own physical environment.

Cl. You are right -- when I look at myself the way you put it. (Pause)

Co. I see our time has run out ... You can think about this during the week."

In commenting on counseling session six the most striking part of the picture is the change in John's attitude since he interrupted his counseling three weeks previous. True, his basic dependent and yet aggressive personality is as prevalent as ever, but his handling of his more difficult feelings are being faced and his reaction somewhat more healthy. The very fact he can approach the counselor again is one small sign.

He has demonstrated he can and is being less compulsive both in regard to his work and his home. He ate his dinner downtown, away from home. He has been visiting Joseph's home where he is developing interests. He expresses a healthy envy toward his twin who has a wife and a small home. He states, "Marriage seems to agree with a lot of people. I wouldn't mind being in his spot". These are all minor points, but they are significant when

taken with many other considerations. He talks about having fun, but his twin brother is dubious about this. He wants to be more emotional independent from Mother, but doesn't know exactly how to obtain this since he realizes he likes the dependence on Mother. For example he talks about leaving home saying, "Mom would feel bad at first, but she would get over it. I really don't want to either, but I just think it best. Don't you think so?" He wants to think a physical change will have a corresponding change in his feelings and is asking for support in regard to this wishful thinking.

In a positive, fruitful manner he is starting a closer relationship with his twin and talking over his problems with the twin rather than the mother. At the same time John has established a relationship with the counselor. In other words he is transferring his feelings from Mother to Joseph and the counseling situation. In the last few responses the counselor structures the interview as well as interprets some of John's confused dependent feelings. He accepts both -- verbally at least. To conclude our comment here we should note the contrast in counseling session five and session six. In interview six there is not the tension or anxiety toward the client's problems as existed in the previous session. Instead in

interview six he has come to the point of taking more satisfying action.

In counseling session seven John appeared more buoyant and cheerful. First, he said he had been thinking more about his reasons and purpose for leaving home. He remained ambivalent toward this. The client related, however, he wouldn't move at present and added he thinks he will solve his problem when he finds a "good excuse" to move. One possibility was a transfer with his company to a store in a nearby city. He is concerned over this problem, but appears to be more patient and confident he can handle it. Soon afterwards John went into a discussion about his earlier life as we shall see below.

Co. "As I understand you are saying you remember feeling much the same as a child as you do today.

Cl. Well I guess so, yes!

Co. M - hm.

Cl. Why shouldn't I?

Co. That's right -- after all you are still the same person.

Cl. If I want to be truthful I would have to say I don't think I am much different today than I was fifteen or so years ago -- is anyone?

Co. That's a good question.

Cl. Sure we all have different ideas about life and stuff as we grow older. What I mean, Mr. C., I don't think I was ever too happy.

Co. I see. (Long pause) You have been thinking about this?

Cl. Lots of times -- as long as I can remember I always have been busy doing something ... In school I did my work better than most kids because I worked. Now that I look back everything was that way. Seems as if I was looking for something and working to get it but never found what it was and still haven't ... When I got my job, the job I have now -- I should have felt pretty good about it because this was a good promotion, but I didn't.

Co. It seems as if something is lacking. Is that the feeling?

Cl. Yeah (Pause).

Co. Have you ever thought through what it could be?

Cl. I have, but don't seem able -- maybe you could give me some clues.

Co. I might.

Cl. Well, I think, and this really sounds bad, I am a coward at heart ... That hurt me when kids called me a coward. I never wanted to fight. I thought, why should I. Some of the kids seemed to pick on me probably because they knew I wouldn't fight and I was better in school.

Co. Some of the boys, you feel, were real bullies knowing you wouldn't fight back.

Cl. Yeah, I was afraid. I should have, like my brothers -- wanted to lots of times -- at least give it back once in a while ... Mother always told us don't fight with other kids -- always kept harping, stay away from fights. Maybe that was the reason Joe got into so many scraps -- just because Mom was against it so much.

Co. You feel your mother was pretty strict with you children and that didn't help matters.

Cl. I can see her point. I don't want to blame her for everything. I never wanted to fight anyway, never much reason that I could see. Now seems like I get mad at people for no reason.

Co. Quite a change there.

Cl. Yeah, but it's my own fault -- if I wouldn't be afraid -- even to tell people what I think -- I tell them, but not what I think -- that's the trouble. I should let myself go and really give out.

Co. You feel you are holding back too much then.

Cl. And how! I haven't ever told anyone this before.

Co. Even on this score you have held yourself back.

Cl. If I could think like Frank I wouldn't mind, but then I get so ruffled and excited."

We skip several responses here so we might quote some more pertinent feelings.

Cl. "Of course I never chased around as much as Joe did. I always thought someone should be home.

Co. You felt more responsible towards your mother.

Cl. Oh well, maybe -- but she seemed to want me to be around -- to do things for her. She felt bad when she was alone because she never wanted to be.

Co. You felt sorry for your mother.

Cl. Well no -- Mom can take care of herself ... I mean she is the boss ..."

As the client talks he sees himself pretty much, at least in one respect, the same today as he was as a child -- unhappy. He exhibits hostility toward the counselor as

he comes to talk about this unpleasant feeling. To him happiness has been something he has been trying very hard to gain. If work alone would be the answer he should have had it. Work did gain him promotion, but not the joy and satisfaction which one ordinarily thinks should come with job advancement. What is the cause of his trouble? Why does he not receive the satisfaction he should? We can shed a great deal of light on the causes as we go along.

The client gives us the answers if we analyze his statements. Before the counselor had a chance to interpret or "give him some clues" of some of his feeling, the client plunged directly into his own thinking about the matter. He relates he is a "coward at heart", "I was afraid", "I never wanted to fight", "Mother told us never fight, always kept harping stay away from fights", "don't want to blame her for everything", "never any reason for fighting", "now get mad at people for no reason", "get ruffled and excited", "seems if I was looking for something and never found what it was and still haven't". On the other hand he states, "I should have (fought) -- like my brother would have -- at least give it back once in a while", "I should let myself go"; "If I wouldn't be afraid -- even to tell people what I think -- I tell them but not what I think";

"I never chased around as much as Joe did"; "Mother wanted me around"; "she is the boss".

Yes, the patient is very near the heart of difficulties. We see examples of a very over-protective, dominant mother making a basically dependent, passive boy more dependent and passive. This was carried to such an extent he could not even rid himself occasionally of his natural hostility. To this day he is bound-up with his unexpressed hostility and for example, "now get mad at people for no reason". Instead of helping him gain confidence and emotional security, the mother, without realizing her part, subjects him to more insecurity.

Counseling session eight was held two weeks later due to counselor's changed itinerary. In reviewing this interview we note the client talked about being somewhat upset this past week as his mother wasn't feeling very well. She asked that he stay home from work last Thursday morning until she felt better. This he stated he could not do. Again on Sunday morning he had planned a fishing trip, but the mother requested he not go even though the father and brother, Frank, were home. The mother's illness was vaguely described as, "I don't know what -- just all nerves". He did not pursue this line of thought a great deal further other than to say he and Frank plan on having

a cleaning lady come in once a week to help with the house work.

In going on further he talked mostly about his increased activities in past two weeks. One was three dates with a girl, the first in over five months. Secondly, he spoke about the cooperative boat construction among his twin, a friend and himself. After this the counselor brought up the question:

Co. "How are things going at work?"

Cl. Just about the same -- there can't be any difference there. Mr. Rice is his same old self ... The guys have a new nick-name for him, "Mr. Pencil". He always carries a pencil. He doesn't know they call him that, but he will. I had to laugh when I first heard it."

Later in the same interview the client remarked:

Cl. (Pause) "Looks like I talked myself out of things to say."

Co. Sometimes it's a good feeling -- isn't it?

Cl. Yeah, maybe so. (Pause)

Co. I see we are near the end again.

Cl. Gee, that's right. How much longer does this go on?

Thus we note there are many encouraging signs pointing

in the direction of a change for the better within John. He continues to enjoy more outside activity particularly in company with his twin. John is going out with a girl friend again. Lately he says nothing about his work until asked by the counselor and then in substances he says -- everything is the same. Nevertheless, everything is not the same. It is as far as Mr. Rice is concerned. However, we see John's own attitude is different. Whereas a few months ago he showed much anxiety and concern and both like and dislike toward Mr. Rice, the client can now relax to a point where, at times, he can get an objective humorous outlook toward his boss.

Then there is other evidence he no longer feels the same nervous pressure and tension he formerly felt. John relates, "Looks like I have talked myself out of things to say". This is followed by, "How much longer does this go on?" He decides to come in at least one more time.

Significantly while John is gaining more emotional independence, the mother becomes more "all nerves" in the process. For one thing we suspect her own need for dominating is not being fulfilled as much.

In coming to the final counseling session John was

less enthusiastic than he was a few weeks previous. He came in about ten minutes late without offering an excuse except, "I mailed a few letters." On other visits he arrived exactly on time or a few minutes before. He began talking about things other than himself, including the current events of the day, in spite of counselor's attempt to lead the client into talking about his feelings. Later the counselor suggested the interview be terminated early since this may be the last one and since the client appeared to have other things to do. He immediately responded with an emphatic no and soon again was attempting to take up the real purpose for which this appointment was made. However, before this proceeded very far he asked:

Cl. "Do you think I should come back next week? I mean do you think it might be a good idea?"

Co. If you want -- we can take that up later.

Cl. What do you think about every other week?"

After more reassurance by the counselor, the client again talked about his mother. However, this time he brought out other feelings in regard to the mother's situation.

Cl. "He (Frank) should do more when he gets home. The big lug just sits down and does whatever he pleases.

Co. You feel he could do more.

Cl. When he wants he just takes off. No one says anything either. If I did that Mom and Frank would both be after me, I suppose.

Co. You feel there is a difference there -- I mean what is expected from you and what is expected from Frank.

Cl. That's right ... He tells me, why don't you go out? ... Nothing is holding you here. I feel there is.

Co. I see.

Cl. I don't know -- maybe there isn't. He says I just like to talk. I can't see that either. He takes a lot for granted I think."

In talking about the same topic later in the interview John states:

Cl. "I noticed when I'm not there (home) Frank helps out -- he is not lazy. I wonder..."

Near the end of the hour the subject of continuing counseling was discussed. Finally it was agreed a tentative appointment was to be made for two weeks hence. Any time before then John was to decide whether he would return or not and then phone the counselor in regard to

his decision. It was made clear to the client he could return any other time he so desired, but at the same time he was informed within two months the counselor would be moving to another area of the country. After that it would be physically impossible for any further counseling.

Thus in the ninth interview, first of all, an outward, but not a true change in the attitude of John appeared. He tried to be casual about the counseling. His apparent indifference developed into a testing ground of the counselor. The client, realizing this may be the last session, felt some natural rejection from the counselor. When the counselor offered the suggestion the interview be terminated early, and placing the responsibility for such on the client, the client immediately then came out with his real feelings. Thereafter the counselor reassured John of the relationship between them and the counseling proceeded with a purpose. His dependency on the counseling session is rather clearly demonstrated as he realizes he is nearing the end of counseling and yet doesn't want to stop. He says, "Do you think I should come back next week?" Also his indecisiveness at the end of the interview

in regards to terminating counseling exhibits still further the type of dependency. This we recall parallels closely Joseph's same feelings and reaction at the end of his counseling. To establish another parallel we should note the above mentioned "testing the counselor", so to speak was, a favorite technique used by the twin, Joseph. We did not see it as frequently with John, however.

In addition the pertinent feelings which John brought out in the final interview were in regard to Frank's attitude toward the home situation and particularly toward Mother. John felt more was expected from him than Frank. John wants to feel this is because "the big lug just sits down and does what he pleases". However, upon further examination he sees Frank encouraging the client go "go out", he sees Frank helping out more when John is not home, and finally he sees Frank as not being lazy. The client justly wonders.

D. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS OF THE M-TWINS FINDINGS

We have here an interesting set of identical twins about whose personality we have much meaning and understanding of both conscious and unconscious feelings.

First let us briefly examine the setting in which these twins developed. Family consisted of the mother, father and a brother, Frank, two years older than the twins. The family, all during the twins' adolescence and pre-adolescence years, was in a very poor economic status with the father unemployed much of the time. The father, who is basically passive and retiring, developed a severe psychosis for which he was hospitalized for about a year. At this time the twins were nine years old. A year or so after hospitalization he was again employed and since has made a marginal adjustment. The father was not capable of taking his proper place within the family due to his mental condition and for all practical purposes of social inter-action he exerted no positive influence. The mother, an intelligent woman, not only played the part of mother but the father as well. Besides giving rather objective information regarding the interpersonal relationship of the family, the brother, Frank also proved valuable, to some degree, as a control or a person to whom we can in some respect compare the twins, other than themselves.

Over all the mother thought the twins were very different in their behavior, as indeed they were, as we

discovered from the several counseling sessions. Frank agreed they were different, but not to the degree or in the same manner as did the mother. He seemed to sense underneath all their feelings the twins were much more alike. Thus as we come to the beginning of counseling we note their different manner of approach. Joseph appeared very reluctant in accepting the benefits of counseling; John coming out and verbally asking and desiring such. Subsequently we see Joseph wanted counseling as much as did John. This is but one of the many examples whereby Joseph uses this type of defense reaction. He tries to cover up his true feelings. We see this time and again. In counseling session seven he wanted more time with the counselor, but would never so state; in interview three he related other people thought he was content to continue his unproductive life, but inwardly we saw an altogether different feeling. Actually he was extremely discontent and unhappy. Frank, to a large extent, understood Joseph and realized his true feelings. However, Frank and Joseph, on the other hand, believed John would come out with his true feelings and not try to cover up. From observation we would gather this to be true as Joseph states in counseling session four,

"John would try to convince them otherwise with all his might". Nevertheless, we see the true reaction and feeling as it comes to a climax in interview seven with John. He does "talk" and "tries to convince them", but he does not come out with or talk about things he feels very deeply. "I tell them, but not what I think -- that's the trouble".

Thus both twins try to cover up their real feelings; both have this same defense, but their manner of "covering-up" their feeling is different. Joseph would deny his true feelings or withdraw, John would substitute his true feelings and talk about something more acceptable. This is in contrast to Frank who meets people easily and well and has the minimum of defenses.

Probably the most significant and contrasting behavior between the twins is Joseph's over negativistic reactions and John's conformist reactions. These two types of reaction will be considered particularly in their relation to authority. We find the twins differ greatly here; one twin going to one extreme, the other twin to the other extreme. The counseling record is overflowing in such behavior. John received excellent grades in

school, Joseph received very poor grades; John was never punished, Joseph was often punished; John worked very hard, Joseph was lazy; John was very obedient, Joseph was often disobedient; John was very compulsive, Joseph was not; John had a keen sense of responsibility toward his home, Joseph appeared not to have such. We could go on naming other examples which the record affords. Such behavior being so obvious the mother quite naturally concluded this was due to differences in basic personality. In analyzing the counseling sessions a totally different and clear picture is presented. Actually Joseph did not want to act so negative and neither did John want to conform so positive. In session nine, to give one example, after Joseph talked about much of his negativistic behavior he then relates, "I should never have been that way. I never wanted to really." One of a number of instances whereby John wanted to be less of a conformist is demonstrated in interview seven. "I was afraid. I should have (fought) like my brothers -- wanted to lots of times -- at least give it back once in a while ... Mother always told us don't fight". Both the negativistic and conformist type of behavior of the respective twins

has proved to be of great difficulty for them. This is particularly true as it relates to their feelings toward Mother as we saw in the counseling sessions and as we will try to point out and summarize a little later.

We noted the above mentioned behaviors were opposite reactions, yet they stem from the same basic source. Both twins received recognition from such. However, their own great emotional insecurity and basic passive-dependent feelings were responsible for carrying their behavior to extremes.

But why this great deal of insecurity toward their passive dependent feelings as we see it all through the twins' records? Broadly speaking, in trying to work out and resolve these passive-dependent feelings the twins were blocked as the inter-personal relationships within the family were such as to tend to make for poor mental health. We will develop this more fully.

First the father was unable to take his proper place in the family group. Hence the twins were rejected by him. Secondly, the mother, a dominant, aggressive person, was too much an overprotective, dominant figure. If the child could not accept her overprotection, which Joseph could not or would not, then he too would be rejected by

the mother as well. His passive-dependent feelings then had to be worked out without the help of his parents. If the twin did accept the overprotection of Mother as John did, rather than be rejected by her then he, in the end, would feel more dependent, passive and insecure. Therefore, whether the twin was accepted or rejected by mother the basic feelings of the twins would have extreme difficulty in resolving themselves satisfactorily. This is not a censure or criticism of the well-meaning mother. We are only interested with cold facts useful in furtherance of knowledge.

Thus when Joseph could not accept his mother's dominance even as a child, and the father too sick to form any father-son relationship, Joseph was alone emotionally. He could not feel the recognition and emotional security he needed and, therefore, attempted to gather it by his unsatisfactory and many times anti-social behavior. John, having the same basic emotional make-up as Joseph, tried to satisfy his needs by over-conventional behavior within the narrow emotional confines of mother. Frank, however, did not have the same emotional drives. He came into the world far more self-sufficient and hence was able to cope with the mentally unhealthy family situation.

The central figure in the lives of the twins is mother and it is here, with mother, they need to work out their feelings and problems to a more satisfactory conclusion. In so many places we see the feelings between twin and mother establishing the core of the twin's behavior. Both John and Joseph had completed a number of counseling interviews before mother was even mentioned. When she was mentioned the feelings were deep and painful -- so painful that Joseph broke down and cried; John shook and trembled. The crisis in each case was the deep feelings expressed between twin and mother. Specifically in the case of Joseph we see the crisis in session nine. "She never really cared too much about me like she did him ... I wanted to be (much feeling) -- I wanted to get back at her so I did the things she didn't like (crying)." In John's case we note the gradual build-up of feeling towards mother and in session five he could no longer tolerate this. He asks the counselor to do something about it and still not receiving sufficient relief finally trembles and is unable to continue talking. Then he interrupts his counseling for several weeks.

Each twin, after their respective crisis, made

good progress from the standpoint of counseling. From this time as we note their outward thinking and behavior begin to be less in contrast. For example Joseph begins to think about work again, John tends to be less compulsive toward his work; Joseph is beginning to think about his home in a positive and helpful manner, John seems a little more relaxed toward his supposed responsibilities in the home.

Here we come to an important finding. Although we note in both twins a change in thinking and behavior we cannot detect the slightest change in the basic feelings of either twin. They are just as passive, just as dependent and wanting to be dominated in an adult fashion. The change we see is their ability to cope with these feelings in a more satisfying and socially accepted manner.

They sublimated more and more as a means of adjustment after much of the guilt feelings of Joseph and the hostile feelings of John, toward the mother, had been worked through. Once the twins were comparatively free of much of these painful feelings, they used the following to lean upon for emotional support. Both used the counseling situation as can be seen clearly with Joseph particularly in session seven; John in session five. In fact, we see at times

this dependence on counseling in nearly every interview. Joseph works out some of his dependent feelings through his fiancée who later becomes his wife. We note from the counseling record she is more of a dominant, aggressive figure than is Joseph. In this respect she is not unlike Joseph's own mother. John and Joseph have become much closer and are coming to depend more on each other for emotional support. They are talking over their problems with one another rather than John running to mother with his every problem or Joseph staying as far away from mother as he possibly can. Of course since Joseph has married his situation would change. He is in a more emotionally secure position than John as Joseph has the well accepted support of his wife. Nevertheless the twins are still reciprocal in their relationship.

Before, during and after counseling our evidence points to the fact Joseph was the better adjusted of the twins. It is true, like John, Joseph had many emotional problems. However, Joseph had more patience, less anxious, better able to make friends, fewer complaints, more efficient in mental activity, and he did not become as depressed as did John. We remember Joseph as the rejected one and consequently early in life had to adapt himself by one means

or another to find relationships outside his own home. In other words he learned early to substitute and make friends, good or bad, but those nevertheless were made. John was so much tied-up, so much dominated by mother, he could not. As he became an adult he still had not acquired this emotional skill. Finally at the different times of his emotional emancipation from mother he had extreme difficulty, though this was not the outward expression. We see an excellent example of this behavior at the time the twins were in the Navy. Joseph liked and enjoyed the Service, John disliked the Service. Yet, John, according to external signs, was more of a success. John was never involved in any difficulty and worked his way up to become a petty officer. Joseph had disciplinary action brought against him and was never promoted.

At this point we should note the therapeutic value Joseph's hospitalization had upon him. His injuries and subsequent long hospitalization proved to be such an emotional asset to him since it gave him the recognition, care and understanding he always needed but never before experienced.

The most striking lesson we learn from this set of

identical twins is as their emotional difficulties tend to become less troublesome the less is the contrast in behavior. We are able to see this particularly at the time John was in his last three or four counseling sessions. He is beginning to think less compulsively about his work and is starting to enjoy the company of his twin. There is the small, but significant boat building episode. John is confiding in his twin and the twin in turn is confiding in John. John realizes and appreciates, material and spiritual, things which Joseph has and which John now wants. It is not brother, Frank whom the twins react to but to one another. We notice even in their work they are following along the same lines. Finally, Joseph's negativistic attention getting behavior has faded.

Thus the following then is a brief summary of our conclusions in regard to evidence discovered from the personality study of identical twins, John and Joseph:

- 1) Our evidence shows that the twins came into this world with a basic personality structure which was alike. True we have no common denominator, but at least as alike as intelligence has brought out in studies in Chapter I.

2) The expression of these same basic personality traits can vary from like expression to directly opposite expression depending upon the satisfaction of these basic emotions through inter-personal relationships centered primarily in the home.

3) The more free the twins were from emotional disturbances the more alike was the resemblance in the expression of their basic feelings. This point gives added evidence that basic personality characteristics are inherited. A corollary to this third finding is the more free the twins are from emotional disturbances the more social, the more constructive and the more efficient is the behavior of each.

CHAPTER III

TWIN STUDY OF GORDON AND GEORGE B

We turn now to the study of fraternal twins Gordon and George born May 1926, in a small New England town. They were raised by their father and mother along with two younger sisters. The father has for many years worked steadily as a meat-cutter. Economically and financially the family could be grouped as being in the middle or lower middle class. The mother has never worked outside the home since the birth of the twins and has managed a neat and well-run home. As far as could be gathered the twins had the same physical environment until they were eighteen when they enlisted in the Services and even here their environments were still pretty much the same. Both boys were physically healthy all their life. They dressed alike until they were about seven after which the mother dressed them as regular brothers rather than twins. She said she guessed "it was too much trouble always trying to make them alike when they didn't look alike". Physically they did not look alike. Gordon was four inches taller than his twin. He was larger boned and his whole physique was proportionally larger than George. George had straight blond hair; Gordon's hair was brown and wavy. Gordon looked a couple years older than his age; George

looked a few years younger.

Although the twins were very much interested in counseling, and felt the benefits from such, their parents and sisters showed great resistance in cooperating with the counselor after counseling was completed. They would neither come in to the counselor's office for an interview nor were they receptive to have counselor visit them. However, the mother finally consented and came in for one interview. Her reactions were interesting and significant even though the pertinent information she gave was meager. At that time she said she felt no ill will toward the writer, but she could not "trust" the agency with which the writer was associated nor had she ever "trusted" the Army when her sons were in the Service. Other points she stressed were being foreign born, as both she and her husband were, many people outside their own nationality try to take advantage of them. When asked she did not specify how people took advantage of them except by saying she and her husband would never purchase anything from people she did not know or who were not of the same nationality as they were. She wanted her children to associate only with people of their own "race". Although Mr. and Mrs. B. were not born in the United States they were both children when they arrived here. Mr. B. had a sixth grade

education; Mrs. B. completed the eighth grade.

At the point of giving information as to the twins' likes, dislikes, accomplishments and inter-actions within the family, Mrs. B. became extremely guarded. When asked a question she often retaliated in turn by asking writer why he wanted such information. The writer's explanation was never quite adequate for her.

The twins graduated from high school a short time before they enlisted in the Service in 1944. They received average grades in school and neither ever failed a grade or course. Gordon, the mother believes, received better grades than George even though George worked just as much and probably a little more. Gordon always read a great deal. George was more active in out-of-doors activities and sports. The mother said Gordon was more nervous "because he just naturally was high-strung". She related the twins were easier to raise than were her two daughters. She reasoned the twins were less demanding and more helpful. The subject of Gordon's speech impediment was introduced by the writer, but quickly dismissed by the mother saying, "he only does it once in a while -- whenever he wants to".

Gordon was discharged from the Army with a Corporal rating in December, 1948. He then secured a temporary job

until he started college the following fall under the benefits of the Veteran's Educational Program. He had a twenty percent disability rating for wounds of his left arm which reduced flexure about ten percent and caused some weakness to the arm. The arm handicap, if it could be called one, is very minor, both physical and psychological, in the opinions of medical people, Gordon and the writer. George was discharged from the Air Force in September, 1946.

A. GORDON'S COUNSELLING AND ITS INTERPRETATION

In March 1950, Gordon was referred to the writer by his Veterans Administration Training Officer. At this time Gordon was in his second semester of his sophomore year in college. The memorandum of referral stated the client has had a speech impediment periodically since he was a very young boy and the last three or four months it has become much worse. The referral further stated at times he stutters so much he cannot even utter a word. In the opinion of the Training Officer the client's lower grades in his second year are the direct results of his increased speech difficulty.

It would be impossible to give detailed enunciation of all the stammering and stuttering in the client's responses. Therefore only on the occasions his speech impediment is the most severe will this be indicated. By the time counseling was finished Gordon had completed eleven counseling sessions.

In approaching the counselor for the first time Gordon was shy and reticent. Realizing this the counselor warmly welcomed him. It was then explained his Training Officer had informed the counselor rather fully about his difficulties. This eased the situation and relaxed the client somewhat.

Cl. "I didn't realize the V.A. had such people as you. (stuttering) I would have been here long ago ... I don't see why he didn't speak to me about you before. Maybe he didn't realize ..."

Co. I know he has been pretty busy.

Cl. Anyway I'm glad he told you about me because it makes it easier for me. I mean you knowing I stammer before hand I am apt not to do so now -- see how I'm going along. (Client was speaking much better.)

Co. Yes, I notice.

Cl. That is about it (much stammering again; embarrassing smile). Well, well I had better not brag so soon."

Later in the interview we quote:

Cl. "I was pretty nervous, especially on my way down here and when I'm that way I just go all to pieces. I seemed to be tied-up, and my face, I know must look funny when I can't say what I want to ... Now I don't know what to do or say.

Co. Well I think probably the best thing is to talk about whatever you would like to talk about -- about the things that may be bothering you or things on your mind, whatever it may be.

Cl. That would take all day.

Co. (Laugh) O.K. -- we can take it an hour at a time.

Cl. Maybe you and Mr. L. have me all diagnosed by now. Is that what you do?

Co. No, I think now -- that wouldn't help you very much ...

After an intellectual discussion at some length about the procedures and methods of counseling, and the over all part personality diagnosis plays in it, the counselor finally took a rather firm stand in bringing the client around so as to try and talk about himself again.

Co. "This is all very well, but I don't think this is the place to take up such an academic matter. Let us get back to talking about yourself.

Cl. (Smile) Yes, I don't want to be wasting your time. (Long pause). I don't know hardly where to begin ... Mr. L. thinks, and I think too, my school work is going down hill because (stammering) this gets the best of me.

Co. That idea is pretty well settled in your mind.

Cl. No, nothing is ever settled in my mind. My grades haven't been nearly as good this whole year.

Last year I had better than a "B" average. This year I'm lucky to have a "C" average, more like a "D". Of course last year I had all lecture courses and all I had to do was take the exams and hand in my written work. This year I have German and there I have to recite. In my Literature course most of it is lecture, but he calls on the class sometimes.

Co. I see.

Cl. When the instructor calls on me I just tell him I don't know. All the time I may know the answer completely. I can't get up there because I know I would start stammering and get excited. I would just make a fool out of myself.

Co. That does put you in a peculiar spot.

Cl. I'll bet I have said I don't, or just shook my head no, about a dozen times in those two classes. And nine out of ten times I knew the answers cold. I know it because I work hard with my studies. (Much stammering).

Co. I see -- so the types of courses you have this year are causing you to get the lower grades.

Cl. In those two classes. In my other courses which are all lecture I'm not doing so well either. So how do you account for that?"

The remainder of the interview did not go any deeper into the client's feelings. Instead he attempted, not consciously however, to put the interview back on an intellectual level rather than keep it on an emotional level. He wanted counseling very much as we note in the beginning he says, "I don't know why he didn't speak to me about you before". He also note his need for help at the times he makes, very readily, such statements as "that

would take all day" (to talk about his problems), his stammering, and other signs.

At this point we should mention he himself states he does not stutter. Instead he terms his speech difficulty a stammer.

Even though Gordon wants and needs counseling he cannot, as much as he consciously wants, talk about and bring out his troubled and "unsettled feelings". Instead one of his unconscious defenses is to intellectualize. Finally when the counselor makes the client talk about himself, the client then speaks about concrete items and their relation to himself. The example given is about his grades, school and the direct relationship to the stammering. This is still a defense as he talks about the obvious outward symptoms and little else.

In the second interview Gordon was more and more insistent and demanding upon the counselor to give him some definite "leads" so that he may know what to talk about. He said he did not want to go through this (counseling) blindly. Gordon felt he had given the counselor a good picture of his troubles in the previous interview and he further felt to talk about those same things again would be useless. He then briefly reviewed again his stammering and the effect this had on his school progress. Naturally

this review was full of underlying hostility and aggression which the client could not help but exhibit. As his dependent demands came to such proportions, he stated:

Cl. "I don't want to tell you how to run your business because you know and I don't. All I am doing is asking (stammering here is noticeably absent).

Co. M - hm -- Well even if I thought I should ask you questions I still don't know enough about you and your feelings for these questions to be of much value. On the other hand I have given you a lead or two such as your thinking about your fellow students and friends or instructors or other people you are in contact with a great deal.

Cl. I don't see how people like that could be the cause of any of my troubles.

Co. You would rather not say -- you feel."

Thus most of the interview was a stalemate. His resistance was as great as were his demands. Structuring the counseling session met with no apparent positive effect. At the end of the interview the counselor asked if the client wanted to return the following week. He was quick to accept. Throughout this interview the speech impediment was not nearly as noticeable as it was in the first session.

In the third counseling interview Gordon was shy and overly polite to the degree of being timid. This was almost a complete reversal of his behavior the previous week. His stammer was more pronounced during this session also. The

essence of the third counseling session could be summed up in the following responses:

Cl. "I don't think I'm too smart at times. I can reason as well as next guy but I'm always the one to pull boners ... Like I say the wrong thing and naturally people take offense to it.

Co. You feel you say the wrong thing, but don't mean it.

Cl. I don't mean it the way it sounds. (Long pause) Like the other night I went on a double-date and about the first five minutes I make a "crack" about the brother of the other date having muscles in his head.

He is a good basketball player at the university. There was no need of me saying that, none at all. It hurt the girl's feelings and I didn't mean to hurt her either, not in the least. The rest of the evening I hardly said a word ... She returned the "crack" by saying, at least he can talk. That is probably why I didn't say anything more because her "crack" hurt me more than mine hurt her. I asked for it though; she had every right.

Co. But even so you feel you got the worst of it.

Cl. I always do -- always as long as I can remember. Of course once I get my feelings hurt I just "clam-up". Seems as if some people don't care. They have thick skins. I would like to be that way.

Co. In other words it is a good thing not to take people's remarks too much to heart.

Cl. I don't know, but in a crowd I am apt to say the wrong things. With just one other person I am generally pretty good and get along, but if there are three or four or more people, just as sure as I am living, if I say anything there will be some mean quality to it even though I don't want it to be that way.

Co. You feel you don't exactly have good control over what you say at times.

Cl. That's it. I suppose I must be thinking that way. I don't want to let other people know it, but still it comes out. Like Grace, the girl I double-dated, well her brother is actually a good student as well as a good athlete. I never liked fellows who were good at sports even as a kid because I never was. They would make fun of me and call me names because I was so awkward and clumsy. I hated them I remember. Now I am sure that is why I said the thing I did about her brother. It just came out. (Much stuttering throughout these responses).

Co. All of that sounds quite logical, doesn't it?

Cl. Yeah, it doesn't sound good though. I don't want to go on all my life hating people I have no right hating. What kind of a complex is that anyway?

Co. Whatever may be the name, we know it's not a very pleasant one."

Thus for the first time he is able to talk about some of the feelings which are troubling him. He is quite capable of gaining insight into this difficulty he describes. We can see he has great trouble with his sensitive, insecure and hostile feelings. He has difficulty in competing and taking part in group activities. He hasn't as yet faced, to any extent, his more deep-seated problems.

We skip now to counseling session five as much of this interview directly supplements the feelings brought out in the third interview. In interview five Gordon talks about his twin brother and much of the feeling and relationship between them.

Cl. "Yeah -- we don't look alike in the least. People can hardly believe we are even brothers let alone being twins.

Co. I can see resemblance; not as much as one would think though.

Cl. All our lives we never have been thought of as twins. I'm glad it was this way. I don't want to be hanging on to someone else or have someone else hang on to me like some twins do even after they have grown up.

Co. I see. You would rather be yourself like, more independent.

Cl. You said it, independent! I have always been independent and that is the way a man should be.

Co. M - hm.

Cl. Wouldn't that be a silly sight George and I dressing alike, going down the street hand in hand -- just ducky!

Co. (Laughing) That would be quite a picture.

Cl. It's a foolish thing trying to raise twins as if they were one person. This way I am like I am and he is like he is. George and I are a lot different anyway. He thinks I'm a book worm. I'm not. It's just that he never reads or studies. We like different things, that's all. For example I like plays, music and books. I want to major in Journalism. He doesn't care for any of these things. He should be an engineer. He likes mechanical things and tinkers around machines. I can't see that at all.

Co. There are several things all right in which you and George have separate interests.

Cl. I could name you a lot more. He likes sports and, as you know, I don't. I think a person has to be juvenile to like sports -- that's my opinion. He thinks I have a big opinion of myself.

Co. You mean because of this attitude.

Cl. Yeah, he doesn't say so now but when we were kids that is what he always said. Then we use to fight a lot too. Even though I was bigger he seemed to get

the best of me. But when other kids picked on me he would help me out, I'll say that. He was always pretty good to me, but I feel he was that way because we were brothers, not because he felt any fondness for me as a brother. I know I have been pretty vile to him.

Co. You think it may be your own attitude and actions that makes him feel the way he does.

Cl. That has a lot to do with it. I guess because I had it all my way at home I could treat him that way. I must have been down right selfish. I have tried to be (much stuttering and much feeling) different now that I can see it.

Co. M - hm and this has made a difference?

Cl. It doesn't seem to, maybe a little. I guess I am really envious of him. He doesn't have much, I mean he has a poor job but he gets along so well with everyone. He has several friends and I can't say I have a one. And he doesn't seem to have all the trouble I have. There just is something solid about him that I know I don't have and he really isn't too smart either."

In counseling session five Gordon has revealed several interesting points we suspected following interview three. For the first time he talks about a member of his family, to any extent, and we see Gordon not getting along with his twin brother even as a child. He realizes much of it was his fault rather than his brother's. This realization, however, did not come about until more recent times as the client notices how well George gets along with people and Gordon does not. His twin "has several friends and I can't say I have a one". Gordon envies his twin, he wants to be more like George, yet earlier in the interview he stresses he is glad they are not alike. In this earlier part he

sees himself and George in a situation being dependent upon one another and this he cannot tolerate so therefore they should be vastly different. Toward the end of the interview he sees George as the well-liked, social individual and the person Gordon tries to cultivate, but can't. At the time we could rightly wonder why Gordon stressed his desire of independence and rightly wonder also about his exclamation of being independent. He certainly wasn't feeling this independence at the end of the interview as he was wanting to be more like the description of George. We see then the struggle Gordon is having with his very dependent feelings and the resultant behavior.

In counseling session four Gordon talked about how he was feeling that particular day. He said he was feeling fine and wished he could be like this every day. Primarily he was referring to his disposition which he himself then stated, "my disposition fluctuates like the weather". The following responses occurred a little later in the interview:

Cl. "Sometimes I get feeling I would like to have someone tell me off or even someone who would force me into a good fight ... with a big fellow.

Co. You mean so as to get things "off your chest".

Cl. I think I would like that (a good fight). I don't know why, but I feel that way. The other person would have to force me into it I know. I would be sure to get the beating. It would feel good."

We skip several responses to bring out other pertinent feeling in the same interview.

Cl. "Then I get the feeling that I would like to have someone set me straight. Maybe I'm asking too much again. I don't think anyone can.

Co. At least that is the way you feel, and I can well understand.

Cl. Just someone to show me the right direction. (Laughing) It seems so simple. I don't seem to be able to do it myself. All there is to it is just, just -- there it is, now go it and do it!

Co. Sounds simple, too easy in fact don't you think?

Cl. Well that's it. When I think about myself and how I act I get all mixed-up and can't think. If someone would put me straight and say here is the road, now follow it to your goal over there, then I would be all set ... I know it isn't that way, can't be, but I want it to be that way."

Thus we notice Gordon's very conscious realization of his own inconsistent feelings. He states they are as changeable as the weather. He then shows us his need to be hurt or punished as well as a need for an outlet of his own hostility. However, these undesirable feelings are so well-controlled he cannot break through them himself at this time at least. All of this is demonstrated in his responses about actually wanting to become involved in a fight knowing he would be physically harmed or injured. Being so controlled he could not express this amount of hostility, but instead

this would have to be forced upon him. Later he comes back to his helpless, dependent feelings. He begs and childishly demands someone (here the counselor) to help him and his mixed-up, confused and complex life function in a simple, smooth and orderly fashion.

Finally in this same session four we have a very important and interesting behavior reaction of Gordon as can be seen below. He mentioned a girl friend he likes very much whom he has known for several months and has talked with her on many occasions. He states he is sure she doesn't know he stammers as he has devious ways of covering it up. Then he states:

Cl. "I don't believe I stammer either. I really don't. (Smile) (Pause)

Co. You feel you really don't.

Cl. Absolutely. I don't believe myself I do. (At this point he talks quite well -- no stuttering) (Pause) The only times I may think I do is for example when I come in to see you; I wonder why I come -- or maybe once in a while when someone calls it to my attention or makes a "crack". Otherwise I never think about it."

His feeling about his stuttering is not unusual. First of all he has become so conditioned to his impediment he stutters unconsciously, but more important he cannot accept his speech impediment nor can he do much about it.

He even tries to convince himself his girl friend doesn't recognize his impediment even though she, at an earlier time, asked him to inquire in regard to the speech clinic at the university.

The most important and significant part of interview six, and in fact of all Gordon's counseling record thus far, is his expression of feeling in regard to members of his family. His stuttering in this interview was as bad and at times even worse than it had been at any previous time.

Cl. "Last week my sisters came to town so I had to take them around. I felt very uncomfortable with them. I didn't want to show them around, yet I knew I should, I was supposed to.

Co. You felt it to be your obligation.

Cl. That's right. I only hope they didn't realize how I felt. I was glad after they left ... Why is it I'm that way? I know I shouldn't be ... I don't want to be.

Co. That puts you on a bad spot, feeling one way and knowing it isn't right.

Cl. You see when it has anything to do with home or people who live there I get this very peculiar feeling. I don't like being there. I don't feel right. Now why is it? There is no reason for it. It's not them so the only other person is myself."

He carries on in this vein for several more responses. After this he states the main reason for living at the

university dormitory this year rather than commuting the thirty some miles to his home as he did last year, is because of the difficulties involved in daily transportation.

Cl. "It wasn't too terrible ... Some days it seemed like a "rat-race" (commuting) ... The thing that got me was they (the two riders) not being on time ... Other things too ... I got "fed-up" with them.

Co. That was quite a trip -- over sixty miles every day.

Cl. Well that part wasn't so bad -- took only an hour from home to school depending on traffic. Yeah, I didn't exactly relish the thought ... I had to do all my work at school. When I got home I couldn't seem to be able to study. I would read and read, but couldn't remember anything from it. At school it is like that too, only not nearly as much.

Co. You don't feel your home is a very good place to study then.

Cl. Being there I can't feel right, especially with my father and mother. (Much feeling). They are wonderful, absolutely the two best parents one could have ... They would do anything and everything for me and so would my sisters, lots more than I could ever expect to do for them ...

Co. You feel then they do too much for you.

Cl. Probably that's it ... On the other hand I don't like to stay home even to eat. When I'm there I am out every night, every single evening and during the day I spend most of my time in my room.

Co. In other words you want to stay a distance from them.

Cl. I do and I don't. (Pause)

Co. I see, I think I can see the reason for your mixed feeling -- would you want to say ...

Cl. Well like I intend going home this week because I feel I should at least a couple times or so a month, at least to say I was there. Then pretty soon they are waiting on me and saying Gordon this and Gordon that. I hate that ... If some one outside the family would do these things it would make me feel wonderful -- not my parents though.

Co. So it isn't that you don't like things done for you -- it's just the idea of your mother and father doing it.

Cl. Pretty much -- I don't mind George -- he doesn't (laugh) and never did. My sisters are about as bad as Ma and Pa. They all seem to treat me like a child, almost like a baby. That's the best way I can describe it.

Co. M - hm (Pause)

Cl. And besides they do things as they want, as they like, not what I want. Ever since I was in high school I've wanted my parents to forget about the old world ideas because we live in America ... My sisters when they get to be Ma's and Pa's age will be just like them ... I'm not ashamed of them for it, but Emma (a sister) said I was because one time I did not want my parents visiting me at school. I denied it, but she may be right."

As we can see so plainly Gordon is completely emotionally surrounded by his whole family except his twin, George. He is caught in this emotional web to which he seems unable to break away and really does not want to break away. At least he does not want to go away too far or too long. He realizes it is his own inadequacies which cause him to rebel against his family. He has these peculiar, uncomfortable feelings while in the presence of his family,

but cannot understand why. Probably the most powerful emotional response in Gordon's whole counseling record is the short "I do and I don't" in reply to the counselor's assertion about the client wanting to stay a distance from the family. This is the core for the basis of his whole behavior. In other words he says I want and need all the emotional support and attention I get from my family, but I hate all of it also. Truly he is ambivalent, mixed-up and emotionally insecure.

We saw a good example of how and why Gordon does not have friends at the time he remarks about the two fellow students who commuted with him. We saw Gordon's demanding, hostile and impatient attitude.

Interesting also is the hostility expressed toward his parents and sisters and yet none expressed toward his twin with whom Gordon so frequently quarreled as a child. In other words George was accepting him more as an adult and not giving Gordon trouble with his inadequate dependent needs.

In counseling session seven and eight, Gordon continues talking a great deal about his family. In these two interviews he was, in general, bringing out and spiraling around the same feelings he expressed in interview six, in regard to his parents and sisters, except in counseling seven and

eight he was more free and more at ease in talking with them. His stuttering was very much in evidence although not as pronounced as in some earlier interviews. He spoke again and stressed the Old World and the New World conflict existing in his mind, but he did not term it a conflict as such. In session seven he spoke some about his childhood and the below responses were the most significant.

Cl. "I was never any more sick than the other kids or my brother, but I always remember having to stay in bed or in the house if I had the slightest cold ... I use to get pains in the stomach; I remember they were painful at times. The doctor never could find out the trouble ... They would always tell me to be careful of my stomach or don't do this or don't do that, or don't play ball because you may hurt yourself.

Co. You feel they were over-concerned about you.

Cl. Altogether too much, I didn't think so then, but I do now. I would have to stay in bed sometimes two or three days after I had these pains. I don't think I objected to it because I didn't know any better.

Co. M-hm, you could accept it at that time.

Cl. I felt almost like a weakling. I didn't care to play out with the other kids ... The only place I felt equal to them was in school ... Then if I started stammering some "sap" would start snickering so even then I didn't feel very wonderful. I guess I thought the best place for me was home after all."

In the few responses above the client clearly sees his overprotective childhood home environment and very soon thereafter is able to trace the reasons for some of his

behavior. After he saw he could not compete with the other children, even insituations in which he excelled others, he retreated to his home. We can readily understand then why he never objected as a child, to be kept in bed or in the house at times when we might expect him to be associating and playing with other children.

During counseling session eight Gordon spoke further about his childhood activities and again mentioned the stomach pains and severe constipation which he recalls rather vividly.

Cl. "They (the pains) were all down through here ... How they would double me up. (This was a chronic situation for a number of years).

Co. The pains were quite severe then?

Cl. Terrible sometimes. The doctor said they were gas pains, then he said they were caused by my constipation, and then he said he didn't know for sure what they were from ... The pay off came when he took out my appendix. My parents were after him so much I guess he must have decided to take them out. I don't think I needed them out. (His appendix were removed at age 12).

Co. Did this help?

Cl. That's it, you mean the pain?

Co. Yes, the pain and constipation.

Cl. Didn't help in the least. After I was about fifteen or sixteen the pain disappeared completely and haven't had anything like them since ... I still have trouble with constipation ... but not like it use to be." (A rather strict diet has helped his constipation some, although not a great deal.)

The above evidence points rather conclusively to the fact his pains and constipation were psychogenetic especially when we consider the added evidence in previous interviews. In counseling session seven Gordon spoke about "a forced change in his life at the time he was a Sophomore and Junior in high school. Coincidentally or otherwise this was the same time his pains left him. We quote again from interview seven:

Cl. "I wasn't going to let them run me like that ... Of course I was smart and some of the foolish things I did were not right ... I ran away to Washington and then they had to come all that way after me. I was smart and wise, but my idea was I didn't want them always having so much say over me. First it would be my Dad, then my Mother and then my sisters ...

Co. All of them were giving you a bad time you feel.

Cl. They were on me too much. Sure I was a young kid. I had a mind of my own and I showed them.

Co. M - hm, you feel you had good reasons for the things you did.

Cl. Not entirely as I look back on it ... In lots of ways it seemed as if I was forced into doing these things.

Co. So you didn't feel it was entirely your fault or responsibility.

Cl. That is about it ... I blamed them some, some, some! I blamed them entirely for my running away ... And that is one of my faults today blaming them and other people for things I do myself.

Co. I see (Pause).

Cl. I catch myself doing it with my room-mates now that I think of it."

Gordon later enumerated examples of his two room-mates' inconsiderate actions as he called it. One example concerned his room-mates' coming in the dormitory late at night, after the client was asleep, and turning on the lights and radio and thereby awakening him. This angered Gordon a great deal, but he didn't have the courage, he states, to ask them not to do this. He knew his severe anger would only come out if he had to defend his request. Gordon then wonders why he should feel such anger knowing he himself is guilty of the same inconsideration and others.

We also noticed from the last above quoted response the pattern of behavior for which Gordon could not take responsibility for much of his own actions, during childhood, carrying over into adult life. He realizes quite well and has rather good insight into the mechanism of projecting his own inadequacies, but he cannot cope with it. There can be no doubt his parents and sisters were adding "fuel" to his already dependent tendencies. It is this "fuel" which he has so beautifully rationalized into being the basis for so much of his feelings. However, when he is away from the "fuel" he is at a loss to understand his still mixed-up, hostile and other feelings. Certainly he cannot understand his anger!

We turn now to counseling session nine. As we recall Gordon was originally referred to the counselor because his increased speech difficulty was thought to be the direct cause of his lower grades. True his grades were not as high as they were the previous year and also true was the fact his speech impediment was giving him more trouble. However, the only time he spoke about his studies to any length was in the first interview and here we already note he did not go into feelings of any significance but rather unconsciously circumvented his true feelings. At the beginning of two or three interviews the counselor did interject a general question about his school progress. Each time he gave a short and rather unconcerned response. He has talked about his stuttering and particularly as seen in session four. In view of the above, and as the school semester was rapidly drawing to a close, the counselor pressed the client for his thinking on the outcome of his final grades.

Co. "How did school go this week?

Cl. Not to bad, not especially good either.

Co. I see, could you explain a little?

Cl. I don't see any change from week to week.

Co. Well, do you think you are failing in any of your courses at this stage?

Cl. No, but I'm near the line in German and Literature.

Co. You don't seem at all anxious about your grades

at this time or in fact at any time it seems to me. I have been wondering, Gordon --.

Cl. (Smile) Well I'm not. (Pause) I guess the VA is.

Co. Your Training Officer and myself -- is this whom you mean?

Cl. (Smiling again and shaking his head yes). You see I am set for the exams coming up in a couple weeks. I know I can do well in them. That is one thing that keeps me going. If I had as much confidence in other things as I have in putting something down on paper I know about, I would be set for life.

Co. Then you do feel pretty sure of yourself about passing all your courses this year?

Cl. Yeah, if I try and I am trying more than ever.

Co. That's fine, you appear confident enough.

Cl. I know, I believe I can write better than most people and that goes for people in Journalism. (He plans to major in Journalism). Maybe some of them can talk better than I, but give me a typewriter and I'll dash off some good reporting. I'm no good at the serious stuff; for fact and description and event writing I'm at my best.

Co. It's good then to feel you have this talent.

Cl. I f I didn't I would go all to pieces ... See I know people say I have a superior attitude. Well I know deep inside I'm really not. I can let them, anyone say, look at me and say who does he think he is? As long as I know I can do this one thing better than practically anyone around then I feel justified in putting on this, this -- .

Co. M-hm, you feel then the "front" you put on isn't just a "front" but is supported by something.

Cl. I think so. (Much feeling at this point. In the preceding responses his speech faltered a little.

He now begins to hesitate and stutter). The trouble is I always have to keep myself up to this front. Sooner or later you have to come down and then is when I get it ... I seem to have to put up fences and guard myself so no one can know how I feel. It's like being a phoney. Any one I hate is phoney."

After this Gordon returns to talking about his writing talents and an intellectual discussion of some successful news reporters. So far in interview nine we have caught some very meaningful feeling and behavior reaction in the client's responses. We see an actual "acting out" of his own feelings. With the counselor becoming more aggressive and anxious about the client's school grades, the client in turn exhibits pleasure. The counselor's questioning and concerns bring forth smiles and satisfaction on the part of Gordon. He likes it because the counselor has gone into an area in which the client feels confident and secure to a considerable degree. It is an area where he can compete with the next person and come out ahead, but it seems to be the only area. In any other activity he must appear aloof and superior by putting up "fences so no one can see me as I am". He hates his reactions yet at the same time if he didn't put up these "fences" he believes he may have a breakdown by going to "pieces". As we see he continues to show a great deal of insight into his behavior and feeling, but at the same time there are practically no signs showing he can cope with the insight once he has it.

The final pertinent feeling expressed in interview nine concerned his thinking about securing employment after he graduates from college. He reasons he has had this speech difficulty for such a long time he doesn't believe he will ever correct it. Then he goes on to say:

Cl. "How is it going to be when I look for a job and the employer hears me. He isn't going to hire a person who blabbers all over the place. Just thinking about trying to talk with someone like an employer gives me the shivers. I probably would clam-up so much I wouldn't be able to talk.

Co. That is a very real problem all right and one you will be faced with.

Cl. Yeah, but how can I face something like that? ... If I get the job I could handle it all right, that I'm sure.

Co. In other words the job itself, you feel, you would be capable of carrying out the duties; it's the securing of the position you are worried about.

Cl. Worried is right ... It is that way all my life. The work or the problem I could always do. The big obstacle was getting to the work -- I mean the people and routine you have to go through before you can do your job.

Co. M - hm, it's good you feel rather sure of yourself in the things you do.

Cl. I do when I work by myself, but I want to work for someone -- Do you know what I mean?

Co. Yes, rather than work in conjunction with other people.

Cl. Yeah, but this other darn thing -- well it's almost like being scared of people. I really think it's that. I must be scared of people. I'm afraid

to meet them. Why should I be? They aren't going to harm me. I can't help it; I still am. And if it's someone I think is important, it's all the worse.

Co. Then it is a deep fear of people.

Cl. And how, and it seems when I meet people for the first time it's tough too. Like the time I first came in to see you, I must have wanted to come here pretty badly because I was afraid to meet you. I knew you were here to help me but still I had that silly feeling inside me."

Thus we gain some true feelings within Gordon. He is pretty much an introvert, living within himself. He may not like or want to live so much within himself, but to do otherwise would be far more painful at this time. We see more realistic thinking and planning in this interview than we saw in some earlier ones. Now he is accepting the fact he has a definite speech difficulty and is looking and planning in view of it. He is able to bring out and talk a deep-seated fear. The client's stutter is still ever present. His dependency is likewise present as he wants to work by himself, but not for himself.

Three weeks elapsed before the last two counseling sessions were held and this was immediately after the completion of the school term. The confidence he expressed in session nine, and which he actually possessed all along, was well founded as he passed all his subjects with approximately a C/ average. It is quite clear the immediate problem

for which he was referred for counseling was in reality not a problem to him. Instead it was a good tangible reason for being referred to the counselor. Such things as his stuttering, inability to get along with people, and his feelings towards his family were some of the real problems.

In interview ten Gordon related he was glad the semester was finished as he often feels school is a waste of time for him. He says it is a means to an end in getting ahead in life, but still feels better use of his time could be made. He reasons in school there is no responsibility in comparison to supporting a wife and family. He quickly added as much as he would like to get married he doesn't feel capable of taking on the responsibility of a husband and father. He wonders if he ever will be in a position where he would actually welcome such responsibility which he thinks most young men do. He does not think so much in terms of inability to take financial responsibility as he does the responsibility of a father and husband figure he would like to be. He then points out his twin and the twin's fiancée are delaying marriage for financial reason. At the same time Gordon is sure George is not giving a thought to his father and husband responsibility because this is no problem to George. He is able to meet it, Gordon is not.

Later in the interview Gordon speaks about a recent incident occurring in relation to his family. His feelings and reaction to it are significant.

Cl. "Last Sunday my mother, father and sisters came to visit me ... Everything went along fine. I took them around the campus, had a nice dinner, saw a few sights in the city and they seemed to enjoy themselves.

Co. I take it you enjoyed the day too.

Cl. Well as I look back on it, I did, not so much at the time, but afterwards. I enjoyed it afterwards because it seemed I was doing something for them without having been angry. Actually I was quite pleasant for a change.

Co. I see -- you feel good about the whole thing.

Cl. Yeah, to know and feel I could do something which was pleasing to both my family and myself ... Sunday morning, before they arrived, I thought about studying and was hoping they wouldn't come. About that time I got a hold of myself and just thought well here I am back to my old tricks; I am supposed to do something for them, very little it would be too, and already I'm blaming them for something or other. The more I thought about it the more upset I got. I was feeling pretty low when they came.

Co. Catching yourself this way gave you a real jolt you feel.

Cl. It made me sit up and take notice of myself ... Another thing that made me feel better afterwards was the idea they came to me, to visit me instead of me always running to them."

In the responses directly above we have a good example of some positive, encouraging behavior on the part of Gordon. The weekend before school is finished he invites his parents and sisters to visit him at school. This in itself is a good sign.

However, at the last minute he is struggling as he is ambivalent and before they arrive wishes they wouldn't come. He feels it will be an ordeal where he again will find himself feeling uncomfortable with his family. Much to his delight, during and after, their visit he did not have this uncomfortable feeling, but rather a genuine feeling of satisfaction. There was no need for him to be rebellious against his dependent and demanding feelings, so much tied in with his family, since he was the one who was helping, assisting and taking the lead. They were so to speak dependent upon him in this situation. Finally as Gordon said "they came to visit me instead of me always running to them".

Continuing with interview ten we note Gordon again talking about some of the same feelings as described in interview nine. This time he talked more specifically about his "friends" rather than people in general. Previously he had never mentioned his friends.

Cl. "I came back to the dorm feeling pretty good and found a message to call friend of mine, Russ ... He came over and we talked till about 1:00 A.M.; I don't know about what, but everything, I guess. I could have studied for the last exam on Monday ... I didn't anyway.

Co. You were more in the mood to talk than study, is that it?

Cl. I guess so ... Did I ever tell you about Russ?

Co. Not that I recall.

Cl. He stammers too. Oh, his is much worse than mine.

He has a "tick" that goes along with his stammer and he twists his muscles and makes a terrible face when he talks. He can't say two words without stammering even when he talks to me. He really stutters while mine is more a stammer.

Co. You feel his is much more severe than yours.

Cl. Oh sure, only he talks to anyone. It doesn't make a bit of difference who or where it is. Last year I was in a history class with him and the guy would ask the instructor questions and stutter all over the place. The instructor was a swell fellow and tried to help Russ, but while he was trying to get the question out I was dying a hundred times over.

Co. Then it affected you more than your friend who was having such a difficult time talking.

Cl. That's what I say. He doesn't seem to care ... Oh, I guess he does care in lots of ways. Here a few months ago he was taking lessons from some speech teacher on proper breath and relaxation of stomach and chest muscles. Russ spent a couple hundred dollars with it, but it didn't help ... He realizes now it is an emotional thing with him too ... He had a very strict father."

Skipping a few responses in which he continues to talk about his friend, Gordon says:

Cl. "In a way I suppose you could say he (Russ) is abnormal -- I mean he acts just as normal as the next person, but his stuttering makes him appear abnormal.

Co. In other words he is different from other people only because of his speech difficulty.

Cl. That's it. All my friends, people I could call my friends, are that way in one form or another. A good girl friend of mine is very jumpy and jittery, and I guess the only real friend I have in my home town is a fellow whose right arm has been totally paralyzed since childhood. They are all fine people, good people and ones I could count on, but they all have something the matter with them.

Co. M - hm.

Cl. Of course, I am abnormal in the same way they are, with this thing, (pointing toward his mouth) so it probably is not unusual we are friends. Birds of a feather flock together, they say."

He continued bringing out his feelings toward people. Gordon went on to say he now realizes he must feel superior to people before he can really be himself and be at ease with them. It is these people he calls abnormal, for want of a better word, whom he can feel superior to because, as we saw, they have greater obvious defects.

Certainly the above quoted client responses support his conclusions only too well. We again note Gordon's sensitivity as he is more embarrassed and feels the reaction of other people more keenly as he says, "while he (Russ) was trying to get the question out I was dying a hundred times over". We note with interest the client's suggestion concerning his friend's stuttering being "emotional too" and then immediately tying it up with a "very strict father". Though we previously had no definite evidence as to whether Gordon consciously realized his stuttering and other problems were tied in with his own family, we now have evidence he does.

At the conclusion of the interview Gordon stated he definitely has a summer job at a resort. This was secured for him by his Training Officer. Therefore only one more counseling session could be scheduled since he would be working some distance away. Although school was finished

he said he had arranged to keep his dormitory room rather than live home during the next week.

In the final interview Gordon related he would miss his weekly session with the counselor. He looked forward to coming in as he states:

Cl. "Well during the week I think about lots of things I want to say, but by the time I get here most of them have changed in my mind. In fact the things I think about and say here I haven't thought about during the week -- some I have, but most I haven't. In a way it's like thinking about them for the first time.

Co. That's interesting -- the things that you talk about come out just on the spot without forethought.

Cl. I know you have said to me a few times to think about the things we have discussed ... I have done it but not for long as it always leads me into thinking about other things ... Our talks have given me something to look forward to each week."

From these two series of responses we can understand how the client has been active in his thinking and the considerable effort he has put in it. The most significant statement in the interview was, "In a way it's like thinking about them for the first time". He, therefore, did gain help. He also received emotional support as he brought out, "our talks have given me something to look forward to each week". Of course his motivation for counseling and for help has been consistently good throughout.

During this eleventh interview he appeared optimistic and commented he was glad school was finished for another

term. He was pleasantly anticipating his summer job. He expressed his inadequacy in having the Training Officer secure the job for him rather than he himself speak for it. He spoke not with an anxiousness or concern over his inadequacy but more with an acceptance of such help.

Contrary to his plans of staying at his dormitory room, during the past week he was living at home. He did not go into any detail about his changed plans. His final comment in regard to this was, "it isn't so bad there". There was very little additional personal feeling expressed except in commenting about his summer job, he wonders if he will "day-dream" on the job as he does during the school year. He did not go into this further.

Though we have seen tremendous insights gained by the client and some signs of actual improvement with some of his problems, we failed to notice any change with his speech difficulty. The last contact the writer had with Gordon was three months later, September 1961. At this time he had returned to school for the fall semester after having gone through a most satisfying and successful summer, according to his statement. He contacted the writer for assistance with an administrative matter with the Veterans Administration. He did not request nor was he asked if he desired further counseling. We now turn our attention to the other member of the fraternal twin set.

GEORGE'S COUNSELING AND ITS INTERPRETATION

George was contacted by the writer in May, 1961 through his twin brother. A vocational problem was the basis for establishing counseling in the case of George. Since his discharge from the Air Force in 1946, he had had three different jobs and for a two year period was part owner of a gasoline service station. His last two jobs were factory work; the other job was training to be an auto mechanic. He liked working in the service station, but due to financial failure of his partner, George was forced to sell his share also. The auto mechanic work was, among other things, too heavy and his jobs in the factory were only semi-skilled and he considered them only as fill-in or temporary until he could secure something better.

At the time of counseling George was single, but engaged and living with his parents and sisters. George had far less understanding of counseling and its purpose than did Gordon, but George's unsatisfactory vocational progress made counseling not too difficult to interpret to him. His general manner and approach were more direct and simple than his twin. Gordon wanted to be and was more sophisticated. A total of four counseling sessions were held over a period of seven weeks, and although each interview emphasized the vocational aspects there were many other pertinent and significant feelings and behavior

brought out.

In the first interview George stated he had been in this same building about three years ago for the purpose of testing. He added, from the results of the test the vocational adviser had recommended he go into training as an auto mechanic or a machinist. He goes on to say:

Cl. "I took his (vocational adviser) word for it ... I needed a job badly then ... That was the main reason, but I knew I wouldn't care too much for it.

Co. M - hm. Under the circumstances you went against your better judgment.

Cl. I knew that from the service station I had. There I liked to wait on customers and give them gasoline and oil and service their car -- maybe do some small job on the car. I never cared about working on an engine and repairing it for a steady cist.

Co. You would rather work with people than machines -- is that it?

Cl. That's right. I especially like to work and assist people in a way I can see where they are getting something and I am too. Sure the money I like, but I want them satisfied and happy first."

We skip a few less pertinent responses at this point.

Co. "From your talking I gather you like some kinds of mechanical work better than others. Would you want to say something more about this?

Cl. Yeah, well I was always a "tinker" I guess you would call it. I liked to work around machines -- small machines. The things I liked best when I was younger I remember were model trains, model airplanes

and cars. I belonged to a club where we brought all our models and displayed them ...

Co. I see.

Cl. Well that could not exactly apply today ... The other man said the tests showed I worked well with my hands. I do too at certain things, but I have to want to do them.

Co. So it isn't just working with your hands, you have to have an interest in it -- is that the idea?

Cl. What you do, what you do well, you have to have an interest in it. Before I take another job I am going to be sure I do ... Just like school -- I never cared for it. I don't now. My brother liked it. He likes to read and fancies himself to be a writer as well. For me that never entered my mind ... Funny thing his marks were not much higher than mine. He didn't know how to get around the teachers like I did (Laughing)."

The above responses bring out the reasons for his failure in one of his previous jobs, yet he himself takes the full responsibility for his failure. He could have easily rationalized this off on to the vocational adviser had he been a person who could not accept the responsibility of his failure. This same behavior is further exhibited in his third interview as George shows anger and hostility toward his former partner with whom George owned the service station. The partner was arrested and heavily fined for unlawful business dealings with which George had no knowledge, but which forced the client to leave the business with a loss. George takes full responsibility as he states he himself had not examined his partner's business history, as he discovered is routine in every partnership arrangement.

Another insight we note in his personality, from the above responses, is his "liking" for people and the healthy satisfaction he gains from "doing" for others. He likes mechanical work, but this must be in working with people. Finally George brings out a contrast in feeling and behavior between his twin and himself. Gordon likes to read and write, George doesn't. George is practical; he likes practical things in dealing with people. Gordon lives more in an abstract world and away from people.

Also in the first interview George talked about his general dissatisfaction with his present factory work. He looked upon it as a job for which he was getting money in return and in the meantime awaiting an opportunity to secure something which would give more expression to his feelings and interest. Nevertheless he has made the most out of his job. Regardless of the routine, monotony and confining requirements of his job he saw in the different factory workers a cross-section of many types of people and he was interested in observing and talking to them. He commented several people in the factory had talked to him concerning their "grips" and problems even though he is "just another one of them". He states he listens and tries to give them the best advice he can. Recently George was elected a labor union delegate to represent workers

in his section at union meetings. To this he feels complimented and is pleasantly anticipating this extra responsibility.

At the completion of the first interview the counselor knew he was dealing with an individual who was well integrated and adjusted emotionally, but that situationally he had a vocational problem. Even so he was adjusting well to the unsatisfactory job situation.

In counseling session two the counselor suggested they might talk about specific job possibilities. After exploring several, mostly in the sales and mechanical and a combination of both, the possibilities were narrowed to three specific jobs. He was given complete occupational information material to read at home. The remainder of the interview was directed by the counselor in attempting to discover more of George's feelings and behavior. This was not difficult. He spoke readily and easily about his family saying both he and Gordon were always given more advantages, privileges and were "catered" to by the rest of the family. He felt his sisters, even though younger, should have been more "an equal" to Gordon and himself. Instead the sisters were somewhat subservient to the twins and, he thinks, because of this, even to present time, they do not have as many friends or social outlets as they should. He

thinks Gordon has sufficient social outlets if he would only take advantage of them. George describes Gordon's greatest difficulty as being a person who complains a great deal and is overly critical, especially towards the father and mother. These traits, he feels, have been more pronounced in Gordon during the past few years. George thinks his brother is not only fortunate in being able to attend college, but feels some satisfaction in having a brother in college considering the social and economic status of the family. Yet he himself has no interest in seeking further formal education. At the same time Gordon, he feels, is overly proud of his attainment in going to college. This same pride which Gordon has always had alienates people with whom Gordon would actually like to be friendly. George admits he is at a loss to understand much of his twin's feelings and behavior.

George in speaking about his social activities compares himself to his father. The father was described as a very outgoing, social person who takes a leading part in the activities of the immediate community consisting of people of their own nationality.

A few days after the second interview an on-the-job training opportunity for Office Machine Repair and Demonstration Man came to the attention of the counselor by the

Training Facilities Section. This was one of the jobs the client and counselor had both agreed would be very suitable. George was notified and after he had an interview with the prospective employer the client accepted the position. The third and final counseling session was held two weeks subsequent to this. The session was given almost entirely to his enthusiasm and plans concerning his new job. Eventually he wants to own his own business.

When questioned George said his parents were much too concerned with his welfare. He considers his parents too strict with their children although even more strict with his sisters. He believes one twin received as much attention from the parents as did the other although he could not say the same thing as between the boys and sisters, meaning of course the twins were favored.

CONCLUSIONS OF THE B TWINS FINDINGS

In noting the pertinent feelings and behavior between fraternal twins Gordon and George, we see a noticeable difference. Gordon is basically a passive-dependent individual with a considerable amount of aggressive feeling interwoven. He is primarily an introvert, living within himself, but not being content or happy being such. He consciously tries very hard, at times,

to establish relationships with people, but finds it almost impossible except with those to whom he feels superior. He functions by being removed from people. His problems and difficulties revolve around his dependency and are particularly noted in his inter-personal relationships with his family, especially his parents. Gordon finds it extremely difficult in accepting responsibility for much of his feeling and behavior and instead over-rationalizes or projects on to others.

George, in contrast, we see is a well-integrated and mature individual. He is simple, direct and outgoing. He likes people and is generally popular with his associates. He is neither dependent or independent. In our short contacts with George we were not able to understand his feelings as closely and minutely as we had Gordon's. However, in no instance did we detect any relationship among the members of the family which would lead us to believe this relationship caused the basic feeling of over dependence within Gordon and the lack of it in George. Certainly the family relationship fostered dependence, but it was fostered with equal force on both twins.

From a study of fraternal twins, George and Gordon, we conclude:

- 1) Their basic personality is vastly different.

If we had a common denominator we suggest their basic personality to be at least as different as their physical appearances.

- 2) The difference in the expression of their basic personality was not as great as the difference in basic personality. Also what we may call the "intended expression" was actually a great deal alike. Environment is the controlling factor here.

- 3) Equal forces of inter-personal relationships within the family have more effect upon one type of personality than upon another.

CHAPTER IV

FINAL RESULTS AND CONCLUSION

In analyzing the results of the studies of identical twins M and the B fraternal twins we are able to draw somewhat finer conclusions than did these studies reviewed in Chapter I. To begin, many twin studies take exception⁶⁶ to Galton's early conclusion, yet many support his contention that personality characteristics are determined chiefly by inborn nature.⁶⁷ Thorndike and other early investigators such as Merriman⁶⁸ and Laterback⁶⁹ agreed with this conclusion though not with Galton's content that illness or accident was the only cause which appeared to make similar twins unlike in personality traits. Even this general agreement is somewhat surprising when we consider all these studies lacked proper criteria for adequate diagnosis and the lack of any thorough understanding of the twins' personality. These findings were gross findings. Any distinguishing conclusions were highly speculative.

66 Galton, op. cit., pp. 238-241.

67 Thorndike, op. cit., pp. 37-62.

68 Merriman, op. cit., pp. 70-84.

69 Laterback, op. cit., pp. 554-568.

Going further, if an understanding of the individual twin had been realized in later studies by Freeman,⁷⁰ Newman and Holzinger there would be no need to speculate and postulate a theory of "Levels of Behavior" or in the case of Gardner and Newman⁷¹ the theory of "Threshold of Reactivity to Environmental Factors".⁷² Again Burks would not have had to purposed the artificial "Physical Vitality and Non-adaptive Irritability" thesis and Misback and Stromberg's⁷³ "Social Field" theory would never have been necessary had each author dealt with their subjects as understood individuals. These theories were poor substitutes to explain differences in twin behavior. All the studies, from the earliest to the latest, recognized the similar common inborn personality characteristics of identical twins; yet the later studies were almost as much at a loss to explain the differences in expression of personality of identical twins as were the earlier works. The writers

70 Freeman, Newman and Holzinger, op. cit., pp. 321-349.

71 Gardner and Newman, op. cit., pp. 123-126.

72 Burks, op. cit., 61-70.

73 Misback and Stromberg, op. cit., p. 255.

could not account for it in the environment entirely, hence the many proposals and theories. In the case of fraternal twins, these inborn traits were not so strikingly similar and therefore there was not the need to speculate.

We agree with Newman, Freeman and Holzinger, and Newman and Gardner and others who contend there is not a "one to one" relationship between a gross environmental factor and a given type of behavior. A good environment in the economic sense or social sense does not lead to fewer or more neurotic symptoms or more or less emotional responsiveness. However, we take exception and strong exception to these same authors who, after objectively analyzing a large number of twin case histories, state the features of environment are much more subtle and leave us with merely the subtle explanation. We demonstrated, to a considerable extent in our two sets of twins, the degree and direction of behavior in a given twin and the causes for such behavior. Indeed the causes for different expressions of behavior were subtle and complex at first sight, but entirely reasonable and clear and open when we understood the individual as he was functioning.

In the case of our M identical twins each was functioning from the same basic personality pattern, yet much of their behavior was as different or even more different than the behavior between the B fraternal twins who did not have the same basic pattern. The common physical environment in which each set of twins respectively lived therefore did not have as much influence as the day to day inter-personal relationships. This continued inter-personal relationship, primarily within the family, in the case of M twins and Gordon in the fraternal set, was the key for the type, direction and degree of expression of their behavior. Hence we can say from a basic or acquired personality pattern each twin was free to function in the manner he chose.

The writer believes the last sentence in the above paragraph is a very important concept. Troup's⁷⁴ contention as well as Burks' suggestion support this finding of ours. Troup adds, as the individual develops from early childhood onward the interaction and development become complex and can not be simplified by attributing the resultant to either biology or environment separately. Instead personality

74 Troup, op. cit., pp. 530-554.

patterns set-up in childhood become fairly stable, but are continually being influenced by new environmental influences throughout childhood and adulthood. In commenting further on Troup's conclusion she states if one identical twin is favored either consciously or unconsciously, the other will take a retiring role. Our own study refutes this conclusively. In the case of the M identical twins the opposite behavior occurred. Certainly John was favored, but Joseph was none the less retiring. Actually the less favored twin tended to sublimate his needs more, but not in a retiring manner. Instead he became more aggressive and hostile. Generalizations concerning individual detailed behavior is dangerous and this applies to Troup's shortcomings.

We cannot observe only outward behavior over a long period of time and then draw conclusions from such as Gesell and Thompson had a tendency to do. These outward expressions are only too superficial, too mechanical, too deceiving to be of value unless understood from the standpoint of the individual's own deep feelings and thinking. We saw time and again in both twin studies of our own the manner in which Gordon and John and Joseph gave outward expressions which were in direct contrast to the feelings within themselves.

This present study discovered a change in basic personality structure is not needed in order to gain a more satisfactory emotional adjustment. No previous twin study ever suggested or indicated such a conclusion. This finding was brought to light in counseling identical twins Joseph and John and fraternal twin Gordon. The evidences demonstrated through the use of such defense mechanism as sublimation and healthy rationalization and a desire to help himself an individual can be happier and emotionally more healthy without giving up or destroying any part of their basic structure. In the case of John and Joseph there was noticed a considerable change for the better in each twin during and after counseling had been completed, yet in their basic passive-dependent pattern we had not detected the slightest change. Along with this same thinking, it was further discovered the more free the identical twins were from emotional difficulties the less in contrast was their behavior.

In ending, the following is a brief summary of the findings and conclusions based on the study of a set of identical twins, a set of fraternal twins along with an integration of previous twin studies.

1) There is every indication that basic personality traits or tendencies of identical twins are inherited. The writer believes identical twins come into this world having basic personality traits or tendencies as the same as that which is measured by intelligence tests. On the other hand inherited basic personality traits or tendencies of fraternal twins vary considerably.

2) The expression of basic personality traits of identical twins may vary, due to environmental causes, as much or even more than the expression of fraternal twins.

3) Artificial proposals or theories are not necessary to explain the reasons for the great variations in expression of the same basic personality patterns. Rather, this writer finds the explanation of behavior by thoroughly understanding the particular individual. We must understand his basic emotional pattern as he functions with his own free will through inter-personal relationships within his environment.

4) These inter-personal relationships, being in continual operation, affect the personality through out one's life even though a somewhat stable personality pattern is established in childhood.

5) Objective study and observation of a large number

of twins from which to draw any statistical conclusions or generalizations is futile and mis-leading.

6) The basic personality pattern does not have to change in order to gain a more satisfactory emotional adjustment. A desire to help one's self along with some re-training (counseling), and with the aid of his own defense mechanism, the individual can become more efficient and effective as well as gaining a better integrated life.

7) The writer emphatically recommends, to avoid errors and pitfall of previous mentioned authors, further study of personality with twins be confined to the method used in the present study or a similar method whereby the individual's emotions and personality traits, both conscious and unconscious, are brought out and understood as he functions in day to day living.

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APPENDIX I

AN ABSTRACT OF

PERSONALITY DIFFERENCES IN TWIN RESEARCH¹

This research is intended to bring out a better understanding of the causes for the similarities and differences in the personality of twins by reviewing, integrating and criticising the literature on this material and then offering an original study of a set of identical twins and a set of fraternal twins. Studies of twins which have appeared in the past indicate that although there have been many dealing with physical and intellectual resemblances between twins, little critical attention has been paid by experimenters to similarities and differences in personality development.

Chapter One in reviewing and integrating twin personality studies brings to light the historical swing from first stressing heredity and then environment as most important in determining personality. Later we note a trend suggesting subtle interplay of environment and heredity and then leaving this subtle interplay as the

¹ Harold J. Wilson, *Personality Differences in Twin Research*, Institute of Psychology of The University of Ottawa, Ottawa, 1953, pp. VIII-203.

answer. There were of course armchair theories in attempting to explain these subtleties. The above trends were discovered hidden under a maze of much conflicting material consisting of tests, charts, graphs and information interviews.

The present author, not being satisfied with the generalized findings and previous inadequate methods of investigation which resulted in many conflicting conclusions, devised a new method of investigation. Instead of "pulling" from the twin his conscious feeling plus observing his overt behavior the new present method of investigation is helping the individual and, at the same time, the investigator is able to understand the twin's conscious and unconscious feelings and his resultant behavior while the twin himself is not aware of such study. This is accomplished by personal adjustment counseling. Thus in Chapter Two and Chapter Three personal counseling (non-directive) was carried on with a set of identical twins and a set of fraternal twins.

In Chapter Two one identical twin completed seventeen weekly counseling sessions; the other eleven sessions. The conclusions reached were first, basic personality traits in a set of identical twins are inherited, and it is proposed at least to the same degree as intelligence. The expression of these same basic personality traits can vary from like expression to directly opposite expression

depending upon the satisfaction of these basic emotions through inter-personal relationships centered primarily in the home. A third finding was the more free the twins were from emotional disturbances the more alike was the resemblance in the expression of their basic feelings.

In Chapter Three one fraternal twin completed eleven sessions; the other only three sessions. Here there is demonstrated a vast difference in their basic personality structure. However, due to environment, the expression of their basic personality was not nearly as different as was the difference in the personality structure.

Besides the above results we find in comparing and contrasting the three previous chapters some interesting trends. One of these is that the basic personality pattern does not have to change in order to gain a more satisfactory emotional adjustment. A desire to help one's self along with re-training (counseling in this case), and with the aid of his own defense mechanism the individual can become more efficient and effective and gain a better integrated life. Another trend noted was even though a somewhat stable personality pattern is established in childhood, it is nevertheless always being affected by our every day inter-personal relationships. And finally the artificial theories proposed in so many studies in Chapter I to explain variations in the same basic personality pattern is not necessary if

the investigator thoroughly understands the individuals he is studying.

Although our new method in the investigation of twin personality is time consuming, in locating suitable subjects and in counseling them, the time and effort spent is more than justified. This method overcomes the major disadvantages, difficulties, and criticisms involved in previous research along this line. This writer well realizes the possibility that if any one really worthwhile contribution from this research is to be realized it is, no doubt, the demonstration here of a beginning of a new and more adequate method in the investigation of twin personality.