ONLINE APPENDIX 1: LATE MIDLIFE INTERVIEW PROTOCOL

INFORMED CONSENT

QUESTIONS

Any questions for me?

HARVARD STUDENT STUDY (HSS)

What was HSS like during college?
- Have you ever thought about it since?
- Do you think it had an effect on you in college or after?

When you first heard from me, did you have any thoughts?

What would you like to know out of this study?

WORK HISTORY

Can you walk me through what you've done since Harvard?

As a child, any career ideas?

Did your parents have ideas for you?

At Harvard did your career plans change?
- What did you major in?

Have you ever thought about doing something else?

CAREER SUCCESS

In what ways have you been more and less successful in your career?

What sources of feedback do you get about how you're doing?

On a scale of 1 to 10, how would you rate your career success compared to others by the standards in your field?
- What are the standards?

How would you rate your career success vs. your own potential?
- What's allowed you to be successful?   -Circumstances at work?
- What's held you back?   -Other considerations in your life outside work?
                                               -Anything unique about you?
                                               -Special characteristics or ways of doing things?

CAREER SATISFACTION

What have you liked most and least about your work? High pts, low pts?

[Go over each major work experience for its satisfaction]

Ever considered doing something else?

PLANS FOR THE FUTURE

How long will you do this work?
* Any financial goals before retiring?

Have your work goals changed?
* How do you feel about the competition?

EARLY LIFE

What was your life like growing up? (before Harvard)

1. You
2. Parents
   * As people
   * Your relationship with them
   * Values they emphasized
   * Their hopes for you
3. Siblings
   * What they were like
   * How you got along
4. School
5. Your hometown

Any ideas about a career?

Other important people, influences, or factors?
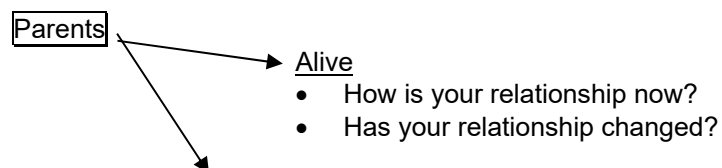

RELIGION

Did you grow up with a religion?
* How did your family practice?

Do you have religious beliefs or practices now?

PARENTS AND FAMILY NOW

Parents

Alive
* How is your relationship now?
* Has your relationship changed?

<u>Passed away</u>
- What was their death like?
- Did you change in any way as a result?

Siblings
- What are they doing?
- How do you get along?

WIFE/PARTNER

Where met?

What attracted you?

What is s/he like? (Does s/he work?)

How has your relationship changed over the years?

- High points, low points
- Would you marry or partner with him or her again?
- Ever thought it might not last?
  - Likelihood you'll stay together?

Have you or your wife/partner ever been involved with someone else during the relationship?

How does your wife/partner see your work?
- Does s/he have expectations of you?
- Supportive of work demands?
- Has your relationship affected your work?
- How has work affected your relationship?

CHILDREN

What are your kids doing?

What are they like?
- How are they like/not like you?

How are they doing?

How do your children respond to you?

How has your work affected you as a parent?

FINANCIAL PROBLEMS

Any financial problems?

Do you have financial goals before you retire?

ACTIVITIES/LEISURE/FRIENDS

Who are you closest to?
- Friends alone or with wife or partner?

What outside work and family? Charities, organizations, causes?

What do you do for fun?

What influenced you to focus on work? on these other things besides work?

HEALTH

How's your health?

Any major problems?

Any problems with alcohol or drugs?

Mental health
- Ever been in therapy?
- Ever taken medications for nervous or psychological issues?
- Ever….?
  - been depressed
  - been down, blue, couldn't get going
  - had thoughts about taking your life
  - been anxious, panicked

IMPACT

In what areas of your life have you made the most impact? The least?

What are you proudest of? Least proud of?

How do you hope to be remembered?
- Think will be remembered?

Who has had the most impact on you? (parents)
- How would they see your life?

What advice do you give to your children?

What advice would you give a Harvard senior on the life ahead of him or her?

OVERCOMING ADVERSITY

What have been the most difficult times in your life?

How have you gone about handling these problems?

HARVARD

What led you to go?

What was Harvard like?

How did Harvard influence you?
- Any people stand out?
- Experiences?
- What did you major in?
- Establishing a standard of comparison?

Are you glad you went?

HARVARD GRADUATES

How would you describe Harvard graduates? Your image of their lives?

How do you think you compare?

How do you explain differences?

CHANGE

Looking at college interviews, what would you see?

How would you explain the changes?

ADMINISTER TAT

REACTIONS TO INTERVIEW

How was this interview for you?

Any major areas we missed?

Questions for me?

ONLINE APPENDIX 2: CLINICAL INTERVIEWING

Clinical interviewing is a way of entering the subjective world of another person in order to observe thoughts, feelings, and behavior. Commonly used to diagnose and treat mental health problems, it is a method of talking that can also be used in research with a nonclinical population. In the research reported in this book, clinical interviewing revealed how research participants looked at and experienced their lives, how happy they were, how their happiness and worldview developed over time, and how competitive success and other factors figured into this development. This appendix first describes how clinical interviewing made these contributions, noting points of comparison with survey research, and then describes the clinical interviewing strategies used in the research.

CONTRIBUTIONS OF CLINICAL INTERVIEWING

Clinical interviewing generated an expansive picture of how participants understood their lives and happiness, much more extensive than is possible to achieve with survey self-reports. This picture was obtained not only by a broad research protocol but also by a supportive context for data collection that included a trusted space and time for reflection, a skilled listener, encouragement, and thoughtful probes. These conditions helped bring to light material with significant consequence in the participant's life that would not have been considered or reported in the solitude of completing a survey.

Further, clinical interviewing introduced flexibility and breadth to the research process which deepened concepts and explanatory models generated by the research. In survey research, measures and hypotheses are predetermined—they are decided on before data are collected. In contrast, clinical interviews followed by grounded theory enabled the winnowing of a broad range of possibilities to those that best fit the data and that most fully addressed the research question. In this way, a particular

formulation of well-being, a corresponding measure, and explanatory models were derived in grounded theory during the research process.

Clinical interviewing deepened understanding of the construct of interest— happiness—for additional reasons. As noted by Schwarz and Strack (1999), individuals rarely retrieve all the information that may be relevant to a judgment asked for by survey questions about their happiness. Chapter 9 showed how this limitation affected participant responses to the Satisfaction with Life Scale (Diener, Emmons, Larsen, & Griffin, 1985). The scale's questions demand a review and assessment of large periods and domains of life that exceed what is reasonable to expect an individual to carry out in the brief period allotted. Such a heavy demand can induce a situation of cognitive overload. As Schwarz and Strack note, in such situations a respondent generates judgments based on currently available information and is forced to take shortcuts when selecting answer choices. Because the participant's review and assessment are invisible to the researcher, the researcher is not privy to what information is available and what shortcuts the individual is taking. By contrast, the study's clinical interviews observed the review and the judgment processes that informed a participant's view of his life and happiness. These efforts were part of the research rather than beyond its scope.

Indeed, it was not uncommon for the interviewer to observe important aspects of experience unrecognized by the participant but revealed by his anecdotes or comments. Filtering restricted some participants' awareness of their experiences, even though their communication leaked them out. Leakage, as it was called in the book, went undetected in survey self-reports. Leakage deepened the book's account.

Finally, clinical interviewing enabled the use of psychobiographical sketches of representative participants to illustrate core constructs and findings. Similar illustration would not have been possible using survey evidence, because variables have limited descriptive value and do not conjure up a life.

TECHNIQUES OF CLINICAL INTERVIEWING

The general strategy of clinical interviewing in both eras of the study was to get to know participants and their lives as well as possible, focusing on features of person and environment influencing past and present development. College interviews, shorter and more numerous than adult interviews (see book appendix 3 for roster of interviews), tracked development as it unfolded over the four years (more or less) of the participant's college career, whereas adult interviews were conducted as a life review over a week or more. Many techniques were shared in how interviews were conducted. Here I focus primarily on strategies I employed in adult interviews, noting overlap and some differences with college strategies based on my reading of the archival data set.

Interview questions for the late midlife follow-up, shown in online appendix 1, were developed and refined in consultation with research literature on midlife and aging and scholars and clinicians knowledgeable about the population. The questions were also informed by pilot research testing questions and methods, review of college archival data to identify topics inviting longitudinal comparison, and my own experience as a clinician and informant in the community.

Five specific strategies were employed in clinical interviewing.

First, establishing rapport and a comfortable environment for a wide-ranging personal conversation was a priority and was fostered in multiple ways. Interviews were conducted in person in both eras of the study. The college interviews were conducted in the offices of the Harvard Student Study on campus. For the follow-up, I flew to wherever a participant lived and met him in his home or office, whichever he preferred, at times of his choosing. Half of adult participants chose each venue. I traveled to twenty-five cities in the United States, in many cases multiple times to accommodate participants' schedules. The intensity of the method and amount of exposure in both eras helped to foster bonds between interviewer and participant.

The effort and expense to carry out face-to-face interviews were incurred with a particular understanding in the adult era, mirroring the understanding that appears in evidence in the college interviews. Even if a participant granted formal permission to be interviewed, he might not be complicit with the interview and share sensitive information about himself if the environment did not strongly cultivate a sense of trust and rapport. Large swaths of the participant's experiences and internal states may not have been volunteered to the interviewer or may not have been accessible, even to him. Self-censorship could be unintentional and unrecognized. Face-to-face interviews in adulthood helped renew and maintain the personal relationship with participants established in face-to-face interviews in college.

Second, interviews were carried out with an effort to engage personal motivations for participating in the interviews rather than positioning the interaction mainly as an impersonal scientific exchange. This approach diverges from the goals and ethos of much research, even other kinds of interviewing. Interviews were offered as opportunities for discovery not only for the interviewer but also for the interviewee. Once interviews were under way, many participants discovered the opportunity to understand, connect with, expand, alter, or otherwise act upon their own lives or understanding of their lives. (This discovery was part of an overall posture of concern for the well-being of participants conveyed by the college study staff and likely helps explain why numerous participants approached interviewers requesting help with personal problems.) Most people do not often encounter the opportunity to have such experience with a professional listener. This feature offered powerful benefits to the research. Without such a real possibility for the data collection task to benefit the participant, essential motivation would have been absent for the participant, and the quality of insight would have been diminished from the point of view of both the participant and the interviewer. From a frame of empathic engagement with real-life concerns of the participant, the research was able to garner insight into what mattered to the person. He was an ally—with highly active personal motivations— rather than a passive respondent in an impersonal task.

Third, the interviews were carried out with an effort to allow the participant, rather than the interviewer, to establish the structure of understanding and reporting his experiences and the way in which he reflected on them. Like the aforementioned departure from the ethos of formal scientific exchange, this effort inverted the strategy of many interview approaches by prescribing that the interview protocol of questions be disregarded whenever possible. In adult interviews the participant was invited to begin talking about his life, and in college the participant was invited to talk about his recent experiences since the previous interview in whatever way occurred to him. The adult interviews would begin after I answered participants' questions and queried their recollections of the college study; I would then ask an open-ended question such as "What have you been doing since college?" Discussions took on a conversational quality with the participant doing the vast majority of the speaking. The adult protocol's function was to explore areas after the participant already had spoken at length filling in a picture of what he knew. The protocol served to query aspects of his experiences to ensure completeness and a fuller understanding of their meaning. In college the interviewer guided the conversation to topics of interest, such as social experiences, courses, events, and family (see topics in book appendix 3), after learning about recent developments in the participant's life. Open-ended questions also helped in both eras, when needed, to avert social anxiety when participants felt they didn't know what to say.

This strategy of data collection is distinctly different from survey self-reports in that it does not ask the participant to carry alone the heavy cognitive load of reviewing his experiences, and further, to summarize and to locate them within a predetermined format of answer choices. The interviewer sat with the participant as he reviewed his experiences, held the unfolding account, and queried as needed. Rather than providing words and predefined categories for the participant to relate to, the interviewer teased out the participant's categories, formulations, and language in describing experiences and adhered to them as a collaborator in discerning the picture of his life and experiences.

Fourth, the unusual length of interviews—and in the college era their span of years—elicited deeper understanding. Rather than imposing limitations on the participant, the interview encouraged more reflection and more elaboration in any area. Saturation, a standard used to determine that a participant's interviews were complete, was the point in interviews when the interviewee felt understood and the interviewer and interviewee agreed that the conversations had reviewed all relevant areas and that new questions were eliciting redundant responses that added little new understanding. Such thoroughness more vividly revealed themes and patterns and offered occasion to rule out competing hypotheses. For the interviewer, the point of saturation indicates that the interviews have produced a data record that can substantially answer the research question in the case of the participant.

The adult interviews reached saturation when areas on the protocol and others raised by the participant during the interviews had been explored sufficiently for the interviewer to paraphrase the historical progression of the participant's life, including central experiences, themes, and participant assessments. The participant confirmed that understanding was complete and that further conversation would add little. College interviews reached saturation of topics of interest using similar methods of paraphrasing and testing completeness of understanding with participants. College interviews on the whole amassed broad coverage of the participant's past and present development, demonstrating utility as a comprehensive baseline understanding of the participant and his life that could be used in the follow-up.

Literal and Nonliteral Levels of Inquiry

The topical areas of the interviews were not the only level of inquiry. An equally important aspect of the interviews, a fifth strategy embedded in the approach, was an exploration of additional material conveyed by the participant but not stated, material of which the participant was not necessarily aware. This strategy was used in both eras but some differences exist, which I note. In both eras this material included emotional and cognitive patterns; how the participant interacted with the interviewer; features of the environment; and meanings invested in art, dreams, and current concerns. Exploration of this material

comprised what was effectively a nonliteral interview being conducted concurrently with the literal interview. In adulthood some components of this level of inquiry were more developed and explicitly part of the design of interviews than appear in the college data record.

The nonliteral interview in adulthood explored the range, intensity, and frequency of central emotions the participant experienced in his life, revealing the participant's emotional register. Mapping this register out over the course of the interviews generated a context for understanding any given experience or group of experiences. It revealed what experiences were understood as positive or negative in relation to the participant's overall emotional experience. It was not possible to understand the meaning of any experience without understanding the emotions associated with it, and without understanding the broader context of the emotional register.

Strong emotions on display pointed to the participant's emotional investments. They revealed events, situations, relationships, and aspects of life discussed in the literal interview in which positive and negative emotions were most strongly felt. These investments served as a link between the literal interview and emotional material.

The college interviewers appeared to be quite familiar with what I am calling the emotional register but they did not systematically pursue it. Following participants over many years across many situations during college and exploring experiences during many interviews enabled features of the emotional register to appear spontaneously without requiring deliberate examination, as did the time-constrained life review in adulthood.

Another aspect of the nonliteral interview was exploration of unacknowledged transitions in thought that the participant showed in the conversation. These too led to observations about emotional investments, and also to other features of the participant's understanding of his life. Transitions revealed how a participant associated experiences, at times even apparently disparate ones. Similarities and contrasts between the linked experiences—across time, across relationships, across contexts, as

examples—were implied by these transitions and became a topic to be explored. A participant might, for example, spontaneously talk about an earlier situation in his career in a different role and with different colleagues from the one under discussion. Or, even more disparate, a participant might recall a childhood experience with a sibling after talking about a painful adult experience at work. These are two of millions of possibilities. The approach to interviewing recognized these linkages as patterns in thought that served multiple functions. Sometimes they revealed how a participant handled painful experiences, by changing the focus of the conversation to a more tolerable or positive topic in an effort to regulate affect or to manage self-presentation. In changing focus, a participant revealed emotional contrasts between the experiences he switched away from and those he switched to. Sometimes linkages revealed how a participant recognized similarity of emotional meaning across experiences by traversing in thought from one experience to a distant one connected by a shared emotional theme. College participants as commonly as adults displayed such transitions in thought, and college interviewers not infrequently artfully explored their emotional meaning.

Serving another function in the adult interviews, transitions in thought helped reveal the participant's categories for organizing experiences—his personal filing system. Socially defined categories such as work, marriage, and family, often presumed in survey queries to be shared by members of a sample, may not be. A socially defined category may not have formed into an important area for an individual or may be subsumed into other personally defined categories of understanding. For example, a participant might spontaneously switch to talking about assistance he offered boys in a disadvantaged community after talking about mentoring young entrants to his field, echoing statements he made at other times that being "a good person" is important to him; these activities in the community and at work may well be understood in his personal filing system as related more centrally to the aspiration to be a good person than as being defined as part of work or community involvement. By following the participant's transitions in thought and how they related to his synthesis of experiences, the clinical life history interview could observe the categories that had evolved in his understanding. These observations

provided further context for understanding any given experience and for understanding what areas of life were most important and how the participant felt about them. College interviews, not focused on conducting a life review, did not appear to explore transitions for how they might shed light on the participant's organizing categories.

The sensitivity to each participant's filing system—his cognitive map for organizing experience—led the adult study in grounded theory to recognize across participants common features of personal understanding. These features would become the identity story described in chapter 5, comprised of categories of attribution (to important situations and events, important others, oneself, and the world at large), central strivings (central goals and values), and central affective themes inhering in this story. By seeing this personal organization of experience for a participant, the interviews recognized the literal and nonliteral aspects of conveyed experience figuring into each of these categories, his strivings, and the story's central affective themes. It pieced together a picture of these parts in relation to the whole. The picture was the participant's worldview and well-being.

A participant's behavior interacting with the interviewer and the interview situation offered additional data in the nonliteral interview. By retaining a consistent posture and approach to interviewing across participants, it was possible for the interviewer to detect things that stood out for a given participant. These things might appear in apparently trivial matters of scheduling or small talk at the beginning or end of interviews, questions asked or requests made of the interviewer, interest in aspects of the interviewer's life or disinterest in the interviewer, and the kind of relationship the participant seemed to enact with the interviewer. These things sometimes helped to illuminate aspects of the participant's account of experiences outside of the interview, such as reactions from others and the history of his relationships. College interviews also employed these kinds of data in understanding participants.

The physical and social environment in which the interviews took place also offered potential data to consider. For example, the adult interviews would ask about family members, work colleagues, or

others the participant interacted with in the presence of the interviewer before or after an interview. These people were in the environment. The interviews would also ask about inanimate objects in the environment, such as art, photographs, books, and religious objects in the home or office, or features of the neighborhood, community, or city where the participant was located. These topics were not literally about the participant's life history but sometimes helped to elicit insight or led to relevant material in his life history. Similarly, the college interviews naturally explored people, activities, structures, and other artifacts of the environment of Harvard College in which participants were located, and how participants related to them. This was part of understanding person and environment in development.

The nonliteral interview also invited the participant to discuss symbolic beliefs, attributions, attitudes, and understandings such as about film, literature, photographs, music, and any form of art that he had experienced or produced; dreams he had had; anecdotes, current events, the concerns of other people he knew and understood. One of the last segments of the adult interview presented a series of pictures of interpersonal scenes and asked participants to tell a story about what was going on. Called the Thematic Apperception Test (TAT) (Murray, 1943), this part of the interview was not formally scored or interpreted but rather understood as an extension of the interview. It functioned as another set of prompts that sometimes suggested insights or provided leads to important aspects of the participant's life, as a participant's description of a photograph on the participant's wall sometimes did. For consistency, the same TAT images were given to participants in adulthood as TAT cards administered on several occasions during college.

The interview protocol thus offered only a partial map of what transpired in the interviews. It identified potential topics thought in advance to be of interest, the kinds of open-ended questions that might be asked, and the general progression of subject matter in areas that might guide the interview. Participants often addressed many of these topics and questions in their own narrative progression without prompting. The goal of the literal interview was to elicit as much information and reflection about

facets of the participant's life as possible—that is, to achieve coverage. Multiple interviews allowed for depth and range and for observation of shifts in the participant's perspective from one discussion to the next.

The emphasis on the nonliteral interview in adulthood was particularly important to the objective of obtaining a sound picture of the participant's life history and well-being. The nonliteral interview helped to work around problems that could have confounded interpretation. It pointed to significant commitments and understandings often not fully recognized by the participant in his literal account. This part of the interview was carried out with a light footprint, noting questions and topics to be explored as they arose in the progression of the interviews, waiting until late in the interviews to ask about them. When the discussion turned to these topics and questions, I sought to test that I had perceived correctly their presence and their meaning. I asked about these patterns with care, since they had not been volunteered with clear intention to do so. For example, with one participant who had an early religious upbringing and was no longer religiously active, I had detected that he still held profound feelings from that time that defined his central life goals, and I asked about them. With one frenetically active participant, I asked what motivated him to be so heavily involved in extracurricular commitments, suspecting a link with trauma. Often with these queries I received confirmation of my hypotheses. Sometimes I was corrected persuasively. But at other times I encountered unpersuasive rejections of what I thought had been clearly conveyed. In these instances I suspected that I had reached the limit of what could be discussed productively with the participant.

I was helped in making sense of unpersuasive rejections by asking the participant near the end of interviews how he coped with adversity. I wanted to test my understanding of the affect regulation strategies the participant used, while at the same time testing the participant's self-awareness. Answers to this query helped confirm that I had recognized the moments of greatest hardship in his life and how he dealt with each, and also illuminated coping strategies I observed in the interview. Often, coping

strategies in life mirrored those on display in the interview. I could consider whether the unpersuasive

rejection of the pattern or theme I had observed was an example of filtering. This query also helped the

research team later reach its own assessment.

The literal and nonliteral interviews combined yielded a more complete picture of the

participant's life than a literal interview would have alone. They produced an integrated life history seen

from the participant's vantage point, incorporating evidence unstated but shown.

College interviewers, although giving less emphasis to some elements, were attuned to similar

nonliteral data in gaining understanding of the topical areas of concern and in accruing across time a

rigorous understanding of the individual and his development. They did not share the adult interviewer's

concern with discerning the personal filing system for organizing life experiences and the emotional

register within the constraints of a time-limited life review. Nonetheless, their exposure to participants

over time and the volume of their interviews displayed these aspects of participants' lives.

Synthesis in Adult Interviews

A description of the shape and synthesis strategies of the adult interviews rounds out the description of

the approach to the adult clinical interviews. The adult interviews, as a life review, employed specific

strategies for integrating an understanding of the participant's life as a whole. The shape of the adult

interviews progressed from a widely cast net to achieve coverage to deeper exploration of important areas

and experiences, to paraphrasing and synthesis of each of these areas and experiences, to exploration of

affective and cognitive patterns flagged earlier, and eventually to paraphrasing and synthesis into an

overall life history. The overall synthesis phase of the interviews served to refine and confirm the picture

of the participant's life that had emerged.

This approach employed several strategies for asking participants to produce summary

judgments. First, it asked directly which aspects of his life he felt proudest and least proud of, most

impactful and least impactful in. These questions helped the participant bring together the variety of important experiences and areas that had already been reviewed in depth individually and recognize, if not already articulated, how he felt about them overall. Second, the participant was asked to identify people who had had the most impact on him and how each person would assess his life. These people were often parents, teachers, or bosses, who had been discussed earlier; infrequently, new figures would emerge. By asking how these significant figures would assess the participant's life, the interview was asking for key internal standards and values the participant used to judge his life, for how the participant saw his life measuring up in relation to these standards, not only how his life measured up in the eyes of important others. Standards and values had been internalized from these formative relationships and, indeed, were often vivid in the participant's life evaluations before he described them as belonging to important others' evaluations of his life. A third strategy was to ask the participant to think about lessons from his life that he would give (and may in fact have given) to his children, a young person, and a Harvard graduate starting out in life. These vantage points elicited how the participant related to his experiences overall. A final strategy asked the participant to consider his legacy: how he hoped to be remembered and how he thought he would be remembered (and by whom).

These synthesis questions elicited answers that were often predictable from earlier parts of the interviews, and repetitive with each other, but a participant's responses to them confirmed that I had a clear understanding of the participant's summative evaluation of his successes and shortfalls in realizing fundamental goals and aspirations. Responses also confirmed a clear understanding of goals and aspirations themselves, patterned in the narrative across areas of life and time periods in the participant's history.

Although I describe as distinct the literal and nonliteral interviews and the phases in the progression of adult interviews, for most participants, these dimensions of interviews were woven together and elements from each emerged often concurrently and in unpredictable ways. Advancing the

multiple goals of the interviews was therefore a manifest concern. It required mindfulness about what was transpiring, careful note keeping during interviews, reviews of past interviews before starting a new one, listing and relisting open questions and issues to be explored, and following the participant's narrative until it led to an appropriate time to explore open questions.

In spite of their unpredictability, the adult interviews captured an understanding of the participant's life by adhering to a key principle. They built a story of what mattered in the participant's life and history from the ground up, starting with more specificity and range of experiences and themes and working to more generality and to essential experiences and themes. Waiting until late in discussion of a given area of experience and in the interviews overall to ask summative questions prevented the depth and variety of specific, contextualized experiences and recollections from being crowded out. It averted the participant's glossing over detail and richness or fitting his account into top-down perspective.

At the end of interviews I asked the participant to comment on the interview experience, any important aspects needing expression or revision, whether he felt I understood him, and how I had carried out the interviews. Because the interviews were exhaustive, many participants confirmed my sense that we had reached saturation. Sometimes helpful refinements were offered. Commonly, participants described the experience of being interviewed as a profound and uncommon examination of their lives.

ONLINE APPENDIX 3: USING PSYCHOBIOGRAPHICAL METHOD TO REPRESENT THE SAMPLE

SELECTION OF REPRESENTATIVE LIVES

I selected the participants whose psychobiographical sketches appear in the book as, foremost, representatives of points on the college and adult Scales of Intrapsychic Brightness and Darkness and representatives of the types of longitudinal trajectories in the sample. To illustrate the broad applicability of concepts, and to give the reader a multidimensional understanding of lives in the sample, I also sought to include variety in the demographic and personal backgrounds of the college sample and in the career, family lives, and other circumstances of the adult sample.

In Chapter 2, for example, William Hovanec and David Martin represent intrapsychic brightness and darkness and relative longitudinal stability while illustrating divergent backgrounds on arriving to college and in their adult circumstances. Martin's privileged socioeconomic background, his preparation at a boarding school, his father's education and occupation, and his intellectual abilities represent a traditional background for a Harvard student in the sample and the era. By contrast, Hovanec attended a public school, was a star athlete, was less scholastically inclined than many students, and came from a rural region of North America. He was an outsider to Harvard's culture and a nontraditional student in the college sample.

As adults, Hovanec and Martin pursued the field of business, held roles in several business organizations, and then owned their own businesses—one of the common career trajectories in the adult sample. Their careers share characteristics with the careers of sample members in professions such as law and medicine and are less like the careers of participants in academia and service and other fields. Participants in these other fields, for example Joseph Fisher, Lawrence Hoyt, Robert Payne, and Louis

Russo, and participants with career trajectories less linear than Hovanec and Martin's, for example Lawrence Hoyt and Vincent Costa, were selected to show core concepts in the book's argument while illustrating variety in these other dimensions of the sample.

Hovanec and Martin also illustrate patterns of adult family formation in the sample: Hovanec of a long-term marriage with children and Martin of a long-term marriage without children. A third pattern, participants unmarried without children, is represented by Joseph Fisher and the CEO described in Chapter 8. Hovanec and Martin further illustrate rural and suburban geographies shared by other participants in the sample. Other primary exemplars like Hovanec and Martin (whose lives are summarized in book appendix 1) and more briefly presented exemplars were selected to show variety in secondary dimensions of the sample while illustrating core constructs.

In selecting exemplars of core concepts and secondary dimensions, I took care to identify individuals who were not eccentric or outliers. Use of extreme cases can facilitate illustration but such cases are less accurate representations of patterns in the sample.

THE WRITING OF PSYCHOBIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES

A psychobiographical sketch (Alexander, 1990; Elms, 1994) is evocative; it shows a life rather than explaining it using impersonal concepts. But its writing presents choices about content, tone, and perspective. I resolved these choices in writing sketches in the book by seeking to provide a balanced picture of experiences and aspects of an exemplar's life as observed by the research team using the clinical life history assessment procedure described in chapter 4. When a dimension, such as career success, does not appear to figure centrally in a participant's psychobiographical sketch, it is because he did not present his life that way. When writing about the college or adult era, I portrayed what was known then, not carrying over from assessment of the life history carried out in another era.

I was significantly constrained in writing about participants by concern for protecting anonymity and confidentiality, given prominence locally, regionally, and nationally of members of the sample. In selecting exemplars for illustration of patterns, I excluded participants whose identities were too difficult to protect while writing an accurate life history. Study findings nonetheless apply equally to these members of the sample not used as exemplars. I also wrote the psychobiographical sketches at some remove from certain details and experiences and used other techniques to protect identities. Senior social science colleagues and a writing consultant helped me make these decisions. I also consulted the Social and Behavioral Sciences Institutional Review Board at the University of Chicago, which approved this research.

These reasons and significant space constraints explain why I wrote sketches to convey only as much insight as needed to portray core concepts and to give a feel for the participant, the trajectory of his life, and dimensions of the sample. I received significant input into the writing of sketches from social science colleagues with extensive publication records in human development to ensure they fulfilled these goals.

ONLINE APPENDIX 4: PATTERNS OF AFFECTIVE INCONGRUENCE IN INTERVIEWS

To aid the study team in recognizing filters and leakage in coding clinical life history interviews using the procedure described in chapter 4, I included in training material from the Adult Attachment Interview (AAI) coding manual (George et al., 1984, 1985, 1996). The AAI examines the adult's recollected experiences of attachment to childhood caregivers, and its coding procedure classifies the "internal working model" of attachment, namely, the participant's psychological representation of self and other and their relationship (Bowlby, 1969, 1973, 1980; Mikulincer & Shaver, 2007). The AAI coding manual helpfully distinguishes between two types of incongruence between conscious statements made by participants and their unconscious displays of affect in interviews. This book's clinical life history interviews explore territory much broader than attachment relationships, but similar principles apply to understanding filters and leakage.

I summarize in Table OA4.1 the AAI coding manual's descriptions of these two types of incongruence, one of distancing and denial and the other of preoccupation, and how they contrast with congruence. Davin Martin's pat story and monochromic palette of affect are suggestive of the first pattern. Another participant's preoccupation with the financial circumstances in his life—both positive and negative—and its crowding out of discussion of other visibly important experiences is suggestive of the second pattern. Brighter participants in the study tended to illustrate the pattern of congruence. The research in the book found that the AAI types of incongruence are neither pure nor mutually exclusive. Sometimes multiple patterns are present in a single life history. Nonetheless, the relevance of these patterns to understanding clinical life history interviews helped sensitize coders to the concepts of filters and leakage, and how they might appear.

TABLE OA4.1. Indicators of Discrepancy between Rater and Participant Assessment of Participant Experience

Note: There are two typologies of discrepancy: (1) distancing and denial and (2) preoccupation. In both typologies person seems to be unaware of, or not to acknowledge, the full impact of negative feelings and experiences. There is one typology of congruence. Person seems to be aware of, and to acknowledge, the impact of negative feelings and experiences.

Typology	
Distancing, denial, disconnection, avoidance	Congruence
Goal of affect regulation: negative affect is held at bay.	Goal of affect regulation: negative affect is metabolized, contained, and not avoided.
• Statements don't reflect examples or episodes recounted in experience.	• Semantic and episodic statements and accounts are congruent.
• Canned, rehearsed language, psychobabble. Matter-of-fact discussion or glossing over. Lack of emotional investment or involvement in discussion. Flatness of affect.	• Fresh speech, ability to think in the moment, dynamic engagement with material being discussed. Speech is clear, lacks jargon, and seems connected to person's experience.
• Black-and-white representations of experiences and others and self.	• Ability to perceive imperfections, limitations, three-dimensional quality to experience and others and self. Like a novel: good character development. Contextualized and nuanced representations.
• Absence of memory. Lack of total memory of experiences in an important area. • Lack of specific memories in experiences in an area.	• Able to recall emotionally salient memories that elaborate on important experiences.
• Avoidance. Much more comfortable and elaborate on other topics. Seems to steer the conversation away from the topic at hand. Apparent lack of discussion in an area.	• Able to discuss areas that are to some degree uncomfortable. Pain or discomfort doesn't truncate conversation in an area.
• General distortion away from negative experiences. Extreme form: negative experiences are not discussed or seem to be avoided entirely. Or outright denial of negatives. More subtle form: downplaying the significance of negative experience or playing up the positives (idealizing, overstating, or being falsely upbeat).	• Acknowledges the negatives and able to metabolize them within discussion of experiences of both positive and negative aspects of experience. Nothing is brittle or abrupt or feels false about handling of negatives.

Table OA4.1 (continued)

Typology	
Preoccupation, emotional overload, distortion	Congruence (continued)
• Perseverates or preoccupied with a topic. Intrudes on discussion of other areas or other aspects of experience. Feels overwhelmed emotionally or there is spillover from an experience. • Statements don't reflect examples or episodes recounted in experience. Preoccupation with certain aspects of experience not incorporated in general assessments. • Black-and-white representations of experiences and others and self.	• Able to discuss negatives without being hooked on an area or aspect of experience, precluding openness to exploring other areas or feeling other feelings. • Semantic and episodic statements and accounts are congruent. • Ability to perceive imperfections, limitations, three-dimensional quality to experience and others and self. Like a novel: good character development and complex apprehension of reality. Contextualized and nuanced representations.

ONLINE APPENDIX 5: ASSESSMENT FORM FOR ADULT INTRAPSYCHIC BRIGHTNESS AND DARKNESS

This form asks you to evaluate intrapsychic brightness and darkness in a variety of areas of the individual's life and in his life overall. Intrapsychic brightness and darkness is defined as the positive and negative affect the individual experiences in his life and conveys explicitly and implicitly in his account of his experiences.

I.   GENERAL DIRECTIONS

Read the case and form a general impression of the participant before beginning to fill out this form. Conceptualize the participant's most important adult life experiences and his intrapsychic brightness and darkness overall before citing the specific evidence and crafting your explanations.

II.   LIFE GOALS

Directions: Please list the participant's life goals. The life goals are the participant's own way of organizing his life efforts and/or the criteria he uses in evaluating his experiences. These goals may involve work, family, or other roles but rise to the level of a life goal because the individual organizes his life efforts, not merely his role efforts, around it. Here are some tips for identifying life goals.

- Explicitly stated
- Strong or visible emotion
- Discusses or thinks about at length
- Repeated mention
- Externally or self-directed (e.g., have a good family versus be a good father)
- Avoid a negative or seek out a positive (e.g., maintain security versus be a provider)
- Goals may not be visible, or only some goals may be visible to you, for certain cases
- Conceptualize the life goal at the highest level of abstraction that is still specific

A. There are three elements required in writing a life goal.

   a. Describe the broad principle or principles of the life goal.
   b. Explain how the goal manifests in the domains.
   c. Give examples of the goal manifesting in the domains you listed.

The objective is to frame life goals comprehensively, relate subparts to one another, and illustrate manifestations. (Separately, as a check on your life goals, confirm that major affect experienced in domains is related to a life goal.) Each broad principle may end up being a paragraph or more with its various subparts and examples.

B. Consider possible unseen life goals or unseen facets or related aspects of a life goal that you initially recognize.

a. Consider life goals that avoid outcomes, or that contain conflicts, not just positively focused goals.
b. Consider a hidden negative or a hidden positive aspect to a life goal with the opposite focus.
c. Consider: Is any life goal a typical pattern of response to negative affect or related to one? (This relates to the section of your analysis looking at responses to unrealized life goals.)

Life goals
1.
2.

III.   LEVEL OF POSITIVE AND NEGATIVE AFFECT IN EACH AREA

Check the areas of life most important to the participant's overall affect. Do experiences in this area influence—or appear significantly to help explain—his overall affect? Rate the raw and adjusted ratings in each area.

- Base your rating on the intensity and pervasiveness of positive and negative affect in an area.
- You can include unstated or unconscious feelings that you perceive.
- Use only integers for your ratings.
- List the adjusted scores for all checked areas, even if you don't feel able to provide raw scores (in which case write "NA" for the raw score).
- List participant self-ratings for all checked areas.
- Rate career and marriage for all participants, even if not checked.
- For domains, select a number from 1 to 7, as shown on the Scale of Domain Affect. For the overall rating, you will be instructed to select a rating also of 1 to 7, as shown on the Adult Scale of Intrapsychic Brightness and Darkness. (It has a broader range than the College Scale of Intrapsychic Brightness and Darkness.)

Scale of Domain Affect

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Overall Dark		Mixed Range			Overall Bright	
Most dark	Dark	Tendency towards dark	Evenly mixed	Tendency towards bright	Bright	Most bright

Adult Scale of Intrapsychic Brightness and Darkness

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Overall Dark		Mixed Range			Overall Bright	
Most dark	Dark	Tendency towards dark	Evenly mixed	Tendency towards bright	Bright	Most bright

Master Ratings Grid

Special Rating Rules		Check Areas Most Affecting Adult Intrapsychic Brightness and Darkness	Raw Affect Rating	Adjusted Affect Rating	Partici-pant Self-Rating	Rating without Situational Effect
RATE FOR ALL CASES	CAREER	☐				
RATE FOR ALL CASES	MARRIAGE/ROMANTIC RELATIONSHIPS	☐				
Do not rate if the person has no children.	PARENTING	☐				
Do not rate if a person has little community life but does not seem to want one.	COMMUNITY LIFE	☐				
Do not rate if the person is not involved with such social relationships and does not seem to want them.	SOCIAL RELATIONSHIPS OUTSIDE NUCLEAR FAMILY	☐				
	RECREATION	☐				
Do not rate if the person has no spiritual or religious life, unless he seems to want one and specifically comments on it.	SPIRITUAL AND RELIGIOUS LIFE	☐				
Complete for all participants. Specify "none" if none.	MENTAL HEALTH OR HEALTH	☐				
Do not include early life experiences in any rating you give.	EXPERIENCE IN ADULTHOOD WITH FAMILY OF ORIGIN	☐				
Rate only if no other domain fits.	OTHER IMPORTANT AREAS OF THE ADULT LIFE, IF APPLICABLE	☐				
RATE FOR ALL CASES	OVERALL ADULT INTRAPSYCHIC BRIGHTNESS AND DARKNESS					

IV.   DEMOGRAPHICS, RATINGS, AND EXPLANATIONS FOR EACH RATED AREA

Step 1: Fill in the demographics for each rated area.

Step 2: Explain both the participant's experience in each rated area and your choice of rating for:

1. raw affect
2. adjusted affect
3. how the participant would rate himself *
4. any situationally adjusted score you would give**

- Write your rating number into your explanation.
- If you are uncertain or could go with two possible numbers, say so in your explanation.
- If you feel the participant is suppressing or shrouding affect or that data are inadequate to rate him, explain.
- Give only the most important reasons and pieces of evidence, not a list of details.
- Convey the larger context by using summary statements about periods or experiences.

Participant Self-Rating: Do you think the participant would rate himself differently than you did in any area or overall? Explain the general reasons in the box below and explain specifically in that area's explanation box what he sees differently. Note aspects of the participant's experience which you observed which you think he does not. Write "no" in the box if he would not rate himself differently.

**Rating without Effect of Situational Factors:* Do you see recent developments, or temporary influences, that you think influenced any of your ratings? In the appropriate explanation boxes list the situations and explain how they influenced the rating of the area and overall. Write "no" next to prompt for a rating without the effect of situational factors in the box if there are none. Examples are a new job, retirement (recent or imminent), recent successes or failures in the career, a new intimate relationship, death of a loved one.

Step 3: Each rating and analysis must be supported by evidence and citations from the interviews. Write these references in your prose by specifying the line number(s) and interview number(s).   (Each interview contains line numbers.)

Career: *List each career, career period (jobs the participant combines as a discrete part of his career), and types of jobs held. For each career segment, list the dates of the segment. For each job, list the job title, organization, and number of years the job was held. Also specify whether the person is currently working full time, working part time, is retired, is about to retire, or has no plans to retire soon.*

Description:

Raw Affect Rating:
Adjusted Affect Rating:
Participant Self-Rating:
Rating without Situational Effect:

Marriage/Romantic Relationships: *For each significant relationship, list the name of the person and the years/period of the relationship. Indicate whether the person is currently married, in a relationship, or single.*

Description:

Raw Affect Rating:
Adjusted Affect Rating:
Participant Self-Rating:
Rating without Situational Effect:

Parenting: *List the number of children and the name and age of each child or stepchild. Which, if any, children are living at home? Also note whether the participant has grandchildren.*

Description:

Raw Affect Rating:
Adjusted Affect Rating:
Participant Self-Rating:
Rating without Situational Effect:

Community Life (formal sociality): *Name the communities in which the person is actively involved (in a role or otherwise), e.g., religious or social cause. Community may grow out of religion and hobbies but goes beyond what is required to be a practitioner or participant. Religious service attendance is part of religious life but being a volunteer for a church ministry is rated as part of community life.*

Description:

Raw Affect Rating:
Adjusted Affect Rating:
Participant Self-Rating:
Rating without Situational Effect:

Social Relationships outside Nuclear Family (informal sociality): *List most important social relationships or friendships (outside nuclear family) or groups of friendships. Social relationships may involve people from work, sports/hobbies, or community involvements but would entail interactions separate from these contexts to be rated here.*

Description:

Raw Affect Rating:
Adjusted Affect Rating:
Participant Self-Rating:
Rating without Situational Effect:

Recreation: *List major hobbies and interests that are pursued outside of work and community life.*

Description:

Raw Affect Rating:
Adjusted Affect Rating:
Participant Self-Rating:
Rating without Situational Effect:

Spiritual and Religious Life: *Name the religions and religious and spiritual practices the participant participates in.*

Description:

Raw Affect Rating:
Adjusted Affect Rating:
Participant Self-Rating:
Rating without Situational Effect:

Mental Health or Health: *Has the participant been diagnosed with a mental health disorder, or is he currently displaying symptoms of mental illness? Is participant receiving psychotherapy or medications, or has he in the past? Does the participant identify serious or life-threatening diseases or impairments? (Fill out this section of the rating form for all participants. Specify "none" if there are no mental or physical health problems or treatments.)*

Diagnosed mental illness or symptoms:
Treatments:
Physical health problems:

Description:

Raw Affect Rating:
Adjusted Affect Rating:
Participant Self-Rating:
Rating without Situational Effect:

Experience in Adulthood with Family of Origin: *Specify number of siblings, name and age (or year of death) for each sibling, age or year of death for each parent. Specify father's level of education and institution, father's occupation. Are participant's parents or significant other's parents living with them?*

Description:

Raw Affect Rating:
Adjusted Affect Rating:

<table>
<tr><td>

Participant Self-Rating:
Rating without Situational Effect:

</td></tr>
</table>

Other Important Areas of Adult Life, if Applicable: *What other important area(s) with significant affect, if any, are not represented in other domains? This field is sometimes used to discuss the participant's conveyance of the importance of geography or region, among other possibilities.*

Description:

Raw Affect Rating:
Adjusted Affect Rating:
Participant Self-Rating:
Rating without Situational Effect:

V.   RESPONSE TO LIFE GOALS NOT ACHIEVED

Step 1: Has the participant achieved his life goals? Partly achieved goals go in both boxes.

Life Goals Achieved	Life Goals Not Achieved
1. 2. 3.	1. 2. 3.

Step 2: How does the participant respond to the life goals that he has not achieved?

The purpose of this section is twofold. First, to assess whether the person's response helps mitigate the negative affect, perpetuate it, or worsen it. If it mitigates the affect, then an adjusted score should be assigned. Second, to focus the rater's attention on the believability of the affect conveyed in various aspects of the participant's life. Does the account hold up, or is there leakage, inconsistency across domains, inconsistency between his life and the interview behavior, flatness or one dimensionality, or a skewed or packaged quality? A participant self-rating should be assigned if the account doesn't hold up. It means the person is trying to see or present himself in a way that is incongruent with the experiences he conveys implicitly.

Tip: For these two analyses, look for consistency of patterns involving perception, cognition, behavior, and affect which convey how the person handles negative affect. Look for consistency between the interview and the life. Examples include: focuses on a more positive area and reframes; projects, escapes, distances from; focuses energy on solving the problem; metabolizes. Note that we are not looking at psychoanalytic defense or coping mechanisms. We are looking for behaviors that a person characteristically exhibits in response to negative affect.

Below is a more elaborate list of response patterns individuals sometimes exhibit.

• Individual is not overinvolved in one area of life (not all eggs are in one basket)
• Negative experience does not overwhelm individual
• Able to compensate or be buoyed by other areas/experiences
• Able to adapt to new situations
• Able to bound affect, or to distance from affect
• Reframes negative affect to something less negative or positive
• Effort geared at trying to planfully take action to solve the unrealized goals
—developing a new strategy to achieve goal
—continuing old strategy to achieve goal

• Defensive (overly distances self from negative emotions)
• His reaction intensifies or expands the impact of the negative felt in one area of experience
• Pervasive negative affect or pessimism reduces positive areas or exacerbates negative areas of experience
• Clinical depression
• One area depresses affect felt in another area
• Clear interference with functioning
    —work
    —relationships
    —constricted social radius

<u>Write up</u> this section as follows.

1. List response patterns that capture how the person responds to negative affect visible in life goals not realized, in domains and in the interview behaviors.
    a. Describe the coping pattern.
    b. Describe the unachieved life goals it is used to cope with.
    c. Describe the domains in which it appears, and give examples.
    d. Use graduated bullets to list the coping patterns, domain manifestations, and examples.

2. Review the life goals to see if the coping pattern is related to one, or if a new life goal should be added.

Coping Pattern	Impact on Affect
1.	*Reduces negative affect* *Increases negative affect* *No effect*
2.	*Reduces negative affect* *Increases negative affect* *No effect*
3.	*Reduces negative affect* *Increases negative affect* *No effect*

VI.   AFFIRM NO AREAS ARE MISSING FROM ANALYSIS

Review the aspects of domains to be considered in rating provided at the end of this form to ensure that important considerations have not been overlooked.

VII.   EXPLANATION AND RATING OF ADULT INTRAPSYCHIC BRIGHTNESS AND DARKNESS

Take into account the important areas of the person's life and his life goals and rate the participant's overall affect, i.e., Adult Intrapsychic Brightness and Darkness. Fill in your ratings in the Master Ratings Grid.   Then explain participant's experience and your choice of rating for:

1. raw affect
2. adjusted affect
3. how the participant would rate himself
4. any situationally adjusted score you would give

Some life goals (achieved or unachieved) reflect aspects of character visible in the life history, whereas others appear more to reflect circumstance. Weigh life goals in Adult Intrapsychic Brightness and Darkness based on how much effect each has.

Heuristics for determining how much brightness or darkness there is in the person's intrapsychic world, and for classifying on the Adult Scale of Intrapsychic Brightness and Darkness:
- Overall negative affect: there is little brightness or the brightness is clearly muted within a generally negative paradigm.
- Overall positive affect: the brightness is dominant and any negatives are subsumed within it.
- Caveat about 1 and 7 on the Scale: can include some of the opposite affect but overall affect stands out as being most unhappy or most happy in relation to other participants or to your sense of what these extremes mean.
- Mixed: there is strong affect in both directions and can't be put into the overall positive or negative.
- Caveat about 3 and 5 on the Scale: capture some tendency towards positive or negative but the tendency doesn't stand out as dominant.
- Suppressed or inadequate information: you can't see enough to give a rating with confidence. This is not mixed.

Rating of Adult Intrapsychic Brightness and Darkness:

Description:

Raw Affect Rating:
Adjusted Affect Rating:
Participant Self-Rating:
Rating without Situational Effect:

VIII.   ASPECTS OF VARIOUS DOMAINS TO BE CONSIDERED IN RATING

A participant may feel or express affect in the different areas of his life in some of the ways listed below.

Aspects of Career

Skills	Relationship Quality	Purpose / Meaning	Status	Goals	Work Preferences	Person's Fit with Role and Culture
- Used - Challenged - Recognized - Sense of mastery	- Colleagues - Clients - Mentors	- Impact people - Impact organization or profession - Intrinsic pleasure in work	- Social - Monetary - Within place of work - Within field	- Close to (perceived) original goals at beginning of career - Achieved professional potential	- Autonomy - Security - Creativity - Financial	- Work-life balance - Types of people - Types of values

Aspects of Marriage/Romantic Relationships

Stability	Emotional Closeness and Support	Values	Interests and Companionship	Physical intimacy	Appreciation of Wife/ Partner
- Current relationship -Conflict contained? -Entertain thought of exiting the relationship? -Expect relationship to last - Longevity of past relationships - Reasons for end of past relationships unique or a pattern	- Awareness of partner's thoughts and feelings - Feels supported and respected by partner - Feelings of relatedness or aloneness - Do personality differences enhance or diminish intimacy? - Open to being influenced by wife/partner - Feels he has positive impact on wife/partner	- Centrality of family v. other areas - Model of gender roles: agreement v. disagreement - Expectations around children and parenting, and whether to have them - Social - Monetary - Religious	- Vacation well - Enjoy similar activities - Do things together or alone	- Mentioned as a problem?	- Identifies positive traits - Respect

Aspects of Parenting

Involvement in Child(ren)'s Life	Quality of Relationship with Child(ren)	How Child(ren) Will Turn Out/Have Turned Out	Father's Impact on Child(ren)'s Life	Interests and Companionship
- Appropriate level of financial support - Proximity - Frequency and quality of interactions; mutual enjoyment of time? - Helped with adolescent schooling problems? - Feels good about balance of work and family	- Awareness of child's thoughts, feelings, concerns, struggles - Feelings of relatedness or aloneness - Child's response to parent as advisor, role model, or respected caregiver (age-appropriate) - Able to maintain constructive relating in face of problems/conflict	- How much respect and appreciation he feels - As people; values - In education and career - In family formation and role	- Feels able to impact child's life positively? Child open to parent's influence. - Created opportunities for children? - Feels he hasn't had negative impact? - Minimized adverse effect of divorce?	- Vacation well - Enjoy similar activities - Do things together or alone

Aspects of Community Life

Activities and Roles	Motivation and Reward

- Is the person involved in activities and roles outside of family and work? Church, charity, PTA, theater troupe, book club, coaching, etc.
- If the person verbally expresses a wish to be involved but is not, you still rate this area.
	- Is the person experiencing enrichment in activities/roles?
	   -Intellectual stimulation
	   -Relational connections (makes friends or has social contact)
	   -Feelings of impact or purpose
	   -Staying engaged after retirement
	   -Giving back
	   -Reaffirming identity culturally or religiously

Aspects of Social Relationships outside Nuclear Family

Types of Social Relationships	Quality of Relationship
- Friends from educational experiences, work, extended family, hobbies, sports, other roles or activities outside of work and nuclear family	- Does the person have the number and quality of social relationships he wants? - Are his social relationships rewarding? (Too few, too many, too superficial?) - Would the person clearly benefit from more social interaction? Is he lonely and can't see it? - Does person have friends outside of friends formed with spouse? - Are they friends to do activities with, to share emotional experiences with? - Does the person feel satisfied with the quality of this/these relationship/s?

ONLINE APPENDIX 6: ASSESSMENT FORM FOR COLLEGE INTRAPSYCHIC BRIGHTNESS AND DARKNESS

This form asks you to evaluate intrapsychic brightness and darkness in a variety of areas of the individual's life as well as in his life overall. Intrapsychic brightness and darkness is defined to be the positive and negative affect the individual experiences in his life and conveys explicitly and implicitly in his account of his experiences. In making your evaluation, use the full sweep of the interviews over the years of college to assess how the participant felt at the end of college. Earlier interviews may inform your reading of what is conveyed in the participant's final interviews at the end of college.

I. GENERAL DIRECTIONS

Read the case and form a general impression of the participant before beginning to fill out this form. Conceptualize the participant's most important adult life experiences and his intrapsychic brightness and darkness overall before citing the specific evidence and crafting your explanations.

II. LIFE GOALS

Directions: Please list the participant's life goals as of the end of college. The life goals are the participant's own way of organizing his life efforts and/or the criteria he uses in evaluating his experiences. These goals may involve academic college life, extracurricular college life, romantic relationships, or other roles, but rise to the level of a life goal because the individual organizes his life efforts, not merely his role efforts, around it. Here are some tips for identifying life goals.

- Explicitly stated
- Strong or visible emotion
- Discusses or thinks about at length
- Repeated mention
- Externally or self-directed (e.g., get good grades versus pursue intellectual interests)
- Avoid a negative or seek out a positive (e.g., avoid being drawn into a particular career versus pursuing a desired career)
- Goals may not be visible, or only some goals may be visible to you, for certain cases
- Conceptualize the life goal at the highest level of abstraction that is still specific

A. There are three elements required in writing a life goal.

   a. Describe the broad principle or principles of the life goal.
   b. Explain how the goal manifests in the domains.
   c. Give examples of the goal manifesting in the domains you listed.

The objective is to frame life goals comprehensively, relate subparts to one another, and illustrate manifestations. (Separately, as a check on your life goals, confirm that major affect experienced in domains is related to a life goal.) Each broad principle may end up being a paragraph or more with its various subparts and examples.

B. Consider possible unseen life goals or unseen facets or related aspects of a life goal that you initially recognize.

   1. Consider life goals that avoid outcomes, or that contain conflicts, not just positively focused goals.
   2. Consider a hidden negative or a hidden positive aspect to a life goal with the opposite focus.

3. Consider: Is any life goal a typical pattern of response to negative affect or related to one? (This relates to the section of your analysis looking at responses to unrealized life goals.)

C. Lastly, characterize the life goals you listed.

1. Whether the participant is hopeful of achieving the life goal.
2. Whether the goal seems oriented towards serving the well-being of the participant or the well-being of others.
3. Whether—or not—the goal is designed to fix an aspect of the individual or his life (self-repair).

Life Goal In outline bullet points, specify the highest framing of the life goal and its subparts and the domain manifestations of each subpart. Give examples as evidence of each manifestation.	Hope of Achieving? Write: "Hopeful" or "Not"	Self or Others? Write: "Self" or "Others"	Self-Repair? Yes, if checked. No, if not.
1.			☐
2.			☐
3.			☐

III.   LEVEL OF POSITIVE AND NEGATIVE AFFECT IN EACH AREA

Check the areas of life most important to the participant's overall affect. Do experiences in this area influence—or appear significantly to help explain—his overall affect?   Rate raw and adjusted affect in each area.

- Base your rating on the intensity and pervasiveness of positive and negative affect in an area.
- You can include unstated or unconscious feelings that you perceive.
- Use only integers for your ratings.
- List the adjusted scores for all checked areas, even if you don't feel able to provide raw scores (in which case write "NA" for the raw score).
- List participant self-ratings for all checked areas.
- Rate experience in family of origin for all participants, even if not checked.
- For two domains—family and extended family—not only current experiences during college but also historical material reported by the participant counts, to the extent that it influences how a participant feels at the end of college. For all other domains, restrict your focus to the experiences occurring during college.
- For domains, select a number from 1 to 7, as shown on the Scale of Domain Affect. For the overall rating, you will be instructed to select a rating of 2, 3, 4, or 5, as shown on the College Scale of Intrapsychic Brightness and Darkness. (Note that it has a narrower range than the Adult Scale of Intrapsychic Brightness and Darkness.)

Scale of Domain Affect

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Overall Dark		Mixed Range			Overall Bright	
Most dark	Dark	Tendency towards dark	Evenly mixed	Tendency towards bright	Bright	Most bright

College Scale of Intrapsychic Brightness and Darkness

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Overall dark		Mixed range			Overall bright	
	Dark	Tendency towards dark	Evenly mixed	Tendency towards bright		

Master Ratings Grid

	Check Areas Most Influencing College Intrapsychic Brightness and Darkness	Raw Affect Rating	Adjusted Affect Rating	Participant Self-Rating
FAMILY OF ORIGIN (Rate for all cases)	☐			
EXTENDED FAMILY	☐			
ACADEMIC COLLEGE LIFE	☐			
EXTRACURRICULAR COLLEGE LIFE	☐			
ROMANTIC RELATIONSHIPS	☐			
SOCIAL RELATIONSHIPS	☐			
CAREER DEVELOPMENT	☐			
INTELLECTUAL DEVELOPMENT AND ENGAGEMENT	☐			
MENTAL HEALTH OR HEALTH	☐			
OTHER IMPORTANT AREAS, IF APPLICABLE	☐			
OVERALL COLLEGE INTRAPSYCHIC BRIGHTNESS AND DARKNESS				

IV.   RATINGS AND EXPLANATIONS FOR EACH RATED AREA

Step 1: Give a brief description of the positive and negative affect the participant experiences in each domain. See the end of this form for a list of thematic areas often exhibited in domains.   After describing the affective experience in each domain, account for your ratings of each of the following:

1. raw affect
2. adjusted affect
3. how the participant would rate himself *

(Note that in contrast with the adult rating form, this one does not ask you to rate the effect of situational factors, because the interviews span multiple years and provide sufficient context to discern the effect of recent developments on how the participant felt at the point in time at which you are assessing his experiences.)

- Write your rating number into your explanation.
- If you are uncertain or could go with two possible numbers, say so in your explanation.
- If you feel the participant is suppressing or shrouding affect or that data are inadequate to rate him, explain.
- Give only the most important reasons and pieces of evidence, not a list of details.
- Convey the larger context by using summary statements about periods or experiences.

Participant Self-Rating: Do you think the participant would rate himself differently than you did in any area or overall? Explain the general reasons in the box below and explain specifically in that area's explanation box what he sees differently. Note aspects of the participant's experience which you observed which you think he does not. Write "no" in the box if he would not rate himself differently.

Step 2: Each rating and analysis must be supported by evidence and citations from the interviews. Write these references in your prose by specifying the line number(s) and interview number(s).   (Each interview contains line numbers.)

Family of Origin: *How he feels about parents, siblings, and family, and about himself in this family. Historical experiences, not only current ones, count in this domain.*

Description:

Raw Affect Rating:
Adjusted Affect Rating:
Participant Self-Rating:

Extended Family: *Historical experiences, not only current ones, count in this domain.*

Description:

Raw Affect Rating:
Adjusted Affect Rating:
Participant Self-Rating:

Academic College Life: *Includes classes, thesis, and other academic experiences. Experiences with college workload, grade pressures, and academic requirements are part of this domain.*

Description:

Raw Affect Rating:
Adjusted Affect Rating:
Participant Self-Rating:

Extracurricular College Life: *Formal extracurricular (e.g., Crimson, clubs, sports) and informal extracurricular (e.g., "bull sessions," weekend trips, watching movies).*

Description:

Raw Affect Rating:
Adjusted Affect Rating:
Participant Self-Rating:

Romantic Relationships

Description:

Raw Affect Rating:
Adjusted Affect Rating:
Participant Self-Rating:

Social Relationships: *Forming friendships and feelings about relationships with friends, roommates, social circles, mentors. General competence with people.*

Description:

Raw Affect Rating:
Adjusted Affect Rating:
Participant Self-Rating:

Career Development: *Identification of career interests, goals, taking steps, expectations for the future. This is separate from academic performance with grades and time management, unless the work in college is directly preparatory or seen to be preparatory for the career (e.g., academia).*

Description:

Raw Affect Rating:
Adjusted Affect Rating:
Participant Self-Rating:

Intellectual Development and Engagement: *Separate from career interests and separate from academics.*

Description:

Raw Affect Rating:
Adjusted Affect Rating:
Participant Self-Rating:

Mental Health or Health: *Has the participant been diagnosed with a mental health disorder, or is he currently displaying symptoms of mental illness? Is participant receiving psychotherapy or medications, or has he in the past? Does the participant identify serious or life-threatening diseases or impairments? (Fill out this section of the rating form for all participants. Specify "none" if there are no mental and physical health problems or treatments.)*

Diagnosed mental illness or symptoms:
Treatments:
Physical health problems:

Description:

Raw Affect Rating:
Adjusted Affect Rating:
Participant Self-Rating:

Other Important Areas: *What other important area(s) with significant affect, if any, are not represented in other domains? This field is sometimes used to discuss an experience of class injury, cultural adjustment problems at Harvard, etc.*

Description:

Raw Affect Rating:
Adjusted Affect Rating:
Participant Self-Rating:

V.   RESPONSE TO LIFE GOALS NOT ON TRACK

Step 1: Does the participant feel on track towards achieving his life goals? Partly on track goals go in both boxes.

Life Goals on Track	Life Goals off Track
1. 2. 3.	1. 2. 3.

Step 2: How does the participant respond to the life goals that he does not feel on track towards achieving?

The purpose of this section is twofold. First, to assess whether the person's response helps mitigate the negative affect, perpetuate it, or worsen it. If it mitigates the affect, then an adjusted score should be assigned. Second, to focus the rater's attention on the believability of the affect conveyed in various aspects of the participant's life. Does the account hold up, or is there leakage, inconsistency across domains, inconsistency between his life and the interview behavior, flatness or one dimensionality, or a skewed or packaged quality? A participant self-rating should be assigned if the account doesn't hold up. It means the person is trying to see or present himself in a way that is incongruent with the experiences he conveys implicitly.

Tip: For these two analyses, look for consistency of patterns involving perception, cognition, behavior, and affect which convey how the person handles negative affect. Look for consistency between the interview and the life. Examples include: focuses on a more positive area and reframes; projects, escapes, distances from; focuses energy on solving the problem; metabolizes. Note that we are not looking at psychoanalytic defense or coping mechanisms. We are looking for behaviors that a person characteristically exhibits in response to negative affect.

 Below is a more elaborate list of response patterns individuals sometimes exhibit.

• Individual is not overinvolved in one area of life (not all eggs are in one basket)
• Negative experience does not overwhelm individual
• Able to compensate or be buoyed by other areas/experiences
• Able to adapt to new situations
• Able to bound affect, or to distance from affect
• Reframes negative affect to something less negative or positive
• Effort geared at trying to planfully take action to solve the unrealized goals
—developing a new strategy to achieve goal
—continuing old strategy to achieve goal

• Defensive (overly distances self from negative emotions)
• His reaction intensifies or expands the impact of the negative felt in one area of experience
• Pervasive negative affect or pessimism reduces positive areas or exacerbates negative areas of experience
• Clinical depression
• One area depresses affect felt in another area
• Clear interference with functioning in:
    —academics
    —extracurriculars
    —socially

<u>Write up</u> this section as follows.

1. List coping patterns that capture how the person responds to negative affect visible in life goals not felt by him to be on track, in domains and in the interview behaviors.
   a. Describe the coping pattern.
   b. Describe the not-on-track life goals it is used to cope with.
   c. Describe the domains in which it appears, and give examples.
   d. Use graduated bullets to list the coping patterns, domain manifestations, and examples.

2. Review the life goals to see if the coping pattern is related to one, of if a new life goal should be added.

Coping Pattern	Impact on Affect
1.	*Reduces negative affect* *Increases negative affect* *No effect*
2.	*Reduces negative affect* *Increases negative affect* *No effect*
3.	*Reduces negative affect* *Increases negative affect* *No effect*

VI.   AFFIRM NO AREAS ARE MISSING FROM ANALYSIS

Review the aspects of domains to be considered in rating provided at the end of this form to ensure that important considerations have not been overlooked.

VII.   EXPLANATION AND RATING OF COLLEGE INTRAPSYCHIC BRIGHTNESS AND DARKNESS

Take into account the important areas of the person's life and his life goals and rate College Intrapsychic Brightness and Darkness. Fill in your ratings in the Master Ratings Grid.   Then explain participant's experience and your choice of rating for:

1. raw affect
2. adjusted affect
3. how the participant would rate himself

Heuristics for determining how much brightness or darkness there is in the person's intrapsychic world, and for classifying on the College Scale of Intrapsychic Brightness and Darkness:

- Overall negative affect: there is little brightness or the brightness is clearly muted within a generally negative paradigm.
- Mixed: there is strong affect in both directions and can't be put into the overall positive or negative.
- Caveat about 3 and 5 on the Scale: capture some tendency towards positive or negative but the tendency doesn't stand out as dominant.

- Suppressed or inadequate information: you can't see enough to give a rating with confidence. This is not mixed.

Rating of College Intrapsychic Brightness and Darkness

Description:

Raw Affect Rating:
Adjusted Affect Rating:
Participant Self-Rating:

VIII.   ASPECTS OF VARIOUS DOMAINS TO BE CONSIDERED IN RATING

A participant may feel or express affect in the different areas of his life in some of the ways listed below.

Aspects of Family of Origin

Reported Parental Behavior	Parent-Child Relationship	Family Environment	Health of Family Members	Siblings	Culture and Family Background
Rejecting Loving Neglecting Overprotective Encourage autonomy/self-esteem Role-reversing Pressure to achieve/ punitive - Supportive	Understanding: confided in parent, hid things, felt aloof from Discipline: rules and punishment - Seen as helpful v. harmful Disciplinary styles and practices perceived as fair, good v. unfair, bad, overprotective Source of wisdom and advice Sense of safety and security Activities/time spent together	Warmth or support between family members Physical affection Coldness or conflict in family Sense of family stability or instability	Death Debilitating illness Good health?	Siblings v. only child? Who's living at home? Sibling rivalry Lack of mutual activities and interaction Companionship Close in age Distant in age Siblings as role model or follower Sibling problems or set high standards Illness and death of siblings	Features that shape family's social world Immigration or language issues (for self or parents or both) Ethnicity Religious values, affiliation, and practices Poverty Wealth

Aspects of Extended Family

Are there grandparents, aunts, uncles, cousins, governesses/nannies, others?
- Involvement
- Role models or mentors
- Sources of support: emotional, financial, advice, etc.
- Sources of refuge/additional venue outside of home
- Provide sense of a larger world
- Is there a nanny or nonnuclear family member at home?
- Death or debilitating illness

Aspects of Academic College Life

- Intellectual standards
- Performance (grades, thesis, advisor interest in him, effectiveness at studying, acceptance to grad school)
- Feelings about own efficacy
- Feelings about competition
- Courses that affected them
- Major and interests
- Engaging, enriching v. not?

Aspects of Extracurricular College Life

Hobbies/Interests	Nonacademics
- Reading - Sports - Outdoor activities - Camp - Church - Boy Scouts - Formal social involvements besides school (and family)	- Interests - Clubs - Extracurriculars - Charitable - Religious involvements - Harvard Student Study - Work while in college - Where he lived

Aspects of Romantic Relationships

- Amount and satisfaction with…
    - Dating
    - Early marriage/fatherhood
    - Feelings towards commitment
    - Sexuality

Aspects of Social Relationships

Social Involvements	Harvard Culture	People
- Amount and satisfaction with… -Dating -Individual friends (other than siblings) -Groups of friends -Social acceptance and involvement	- Feels accepted in culture - Adjustment to aspects of culture o Elitism and concern for prestige o Prep v. public background o Urban v. rural o East Coast v. not o On scholarship v. not o Autonomy and independence	- Teachers he liked - Coaches, administrators, and other adults important to him? - Staff of the Harvard Student Study

Aspects of Career Development

- Sense of social or parental pressure
- Freedom to make an autonomous decision?
- Freedom to follow individual interests?
- Economic or social goals

Aspects of Mental Health of Health

- Physical disabilities or illness
- Symptoms of mental illness or diagnosed mental illness

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