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DOUBLE BINDING COMMUNICATION:
EMOTIONALLY DISRUPTIVE EFFECTS ON COLLEGE STUDENTS

THESIS

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By

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This study investigated the emotionally disruptive effects of double binding communication, as compared with overtly punitive, and warm, accepting interactions. Forty-two college undergraduates scoring above the mean on the Neuroticism Subscale of Eysenck's Personality Questionnaire were each directed to play the part of a small child in a spontaneous role-played family interaction. A pre-post mood test (Multiple Adjective Affect Check List), sensitive to changes in depression, hostility, and anxiety was administered. It was found that subjects in the double-bind and punitive conditions evidenced significant mood disturbance while subjects in the control group did not (all p s < .05). Implications for Double Bind Theory were discussed.



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TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
LIST OF TABLES	iv
LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS.	v
Thesis	
Introduction.	1
Theoretical Background	
Related Research	
Rationale for Proposed Study	
Hypotheses	
Method.	13
Subjects	
Materials	
Procedure	
Results	17
Discussion.	18
Appendices.	26
References.	51

LIST OF TABLES

Table	Page
1. Means and Standard Deviations for Pre-Post Measures for All Conditions	45
2. Summary Table of Analysis of Variance: Trials (Pre-Post) by Condition for Depression Subscale	46
3. Summary Table of Analysis of Variance: Trials (Pre-Post) by Condition for Anxiety Subscale . .	47
4. Summary Table of Analysis of Variance: Trials (Pre-Post) by Condition for Hostility Subscale	48
5. Neuman Keul's Tests on All Conditions for Pre-Test Mood Scores	49
6. Neuman Keul's Tests on All Conditions for Post-Test Mood Scores.	50

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

Figure	Page
1. Mean Pre- and Post- Depression Scores for Subjects in Double Bind, Punitive, and Control Groups	19
2. Mean Pre- and Post- Anxiety Scores for Subjects in Double Bind, Punitive, and Control Groups	20
3. Mean Pre- and Post- Anxiety Scores for Subjects in Double Bind, Punitive, and Control Groups	21

DOUBLE BINDING COMMUNICATION: EMOTIONALLY
DISRUPTIVE EFFECTS ON COLLEGE STUDENTS

A little over twenty five years ago, Bateson introduced the concept of double binding communication in an attempt to explain the etiology of schizophrenic behavior (Bateson, Jackson, Haley, & Weakland, 1956). Since then, repeated attempts have been made to link double binding communication with schizophrenogenic family patterns (Beavers, Blumber, Timken, & Weiner, 1965; Weakland & Fry, 1962; Haley, 1963) as well as with delinquency in youth (Ferreira, 1960; Beakel & Mehrabian, 1969; Lessen, 1979), disturbed families (Sluzki, 1967; Bugental, 1971), neurosis (Arieti, 1960; Bateson, 1966; Veron, 1970), and with anxiety in normals (Smith, 1973). It has even been proposed as a universal theory of pathogenesis (Sluzki, 1971). In addition, double bind theory has been used to explain such diverse phenomena as humor (Fry, 1963; Zuk, 1964), hypnosis (Haley, 1958), therapy (Haley, 1955, 1961; Watzlawick, Beavin, & Jackson, 1967), play and creativity (Bateson, 1969; Haley, 1955), and epistemology (Bateson, 1969, 1978).

In its purest form, double bind refers to paradoxical injunctions in an intense relationship (Bateson et al., 1956; Watzlawick et al., 1967; Abeles, 1975; Sluzki, 1976; Haley, 1976), where one injunction is contradicted by

another at a higher level. Repeated communication of this nature is said to be quite debilitating when experienced in the context of a significant relationship in which leaving the field is not perceived as a possible option, and meta-commenting is disallowed. This is thought to be especially true when the injunctions imply some form of punishment if they are not carried out.

Any message that comments on another message is said to be of a higher logical order than the message being commented on. For example, the statement "I am kidding" qualifies, or comments on, any behavior following it. It provides a context within which the next statement would normally be understood. Thus if the statement "I am kidding" were followed by a statement "I am not kidding," it would be impossible to determine the meaning of the second statement without entering into a never-ending circle of ambiguity.

This paradox is even more insidious when both messages take the form of injunctions requiring a response. For example, a mother tells her son, "Be more independent." If the son tries to obey at one level, he fails to comply at another level because by doing as she says, he is no longer acting independently. He is double bound.

In its broadest form, then, the double bind can be any situation in which, a child for example, is expected to respond to one message while simultaneously also being

responsible for attending to another contradictory message that disqualifies the first. This counter-qualification may take the form of implied family rules (Wynne, 1969), antecedent comments which frame the incident (Bateson et al., 1956; Sluzki, 1971), nonverbal gestures which metacomment on the action (Haley, 1976; Bateson, 1956), or unexpressed, shared assumptions that form the background of a relationship (Abeles, 1976; Schefflen, 1978). The reverberating effects of such apparently trivial incidents can be quite disorganizing. A person is forced to make a choice in situations where choice itself is bankrupted. Bateson suggests this may lead an individual to doubt his own perceptions, to impose bizarre interpretations on the world, or to totally withdraw. Cognitive functioning is impaired, emotional stability is disrupted, and a pervasive distrust of one's own perceptual process begins to ensue. In short, schizophrenic behavior would appear to be a natural concomitant to double binding communication (Bateson et al., 1956; Watzlawick, et al., 1967).

Related Research

While the double bind concept in its most basic form seems quite clear, research that has been done on the double bind is all but clear. Each investigator seems to have cast the concept in a slightly different mold. Consequently, the results are often uninterpretable. Reviewers have lamented this fact, even to the point of claiming that the double

bind phenomenon is totally unresearchable (Schuham, 1967; Olson, 1972, Abeles, 1976). However, research paradigms can essentially be classed into two types: (1) attempts to correlate double binding communication with disturbed family interactions, and (2) attempts to create double bind situations in various experimental settings.

Most of the earlier studies were correlational in nature. A higher incidence of double binding communication was expected from mothers of schizophrenic children than from mothers of non-schizophrenic children, as evidenced in letters written (Weakland & Fry, 1962; Yi, 1962; Ringuette, 1966) or in types of comments remembered from childhood (Berger, 1965). Success was questionable.

Family interactions in various interview settings were also analyzed, comparing schizophrenic with non-schizophrenic families (Beavers et al., 1965), disturbed and normal families, (Bugental, 1971), delinquent families (Lessen, 1979; Beakel & Mehrabian, 1969), schismatic families (Sluzki, 1967), and normal, cystic fibrosis, ulcerative colitis, and schizophrenic families (Sojit, 1969, 1971). The findings from these correlational studies, while interesting, have been decidedly mixed. They found that while disturbed families did indeed have a high incidence of double binding communication, "normal" families also had a high amount. Other factors, such as overall negativity of interactions, seemed to contribute as well. Double binding

communication, as a singular implicating factor in pathology, could not clearly be substantiated.

Since studies based on a correlational approach have limited explanatory value, other researchers have taken a different approach. They have attempted to recreate the double bind in laboratory settings, and then assess an individual's response to that double bind. Phillips (1970) administered a paper/pencil forced choice "double bind test" to high school seniors. Guindon (1971) similarly administered 40 double bind statements to college students separated by MMPI scores into schizoid and obsessive-compulsive groups. Loeff (1966) compared responses of normal, delinquent, and schizophrenic females to 48 double bind statements, and Abeles (1975) applied a similar test to schizophrenics, alcoholics, and normals. Schaefer (1972) contrasted neurotics and schizophrenics in their response to a series of double bind statements. All these studies have in common an analysis of a subject's response to a series of single, non-related double bind statements. They also all have in common the fact that they did not achieve the results they had hoped for.

Though differential consequences were also applied, the double bind in each case consisted of either logically paradoxical statements (Abeles, 1975), forced-choice statements (Phillips, 1970), or some incongruency in delivery of statements (Loeff, 1966; Guindon, 1971; Schaeffer, 1972).

However, one single statement, no matter how paradoxical or conflicting in nature, is insufficient to create a double bind, since the double bind refers to a process of reverberating disqualifications in the context of an intense relationship (Bateson et al., 1956; Haley, 1959, 1963; Sluzki, 1976; Abeles, 1976). In other words, the statements must progressively build on each other in such a way that even though the person perceives himself to have a genuine choice, the choice he makes is always incompatible with the situation.

Thus other researchers, using the notion of double bind as process, have tried to demonstrate the debilitating effects of double binding communication by requiring subjects to respond to an extended series of double binding stimuli. The subject is placed in a situation where his original expectations (either explicitly or implicitly derived from the experimental parameters) are later contradicted by incongruous expectations. Thus schizophrenics have been compared in responses to Prisoner's Dilemma Game (Potash, 1965), in discriminating indistinguishable music notes (Citola, 1961), and solving Jackson Pollack jigsaw puzzles (Kingsley, 1970). Schizophrenics were expected to be more affected by the double bind situation than non-schizophrenics, as double binding experiences were hypothesized to be central to their etiology. Expectations were not confirmed.

Promising results have, however, been obtained by using interpersonal interactions as the means of generating double binds. Melowsky, (1978), for instance, placed students in an extended interview situation in which the student's expectations derived from explicit instructions were undermined by implicit cues emitted by the interviewer. Similarly, Schreiber (1970) analyzed subjects responses after being in an interaction consisting of a series of transactional disqualifications.

Perhaps the most elaborate attempt to create the double bind in a laboratory setting has been done by Smith (1973). Subjects were asked to respond for one and a half hours to a series of 30 double binding letters written from an imagined mother. Through computer-assisted false feedback, and using white noise as punishment, Smith was able to create a situation where the subject interacted with the mother indirectly, and was submerged in extended double binding interactions. The effect was so strong that for many of Smith's subjects the debriefing was not enough, and they evidenced anxiety even weeks later. These studies suggest that the double bind, if conceived of as process operating in an interpersonal interaction, can indeed be researchable.

Rationale for Proposed Study

This study investigates the possible negative effects of double binding communication. More specifically, it attempts to assess whether double binding communication is

as emotionally disruptive as overtly punitive and hostile communication. These two negative conditions were contrasted with one involving positive, understanding communication. The three experimental conditions were respectively intended to simulate the "schizophrenogenic mother" family system, overtly punitive, verbally rejecting families, and the Rogerian ideal of a warm, unconditionally accepting family. Two parts of this study in particular require comment: the choice of a spontaneous role-playing methodology to create the manipulation in experimental conditions, and the contrast of double binding communication with overtly punitive communication.

Use of Role Play. The double bind is a process in which a series of reverberating disqualifications build on each other, creating an entangling chain of interactions (see again Watzlawick et al., 1967; Abeles, 1976). The subject is progressively stuck, no matter what response he chooses. As such, experimental re-creation of the double bind will necessarily involve more than a series of independent statements, no matter how incongruous they may be. It will require placing a subject in a situation where counterdisqualifications build on each other around the same theme for an extended period of time. Role-play offers such a situation. Anecdotal comments in both the studies by Abeles (1975) and Melowsky (1978) are instructive here, where subjects expressed fears that if the experience had

been longer they might have succumbed to the tennacles of the double bind.

In addition to being a process, double binding communication--if it is to be binding in nature--must occur in the context of an intense relationship where leaving the field is either blocked or severely limited. Most typically, this is inherent in all parent-child interactions. The child needs the parents' love for emotional survival and feels that all the power is invested in the parent. Indeed, most of the double binding literature to date has focused on familial interactions, especially those between mother and child.

Therefore, requiring students to play the role of a small child in a family setting would seem like an effective way to study the double bind in a laboratory situation, since: (a) it incorporates the notion of double bind as a reverberating process, rather than just a single pair of injunctions, (b) it closely approximates those real-life situations where double binds have been posited to most often occur, and (c) it allows the subject to give spontaneous, authentic responses to parental injunctions with full emotional involvement, yet still be double bound. This study attempted to accomplish the above-mentioned goals by having subjects play the part of a small child in a 15 minute family interaction scene.

Role-playing of this nature has been shown to be a powerful mode for inducing realistic interactions, even with adult college students (Lehner, 1980; Moreno, 1959; Greenberg, 1974). Though no other study to date has used spontaneous role-play to specifically study the double bind, it has been successfully employed in two studies investigating general interpersonal interactions. Graves (1976), in assessing effects of inconsistent verbal-nonverbal messages gave subjects a role induction, and then had them enact a standard student complaint with a "therapist" for 15 minutes. Leathers (1976), placed students in groups discussing hypothetical problems and filmed their responses to a stooge delivering incongruent messages. It should also be noted that Smith's study (1973) indirectly resembled this approach in that he required subjects to pretend they were answering letters written from their mother. This use of role-play methodology is echoed by Helms (1976), who suggests in forceful terms that role-playing is a viable and profitable approach to studying the double bind. This present study, then, attempts to re-create the double bind and assess its effects in a role-play family interaction situation with college students.

Punitive communication. In the theoretical formulations of Bateson (1956) and Haley (1963), double binding communication is taken to be more debilitating than punitive communication. However, little has been done to specifically

test this notion. The few correlational studies that have touched on the issue seem to question this prediction.

For example, Beakel & Mehrabian (1969), found that for disturbed families, there was no significant difference between them on prevalence of conflicting messages, but there was a high correlation of overall negativity to severity of disturbance. Bugental (1971) found disturbed families to have more conflicting messages as well as more negativity on all channels than normal families. Lessen (1979) reports essentially the same finding in a study of delinquent families, but the results may be somewhat confounded due to demographic variables. Finally, Newman (1977) attempted to assess schizophrenics' responses to channel discrepancy in contrast to normals. He found that, among other things, schizophrenics were more sensitive to conflicting nonverbal messages when the overall tone was negative than when it was positive.

These studies suggest that both double binding and negative (punitive) forms of communication are related to pathogenesis, and that they can be discriminated from each other. This study, therefore, contrasts double binding communication with overtly negative communication in an attempt to identify differential effects between them.

Hypotheses

The following hypotheses were therefore tested:

- (1) Subjects in the Double Bind Condition will

evidence greater anxiety than will those in the Punitive Condition.

(2) Subjects in the Punitive Condition will evidence greater hostility than those in the Double Bind Condition.

(3) Both Double Bind subjects and Punitive subjects will evidence an increase in Depression.

(4) Control subjects will not show a significant increase in any negative mood factor.

Double binding communication is posited to operate below the level of awareness, whereas overtly hostile communication is taken to operate at the observable level. The one is implicit, the other explicit in nature. The subject in the Punitive Condition is therefore expected to be able to identify a specific source for his negative feeling (i.e., the mother's overly punitive behavior) and will focus these negative feelings on the mother in the form of increased hostility. The subject in the Double Bind Condition is not expected to consciously attribute his negative feelings to any particular element, thus is expected to experience insecurity and uneasiness as evidenced by increased anxiety. Since his anger is unfocused and cannot clearly be dispelled, he may turn it inward on himself and experience an increase in depression. The punitive subject is also expected to experience depression, stemming from a sense of learned helplessness as a result of the mother's relentless attacks and put-downs.

Method

Subjects

A total of 42 subjects were used, with 14 subjects per experimental condition. Subjects were volunteers from undergraduate psychology classes of North Texas State University, selected on the basis of their scores on the Neuroticism Subscale of Eysenck's (1975) Personality Questionnaire. Only subjects scoring above the mean of the neuroticism subscale for college students were selected (norms based on Eysenck, 1975). For men this was a score of 10 or above, for women a score of 12 or above. Consequently, of the 149 subjects volunteering, 44% were invited to participate in the study.

Eysenck states that those who score high on Neuroticism (N score) are typically more emotionally sensitive and tend to exhibit more visible emotional changes in stressful situations. It seems likely, then, that these would be the type of subjects most susceptible to the effects of double binding and punitive forms of communication. On the other hand, any subject showing obvious pathology or disturbance would have been screened from participating in the family interaction scene. Ample opportunity to observe each subject's level of interpersonal functioning was provided in pre-test interactions with the experimenter and in the role-induction setting. Treatment of all subjects was in accordance with ethical standards of APA and NTSU.

Materials

A modified version of the Today Form of the Multiple Affect Adjective Check List (MAACL) (Zuckerman & Lubin, 1965) was administered, and pre-post changes on each of the three subscales (Depression, Hostility, Anxiety) were recorded. Instructions were modified to read: "Place a check-mark in front of all the words that describe how you are feeling right now."

Procedure

Subjects were randomly assigned to one of three conditions. Each group was balanced for sex and N score.

Subjects for all conditions, upon arrival, were asked to fill out a MAACL. After completing this pre-MAACL, each subject was given a 5-minute role induction in which he or she was asked to play the part of a 10-year-old child in a family interaction scene.

It was explained that the purpose of the study was to see how well each subject could actually feel like a small child and authentically play that role. The subject was introduced to the persons playing the part of the parents, and various techniques were used to help the subject genuinely feel like a small child, including Satir's "sculpturing," visualization, hypnotic suggestion, and elements adapted from Moreno's psychodrama techniques.

All subjects were given the same background setting for the interaction scene (coming home from school with a bad

report card after having had an argument with the mother in the morning). It was stressed that the primary focus of the study was on how well each subject could actually feel like a small child. Therefore, what subjects said to the parents and how they chose to interact was left up to them, the only requirement being that they try to act and feel like a small child.

As an added incentive for playing the role, subjects were told that they had already been credited with a small amount of money for participating in the study. They were told that they would be observed through a one-way mirror by a pair of trained raters, and if they sincerely tried to get emotionally involved, to feel like a child, and make the interaction as realistic as possible, they would be able to add to that amount, but if they did not sincerely try or fully participate, they could lose it all. Each subject received \$2.00.

Subjects were randomly assigned to one of the three role-play conditions in which they were allowed to interact for 15 minutes. The family scene consisted of a mother, a father, and the child.

In the Double Bind Condition, the parents (especially the mother) acted in such a way as to continually double bind the child. The parents had a specified series of statements, interactions, and nonverbal gestures that appeared in all double bind interactions, but which could be

modified to respond to any potential maneuvers by the subject. Pilot research showed that this application of psychodrama techniques can be implemented to maintain both a spontaneous, naturalistic interaction and one which is well-controlled in terms of the content of parental injunctions. Explicit messages by the mother expressed love for the child and granted independence, while implicit messages emphasized rejection and demanded dependence. These are the themes most characteristically associated with double binding communication. (Watzlawick, 1967; Sluzki, 1976).

In the Punitive Condition, the parents acted in a punitive, rejecting, hostile manner, as evidenced by tone and volume of voice, nonverbal gestures, and by specified comments that were included in all of the Punitive Condition interactions. Emphasis was on power and punishment. While communication was negative in nature, care was taken to ensure that it was not abusive.

In the third condition, the Control Group, the parents essentially acted in an accepting, respectful, and understanding manner, as described in humanistic and Rogerian literature (Rogers, 1967). The parents conveyed the message that they were interested in the child, and emphasis was on constructive corrective action rather than punishment.

All interactions lasted 15 minutes and were designed such that parents could include the required specified elements for each condition (i.e., particular statements, vocal style, body movements), but also remain flexible to respond to all potential actions on the part of the subject. All interactions were monitored via a one-way mirror, so that any interaction that did not meet required specifications for its condition would not be used in data analysis.

A pair of upper-level undergraduate students were trained to play the part of the parents. The same two parents were used for all scripts, with order of conditions randomized. Appropriate props were used to add to the emotional authenticity of the role play. The mother wore an apron and house slippers and had her hair covered. The father wore a robe, smoked a pipe, and held a newspaper. Subjects carried a report card and sat on a tiny stool in front of the parents. Immediately after completing the spontaneous role-play interaction, subjects were then asked to fill out a post-MAACL, after which they were thoroughly debriefed.

Results

A 2 (pre-post trials) X 3 (conditions) analysis of variance was run on each of the three MAACL subscales (Depression, Hostility, Anxiety). Significant condition effects ($p < .001$), trials effects ($p < .001$), and condition

by trials interaction effects ($p < .001$) were found for all mood subscales. (See Figures 1, 2, 3 and Appendices H, I, J).

Because of the significant interaction effect, a simple effects analysis was done on all possible contrasts using Neuman Keul's multiple range test. It was found that for each of the MAACL subscales, the Punitive and Double Bind Conditions differed significantly from the Control Group on post-test scores ($p < .05$), but not on pre-test scores. The Control Group showed no significant change from pre- to post- on any mood subscale.

These results indicate that subjects in both the Double Bind and Punitive Conditions experienced a significant increase in depression, hostility, and anxiety following the spontaneous role-play interaction, while subjects in the Control Group did not evidence any change in emotions. This is consistent with predictions.

However, two differential predictions were not confirmed. Subjects in the Punitive Condition did not experience greater hostility than did subjects in the Double Bind Condition, and double bind subjects did not experience significantly more anxiety than Punitive subjects, as measured by the MAACL.

Discussion

Three points were suggested by this study: a) Double binding communication was found to be emotionally debilitating, even when experienced for a relatively brief

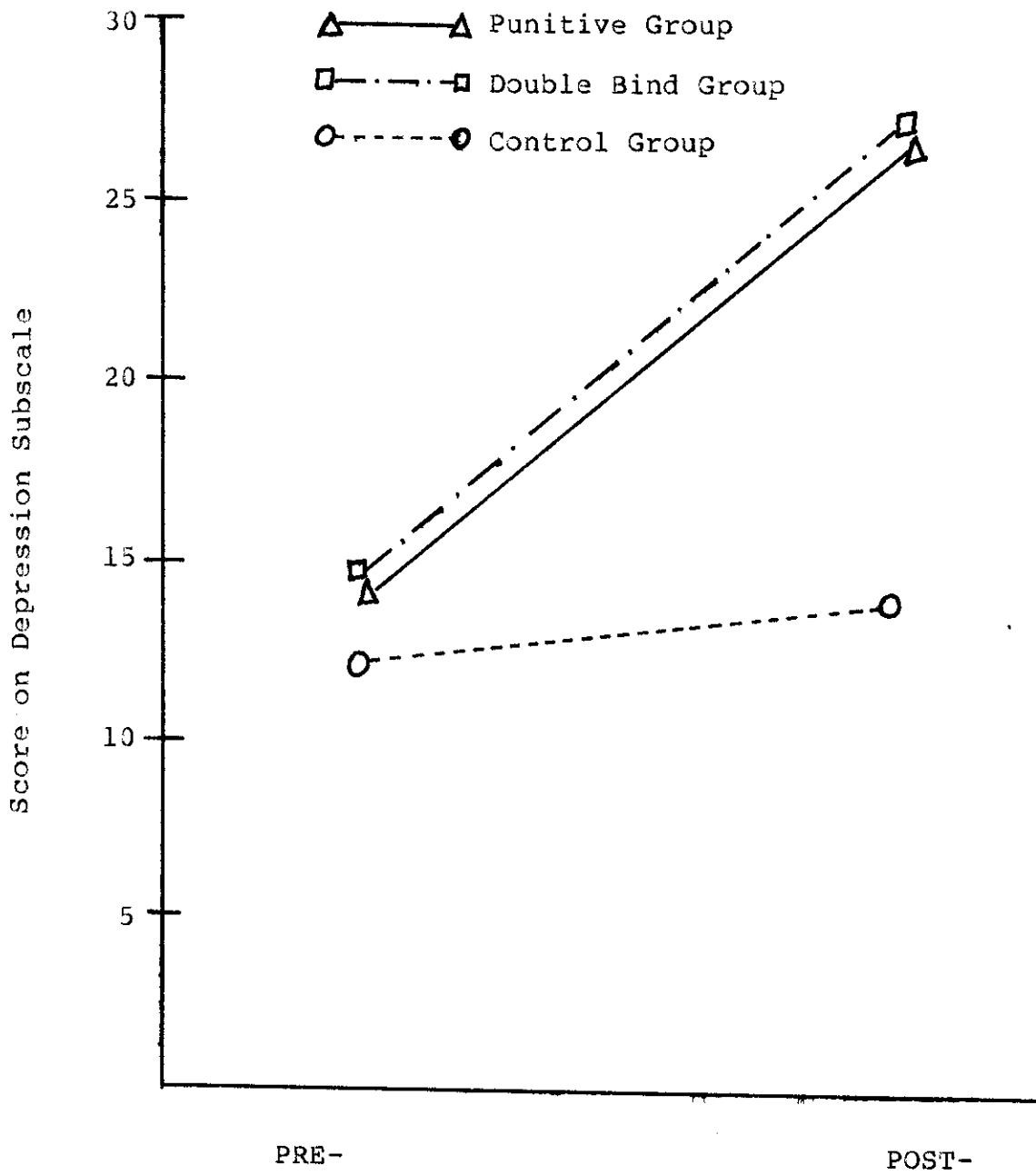


Figure 1. Mean Pre- and Post- Depression Scores for Subjects in Double Bind, Punitive, and Control Groups.

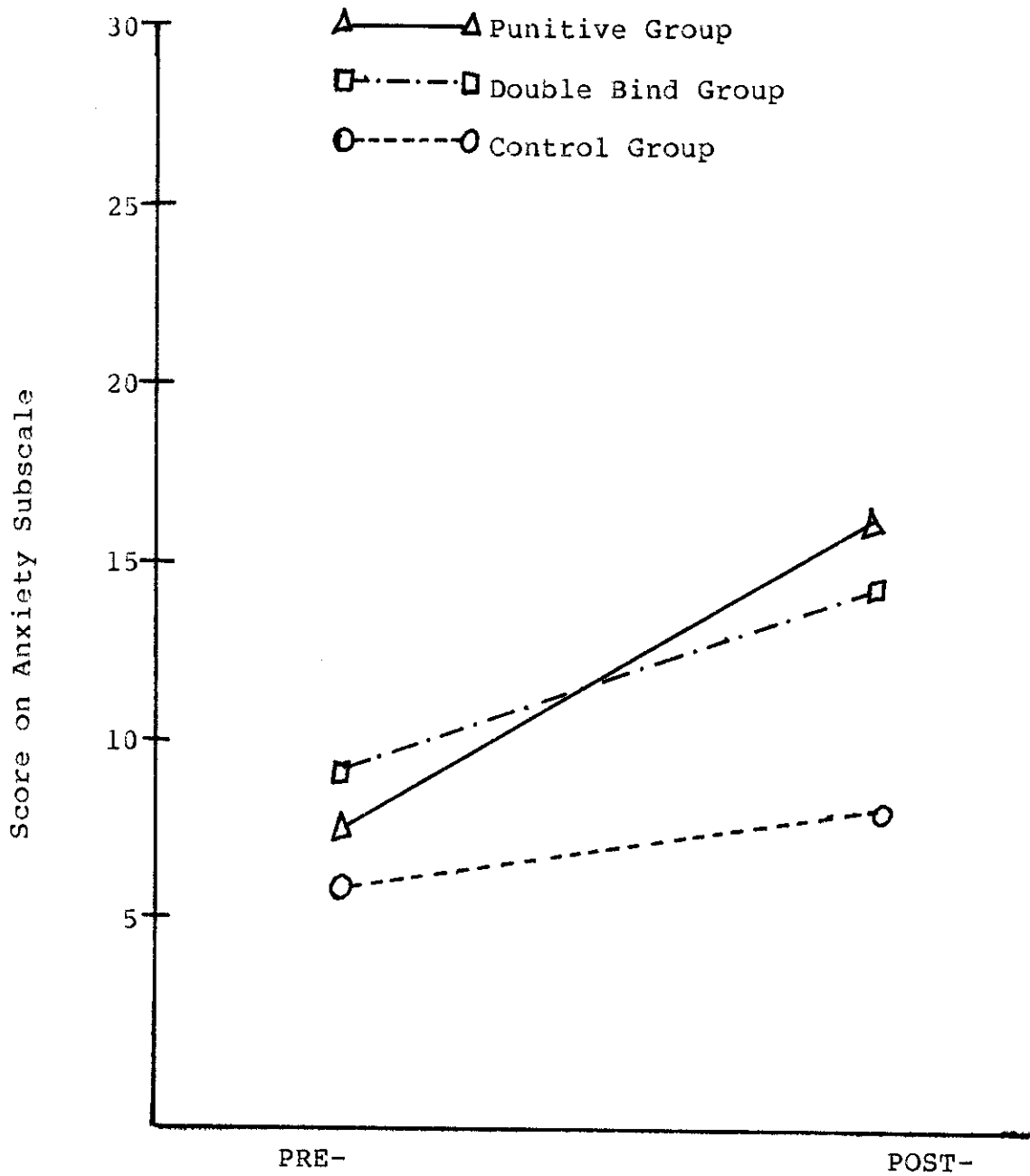


Figure 2. Mean Pre- and Post- Anxiety Scores for Subjects in Double Bind, Punitive, and Control Groups.

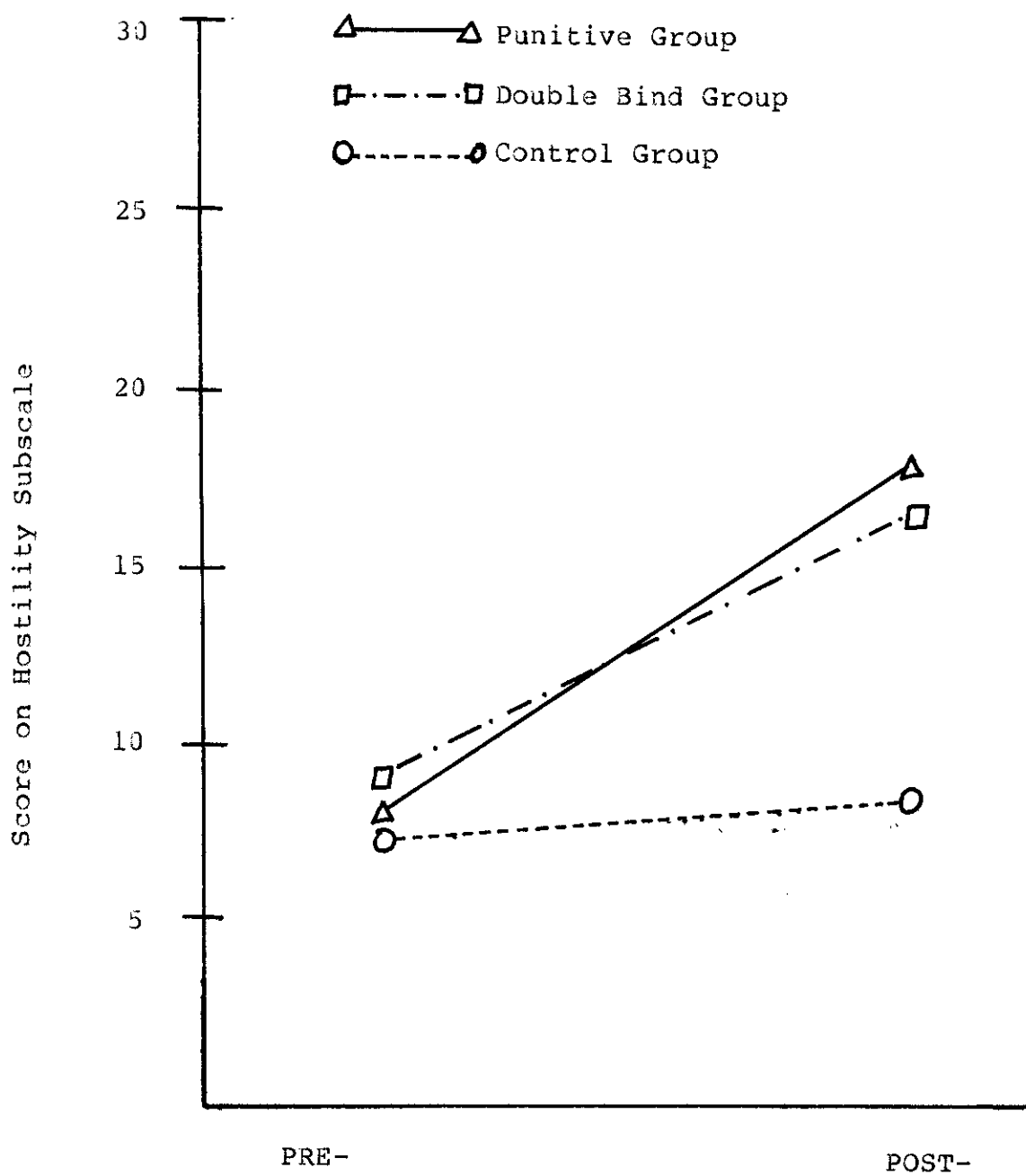


Figure 3. Mean Pre- and Post- Hostility Scores for Subjects in Double Bind, Punitive, and Control Groups.

period of time, b) Double binding communication was not clearly distinguishable from punitive communication in its emotional effects (e.g., both induced feelings of hostility, depression, and anxiety), and c) Spontaneous role-play interaction was found to be an appropriate and viable methodology for the study of double binding communication.

Thus it appears that it is emotionally aversive for children to interact with a mother who tells them explicitly that she loves them but implicitly disqualifies that message. Such children--if they continue in this typically sweet but insidious relationship--are very likely to evidence severe emotional pathology. The literature suggests that this is especially true if the relationship is important to the child and he or she does not see termination as a possible alternative (Bateson et al., 1956; Abeles, 1976).

It also appears that children are just as likely to experience severe depression, anxiety, and hostility towards a mother if she yells at them, rejects them, and harshly punishes them as if she were to double bind them by stating overtly that they are expected to make their own decisions, while implying the opposite through hidden assumptions, vague comments, tone of voice, and nonverbal gestures. In other words, double binding communication and punitive communication were found in this study to have similar emotional effects on recipients.

The fact that both double binding and punitive subjects showed similar levels of hostility may be an artifact of the MAACL Hostility subscale. A high score on this scale arises from failing to check non-hostile items, in contrast to high scores on the Depression and Anxiety scales which stem from actively checking items loaded for depression and anxiety. For example, the Hostility scale is composed almost entirely of words like "friendly," "warm," and "caring" for which the subject is credited a point if he does not check. Thus, the Hostility subscale measures primarily implicit hostility, and has very few terms measuring explicit hostility (see Zuckerman & Lubin, 1965). This scale may fail to differentiate, then, between punitive and double bind subjects who were posited to differ in terms of explicit and implicit expressions of hostility.

In addition, the fact that subjects in the Double Bind Condition did not evidence more anxiety than subjects in the Punitive Condition may be a result of the father's intense emotional involvement in the punitive script in contrast to his relatively benign involvement in the double bind script. This difference in parental roles was intended to approximate real life families, where the mother tends to utilize underdog strategies (double bind statements), and the father utilizes a top dog strategy (power and punishment).

Comments made by subjects during extensive debriefing suggest that there may, however, be a difference between the

two conditions not picked up by the measures used in this study. For instance, it may be that the differentially aversive effects of double binding communication are evidenced in another sphere of personality not measured by the MAACL, such as cognitive disorientation. Double bind subjects indicated they were upset because they felt "confused" and "mixed-up" whereas subjects in the Punitive Condition primarily expressed feelings of "frustration." The high depression scores on the MAACL may actually have represented measurement of two different kinds of depression: one, an unfocused, inner directed anger stemming from disorientation, and the other learned helplessness stemming from the parents' relentless attacks and put-downs.

The present findings suggest, then, that double binding communication may be a sufficient, but not a necessary, component of emotional disruption. Other factors, such as negativity and emotional valence of interactions, are also significant factors. This same observation has been made by other researchers using only correlational studies (Beakel & Mehrabian, 1969; Bugental, 1971; Newman, 1977). In addition, the present results indicate that punitive injunctions are not necessary components for a double bind. A person can be double bound by injunctions that are not necessarily negative in nature. This is consistent with Bateson's later reformulations of his original double bind

concept (Berger, 1978). Negative injunctions that are discounted on another logical level represent only one class of double binding situations.

This study also provides strong evidence that spontaneous role-play interaction is a viable methodology for the study of double binding communication. This use of role play incorporates the notion of double bind as reverberating process in the context of an intense relationship. It successfully re-creates authentic and naturalistic responses to those situations, while simultaneously controlling for important variables. Thus, it allows one to look at the process of double binding communication in a way that correlational studies cannot. In conclusion, this study suggests that people are as likely to experience an increase in negative emotions when interacting with a mother who tells them explicitly that she loves them but implicitly disqualifies that message as when interacting with a mother who clearly punishes, threatens, and rejects the child. In contrast, congruent behavior on the part of the mother, where she tells the child directly that she loves him or her and also shows that love nonverbally, is unlikely to precipitate negative affect in the child, even when the content of conversation centers around sensitive topics, such as poor school performance.

Appendix A

USE OF HUMAN SUBJECTS

INFORMED CONSENT

NAME OF SUBJECT: _____

1. I hereby give consent to Dr. Critelli to perform or supervise the following investigational procedure or treatment:

I will participate in a short role-play family interaction. This will involve being videotaped and answering a few short questionnaires regarding the interaction. The videotapes will be used as stimulus material in later research projects.

2. I have (seen, heard) a clear explanation and understand the nature and purpose of the procedure or treatment; possible appropriate alternative procedures that would be advantageous to me; and the attendant discomforts or risks involved and the possibility of complications which might arise. I have (seen, heard) a clear explanation and understand the benefits to be expected. I understand that the procedure or treatment to be performed is investigational and that I may withdraw my consent for my status. With my understanding of this, having received this information and satisfactory answers to the questions I have asked, I voluntarily consent to the procedure or treatment designated in Paragraph 1 above.

DATESIGNED: _____
WitnessSIGNED: _____
Subject

Appendix B

ROLE INDUCTION

(Throughout the Role Induction the subject is seated on his small chair, facing the parents, who are standing).

In this part of the experiment, you will participate in a family interaction scene. Your task is to play the part of a ten year old boy (girl). I want you to meet Cathy and Bill. They will be working with you playing the part of the parents. (Present parents).

Can you remember back to when you were ten? Can you picture it? Try to do so. What did you call your mother and father when you were ten? _____ and _____? OK, I want you to try that out now. (Child addresses parents). And what did they call you when you were little? (Parents use that name in the interaction).

It's very important that you think back and get the feeling for what things are like for a ten year old. You're very small compared to your parents. You have to look up to them to talk to them--like that. You love them very much and could not survive without them. You need for them to love and accept you. Without them, you really have no one. You are a child--just a little kid--and as such are relatively helpless and totally dependent on _____ and _____.

Close your eyes. Try verbalizing right now what its like to you as a child: "I'm very little. I'm very small. I feel very dependent...etc."

OK, in this scene, you've just come home from school. Earlier in the morning, you had a little argument with your mother. She had promised you pancakes and just gave you cereal instead. You got upset and yelled at her. When you look back on it now, you feel badly about it and want to apologize to her. You also got your report card today and did not do very well on it (subject is handed report card). You feel badly about it. You really are a nice child, and you want your parents to love and accept you. You're not a wise-guy, but you do want to express your feelings on things.

Now, I have observed your parents before. However, I do not know what mood they are in right now or how they will interact. That has been left up to them. What I am interested in is to see how well you can get into the role of a child. We believe that all your experiences as a child

are still with you and it is still possible for you to actually feel that part. I really think that you can help us on this.

One other thing: As an added incentive for trying hard to get into the role, we have already credited you with a small amount of money. That is yours for participating in this experiment. However--listen closely, now-- we have two trained observers who will be watching you. If by their evaluations you are sincerely trying to play the role and trying to get emotionally involved in that part, you will be able to add to that sum. If however, it appears that you are not sincerely involved and are not fully participating, you may lose what has been credited to you. Is that clear?

OK, you have just come home from school. The argument has been on your mind all day and is bothering you. Here's your chair. There is no right or wrong response, nor a right or wrong way of playing your role. Most important of all, we want to see if you can emotionally get into the role of a ten year old and make the interaction as realistic as possible for you. Try to feel just what a child would in this situation.

OK, you can come outside with me, and you can begin when you enter the door. (Subject is given a chance to look over his report card, and is allowed to take as much time as he wants before entering again).

Appendix C

SAMPLE SCRIPT

DOUBLEBIND CONDITION

C: Greeting...apology.

Parents: Greeting.

M: (Whether or not child apologizes): Bobby, honey-- you know you really hurt my feelings when you raised your voice and just walked off and left me all alone this morning.

F: What happened?

C: Explanation.

M: Oh, it's OK. I know you didn't really mean it, did you Bobby? You just weren't feeling yourself, that's all, and you can't help that. (Pause, looks at Bobby). But when you talk back to me like you did this morning it makes me afraid that maybe you're not well. Have you been feeling OK lately?

(Child may "rebel" and deny being disrespectful, or the child may comply and accept the mother's interpretation of illness).

C-1: (Rebellious response on part of child).

M-1: I'm glad you're feeling better. I would hate for anything to be wrong with you. It's just that when you said that this morning, I thought for a moment you might be upset with me, and I just couldn't handle that.

C-1: But I was upset. I didn't think it was fair for you to--

M-1: (Cutting in) When people try to make excuses to me, it makes me think they don't trust me....But I understand. You know that I love you and it's OK with me if you're not feeling well.

C-2: (Compliant response on part of child).

M-2: It's not that there's anything wrong with you. I just want you to feel well, that's all.

C-2: (No talk....silence)

M-2: When people don't talk to me it makes me think they don't trust me. But I understand. You know that I love you and it's OK with me if you're not feeling well.

C: But, Mom, I'm trying to tell you.

M: Sweetie, I know you didn't really mean to leave me like that, but sometimes I wonder if you love me the way a son should love his mother. After all, you know you're just like a son to me and you're the only one that really makes me happy.

F: Oh, Martha, I'm sure Bobby loves you (looks at Bobby).
(If Bobby does not respond by saying 'I love you', Father can say: "Bobby, you really should tell your mom that you love her.")

C: Mom, I really do love you. I didn't mean to yell at you.

M: Yes, I love you too, honey (shaking head back and forth). And I know that it's only because you haven't been yourself that you waited until now to apologize.

F: (To Bobby) You need to show her how much you love her. Go ahead and show her.... Don't be afraid of how you really feel..... Go on.....

(Child hesitantly gets up to hug her. If he rebels, Mom starts to cry, Dad gets up and comes over to Bobby):
Look, you hurt her feelings again. Go over and show her how you love her.

M: (Hug Scene: Mom stiffens, grimaces with an unpleasant look on her face, turns her face away, stretches her arms out partly blocking child's hug while simultaneously saying):
You know I love you too, honey, and there's no reason to be embarrassed about showing how much you love your mother.

C: (Showing hesitation, sits down).

M: Oh, what's the matter? (Then in a teasing tone, says):
Oh, honey, you're so silly. You don't need to be embarrassed about your feelings for me. You always were such a shy little thing (laughs).

F: Yes, Bobby, you know your mother is right. Don't be so silly.

C: (Annoyed and frustrated).

M: Oh, come on, now. You know I'm only kidding. You know not to take me seriously.

I know that if you were feeling well you would have wanted to hug me. You wouldn't do it just cause you were asked. Sometimes I wonder how it can be as if I give so much love to my family and nobody even cares. You must think I'm a bad mother or something.

C: (Denial)

F: You need to apologize to your mom for hurting her feelings.

M: Sometimes I wonder why you can't just be your real self instead of hurting the people who love you.

M: (If Bobby argues, or even looks questioningly at her): Let's just drop it. You don't need to try to explain. We know you're not feeling yourself right now. Let's just forget it, shall we?

F: Hey, Bobby, I see you brought your report card home today. (Pause--looks at Bobby). Let us have a look at it. (Father takes card, then shows it to mother).

C: Here it is.

M: Yes, I hope you did well. While I love you because you're my son, I know that you're a good student. That's very important, you know. (Mother takes card, then looks away in disgust).

F: (Slowly) Bobby, it looks like you need some improvement in math, I guess (looks at mother for verification).

C: (Agrees and/or gives excuses).

M: Bad grades again. I knew it. You're making poor grades on purpose, aren't you? How do you think that makes us feel?

C: (Sincere...apologetic...upset.)

M: (Laughing) Silly! Don't take me so seriously. I was only kidding. I know that you're doing all that you can. Just try harder, OK?

C: Agrees. (If Bobby disagrees, mother responds with: Don't contradict your mother).

F: Yes, try harder. That's what you need to do.

M: Yes, that's all that's needed. Just take your studies a little more seriously. We can't have this sort of thing happen again to us. Homework has got to be done every night from now on.

C: Response.

M: Oh, by the way, I almost forgot. Your good friend Jackie Dugan called a few minutes ago. He wants you to come over tonight. He said that since his father is a math teacher, well, his father is going to show him how to do these new math problems tonight and he wanted to know if you could come over and do your homework with them.

F: Yes, that sounds like a good idea. And after my meeting tonight I'll check over your homework, too. You'll be a math whiz in no time (looks at Bobby).

M: (After a pause, and looking hurt) I didn't know you had a meeting tonight.

F: Yes, I didn't tell you? But I'll be back by 9:30.

M: It's just that I'll be left all alone tonight... But that's OK. I'll just watch a movie by myself on TV or something. Bobby's schoolwork is more important.

F: (To Bobby). Um-hmm. We sure don't want another one of these, do we Bobby? (holding report card).

M: (After pause, if child does not say anything) That was very considerate of Jackie Dugan. He's such a nice boy. And smart, too. I'm glad you have friends like that. But sometimes I wonder if he isn't a bad influence on you. Didn't you spend a lot of time with him last week?

C: Agress/Disagrees.

M: (Regardless of what child says). Yes, I thought so. It's just that I want you to have a lot of friends, not just one or two.

M: (After a while) You know, I was talking to Grace Adams the other day, and she said that if one of her kids ever turned his back and left her alone the way Jackie--er, I mean Jerry Richards across the street did to his

parents--why she said she would just disown him. I just can't see how a mother could ever disown her own flesh and blood.

F: Well, I'm glad we don't have a son like that. That's all I can say. Right, Bobby?

C: Agrees.

M: Oh, Bobby, why don't you have some cookies as a snack now before dinner time. I spent all afternoon baking these just for you. But you know that I don't mind because I love you as a son. Here you go, Sweetie.

C: Thanks, Mom.

M: (Mother has stacked two different kinds of cookies on plate. Depending on which type he does not eat first, she says): What's wrong, honey? Don't you like the peanut butter cookies I made for you?

C: Tries to explain.

M: Please don't make excuses. I know how you really feel. You didn't eat hardly any peanut butter cookies last time either.

C: Response (tries to explain).

M: Honey, I don't want you to force yourself. Really, honey, just eat the ones you want and turn your ba--just leave the rest. I don't want you spoiling your appetite before supper.

F: There you go again, acting different than you really are. Bobby, sometimes I think you don't act like your real self. You do things that make it seem you don't like your own mother. You need to try to be different.

C: I took what she gave me.

M: Are you going to be ready for dinner?

C: Complies/Rebels.

M: ("That's good.") I love to see my family eat the good food I make for them. But, Bobby, before we get ready for dinner, you know you ought to call up Jackie Dugan and tell him what you're going to do for tonight. What did you decide to tell him?

C: What do you think I should do?

M: That's your decision. It's up to you. I want you to start making up your own mind. After all, you're getting to be a big boy now, and it's important that you learn how to make the right decisions. You need to think on your own and not always be dependent on other people.

[Child may "rebel" and deny being at fault, or child may comply and accept the mother's interpretation of illness].

C-1: (Decides to stay home).

M-1: I don't get it Bobby. Here's the perfect chance to bring up your failure in math and you're not going to do anything about it. I just can't figure out what's wrong with you.

F-1: Yes, Bobby, I know you like your Mother enough to bring up your grades for her.

C-2: (Decides to go to Jackie's).

F-2: That sounds like a good idea. First step to an A in math.

M-2: Yes, that's OK. (Pause). You know, when I think of it, that Jackie Dugan's father has a lot of nerve--just because he's a math teacher acting like other people's parents don't know anything about math. I just don't think it's good for kids to be around someone like that.

C-2: But he's my friend.

M-2: Well, maybe. But if he were really your friend, he wouldn't think of some things the way he does. I just think he doesn't show enough respect. But it's not your fault, so just keep that in mind, will you honey? Now what did you say you were going to tell him?

C-2: Going to Jackie's.

M: (After a while; looking and acting very sick): I don't know if I can even eat dinner now, I just feel a little nauseous. But I'll be alright. I just need to lie down for awhile and be by myself. Don't worry about me. (Struggles to get up out of her chair). I don't know, I'm just not feeling well all of a sudden, but it's not your fault. (Father helps her leave room).

Appendix D

SAMPLE SCRIPT

PUNITIVE AND REJECTING CONDITION

(Mother and Father act in a rejecting, hostile manner, with an emphasis on power, punishment, argumentation, and control of child. Minimal expressions of love, and when it is present, is expressed in purely conditional terms. Little respect for child. Father is strong, stern, and powerful but never abusive).

C: Greeting (and apology).

M & F: Greeting

M: Bobby, you shouldn't have raised your voice this morning the way you did. That's not the way to behave.

F: You talked back to your mother this morning?

C: Explanation/ Excuses.

M: Bobby, I know you were angry, but that's no excuse. We just cannot tolerate that type of behavior from you.

F: What do you have to say for yourself, Bobby?

C: Rebellious/ Excusing/ Apologizing.

M: That is no excuse for what you did, young man. Who do you think I am, anyway? I'm your mother, and don't you talk to your mother that way. You've got to learn to show more respect for your parents--that's all.

F: Your mother's right, and you know it. I don't know how many times you have to be punished before it sinks in.

C: Excuse/ Apology.

F: Well, what do you have to say for yourself, Bobby, Boy? What is your side of it?

C: Explains.

M: Disputes child's explanations.

F: Bobby, it's obvious that you're in the wrong. You're just getting impossible to deal with.

M: I don't know what we have to do to correct your behavior. Herb, what sort of punishment do you think we should think about? I think Bobby should be punished for this.

F: You're right, Martha. Bobby--do you agree?

C: Agrees/ Disagrees.

M: You have to be punished and that's all there is to that. (Points finger at him).

F: How about this--no TV tonight at all. You'll just have to study or something.

C: Protests/ Complies.

M: That sounds good, and I hope this is a lesson to you, Bobby, I don't want you to talk back to me ever again. (Points finger at him).

F: Yes. That goes for me too. And now I want you to say you're sorry to your mother. Go on.

C: Apologizes.

F: OK, now that that's settled, what did you do in school today, Bobby?

C: Talks about school.

M: (Small talk--with negative intonation--until report card is mentioned).

F: So you got your report card today. How'd you do?

C: Explains/ Hands over card.

F: You didn't do too well in math, I see.

M: Yes, your grades are very poor again. These grades are just not acceptable!!! (Shakes report card at him).

F: Well, what about this, Bobby?

C: Explains.

M: You've got to start taking your studies more seriously. Homework has got to be done every night from now on.

C: Responds.

F: (Getting up and moving toward child, pointing finger or pipe at him, and in severe tone of voice): Yes! Homework's got to be done every night!

M: Oh, by the way, I almost forgot. Your good friend Jackie Dugan called a few minutes ago. He wants you to come over tonight. He said that since his father is a math teacher, well, his father is going to show him how to do these new math problems tonight and he wanted to know if you could come over and do your homework with them.

F: Yes, that sounds like a good idea. And after my meeting tonight I'll check over your homework too. You'll be a math whiz in no time.

M: Oh, what time will you be back?

F: About 9:30.

M: OK.

F: We sure don't want another one of these, do we Bobby? (waves report card in his face).

C: Agrees.

M: That was very considerate of Jackie Dugan to call. He's such a nice boy. I'm glad you have friends like that. You've been spending a lot of time with him, haven't you?

C: Agrees.

M: What do you boys usually do?

C: Explains.

M: You know, I was talking to Grace Adams the other day and she said that Jackie helped her rake her leaves without asking for money or anything.

F: Yes, he is a nice boy.

C: Comment.

M: (After awhile). Oh, Bobby--why don't you have some cookies as a snack now? I made some cookies for you this

afternoon. (Gets up to get cookies).

F: (Before mother has brought cookies half-way back, he stops her and in a sharp tone of voice says): Martha--no cookies for Bobby now! Show him we mean business about those grades. We need to make this sink in.

M: Yes, Bobby, your father is right. I wish you would have done well enough so I could give you these cookies. (Turns around and puts cookies back).

And Bobby, my boy, before we get ready to eat dinner, you know you ought to call up Jackie and tell him what you're going to do for tonight.

C: Comment.

M: And then, well, we've got about 45 minutes before dinner, and I want you to work on your schoolwork before we eat too. You've got to start taking your school work more seriously.

F: Yes, I know you usually watch M*A*S*H on TV before supper, but you're not going to watch TV tonight anyways. You might as well get a headstart on your studying.

C: Comment.

M: (More small talk about school, the day, etc. Mother talks in harping and nit-picky tone of voice).

M: (After a while) And that reminds me, why didn't you clean your room when you got up this morning?

F: You didn't clean your room this morning?!!

C: Explanation/ Excuses.

M: You know you're not supposed to leave the house unless your bed is made and your things picked up! (Pointing finger).

F: That's right. Why didn't you clean your room, Bobby?

C: Argues/ Explains.

M: (Continues to argue against explanation, with elevated voice).

F: There are certain jobs each of us has to do around the house and you're responsible for keeping your room neat and clean.

C: Agrees/ Makes excuses.

M: What's wrong with you anyway? Are you some kind of slob or something?

C: Defends self.

F: Now don't go talking to your mother that way, you hear? I won't stand for your acting like that....

M: Lately you've just been getting to be ridiculous, Bobby boy!

(Let argumentation continue).

M: (Rises abruptly, and says curtly) I'm going to go get dinner ready. Now I want you to get on to your homework right now! (as she abruptly walks out the door).

F: (Rises and leaves at the same time). Yes, I've got to move the car into the garage. And get on that homework, young man. (Points pipe as he walks by).

Appendix E

SAMPLE SCRIPT

CONTROL CONDITION (ROGERIAN IDEAL)

(Mother and father are about equal in power. Parents are understanding, warm, loving, and concerned, but are not overly compliant or push-overs. No emphasis on punishment but an emphasis on constructive corrective action. Also an emphasis on continuing to love and accept the child whether or not he does well in school (ie., unconditional acceptance). The parents convey the message that they are interested in the child, want to interact with him, and are there to enjoy him, not to control, punish, or manipulate him).

C: Greeting (and apology)

M & F: Greeting.

M: Bobby, how are you doing, honey? I was very upset about what happened this morning and I want to talk about it with you.

F: I would like to hear about it too, Bobby.

C: Agrees to talk/ Makes excuses.

M: How do you feel about this morning?

C: Explains/ Blames mother/ Accepts responsibility.

M: (Gets him to express his feelings, paraphrases what he says to make sure that she understands his perception of the situation and that he knows she understands).

F: (Can join in anywhere, making sure that the aim is understanding and not punishment. States his feelings and his position).

M: (Work out a mutually acceptable--to child and to mother-- resolution to the problem. Be firm if he tries to be manipulative or rebellious).

M: (When this seems to have been resolved and worked through) I'm glad that we could work this out, and I want you to know, Bobby, that I love you very much (said sincerely).

C: Reciprocates.

F: Go ahead and show your mother how you feel about her.
Don't be afraid of showing how you really feel.

C: Responds (if not, Father prompts again).

M: (Responds warmly and sincerely, in a genuine fashion,
being careful not to overdo it). That makes me feel
really good.

F: Yes, me too. Say, Bobby, how are things going in
school? What sort of interesting things are you learning
there?

C: Discusses school.
(Small talk, giving child a chance to bring up report
card himself).

C: I got my report card today.

F: Good, I'd like to see it, Bobby (takes report card)
Well...it looks like you could use some improvement in
math, but you did a good job in English. Here, Martha,
you have a look at it too (hands report card to her).

M: Yes, math has been a little troublesome for you, but you
showed improvement in some of these other subjects.

C: Agrees/ Explains.

M: Bobby, how do you see the problem in math? Do you need
to spend more time studying that subject, or is it
something else?

C: Explains.

F: Yes, math is an important subject. It prepares you for
many interesting careers. I remember when I was in
school, I had a real hard time in math and for a while I
thought it would just be impossible for me to do it.

C: What happened?

F: Well, it was sort of like this: I just decided I was
going to see if I could do it. I set aside some time
everyday just to work on math and it wasn't long before I
could see myself getting better and better at it. Then I
started to like math quite a bit and really began to
appreciate what a nice little system it is.

C: Reaction.

M: Yes, without understanding math, it would be impossible to send a man up to the moon.

F: Yes, and look at how they use math in baseball. Why we couldn't even play one game if we didn't use math. (Or use some other such example that ties into the child's interests).

C: Comments.

(If child disagrees, find out why and get him to propose an alternate plan to bring up his math scores).

M: Yes, I think that's a very good plan. I'm very proud of you, son. I'm glad we can work things out together.

M: Oh, by the way, I almost forgot. Your good friend Jackie Dugan called a few minutes ago. He wants you to come over tonight. He said that since his father is a math teacher, well, his father is going to show him how to do these new math problems tonight and he wanted to know if you could come over and do your homework with them.

F: Yes, and after my meeting tonight I'll check over your homework too. You'll be a math whiz in no time.

M: What meeting do you have tonight?

F: I have to see some clients who are driving up from Dallas. I should be back by 9:30 though.

M: OK, fine. You know, that was very considerate of Jackie. He's such a nice boy. I'm glad you have friends like him.

C: Responds.

M: You know, I was talking to Grace Adams the other day, and she said that Jackie helped her to rake her leaves up. He really is a nice boy.

F: Yes, I'm glad you two are friends.
(More small talk about activities, playing with Jackie, school, etc).

M: Bobby, would you like some cookies as a snack now? I baked your favorite cookies--oatmeal and peanut butter.

C: Thanks, Mom.

M: I hope you like them. Some of the oatmeal cookies got a little burned, but I think they're OK.

C: Response. (If he doesn't like them, Mother says that's OK, he doesn't have to eat them).

M: Bobby, you probably should call Jackie and tell him what you're going to do before dinner time.

C: Agree.

M: We should be done eating by 7:00 and I'd like you to be home by 9:00.

C: Responds. (If he disagrees, Mother explains that it's a school night).

M: (After more small talk). Herb, would you give me a hand in the kitchen. I probably should get started on supper.

F: Sure, Martha, what are we having?

M: Lasagne, French bread, and green beans.

F: Great. I better move the car in the garage first.

(Both get up and leave).

Appendix F

Due to copyright restrictions, the
Multiple Affect Adjective Check List,
Today Form, was omitted. A copy of the test
may be obtained from:

Educational & Industrial Testing Service
P. O. Box 7234
San Diego, California
92107

Appendix G

Table 1

Means and Standard Deviations for Pre-Post
Measures for All Conditions

	<u>Double Bind</u>		<u>Punitive</u>		<u>Control</u>	
	<u>Mean</u>	<u>S.D.</u>	<u>Mean</u>	<u>S.D.</u>	<u>Mean</u>	<u>S.D.</u>
Depression						
Pre-	13.64	4.70	13.71	5.47	11.21	3.68
Post	25.86	6.69	25.86	6.44	13.50	6.11
Anxiety						
Pre-	9.57	3.16	8.00	2.96	6.64	3.13
Post	14.71	2.56	16.14	2.96	3.71	3.73
Hostility						
Pre-	9.21	3.49	8.14	3.18	7.21	2.78
Post	16.00	4.13	17.43	4.50	8.93	4.55

n = 14

Appendix H

Table 2

Summary Table of Analysis of Variance
Trials (Pre-Post) by Condition for Depression Subscale

<u>Source</u>	<u>Depression</u>			
	<u>SS</u>	<u>df</u>	<u>MS</u>	<u>F</u>
<u>Between Subjects</u>				
Condition	1025.17	3	512.58	11.45*
Error	1745.89	39	44	77
<u>Within Subjects</u>				
Trials	1656.30	1	1656.30	90.54*
Cond X Trials	456.73	2	228.37	12.48*
Error	713.46	39	18.29	

*p < .001

Appendix I

Table 3

Summary Table of Analysis of Variance
Trials (Pre-Post) by Condition for Anxiety Subscale

<u>Source</u>	<u>SS</u>	<u>Anxiety</u>		
		<u>df</u>	<u>MS</u>	<u>F</u>
<u>Between Subjects</u>				
Condition	366.17	2	183.08	14.09*
Error	506.89	39	13.00	
<u>Within Subjects</u>				
Trials	550.30	1	550.30	88.26*
Cond X Trials	129.02	2	64.51	10.35*
Error	24.18	39	6.24	

* $p < .001$

Appendix J

Table 4

Summary Table of Analysis of Variance
 Trials (Pre-Post) by Condition for Hostility Subscale

<u>Source</u>	<u>Hostility</u>			
	<u>SS</u>	<u>df</u>	<u>MS</u>	<u>F</u>
<u>Between Subjects</u>				
Condition	399.73	2	199.87	9.34*
Error	834.75	39	21.40	
<u>Within Subjects</u>				
Trials	738.11	1	738.11	92.85*
Cond X Trials	208.36	2	104.18	13.11*
Error	310.04	39	7.95	

* $p < .001$

Appendix K

Table 5

Neuman Keul's Test on All Conditions
for Pre-Test Mood Scores

	<u>Depression</u>		
	Control (11.21)	Double Bind (13.54)	Punitive (13.71)
Control	---	2.43	2.50
DB		---	.07
Punitive			---
	<u>Anxiety</u>		
	Control (6.64)	Punitive (8.00)	Double Bind (9.57)
Control	---	1.36	2.93
Punitive		---	1.57
DB			---
	<u>Hostility</u>		
	Control (7.21)	Punitive (8.14)	Double Bind (9.21)
Control	---	0.93	2.00
Punitive		---	1.07
DB			---

* $p < .05$

Appendix L

Table 6

Neuman Keul's Test on All Conditions
for Post-Test Mood Scores

	<u>Depression</u>		
	Control (13.50)	Punitive (25.86)	Double Bind (25.86)
Control	---	12.36*	12.36*
Punitive		---	0.00
DB			---
	<u>Anxiety</u>		
	Control (8.71)	DB (14.71)	Punitive (16.14)
Control	---	6.00*	7.43*
DB		---	1.43
Punitive			---
	<u>Hostility</u>		
	Control (8.93)	DB (16.00)	Punitive (17.43)
Control	---	7.07*	8.50*
DB		---	1.43
Punitive			---

* $p < .05$

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