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## **A Comparative Investigation of Fantasy in Normal and Behaviorally Deviant Latency-Aged Boys**

Elgan L. Baker  
*University of Tennessee, Knoxville*

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To the Graduate Council:

I am submitting herewith a dissertation written by Elgan L. Baker entitled "A Comparative Investigation of Fantasy in Normal and Behaviorally Deviant Latency-Aged Boys." I have examined the final electronic copy of this dissertation for form and content and recommend that it be accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, with a major in Psychology.

Leonard Handler, Major Professor

We have read this dissertation and recommend its acceptance:

William A. Poppen, Charles P. Cohen, Donna Horn

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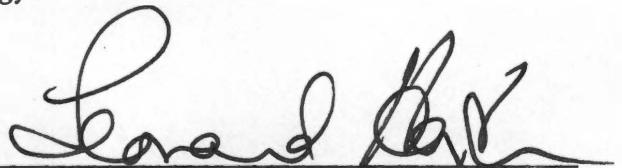
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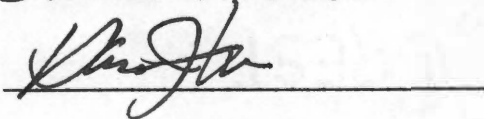
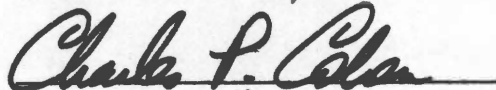
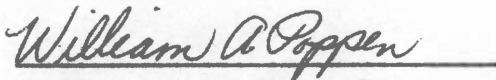
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Leonard Handler, Major Professor

We have read this dissertation  
and recommend its acceptance:



Accepted for the Council:

\_\_\_\_\_  
Vice Chancellor  
Graduate Studies and Research

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A COMPARATIVE INVESTIGATION OF FANTASY IN  
NORMAL AND BEHAVIORALLY DEVIANT  
LATENCY-AGED BOYS

A Dissertation  
Presented for the  
Doctor of Philosophy  
Degree  
The University of Tennessee

Elgan L. Baker, Jr.

June 1976

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## ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study was to compare the fantasies of normal and deviant males between the ages of 8 and 10 in order to determine if systematic differences exist between the two groups. Further, the study attempted to delineate differences between the two deviant subgroups: Withdrawn children and Acting-Out children. The fantasies were examined both in terms of structure and content.

Thirty boys were selected from the Fayette County, Ky. public school system on the basis of normal intelligence, average school performance, middle class socioeconomic status and freedom from overt behavior problems. These children formed the Normal group. The Deviant group was composed of thirty boys involved in psychotherapy at the two Knoxville, Tn. area community mental health centers, selected on the basis of similar criteria. Fifteen of these boys demonstrated primary "withdrawn" behaviors, and fifteen demonstrated "acting-out" behaviors. Spontaneous fantasy stories were collected from each of the children. These stories were rated by two graduate student raters on the Fantasy Rating Questionnaire. Ratings for the various groups or subgroups were then compiled and compared in relation to the hypotheses of the study.

Formal Hypothesis 1, which stated that Normal children would be rated higher than Deviant children on dimensions relating to cognitive maturity, was not supported by the results. Formal Hypothesis 2, which stated that Withdrawn children would be rated higher than Acting-Out

children on these dimensions, was also not supported. Formal Hypothesis 3 predicted that Acting-Out children would be rated higher on the "Range of Activity" scale and was supported. Formal Hypothesis 4, which stated that Normals would be rated higher than Deviant children on creativity, and Withdrawn children would be rated higher than Acting-Out children, was supported for the Normal-Deviant comparison but not for the Withdrawn-Acting-Out comparison. The three Theme Hypotheses were all supported by the results. Acting-Out children were found to have a higher frequency of themes of rage, revenge, victimization and aggression than did the other children. Themes reflecting socialization were more frequent among the Normal children, while themes centering in the self were more frequent among the Deviant children. Characterizations of authority or parent figures were more frequently positive in Normal children and negative in Deviant children. General Hypothesis 1, which stated that Normal children would produce longer stories than Deviant children and that Withdrawn children would produce longer stories than Acting-Out children, was supported for the Normal-Deviant comparison only. General Hypothesis 2 predicted that Normal children would produce more themes than Deviant children and that Withdrawn children would produce a higher number of themes than Acting-Out children. The differences were not significant for either comparison. General Hypothesis 3, which stated that the stories of Normal children would contain a higher number of characters than the Deviant children and that Withdrawn children would produce a higher number of characters than Acting-Out children, was supported for the Normal-Deviant comparison.

The results were also summarized to make general statements about the fantasy productions of each of the groups of children examined.

The implications of these findings were discussed in relation to the literature and prior research. Discrepancies between expected and obtained results were examined and tentatively explained. The data were interpreted as they related to various theoretical issues including the relationship between fantasy and cognitive development, the role of fantasy for the individual, the relationship between fantasy and overt behavior, fantasy and psychopathology, and the nature of withdrawal and acting-out as examples of deviant behavior in children. A number of methodological alterations and suggestions for future research were made.

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All round the house is the jet-black night;  
It stares through the window-pane;  
It crawls in the corners, hiding from the light,  
And it moves with the moving plane.

Now my little heart goes a-beating like a drum,  
With the breath of the Bogie in my hair;  
And all around the candle the crooked shadows come,  
And go marching along up the stair.

The shadow of the balusters, the shadow of the lamp,  
The shadow of the child that goes to bed-  
All the wicked shadows coming tramp, tramp, tramp,  
With the black night overhead.

Robert Louis Stevenson  
A Child's Garden of Verses

## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTION

"Tell me where is fancy bred,  
Or in the heart or in the head?  
How begot, how nourished?  
Reply, Reply.  
It is engender'd in the eyes,  
With gazing fed; and fancy dies  
In the cradle where it lies.  
Let us all ring fancy's knell  
I'll begin it -- Ding, dong bell."

-Merchant of Venice, III, ii

The dialectic of fantasy and reality has been explicated more often by poets and playwrights than by psychologists. In fact, the observations found in the works of such writers and poets as Shakespeare, Sartre, Baudelaire, Poe, etc., are often much more insightful and meaningful than those contained in the literature of traditional psychology. Man has always been fascinated with his inner world. Concern with dreams, images and fantasy extends certainly into prehistory and appears in the earliest records of the Egyptian and the Babylonian cultures (Kluckhohn, 1964). Because this realm of human experience was historically most closely allied with traditions of mysticism and religion, psychologists long agreed that it was unsuitable for scientific investigation. Until only recently, the understanding of fantasy provided by the literature was similar to the explanation given by Lepidus when asked by Anthony to describe the strange creature of the Nile, the crocodile:

It is shaped sir like itself and it is as broad as it has breadth; it is just as high as it stands and it moves with its own organs; it lives by what nourisheth it and the elements once out of it, it transmigrates. . . it is its own colour too. . . and the tears of it are wet.

-Anthony and Cleopatra, II., iii

The historical development of a concern for fantasy is traceable to Hume's work on impressions in the late 18th century. His theory examined the process and function of imaging. This paved the way for Titchener's laboratory in the early 1900's, which focused on the nature of imagery. Titchener and his group concluded that all thinking required some form of imagery. However, quick opposition developed from the Wurzburg School under the leadership of Kulpe and Ach (Boring, 1956). This group wrote extensively on the notion of "imageless thought." Their work was so convincing to the mainstream of psychological thinking that Titchener's position was defeated. This defeat brought a general attenuation of interest in fantasy and imagery, although some work continued on the stream of consciousness (Frazier, 1974). With the advent of Watson's behaviorism and the operational approach, even this line of research was subdued. There has been relatively little systematic study of spontaneous imagery and conscious fantasy in this century, until recently.

Within the psychoanalytic literature, a good deal of theorizing has continued relative to fantasy, and psychoanalysts have continued to collect clinical data of dreams, daydreams, states of awareness and the topography of consciousness. However, their work has not been fashioned in a controlled, scientific manner, nor has it been organized in any consistent way. European psychology, more closely allied with traditional psychoanalysis than American scientific psychology, has placed more

emphasis on the investigation of private experiences. Within the area of fantasy and daydreaming, the work of Jung and Bachelard and Binet's analysis of imagery (1922) constitute the only acclaimed empirical studies between 1900 and 1945 (Schilder, 1953). In conjunction with his presentation of a method of introspection for the study of daydreams termed the "phantasy method" in 1923, Clark reviewed the literature and noted the absence of significant research in the United States. In 1947, Murray pointed to the need for more systematic study of fantasy, especially child fantasy. The zeitgeist has subsequently changed to allow for more intensive work in this area. This literature will be more thoroughly surveyed in the next chapter, which will further develop the various theoretical conceptualizations of fantasy.

The concept of fantasy to be utilized in this study is rooted in the psychoanalytic tradition as modified by the current ego-cognitive viewpoint. A fuller theoretical definition will be developed from the literature survey to follow. However, the most consistent conceptualizations in the literature are coincident with the frame of reference provided by Singer and Schonbar (1961). They define fantasy as "any form of waking activity carried on by a person which involves thinking or visualizing in his 'mind's eye' some pattern of behavior or event not directly involved with the task he is immediately engaged in . . . or some form of self-conversation which is carried on privately within the individual" (p. 276). This definition is supported by Klinger (1971) in his survey of the concept of fantasy and will serve as the defining statement in this study, as well.

Most of the empirical research to date has centered on examining the contents of fantasy and daydreams in adults or on relating fantasy productions to various demographic or physiological variables (Singer, 1966). With few notable exceptions, the child fantasy literature is theoretical and classically psychoanalytic. In this study, predictions relating to both the contents and the formal structure of children's fantasy stories will be based primarily on theoretical notions garnered from the literature. These parameters will be examined in terms of both normal and deviant behavior patterns for the age group to be studied. It is anticipated that such an approach will serve not only in the validation of various popular theoretical hypotheses, but will shed some light on developmental perspectives in fantasy production and on changes in fantasy relevant to psychopathology, as well.

Such an approach is consistent with the goals of empirical scientific psychology, as well as stemming from the more scholastic traditions of behavioral description derived from the Greco-Roman heritage of Western culture. The classical theoretical notions of psychology and psychiatry regarding personality development and psychopathology are based primarily on clinical observation. While the value of clinical validation is not to be denied, the formulation of objective criteria of validation for traditional constructs is needed. In order to promote this development, an empirical investigation of these constructs is indicated. Such an empirical investigation of fantasy is not without precedent.

Fantasy and daydream material have been used in numerous studies to investigate personality, character style and development, and conscious cognitive processes. That this investigative technique is appropriate and

viable has been established by the extensive research of Jerome Singer (1966) and his followers in their work on daydreaming and the psychology of thought. By relating children's fantasy stories to predictions based on theoretical notions regarding fantasy production in general, cognitive development and pathological deviance or aberration, this study will attempt to further enrich the psychological literature on cognitive processes. This study will produce not only empirical evidence relative to the specific hypotheses generated, but it will result in normative data on fantasy production, as well. Such information should be significant to the various theoretical perspectives regarding the nature and development of human behavior. However, it should also allow extrapolations to the more applied areas of psychological diagnosis and treatment of children.

## CHAPTER II

### SURVEY OF THE LITERATURE

The literature relating to fantasy in general and to children's fantasy specifically will be examined in three stages. First, some historical considerations will be delineated as they relate to the study of internal processes and as determinants of the concept of fantasy. Second, some theoretical perspectives will be surveyed along with significant theoretically-oriented clinical investigations. Finally, the more general empirical literature will be presented.

#### Historical Considerations

The beginnings of psychology as a discipline are found in the traditions of theology and philosophy as well as in the fields of physics, chemistry and biology. It is therefore not coincidental that the origins of psychological investigation focused on issues of man's inner experience. A statement characteristic of the early psychological ambiance is found in William James' classic text, Principles of Psychology. Here he carefully outlines specific concerns relating to self-awareness, imagery, thought and the nature of man's subjective world (James, 1950). At the beginning of the twentieth century, the popular controversy in psychology centered around the process of introspection and the resulting theories describing the contents of imagery production and their relation to cognition. However, the American scientific climate



did not support this avenue of interest and scientific investigation (McClelland, 1955). The literature documents little interest in the direct, systematic study of fantasy from 1900 until 1950.

The empirical research which was published during this period is primarily related to projective techniques (Murray, 1947) or to the observation of children's imaginative play (Singer, 1966). Hall and his students published two studies (1891, 1907) outlining and categorizing common fantasy themes produced via introspection. Green (1922, 1923) recorded children's spontaneous daydreams and analyzed them for frequency of oral, anal and phallic thematic contents. His results supported the classical psychoanalytic model of psychosexual development.

Several studies advocated the naturalistic observations of children's play as a clue to daydreaming and fantasy (Sherman, 1934; Guffiths, 1935; Markey, 1935; and Isaacs, 1933). These studies examined the child's imaginary playmate and reported this to be a normal developmental phenomenon. They also noted the frequency with which children's games duplicated the activities of adulthood and suggested that play prepares the child to assume appropriate roles in later life. The phenomenon of the imaginary playmate was further investigated by Hurlock and Burstein (1932), Jerrild, Kagan and White (1933), and Ames and Learned (1946). These studies delineated specific characteristics of the fantasy playmate and the nature of the interaction with it. An important conclusion from these studies stated that fantasy could have an adaptive developmental function as well as a defensive one as suggested by the analytic literature.

This notion was investigated and supported in research not specifically dealing with the imaginary playmate (Murphy, Murphy & Newcomb, 1937; and Murphy, 1947). A major finding of the research of this period was that fantasy is a process integral to child development. Further, the contents of fantasy were felt to reflect the psychosexual conflicts posited by the Freudians:

Despite the paucity of empirical research before 1950, a great deal of theoretical literature appeared, primarily from a psychoanalytic orientation. In 1908, S. Freud linked waking fantasy with the partial fulfillment of instinctive desires but never clearly associated it with the adaptive processes of perception, attention and cognition. The focus of theoretical formulations stresses interpretation of content, with little emphasis placed on structure (Eidelson, 1945; A. Freud, 1946). Hartmann (1937) was the first theorist to actively point out the adaptive aspects of fantasy in normal experience and posited that fantasy may arise in a conflict-free sphere of operations. The advent of ego psychology broadened the theoretical perspectives to include more than a view of fantasy as serving a wish-fulfilling or defensive function. However, these two viewpoints hallmark the basic genre-dichotomies found throughout the literature. Fantasy is generally viewed either in terms of defensive or in terms of adaptive functions.

The first direct study of adult fantasy was conducted by Shaffer in 1936. By using a questionnaire, he categorized the contents of daydreams by thematic criteria. The use of the content questionnaire was continued in the research of such investigators as Page (1957) and Singer (1966).

The development of the various projective techniques in the 1930's, such as the Rorschach and the TAT, resulted in a variety of studies designed to describe the contents of responses and interpret their meanings in an analytic framework (Murray, 1947; Phillips & Smith, 1962). It is primarily the clinical applications and implications of fantasy analysis that motivated a renewed interest in the investigation of daydreaming and fantasy. A change in the zeitgeist, with a return to respect for introspection as a viable research technique, also promoted empirical interest in the fantasy process (Singer, 1966).

The last twenty-five years have produced a steady increase in the incidence of both theoretical and empirical literature on fantasy. Although firmly rooted in the preceding developments, the recent theory has emphasized functional aspects more than structural ones, and empirical research has gone far beyond content analysis. The following discussion will emphasize the current state of theory and metapsychological thought and the more recent work in the area.

### Some Theoretical Perspectives

Theory is intimately related to any investigative venture either as a starting point to generate hypotheses (Feshback, 1955) or as a means of explanation (Windholz, 1968). Therefore, a survey of various theoretical perspectives regarding the nature and function of fantasy will serve not only to explicate the current thinking within psychology but will also provide the rationale for the design of this study. The various conceptualization schema certainly overlap. These will be developed primarily historically.

### The Psychoanalytic View

The psychoanalytic conceptualization of fantasy views it as a form of thinking not necessarily followed by overt action. This stance is characterized by Rosenzweig (1942) who notes that fantasy is infantile. It represents the child's characteristic mode of adjustment via obtaining pleasurable gratification and/or the reduction of anxiety. Fantasy is inhibited by socialization. This process occurs through repression. The fantasy proceeds along lines which are illogical and irrational (primary process) but is expressed in concrete, logical images (secondary process) determined by past and present experience. The repressed, unconscious fantasies form the common basis for nocturnal dreams and symptoms (Arlow, 1969).

Conscious fantasy is seen essentially as an ego-process which Fenichel (1945) divides into two basic types: creative fantasy, which prepares for some later action, and daydreaming which serves as a refuge for wishes that cannot be fulfilled. The former is viewed as developing out of primary process, while the latter becomes a real substitute for action in an introversive manner. Such a formulation leads to a definition of fantasy as "the representative or derivative (preconscious or unconscious transformation) of impulses and affects which draw on available cognitive capacities for manifest products" (Gould, 1972, p. 36). The fantasy itself may become so intense as to bring the discharge of cathexis, either in a preparatory or substitutive fashion. This is the sense in which the content of the fantasy is often a derivative of unconscious or preconscious material. The fantasies usually exist in the form of visual images or ideas. Conscious fantasies (daydreams) are often

of an aggrandizing or sexual nature, while fantasy derived from unconscious material usually relates to important figures in early life and expresses wishes that have a forbidden quality or unfulfilled needs (Moore & Fine, 1968). Such fantasies may initiate action or prevent it.

Fantasy is usually viewed as consisting of a symbol-complex or group of symbols much like dreams. These symbols are synthesized into a unified story by the secondary process. The origin of these symbols is most frequently viewed as deriving from the individual's experience in his culture. The characteristics of this synthesis are similar to those of the dream-work with similar mechanisms of distortion which result in a latent and manifest content to the fantasy. A delineation of the basic functions of such a synthesis includes substitution for action, the preparation for later action, the gratification of id impulses, service to the ego as a defense, the formation of a self-concept and object-relations development, and service to the superego by the provision of the imagery on which moral concepts are based. Rapaport (1951) points out that imagery also provides the means for transition from primary to secondary process thinking. This transition brings temporary energy discharge and gratification. "Fantasies can provide a safe outlet for impulses that might be dangerous if they were discharged in real action" (Horowitz, 1970, p. 89). The role of fantasy in gratification and wish-fulfillment is discussed by Joseph (1959); its role in mastery by Kris (1950); and its role in pleasure compensation for reduced external stimulation by Singer (1966). Therefore, theorists posit that fantasy may serve a role in cathexis or in defense against cathexis (Hinsie & Campbell, 1973). Of fantasy, Varendonck wrote,

Phantasy gives the illusion that wishes and aspirations have been fulfilled; it thinks obstacles away; it transforms impossibilities into possibilities and realities. It is a search for pleasureable representations and an avoidance of everything likely to cause pain. (1921, p. 96)

Here Varendonck conceives of fantasy as a safety valve for the abreaction of strong affects. Fantasy has also been viewed as having a creative role by theorists such as Kris and Jung. "Besides the will . . . we have also creative fantasy, an irrational instinctive function which alone has the power of yielding the will a content of such a character as can unite opposites. It is the source of symbols"(Jung, 1923, p. 217). Jung's formulation represents a reversal of the Freudian position. Few current theorists place much emphasis on the "collective unconscious" as the source of fantasy symbols.

Freud wrote infrequently about the fantasy process. In his correspondence with W. Fleiss (1897), he wrote that fantasy is important because it represents a compensation for repressed wishes. Conflicted ideas and repressed wishes are seen as gaining representation via image formation and fantasy rather than lexical thought (Freud, 1899, 1916; Deutsch, 1953; Lewin, 1955; Kanzer, 1958). Image formation is a more primitive system, and it tends to be under the influence of a more primitive regulatory system--the primary process. Therefore, conflictual material is more easily disguised. Imaged fantasies are more likely to provide instinctual satisfaction than lexical verbal representations because they are more analogous to perception (Horowitz, 1970, p. 76). Freud felt that only unsatisfied people would indulge in fantasies, seeking pleasure in daydreaming that is denied in reality or prevented

by the structure of the personality. Therefore, he concluded that fantasy enables the pleasure principle to continue its reign.

Freud felt that the process of fantasy is initiated by some provoking occasion in the present which arouses one of the individual's major wishes. This associates a memory of an earlier experience (usually infantile) in which the wish was fulfilled. The imagination then creates a situation in the future which represents the fulfillment of the wish. Fantasy then forms a bridge, linking the PAST-PRESENT-FUTURE. The traditional psychoanalytic position which views fantasy as giving direct expression to material derived from repressed wishes via symbols is a Freudian concept. However, Freud saw fantasy primarily as a psychopathological manifestation and failed to see the creative, adaptive force of fantasy (1900).

Sandler and Nagera (1964) provide a cogent summary of Freud's position.

1. Conscious fantasy, or daydreaming, is a reaction to a frustrating external reality. It has a wish-fulfilling quality.
2. Fantasies which are descriptively unconscious can be divided into two classes: those formed in the preconscious and those which are relegated by repression to the unconscious. Some fantasies are primal.
3. Once repressed, a fantasy functions as a "memory of instinctual satisfaction" and can provide the ideational content of instinctual drives. They may find symbolic expression in conscious fantasy or via numerous derivatives such as delusions and symptoms.

Anna Freud (1936) altered her father's position slightly when she focused on the defensive aspects of fantasy. However, this alteration prepared the way for what Hartmann (1939) later termed "executive ego functions."

Involvement with fantasy becomes a pathological activity only when it ceases to be a game (play) and becomes an automatism or an obsession--a compensation for more than residues of pain and uneasiness but an attempt to master anxiety. (p. 92)

She further asserted that too much or too little reliance on fantasy is a diagnostic indicator of a cognitive or affect disturbance, while the character and content of fantasy gives clues to dynamics. Anna Freud also discussed the role of fantasy in integrating affects and ego functions. She claimed that since many of the mechanisms of defense are based on primitive fantasies (i.e., projection), fantasy production is involved in the formation of the ego. Both fantasy and lexical thought enable the ego to sustain tension without immediate motor discharge. Thought is derived from fantasy in the process of testing reality (reality principle). Therefore, fantasy plays a central role in object-relations and reality-testing. It welds together the concepts of instinct, mental structure and mental mechanisms and provides a bridge between primary and secondary processes (Segal, 1964).

The view of fantasy as a defense is taken from Anna Freud's original conceptualization. Defenses are viewed as affective-cognitive control devices designed to direct or ameliorate the outcome of one's intentional efforts or interpersonal events. They may be reparative or simply repetitive (Gould, 1973). Anna Freud (1936) discussed developmental and diagnostic distinctions in the individual use of defense mechanisms. Hartmann, Kris, Rapaport and others expanded defense to include "normal" utilization. Sandler and Joffe (1967) introduced the idea of the "positive defense"--a mechanism utilized by a person to sustain his state of well-being or security, not simply as a defense against anxiety.



The two views of fantasy characteristic of the psychoanalytic viewpoint then are fantasy as wish-fulfillment (developed by S. Freud) and fantasy as defense (developed by A. Freud). Further, the role of fantasy in reality-testing, object-relations and thought is postulated.

#### The Interpersonal Psychiatry View

Sullivan, in his extensive writings on personality, attempted to explain the nature and role of fantasy from the interpersonal point of view. He wrote, "The unsatisfied components of some forbidden activity in the satisfaction of needs can be found to be reflected in fantasy (1955, p. 206)." This basic view is consistent with that of the psychoanalytic school: fantasy has an essential wish-fulfilling role. Sullivan felt that the child could compensate for real deficiencies in his environment by supplying them in his imaginary world. Unlike Freud, he did not consider such a process to be pathological. Instead, Sullivan contended that pathology developed only when the child did not learn to distinguish between fantasy and reality, a development usually precipitated by the socialization process. In elaborating on his basic notion of the wish-fulfilling purpose of fantasy, Sullivan changed the functional focus from need reduction to the provision and sustenance of security. He stated that the "compensatory character of reverie" was not simply the goal of need-satisfaction but to provide security and thus defend against anxiety. This defensive function attributed to fantasy as part of the individual's security operations is consistent with Anna Freud's conceptualization. Sullivan indicated several basic defensive functions that fantasy could serve: the discharge of hostility and

relief of anxiety, compensation for chronic low self-esteem, rehearsal for future action, and maintenance of dissociation (1955). Relating to the issue of rehearsal and "foresight," Sullivan discussed the role of fantasy in object relations. He theorized that with the development of internal object representation and the capacity to judge, the ego can anticipate in fantasy the consequences of certain future action. This leads to a consideration of fantasy as an adaptive mechanism motivated not solely by need-reduction, conflict-resolution or ego-defense (Sullivan, 1956). However, Sullivan did not detail this stance to any extent, and it was left for the ego-psychologists to examine the implications of such a view.

#### The Ego Psychology View

Hartmann (1958) presents a good over-view of the conceptualization of fantasy within the ego-psychology framework. He was one of the first theorists to develop the idea that fantasy need not arise out of frustration or deferred gratification but may serve adaptive, creative and rehearsal functions from the start. He characterized the essential service of fantasy as the alteration of the perception of reality. One can deny the existence of disagreeable facts and replace them by fantasy formation. Whether or not this fantasy formation becomes pathological depends on the maturity of the ego apparatuses of cognition and perception. The mature ego is more closely attached to reality than is the infantile ego. This view agrees with those of Sullivan and Anna Freud in defining psychopathology in terms of autism and attachment to reality. However, Hartmann's emphasis on ego-maturity is consistent with his

emphasis on fantasy as an adaptive mechanism. It functions in helping the child adjust to his environment. It also functions in creativity and problem-solving (Kris, 1939). By preparing to deal with reality situations through fantasy, a better mastery of them may result. Thus, Hartmann wrote,

Fantasy may fulfill a synthetic function by provisionally connecting our needs and goals with possible ways of realizing them. It is well known that there are fantasies which, while they remove man from external reality, open up for him his internal reality. The primary function of these fantasies is autoplasmic rather than alloplastic. This denotes the positive, adaptive value of the detour through fantasy. (1958, p. 18)

This detour is to be understood in terms of the symbols which serve to connect past experience with future action and which become the basis of realistic, mature goals and creativity ("regression in the service of the ego". (Kris, 1939). Hartmann further outlines the role that fantasy plays in the differentiation, definition and integration of parts of the ego, particularly of identification, roles and skills. It thus contributes to the gradual socialization of the drives (Hartmann, 1939). This process is termed "neutralization."

### The Contemporary View - A Synthesis

A general survey of widely-accepted, theoretical notions related to fantasy is provided by Gould (1972). Current theory describes fantasy as ranging from unconscious processes to daydreams. Fantasy of which the individual is not consciously aware is considered to be at the root of symptom formation. Conscious fantasy is seen as a representative or derivative of both unconscious and preconscious impulses, desires and affects which embodies characteristics of both primary and secondary

process thinking. In addition, it may serve the ego as a defense or as an adaptive mechanism. The function of fantasy is seen as

. . . an ego-function resulting in organized, imaginative, wish-fulfilling content. The fantasy may then be a derivative; a compromise constructed by the ego between the wish and the demands of the superego. Reality knowledge may be partially or completely suspended in the formation of this derivative or it may be utilized and influence the fantasy to a high degree. The possibility exists that some fantasies represent wish fulfillments when the wish in question arises neither from the id nor from the superego, but from the ego itself. (Sandler & Nagera, 1974, pp. 190-191)

This internal impetus to create a fantasy is the person's desire to alter intolerable limitations and frustrations in his reality situation or to defend himself against anxieties aroused by aggressive and sexual conflicts. Thus, the defensive nature of fantasy is again emphasized as protecting against threat to self-esteem or the physical self. The "ego wishes" mentioned by Sandler and Nagera are also called "goal-striving motives" (Piaget, Greenacre, & Murphy, 1956). The purpose of these motives is to rehearse for adult roles, achieve mastery, adapt to reality, solve problems and function creatively. Fantasy as a form of self-stimulation is also suggested (Hebb, 1962). Erikson (1950) developed this concept of fantasy as an adaptive process in his theoretical and descriptive consideration of play in children. He cites the role of fantasy in the development of role-identifications, reality-testing and self-concept formation.

The ontogeny of fantasy is outlined by Benassy and Diatkine (1964). Fantasy is originally the product of the mother-child relationship. It formulates the beginning of reality-testing by participating in the growth of a sense of reality that hinges on a differentiation between the

"I" and the "not I." The content or symbolism of the fantasy is a function of the environment. Therefore, fantasy is both innate and learned. It gives expression to innate motives as well as to memories of perceptions and environmental experiences. It begins with the first body experiences and grows as the individual constantly relates with his world via object relations. Fantasy is a means of adapting: of making sense of the surroundings and fitting the organism to it. Thus, fantasy derives both from body instincts and body experiences.

If latent (unconscious) fantasy is primary process (Freud, 1900), language introduces order and organization (secondary process) (Piaget, 1956). The form of fantasy is therefore related to the form or level of ego organization (Hartmann, 1936). There are successive levels of ego integration reflecting adaptation and maturation which fantasy both influences and reflects. Fantasy is therefore connected to instinct as well as ego.

In terms of the adaptation process, conscious fantasy represents a certain way of entering into relationships with objects whether or not these objects exist in reality, independent of the fantasy (Lagache, 1964). It involves an attitude toward the object reflecting cathexis with positive, negative or mixed values (Beres, 1962). This attitude allows immersion in the reality with a present orientation or provides for escape into the past via the memory of past perceptions or gratification through anticipating the future. It is largely man's capacity for fantasy which endows his desires with breadth of range and its own negation. If there were no fantasy—no imagination—man would remain trapped in the present (Lagache, 1964).

Before considering further developmental aspects of fantasy, an inventory of common themes found in current theoretical discussions seems indicated. Common types of fantasy have been identified in the literature and are usually associated with important interests or conflicts of early childhood. These include the family romance fantasy, the beating fantasy, and the oedipal fantasy (Moore & Fine, 1968). The family romance fantasy (Mignon fantasy) has two basic themes: enobled, imagined instead of real parents and a dramatic rescue in which the child may be the hero or the rescued victim. The essence of the first theme is the child's rejection of his own parents in the context of a fantasy of noble parents who possess the idealized characteristics which the child attributed to his real parents during infancy. This fantasy results from the child's disillusionment with his real parents and makes possible the necessary separation from them in order for ego-development to occur. It also serves to lessen the Oedipal guilt by denying the incestuous quality of libidinal feelings toward the parents. In the rescue fantasy, the child imagines himself saving the life of some important personage (king, queen) who is symbolic of the parent. In this way, Freud (1901) contends that the child resolves his feelings of debt to his parents, a reformation of Oedipal wishes. This also places the child in a superior, omnipotent position and provides narcissistic gratification.

The beating fantasy cluster has a tripartite form. The earliest form is conscious and centers on the fantasy of a sibling being beaten by the father. A second form, unconscious, portrays the child himself being beaten by the father. The third form, which again is conscious, portrays someone beaten by an authority figure. These fantasies often

accompany childhood masturbatory activities (Fenichel, 1945). They may lead to symptoms, masochistic character and/or sadomasochistic sexual practices if not adequately repressed.

The Oedipal fantasy is the common theme of sexual union with the opposite-sexed parent with the resulting conflict and anxiety which function in the sexual identification process. Another common theme explicated by Freud (1925) is the womb fantasy. This is the fantasy of remaining in the womb or returning to it. Psychotics often evidence this fantasy. Freud wrote, "The womb fantasy is frequently derived from an attachment to the father. There is a wish to be inside the mother's womb in order to replace her during coitus in order to take her place in regard to the father (1925, p. 117)."

In addition to these common fantasy themes, other basic types of fantasy have been identified. Bender (1952) discussed the boat fantasy (with Oedipal overtones of return to the mother's womb) and animal fantasies in which the child portrays himself as an animal. Freud (1925) referred to the unconscious fantasies of young children as "primal fantasies." He felt that these are derived from several sources: the Oedipal situation, ideas of procreation, the birth phenomenon and the castration complex. These primal fantasies occur in later life in distorted form and are fairly common in disturbed individuals. Varendonck (1921) listed four basic fantasy categories: (1) egoistic fantasy--fantasy which satisfies basic narcissistic strivings; (2) erotic fantasy--fantasy with a strong sexual/sensual theme; (3) screen fantasy--fantasy used to cover a deep, repressed urge; (4) magical fantasy--fantasy based on the idea of limitless power and authority often attributed to a

significant other. Pitcher and Prelinger (1963) identify eight major fantasy themes: aggression, death, sex, hurt or misfortune, morality, nutrition, dress and sociability. Ame's classic study (1948) of fantasy in children identified the following main themes: violence, food and eating, sleep, good vs. evil, sibling rivalry, castration, and reproduction. "Children attempt to screen conflicts by building fantasies and games around them. This facilitates repression. They say, 'Just as this is only fantasy, that feared object wasn't true'" (Ames, 1948, p. 264).

Fantasy has also been considered in terms of the child's physical, social and emotional development. Developmentally, fantasy production is consistent with the maturation of the organism and cognition (Singer, 1966). It exists before language but may find verbal, lexical expression in a censored or symbolic form. The earliest fantasies are bound-up with sensation. They spring from bodily impulses and are interwoven with bodily sensations and affects. They express internal reality but reject external realities, as well. As bodily experiences increase, external realities are progressively woven into the texture of fantasy (Isaacs, 1948). In this sense, the ego-analysts refer to fantasy as the operative link between instinct and ego-mechanism (Winnicott, 1971).

More cognitively-oriented psychologists have studied the structural attributes of fantasy and its development and have found characteristics of epigenetic unfolding which match the progressive stages of more general cognitive development (Piaget, 1956). In his paper, "Symbolic Thought and the Thought of the Child" (1922), Piaget describes all cognitive processes in the infant as syncretic and prelogical. As



maturation occurs, assimilation and accommodation develop as cognitive schema of adaptation. Parallel with this development appears either imitation, simple imagery, play or fantasy (which is symbolic). Therefore, Piaget discusses symbolic fantasy in terms of the assimilation of reality to the ego. The more the child progresses in adaptation, the more fantasy is integrated into general intelligence. As this occurs, the fantasy becomes less "egocentric" (autistic) and symbolism is replaced by constructions and creative imagination (Piaget, 1951). Piaget explains this progression toward "reality-thinking" as a function of the varying primacy of assimilation and accommodation in the child's cognitive network. The predominance of assimilation is seen in fantasy play, while a predominance of accommodation is expressed as sensory-motor imitation.

According to Piaget (1951), play, as an expression of fantasy, is primarily reproductive assimilation. It assimilates objects to one another in the child's mind and allows for incorporation into the ego. Play begins in reflex adaptations and continues into symbolization ("representational assimilation"). With the development of language and the continued maturation of cognition, the symbol becomes an image whose purpose is no longer assimilation to the ego but adaptation to reality. Therefore, fantasy functions in the progressive development of the child, both in terms of cognitive processes and social roles. "Fantasies, play, and games are the ludic activity of the socialized being" (Piaget, 1922, p. 142). "To sum up what has been said, fantasy is a representation of symbolic thought" (Piaget, 1951, p. 156).

Horowitz (1970) summarizes the literature as generally supporting Piaget's conclusions. Fantasy is viewed as one of several major coding systems (imagery) utilized by the brain for organizing and storing experience. Research suggests that symbolic fantasy is an extension of specific imagery into chained sequences developing from the accommodation-assimilation cycle in which the child attempts to process information (Luria, 1973). A further suggestion is that much of the bizarre quality of fantasy is due to the "faulty assimilation" of children who have only a limited array of schema available for organizing and storing experience (Horowitz, 1970). New experiences and incompleting experiences as well as affectively-charged material would logically be the most difficult to assimilate and would form the bulk of fantasy content.

The adaptive function of fantasy is emphasized in this developmental framework. Fantasy becomes particularly active in latency, focusing on themes of disillusionment and denigration of the parents as in the family romance (Wolman, 1972). This is logical since in latency, fantasy and sublimation become important processes in attaining separation and individuation (Freud, 1911; Erikson, 1950). The dynamic formulation here is to transfer libidinal investment from parental figures to peers and contemporaries (A. Freud, 1966). Sarnoff (1971) has delineated the importance of fantasy in latency in allowing the child to deal with Oedipal and pre-Oedipal conflicts which may arise without disturbing his actual relationships. Near the end of latency, fantasy formation declines as reality testing improves and sublimation increases. Where this does not occur, psychopathology may develop (e.g., extreme neurotic reliance on fantasy) (A. Freud, 1965). Fantasy formation remains part

of the ego structure to aid in warding off the breakthrough of conflictual material (Freud, 1909). During this period, fantasy and rational thinking become differentiated (Piaget, 1951; Blos, 1962), and a distinction between private and public spheres of operation develops. This development parallels the child's increasing ability to tolerate aggression and aloneness and signals an increase in the synthetic functions of the ego (Hartmann, 1958). The genital tensions of puberty trigger a renewed increase in fantasies for the relief of sexual tension (Galenson, 1964). In males, the phallus rather than the love object is hypothesized as the focus of fantasy (Blos, 1962). Aggressive themes, and masturbation fantasies are frequent. The first object-relations with peers and older persons in adolescence usually are in the form of fantasy ties (A. Freud, 1969). Identifications with heroes involve a great deal of fantasy and commonly function in the containment of aggressive impulses. In children, fantasies and impulse greatly outweigh secondary process thinking. In late latency, the balance switches to the opposite direction (Sarnoff, 1971).

Fantasy also functions in the development of the child's sense of self and his subsequent blossoming self-concept. Piaget ties the child's capacity for total awareness of his separate self to the evolution of schemata underlying perceptual object constancy (1951). This is related to Erikson's concept of basic trust and autonomy (1950) as contingencies upon which the child develops a sense of separateness, permanence and stability. A child's awareness of himself will be coordinated with the extent and quality of its awareness of other people and things. A developing self-awareness and proficiency of reality testing is basic to

the development of a "sense of personal autonomy" and a "sense of competency" (White, 1963). The differentiation and individuation of the self-image takes place in conjunction with the differentiation of internal object representations (Winnicott, 1971). When affective experiences and developmental conflict prevent this, negative self-representation may result (Gould, 1973). This self-representation is connected to aspects of primary identification.

Angyal (1941) and Beres (1968) have posited a basic human tendency towards unification with others. Identification may be viewed as the process of psychological unification. Freud (1917) in "Mourning and Melancholia" refers to identification as an expression of a person's love for another. In more dynamic terms, it is seen as a drive derivative of early incorporation and represents, in many instances, an attempt to regain a lost object (A. Freud, 1965). Identification is also discussed as an ego mechanism for defense (A. Freud, 1939) or for learning (Piaget, 1951). Piaget explained identification in terms of imitation: the child imitates or copies others as a mechanism of learning. The increasing dissociation from purely imitative behavior corresponds with an increasing sense of separable self. Gould (1972) concludes that a child's ability to "become the other" in fantasy signifies an expansion of its ego resources and a differentiated sense of self. However, it is expected that normal children will consistently produce a human self-representation by school age. Lois Murphy (1962) also discusses the quality of "flexibility" that emerges in the development of a healthy self-representation. The representation of the self and others occurs first in the fantasies of small children (Piaget, 1951). In fact, Piaget's

work (cited by Gould, 1972) shows that progress in both individuation and drive defense is signalled by the use of direct self-representation in fantasy stories. The formation of a self-concept and the resulting capacity for object-relations is intimately involved with fantasy production. As cognition matures, the symbolization of fantasy becomes less attached to objects and more to plastic forms of expression. As the child comes to align his sexual behaviors and fantasies with his impulses and body image, individuation progresses and the capacity for true self-expression emerges (Wolman, 1972). Social alliances in this period are often foreshadowed or rehearsed in fantasy (Mullahy, 1970). Related to peer-relations are omnipotent fantasies and themes of adolescent narcissism (Blos, 1962). The role of transitional objects in the development of mature object-relations is also intertwined with the formation of fantasy (Winnicott, 1971). In sum, the development from childhood to maturity during latency and adolescence greatly involves the fantasy process at all levels and is mirrored by the content of the fantasy material and the figurative language involved in the process.

#### The Relationship Between Fantasy and Psychopathology

The role of fantasy in psychopathology has been suggested by various theorists. Fenichel presents the classic psychoanalytic view derived primarily from Freud's early conceptualization of the hysteric (1945). He describes neurotics as relying heavily on fantasy, with a resulting block of action. The hysteric uses substitutive fantasy. The compulsive utilizes preparatory fantasy which causes an external delay of action via rumination and the magical manipulation of words and symbols. It follows

then that the analysis of fantasy can provide a clue to the nature of neurotic symptomatology--an important key for successful therapy. In considering the defensive function of fantasy, it is significant to note that indulging in daydreams may constitute a denial of reality. Extreme denial results in distorted reality testing. The ego becomes split into a superficial part that denies reality (the truth) and a deeper part that recognizes it. Such a split is observable to some degree in every neurotic. Freud described this mechanism in the fetishist who consciously knows the anatomy of the female genitals but who, in his neurotic symptoms, acts as if the woman had a penis (Freud, 1928). In hysterics, fantasies may substitute for a painful reality, often expressing repressed wishes. In this way, these fantasies become over cathected by displacement from the repressed and become derivatives of the unconscious impulse. Hysterics regress from a disappointing reality to the magical thinking of their imaginations. If the fantasies become too threatening, they too are repressed and symbolized or distorted as conversion symptoms. Therefore, one may view hysterical symptoms as representing repressed fantasies that find plastic expression in alterations of physical function (Fenichel, 1945). Hysterical spells are pantomimic expressions of fantasy that may be analyzed in the same way as dreams. These fantasies have been symbolized and distorted by the same mechanisms: condensation, elaboration and displacement. Phobics also demonstrate this denial of reality via fantasy. Fantasy may serve as a substitute as well as a denial mechanism and may also result in symptom formation. Masochists, for example, build fantasy systems to try to overcome the fear that blocks the capacity for end

pleasure (Freud, 1928). This process is involved in two basic reaction patterns. The first involves the development of hyperactivity in reality to avoid the anxious fantasy, while the second involves a retreat into fantasy to avoid the anxiety of reality. The latter is the prototype for the autistic withdrawal of the schizophrenic (Arieti, 1973). Sullivan noted explicitly this extreme protective function of fantasy in schizophrenics (Mullahy, 1970). He also explicated the role of obsessional fantasy which may deteriorate, revealing a paranoid fear of the loss of bodily control.

Anna Freud's conceptualization (1965) of the over or under-production of fantasy as pathological is a simplistic yet, viable viewpoint. This same emphasis on the quantity of fantasy-production is indicated by Horowitz (1970) in characterizing the pathologic process as the loss of control over fantasy formation. This loss of control may result in impaired reality testing due to an increase in the "vividness" of the fantasy for the individual. This process is also referred to as "topographic regression" (Freud, 1900; Gill, 1963). It may result in the conversion of thoughts to images or in the internal stimulation of perception (hallucination). This loss of ego control over the formation of fantasy as inherent in the psychopathological process has also been discussed by Arlow and Bunner (1964); Freeman, Cameron, and McGhie (1966); Schaffer (1968); Rapaport (1951) and Hartmann (1958). The repetition compulsion (Freud, 1920) has been suggested to account for the return of conflictual or traumatic fantasies, especially in obsessives (Arlow, 1969; Bibring, 1943). The role of fantasy in ego-decompensation

resulting in the breakthrough of repressed conflicts, ideas, etc., has been delineated by Kubie (1958), Arlow (1969) and Knapp (1969).

### Survey of Recent Research

This section will briefly survey the more recent relevant empirical studies and will present a more detailed examination of several crucial research projects.

#### General Fantasy Parameters and Adult Research

The production of fantasy is viewed as a normal occurrence with high frequency in nearly all people. Singer and McCraven (1961), Smith (1904) and Schaffer (1936) have all documented the high incidence of fantasy formation in a normal adult population and have concluded that fantasy is a normal expression of personality functioning. Studies by Milner (1945), Arlow (1969) and Stolorow (1970) conclude that various unconscious issues form the basis of conscious fantasies. Visual imagery is the primary modality for fantasy expression (Singer, 1966; Horowitz, 1970). The frequency of daydreaming increases when people are alone or in restful motor states. In normals, the fantasies often involve planning for future action and reflect concern for practical matters of everyday life.

Singer's (1966) extensive research project on general fantasy characteristics and dimensions relates daydreaming to sociocultural factors, rural versus urban backgrounds, level of education, socioeconomic status, family patterns, age, sex, and individual variables such as intelligence, cognitive patterns and personality dimensions. Briefly,



Singer's studies reveal that there is a difference in the frequency and content of fantasy with different subcultural groups (Singer & McCraven, 1961 and 1962), that there is a higher fantasy frequency in persons raised in large cities or rural areas than those from small towns or suburbs (Singer, 1966), that identification and family roles influence the fantasy production of children, with those children who identify more closely with the mother reporting more frequent fantasies (Singer & McCraven, 1961; Singer & Schonbar, 1961; Singer & Opler, 1956), while children who report a closer identification with the father are more action-oriented and daydream less frequently (Singer & Opler, 1956). Studies indicate that level of education and socioeconomic status do not appear to significantly affect fantasy expression (Singer, 1966), that the frequency of fantasy declines with age after adolescence (Singer & McCraven, 1961), and that there is content difference but no frequency difference between the sexes (Singer, 1966 and 1968; Wolman, 1967).

Other variables which have been researched in relation to fantasy production include Fisher's work on body stimulation (1972) which indicates an increase in fantasy production as external stimulation increases, dimensions of punctuality and procrastination which correlate positively with an increase in fantasy frequency in chronic procrastinators (Blatt & Quinlan, 1967), the use of fantasy in time estimation (Wheeler, 1969) and the relationship of fantasy content to self-concept (Windholz, 1968 and 1969). Wagman (1968) found a positive relationship between the frequency of fantasy production and scholastic achievement. The fantasy content of various psychiatric disorders has been delineated via factor analytic studies (Streissguth, Wagner & Wechsler, 1969).

The question of sex differences in fantasy formation and daydreaming has motivated a good deal of the research found in the literature.

Wagman (1967) found that men have explicitly sexual, assertive, aggressive, and self-aggrandizing fantasies more frequently than women. Women more frequently report passive, affiliative, narcissistic and oral fantasies. Streissguth, Wagner and Wechsler (1969) discovered that men tend to produce a higher frequency of action-oriented fantasies, while females produce a higher frequency of passive, reality-oriented themes. These studies also indicate that males are more accepting and more emotionally involved with their fantasies than are women. Similar sex differences have been documented by Wagman (1968) and Quenk (1966). These findings suggest a differential functional usage of fantasy corresponding to a passive--dependent and active--independent continuum for the two sexes. The authors tend to explain these differences in terms of different patterns of socialization. A series of studies using the TAT further correlated sex differences in fantasy production with stereotypic role-patterning in Western culture (May, 1966, 1968, 1969).

Characteristic of the more recent concern with sex differences and fantasy is the work of Hariton (1973). His research suggests that erotic fantasies in females play a major role in promoting physical sexual arousal and pleasurable emotion. Singer (1973) also documents the central role of erotic fantasy in sexual arousal for both men and women.

Research findings suggest that neither the degree of intelligence nor the capacity for ideation or verbal fluency is related to the frequency of fantasy (Singer & Schonbar, 1961; Singer & Antrobus, 1963).

However, the frequency of fantasy appears to be positively associated with measures of curiosity, creativity and originality (Singer & Schonbar, 1961; Singer & McCraven, 1961). The literature also indicates a positive correlation between the frequency of fantasy and measures of anxiety, including Welsh's A Scale (Singer & Schonbar, 1961; Wagman, 1965 and 1968) and Cattell's Anxiety Scale (Singer & Rowe, 1962; Rowe, 1963). These results suggest that those individuals reporting frequent fantasy also view themselves as more anxious and fearful. They also tend to report more frequent fearful and hostile themes and themes associated with body preoccupation (Singer, 1966). While some studies associate emotional insecurity in the normal population with a high frequency of fantasy production (Antrobus & Singer, 1963), Singer (1963) does not relate high frequency fantasy to specific pathological processes. However, Windholz (1968, 1969) demonstrated a positive correlation between the frequency of fantasy and distortions in self-concept. Streissguth, Wagner and Wechsler (1969) found a higher reported frequency of fantasy in psychiatric patients than in general medical patients. The psychiatric patients also reported a higher frequency of aggressive, anxious, fearful and overtly sexual themes.

#### Research Specifically Related to Theoretical Issues

The two major theoretical questions that dominate the research literature are issues regarding the relationship between fantasy and attention and issues regarding the functional role of daydreaming. Singer (1966) also reports a series of studies relating fantasy production to a need for inner stimulation and as a part of the memory process.

The functional role of fantasy has been investigated via various methodologies. Those utilizing projective indices of fantasy have focused on the Rorschach. The human movement response (M) has been associated with imaginative ability and the maturity of fantasy processes. It is suggested that those individuals who see many humans in action tend to be less overtly active and more imaginative (Singer, 1966). The relationship between the perception of movement on the Rorschach test, inhibited motility and imaginative tendencies has been investigated by numerous authors. Meltzoff, Singer and Korchin (1953) and Singer, Meltzoff and Goldman (1952) found that Rorschach M responses increased after subjects were required to inhibit body activity. Singer and Herman (1954), Singer, Wilensky and McCraven (1956), and Singer (1955, 1960) have demonstrated that persons having more M responses were motorically inhibited, more deliberate and planful in problem-solving and more capable of impulse delay than those having a low percentage of M. In general, the literature tends to support the theoretical validity of Rorschach's M, suggesting the role of fantasy in creativity and impulse control.

The Thematic Apperception Test has also been utilized to investigate the role of fantasy. Fantasy on the TAT is related to scores of "transcendence," the ability of the individual to include elements in a story that go beyond the immediate contents of the picture (Murray, 1957). The research tends to support some degree of positive relationship between Rorschach's M and the TAT transcendence score (Singer & Herman, 1954; Singer, 1960). Barron (1955) also demonstrated that people who are rated high in fantasy production have high M and transcendence

scores. An important study by Page (1957) again demonstrated that the number of fantasy-oriented responses on projective techniques is significantly associated with the frequency of fantasy. In summary, the research supports the idea that individuals having a high frequency of fantasy and significant creative abilities and imagination tend to have a high number of M and transcendence responses and generally possess marked delaying capacities and are capable of sustained motoric inhibition.

The possibility of a relationship existing between fantasy experience and overt behavioral expression has been investigated through a variety of longitudinal studies. Symonds and Jenson (1961) found a correspondence between adolescent fantasy and subsequent adult behaviors, attitudes and personality characteristics. Five major themes which continue and find behavioral expression are: dependency, eroticism, aggression, self-striving, and anxiety or depression. Skolnick (1966) found in adolescents and adults that achievement fantasies correlate positively with intelligence test scores, intellectual efficiency, work adjustment and "strictness of superego." In his study, power imagery correlated positively with measures of popularity, leadership, sociability and prestige for males but not so for females. She found similar correlations between aggressive fantasies and measures of overt aggression. McClelland (1966), in reviewing the Skolnick study, commented that the findings suggest that "thought is significantly related to action" (p. 480). The research tends to support the notion that fantasy is related to overt behavior.

The nature of that relationship has been explored by several studies reported in the literature. Freud (1908) proposed that the function of all fantasy is to partially satisfy ungratified wishes until their desired objects could be obtained. In the literature, this theoretical formulation has been referred to as the "catharsis hypothesis" (Feshbach, 1956) and as the "alternative-channels model" (Broverman, Jordan & Phillips, 1960). Feshbach, in testing Freud's hypothesis, found that angered subjects demonstrated less subsequent overt aggressiveness toward the person who had insulted them if first given a chance to write TAT stories (1956). These findings support the thesis that engaging in fantasy expression is drive-reducing. Feshbach (1961) and Estess (cited in Singer, 1966) observed a reduction of anger following the viewing of aggressive films. Further support for Freud's notion that daydreams are related to unsatisfied wishes and function in tension-reduction is found in the research reported by Windholz (1968, 1969).

This relationship between fantasy and overt behavior is a central issue in the literature described as the "general-expression" versus the "alternate channels" controversy (Broverman et al., 1960). The former position holds that fantasy concerns are expressed in behavior, while the latter predicts that motives expressed in fantasy will be less likely to find overt expression. The work of Broverman and his associates (1960) supports the "alternate channels" view. However, the bulk of the reported studies suggests that a motive may be expressed in fantasy and behavior concurrently (Kagen, 1956; Kagen & Mussen, 1956; Mussen & Naylor, 1954; Atkinson, 1958; and McClelland, 1964).

A more careful examination of the literature suggests that this relationship is more complex than a dichotomy would predict. The research indicates that the anticipation of punishment may inhibit the overt expression of fantasized aggression (Mussen & Naylor, 1954) and that the presence of guilt or fear of censure will inhibit the verbal expression of sexual fantasy (Clark & Sensibar, 1955; Mussen & Scodel, 1955). This evidence tends to indicate the influence of numerous extraneous variables not addressed in the original dichotomy. Evans (1968) discovered that the presence of deviant sexual fantasies supports the existence of deviant sexual behaviors. Lesser's research (1957) suggests a degree of correspondence between aggressive fantasy and overt aggression in children that is greater under conditions of maternal permissiveness.

This evidence, which supports the "concurrent-expression" hypothesis, does not entirely concur with Freud's need-reduction conceptualization because it suggests that gratification need not always occur via fantasy. Some evidence in the literature directly conflicts with the psycho-analytic position. Feshbach (1956) concluded from his studies that overt aggression increased as a result of aggressive fantasy play in children. Gordon and Cohn (1963) found that dependency fantasies increase the incidence of affiliative behavior. A differential effect was posited by Saxton (1962), who found that fantasy reduces aggressive feelings but not basic anxiety levels. This differential effect was further documented by Singer and Rowe (1962).

In attempting to synthesize this somewhat disparate data, Singer (1970) proposed a "cognitive-affective" model which claims that fantasy

changes an individual's affective state or mood rather than affecting drive level. This alteration in mood tends to diminish the propensity for overt behavior. Singer's position is supported by several reported studies. Pykowicz, Wagner and Sarason (1967) insulted subjects who subsequently engaged in fantasy. The subjects tended to shift the focus of criticism from the examiner to the self. Children who engaged in the directed arousal of affiliation affect were found to demonstrate a reduced level of overt aggression expression (Gordon & Cohn, 1963). This study was supported by Lazarus, Baker, and Broverman (1957). Lazarus (1966) states that it is important to regard fantasy as varying on a dimension which ranges from playful daydreaming to reality testing and from primary process to secondary process functioning. Rowe (1963) found that subjects under stress have a lowered heart rate when given the opportunity to daydream. However, the relationship between fantasy expression and overt behavior currently remains unresolved.

A final research area related to specific theoretical issues refers to the value of fantasy for the individual. Shaffer (1956) concluded that fantasy may serve an integrative function as well as an adaptive one. His studies suggest that fantasy formation may stimulate creativity, aid in planning and provide satisfaction during periods when social stimulation is meager. Singer (1966) concluded that fantasy may also serve to enrich interpersonal relationships, provide personal amusement, give a sense of control over the future via rehearsal and planning and aid in recall. One study reported that fantasy could be employed to produce pleasant affectual moods (Singer, 1970). Other functions cited



in the literature include the discernment of inner needs (Atkinson, 1958), the arousal of sexual functioning (Hariton, 1970) and the support of sex-role identification (Quenk, 1966).

### Themes and Patterns of Fantasy

Numerous studies found in the literature have been designed to delineate the dimensions of fantasy and classify major content themes and patterns. Singer and Antrobus (1963, 1972) list numerous theme-oriented content categories including: guilt, aggression, anxiety, achievement, heroism, passivity, time-orientation and sexuality. Other comprehensive lists of content themes have been developed by Wagman (1968) and Symonds (1949). Symonds (1949) discusses the development of "classical" fantasies, that is those taken from historical or prose literature. He mentions themes of the Prodigal Son, Cinderella, Superman, magical powers, Pollyanna narratives, identifications with criminals and bums and Horatio Alger fantasies. Other universal fantasies with roots in mythology have been enumerated by Shaffer (1936). These include: the conquering hero, death or destruction, the suffering hero or martyr and classic "rescue" and "family romance" themes.

Fantasies have also been organized into certain patterns in terms of factor analytic studies or clinical categories. Masserman and Balken (1938) and Balken and Masserman (1940) described consistent differences in the thematic fantasies of patients exhibiting conversion hysteria, anxiety neurosis and obsessive-compulsive neurosis. Singer and Antrobus (1963, 1972) conducted factor-analytic studies to determine the relationships between fantasy themes and personality characteristics.

They found seven categories in the 1963 study and four major patterns or configurations in the 1972 study. The 1963 categories were: (1) General daydreaming; (2) Obsessive-compulsive daydreaming; (3) Objective thinking or Controlled thoughtfulness; (4) Poorly controlled thought or Mind-wandering; (5) Neurotic daydreaming; (6) Autistic daydreaming; and (7) Enjoyment of daydreaming. The 1972 patterns were: (1) Neurotic-Anxious pattern; (2) Guilt-Obsessional pattern; (3) Positive daydreaming pattern; and (4) Social-Extroversion pattern. The literature supports the idea that major patterns of fantasy fall into configurations that correspond to major dimensions of personality and psychopathological classification (Eysenck & Claridge, 1962; Eysenck, 1963; Shapiro, 1965).

### Fantasy and Psychopathology

Fantasy is a normal activity but may take on a pathological character or become a symptomatic reflection of underlying pathology. In this vein, Singer (1966) reports a variety of studies which examine the quality of fantasy as a defensive agent (Feshbach, 1955; Buss, 1961; Leiman & Epstein, 1961; Pytkowicz, 1963). He concludes that fantasy formation may serve as a defense against ego-decompensation. Singer (1964, 1966) and Shaffer (1936) explicate some of the pathological aspects of fantasy. They conclude that excessive reliance on fantasy may result in withdrawal from social contacts and consequent social/interpersonal retardation and that fantasies untested in reality may lead to bizarre behavior, confusion or perversion. They further observe that excessive daydreaming may lead to poor performance and failure. Generally, to the extent that fantasy interferes with the appropriate

perception of reality or prevents necessary attention to external detail, it becomes maladaptive and may be termed pathological. Fenichel (1945) cites the impoverished fantasies of sociopaths and hysterics, explaining that the former often lacks the capacity for creative, adaptive fantasy, while the latter evidences little specific memory material and has concrete, unelaborated imagery.

The effects of trauma on fantasy have been examined by Wiederland (1968). He surveys a number of psychoanalytic authors who have long theorized on the adverse, long-lasting effects of trauma on psychological development and functioning. Lazarus and Opton (1968) demonstrated that unpleasant films can produce pronounced physiologic and emotional stress. The impact of such films on images and dreams was further documented by Witkin and Lewis (1965). Research by Horowitz (1969) indicates that traumatic experience is more likely to be followed by intrusive images and anxiety-producing fantasy than is nontraumatic experience.

Wagner and Segemann (1964) concluded from their research on children that introverted children were the least likely of any group in their study to become schizophrenic. They note, however, that a withdrawal into fantasy adversely affects interpersonal and communicative skills. They also note the danger of the over-elaboration of fantasy situations which have not been tested in real-life situations. Reik (1959) reports a study suggesting the central role of fantasy in masochistic perversions. Singer (1966) notes the general poverty of fantasy in impulsive children and hypothesizes that this is related to their inability to delay impulsivity.

### Research on Fantasy with Children

Singer (1966) reports a series of studies dealing with the fantasy process in childhood. He found that high fantasy children can sit longer in one place than can low fantasy children. Clinically, the high fantasy children were seen as more obsessional in character structure, while the low fantasy children were often rated as hysterical. Another study (Singer & Striener, 1966) found sighted children to have richer, more abstract and more imaginative fantasies than blind children. This is consistent with earlier studies (Deutsch, 1928; Blank, 1958). Studies of fantasy in children (Singer, 1968) have resulted in Singer's conclusion that fantasy or daydreaming is a kind of cognitive skill, a fundamental potentiality of all children. The formation of fantasy appears to be a necessary part of normal development, and the child tends to internalize his play into fantasy as he grows older. Singer (1966) also concludes that constitutional differences affect an individual's ability to engage in fantasy. Through learning and perhaps as a function of predisposition, various styles of fantasy formation emerge. Generally, these styles reflect the personality organization of the individual (Singer & Antrobus, 1963, 1972). However, fantasy may remain somewhat underdeveloped or may become poorly developed if modeling or parental influence is insufficient (Singer, 1966).

Singer provides a description of the action-oriented child as an example of the consequences of poorly developed fantasy. He characterizes the child as having a limited perspective of past and future time, as experiencing little interaction with his parents, as knowing little about

his family history or father's work, as showing little awareness of steps or alternatives involved in goal-directed behavior and as expressing little awareness of the consequences of misbehavior. He concludes that with the impairment of imaginative skill, the acting-out child is left with concrete, stimulus-bound thought patterns and crippled, adaptive potential (Singer, 1966). It is interesting to note, in relation to Singer's observations on the impairment of fantasy production, that Sears (1950) has found that the amount of fantasy activity is directly correlated with the degree of parental punishment. However, the frequency of aggressive behavior is low for low and high punishment groups and high for the medium punishment group. Sears explains this phenomenon in terms of learned inhibition.

The frequency of fantasy in children was also the subject of the Harvard Growth Studies project (Gould, 1970). This study indicates a high frequency of fantasy in highly "competent" subjects and a relative dearth of fantasy production in low "competence" children. Werner (1957) and Lukianowicz (1960) further document the frequent appearance of fantasy in children. In very young children, Werner found a tendency to use magical constructions and to fuse inner images with perceptions of external reality. He noted that, by age three or four, children tend to decrease their physical manipulation of material and increase in imaging. Lukianowicz and Zern (1968) noted that the fantasies of psychotics are very similar in content and structure to those of small children. Horowitz (1970) summarizes his observations of fantasy production in young children and in psychotics by concluding that the less reality-oriented the individual is, the greater the frequency, vividness and

bizarreness of the fantasy. The contents tend to be derived more and more from internal sources than from external stimuli. Organization is more primitive and simple and is more controlled by wish or fear (primary process) than by the requirements of reality.

The content of children's fantasy was examined by Klinger (1970) who demonstrated that current reality concerns are a major characteristic of children's fantasy. This phenomenon was related to Freud's concept of the day residue (1908). Breger et al. (1970) called attention to the role of unresolved stress in generating fantasy content.

Lois Murphy (1962) studied children's fantasies in terms of self-representation. She identified four important variables involved in the child's development of a "coping strategy." These were the directness or distance of the self-representation in the fantasy, the active or passive direction of the image, the constancy of the representation and the rigidity or flexibility of the representation. She noted that increasing mastery is marked by an increase in directness, activeness, consistency and flexibility. Gould (1972) found concurring results on all variables except directness. Her research indicates a greater mastery to be correlated with distancing in the self-representation. Gould's study will be presented in more detail later.

The literature on children's fantasy is also somewhat related to the research on play. Greenacre (1968), in her survey of the literature on children's play, concludes that play consists mostly of acted-out fantasy and that it serves the dual functions of trial behavior and gratification of the wish. Research reported by Moore (1964) indicates that there is a progressive increase in realism in play with an increase

in age. Freud (1909) was the first to offer an explanation of the symbolic nature of play as representing infantile wishes and of its compulsive repetitions as a mechanism for mastering anxiety arising from the conflicts between the demands of the superego and reality. Piaget (1951) also noted the relationship between symbolic play and fantasy. He refers to play as "egocentric thought in its pure state that finds motoric expression." Klein (1927) found various developmental changes in both fantasy and play that parallel Piaget's developmental progression in cognitive maturation.

Kardos and Petro (1956) describe their naturalistic observations of play in children in terms of adaptive maneuvers in which the child learns to cope with internal demands and external reality and integrates them into his personality. This adaptive function of play is also cited by Waelder (1932). Singer (1961) found that high fantasy children sit still longer than low fantasy children and play less actively than the low fantasy group. He describes them as more withdrawn than low fantasy, active-playing children. Erikson (1963) describes typical modes of playing for boys and girls that generally correspond to sex differences in fantasy themes. Boys are more active, striving and aggressive, while girls concentrate more on modeling traditional feminine activities. Erikson notes that with maturation and development, less and less play is verbalized or expressed in a gross motor fashion. Bender (1937) also describes sex differences in play activities. Boys were more aggressive and impulsive and spent much time in building "phallic" constructions. Girls were quieter, more cooperative and more orderly and tended to spend time playing "house" or playing with dolls.

Observing doll or puppet play as an avenue for understanding children's fantasies has been discussed by Bender (1937), Bach (1945), Graham (1955) and Kagan (1952), as well as many others. They conclude that the child's activities with the doll reflect fantasies and conflicts related to real life situations. Griffith (1962) found much aggression in the doll play of children from troubled or broken homes. Kagan (1958) reports that both the puppet play and fantasy stories of extremely aggressive boys contain more hostility and less dependency on adults than do the stories of non-aggressive boys. The non-aggressive boys demonstrated a higher degree of dependency on parental figures. Robertson (1932) presents the records of thirty children who were involved in puppet and shadow play. Significant fantasy themes were related to trauma in the child's life in each case. Klinger (1958) concludes from his studies that play and fantasy are not differentiated before age three. He states,

Play and fantasy reflect current focal concerns of the individual: unresolved current problems, unfinished tasks, role conflicts, and prominent affective responses. Both, therefore, require attention to problems and are able in some measure to advance the method of problem solving. Play yields new solutions to old problems by allowing the opportunity in play to try out new combinations of old schemata.

These notions are certainly related to the clinical use of children's fantasy material. Despert (1958), Gardner (1971) and others have outlined various techniques advocating the examination of children's stories as avenues for understanding their intrapsychic conflicts and personality structures. The majority of the literature in this area centers around the Children's Apperception Test (CAT). This projective technique was patterned after the Thematic Apperception Test (TAT), and was developed by Bellak (1949). Murray (1965) presents the rationale



behind the technique, including the following: the child's story will utilize conscious or unconscious components of his personality and will be portrayed in the central character; the characterization of other figures will reflect his apperception of interactions with significant others; the plot and resolution of the story will be based on conflicts and memory traces. Stein (1948) concluded from his study of CAT stories that their fantasies reflect the manifest content of the child's interaction with his environment, the child's feelings and attitudes about such experience, and the interaction of needs and stresses within the child. He went on to conclude that fantasy as sublimation is common in adults but rare in children. His studies suggest that sublimation develops primarily in adolescence. Children utilize fantasy primarily to review and organize experiences. The stories demonstrate what the child is currently "trying out" in terms of defensive maneuvers: how the child is handling his environment and what defenses he is employing. Palmer (1970) cites a number of studies to support his conclusion based on CAT stories that fantasy in children "mirrors the process of internalization" and reflects the learning of social skills and controls. Neuringer (1968) concludes that CAT productions symbolize the underlying wishes, impulses and attitudes of the child.

Haworth (1966) presents an extensive review of the literature which primarily presents normative data for various age groups. She reports that all studies surveyed indicate a consistency in thematic norms by age and sex, good inter-scorer and test-retest reliability for the CAT, a consistency of responses over time, and low correlations between CAT scores and similar variables on other measures. She presents three

significant conclusions: before age seven, fantasies are often so short, dissociated and unintegrated that they are hard to evaluate; normative data have little use in projective techniques since each case is unique; and the CAT may not distinguish with acceptable validity or with reliability the nuances of development in the normal child, but it does identify disturbed children and demonstrates gross deviances in development. Numerous other child fantasy techniques have been developed and are used in clinical situations. These include the Michigan Pictures Test (Andrew, Hartwell, Hutt & Walton, 1953), the Make-A-Picture Story Test (Schneidman, 1952), and the Blacky Pictures (Blum, 1950). The literature on these techniques is primarily normative and consistent with the findings reported on the CAT (Haworth, 1966). Gardner (1971) concludes that the use of pictures, dolls or puppets restricts the child's story telling and channels it in a highly specific direction often predicated on psychoanalytic assumptions regarding psychosexual development. He advocates a more open-ended "Tell me a story" approach to child fantasy. In this approach, Gardner simply asks each child to make a story with a beginning, middle and end which he has not read, seen or heard before. He often allows the child to tell his story into a tape recorder. The exact instructions are summarized in the chapter on methodology to follow.

A survey of the literature in child fantasy would not be complete without some detailed mention of several classic major research projects in the area. The most significant empirical projects in this somewhat sparse area are those of Ames (1966), Singer (1966), Pitcher and Prelinger (1968), and Gould (1970).

Ames' classic study (1966) was designed to present normative data on fantasy development in preschool aged children. She collected hundreds of spontaneous stories from nursery school children aged two to five and analyzed them for themes, kinds of characters, views of parents, the characterization of self or others, the use of space, the role of reality factors and the notions of causality. She found that major themes differ from age to age. The most frequent themes for all age groups include food and eating, other oral topics, sleep, castration, sibling rivalry and themes of violence. For all ages, the most common content theme is violence and aggression. She found that negative attitudes toward parents are present more often in the stories of children from broken homes than in the stories of children from intact homes. She also found sex differences in themes with girls mentioning sibling rivalry more frequently and boys mentioning hurt or misfortune more frequently. Her studies indicate that as age increases, there is an increase in the realism of the stories, there is an increase in the complexity of the story (length, number of characters, etc.), and there is an increase in the range of space (distance from home) employed. Ames correlates these findings with the progressing cognitive development of the child.

Singer's (1966) research with children has been alluded to in previous sections. His approach has been primarily normative in trying to identify significant variables for future study. In summary, his work supports differences in fantasy production as a function of sex, intelligence, socioeconomic background, personality attributes and

behavioral deviance. Most of his studies have focused on prelatency children.

Pitcher and Prelinger (1963) present an extensive survey of spontaneous stories from children, two through five years of age. Unfortunately, the group is primarily from upper middle or upper class families. They analyzed these stories by use of a rating questionnaire in terms of their formal aspects, their contents and psychosocial issues as formulated by Erikson (1950). They determined a high degree of reliability and validity for their questionnaire. Their data on content is consistent with that presented by Ames (1966). More significant is their inclusion of consideration of formal and psychosocial analyses. The formal aspects of the child's stories are felt to reflect ways in which the ego organizes experience from the outside world in combination with internally originating impulses and affects. A discussion of formal aspects emphasizes the organizing, integrative and differentiating ("executive") functions of the ego. These "formal" variables are: the use of space, degree of differentiation of main characters, complexity of characters, active versus passive sense of mastery, realism versus autism, and thought versus emotion detailed. The study demonstrates a consistent and significant increase in ratings on formal variables with age and degree of "psychological adjustment" in a normal population. Dynamic themes and defenses were analyzed in terms of Erikson's (1950) psychosocial framework of development. The results of this study indicate psychosocial concerns at the age group suggested as appropriate by Erikson's theory.

Gould (1970) has focused on fantasy in a normal population of nursery school children in terms of self-representation and identification. She analyzed children's stories in terms of Murphy's (1956) discussion of self-representations. Murphy identified a direct versus a distanced representation. Gould described identification themes in three groups: (1) with the provider or protector, (2) with the victim, (3) with the aggressor. She found a significant difference in the nature of involvement with aggressive/destructive imagery. Her data suggest that beyond age four, the inability to distinguish between a real and a pretend danger is associated with maladjustment and is correlated with a loss of distance in fantasy self-representation. She concludes that self-acceptance or self-condemnation is associated with super-ego development, and that children with high, global self-condemnation tend to identify with the aggressor in their fantasies. The acting-out child also tends to identify with the aggressor in his stories.

The data from Gould's research indicate various trends associated with positive, adjustive development. These are: (1) a decrease in themes of primitive aggression and sexuality, (2) a decrease in magical causality thinking, (3) an increase in distance defense devices, (4) a decrease in uncertainty between real and imagined, (5) absence of direct "I" self-representation beyond the age of three, (6) increased creativity of fantasy (freedom from cliches and repetitive themes), (7) increased flexibility (" . . . the capacity to use one mechanism at one time and another later, as well as the capacity to use one mechanism at one time and another later, as well as the capacity to use different ones together.") (Murphy, 1962, p. 317), and (8) increased logical organization of fantasy.

Her studies suggest some specific differences for the acting-out child which need further investigation. These include a prominence of magical causality thinking, themes of rage, revenge, victimization and primitive aggression, and limited, constricted, noncreative fantasy expression. The data also indicate consistency across time in identification roles and modes of self-representation. The results indicate that children who consistently use direct self-representation also manifest consistent identification with either the aggressor or victim, while children who identify with the savior or provider use distance self-representations. (Gould (1970) concludes,

A child's fantasy is an intrinsic response of its mental growth and creativity and a unique expression of its affective developmental dilemmas, as well as its comprehension at different ages of the significant features in its reality world, (p. 264) and the optimal development of ego functions depends on the flexibility and freedom of access a child has to its imagination as well as to reality knowledge.. (p. 274)

The literature survey suggests a number of theoretical questions and unresolved empirical issues that need further investigation. There has been a consistent suggestion that fantasy functions in the cognitive development of the child with the maturation of reality testing and symbolic processes. It has also been posited that deviant children will demonstrate a less mature level of cognition as reflected in their fantasies. In addition, both theory and research have indicated differences between the fantasy expressions of highly active and highly withdrawn children. Examining these differences in terms of indices of cognitive maturity is a logical next step. One would suspect the most mature and creative production of fantasy from nonpathological children

and less mature and creative productions from withdrawn and acting-out children, in that order.

In terms of theme, the literature again suggests differences in fantasy content consistent with the notion that deviant children have more unresolved conflicts and less mature interpersonal relationships than do normal children. In various ways, this difference has been related to the non-functioning of fantasy processes (delay of gratification, discharge of cathexis, wish-fulfillment, role-identification, etc.). Problems with self-concept formation have followed the same lines of theoretical reasoning, as developed in the literature survey.

This study will attempt to resolve some of these issues by examining children's fantasies in terms of various indices felt to reflect the crucial variables. These include formal variables relating to measures of creativity and cognitive maturity, theme variables reflecting conflictual material and the socialization process, and general variables relating again to measures of cognitive maturity. The formal and general variables relate to the structural aspects of the fantasies, while the theme variables relate to various content dimensions.

### Hypotheses

#### A. Formal Variables

1. Normal children will be rated significantly higher on measures of cognitive maturity than will be the Deviant children.

2. Withdrawn children will be rated significantly higher on measures of cognitive maturity than will be the Acting-Out children with the exception of the "Range of activity" dimension.
3. The Acting-Out children will be rated higher on the "Range of activity" dimension than will be the Withdrawn children.
4. On the Creativity Scale, the Normal children will be rated higher than the Deviant children. The Withdrawn children will be rated higher than the Acting-Out children.

B. Theme Variables

1. Acting-Out children will demonstrate a higher frequency of themes of rage, revenge, victimization and aggression than will the other groups of children.
2. Themes reflecting socialization will be more frequent among the Normal children, while themes centering in the self will be more frequent among the Deviant children.
3. When present, characterizations of parental or authority figures will tend to be positive in the Normal children and negative in the Deviant children.

C. General Variables

1. Normal children will produce longer stories (highest mean number of words) than the Deviant children. The Withdrawn children will produce longer stories than the Acting-Out children.
2. Normal children will produce a higher number of distinct themes in their stories than the Deviant children. The Withdrawn



children will produce a higher number of themes than the Acting-Out children.

3. Normal children will produce a higher mean number of characters in their stories than the Deviant children. The Withdrawn children will produce a higher number of characters than the Acting-Out children.

## CHAPTER III

### METHOD

#### Subjects

The subject pool for this study consisted of 60 white males between the ages of eight and ten. They were divided into two groups: a Normal Group and a Deviant Group. The 30 normal children were taken from the Fayette County Public School System, Lexington, Kentucky. They were selected on the basis of normal intelligence, middle class socioeconomic background, average academic achievement, and freedom from overt behavior problems discernible by their teachers. The criteria for selection were as follows: (1) Intelligence--these children have scored in the normal (average) range of intelligence on a group intelligence test administered in the school (Otis-Lenning Intelligence Scale); (2) Socioeconomic Class--for this study, middle class is determined by total indicated family income falling between \$10,000 and \$25,000 (Hollingshead & Redlich, 1958); (3) Average Academic Achievement--these children function approximately at grade level in all areas as determined by their teachers. The concept of normality is at best an elusive one. However, these children appear to be representative of a typical group of adequately functioning boys. Further, these selection criteria conform to those frequently found in the literature (Thetford, 1952). The 30 Deviant children were selected from a variety of mental health treatment facilities in the Knoxville,

Tennessee area, including two comprehensive community centers. They were selected on the basis of normal intelligence, middle class socioeconomic background and freedom from (and no history of) overt psychotic symptomatology. Intelligence was based on Wechsler Intelligence Scale for Children (WISC) scores and socioeconomic class was determined by the same criteria as above. The absence of psychotic symptomatology was judged by therapists involved in the diagnostic and intervention process at the facility where the child was in treatment. All the subjects in this group were further divided into two groups of 15: a Withdrawn Group and an Acting-Out Group. They were selected for inclusion in this study and assigned to a subgroup on the basis of the predominance of withdrawal or acting-out behaviors or symptoms as part of their problem or presenting complaint which resulted in psychiatric treatment. For the purpose of this study, acting-out refers to repetitive aggressive or antisocial behaviors which have usually occurred in the context of interaction with parental or authority figures (Moore & Fine, 1968). Withdrawal refers to a pattern of behaviors marked by decreased social interaction and physical and verbal behavior with a frequent increase in passivity (Moore & Fine, 1968).

Psychotherapists at each treatment center were asked to nominate children currently in treatment who met the specified criteria. Each case was then reviewed by the experimenter to determine that the child did, indeed, meet the selection criteria. Information from the patient's psychosocial history, psychological evaluation and treatment notes was examined. This procedure is consistent with that utilized by Thetford (1952).

### General Procedure

Each child was requested to produce the fantasy material required for this study by being instructed to "Tell me a story." The exact instructions given to the child and relating to collecting the stories are included in Appendix A.

The Normal children were visited in their schools by the experimenter. He was introduced to the child as someone interested in talking to him about make-believe stories. The introduction was made by the child's classroom teacher. He then took each child from the classroom to a separate area, spent a short while establishing rapport and helping the child feel at ease and then asked the child to produce a fantasy story according to the standardized instructions. The child's story was recorded verbatim, and the child was then returned to his classroom. Each child produced a suitable fantasy during the initial session.

Stories from the children in the Deviant Group were collected by their respective psychotherapists during a regular therapy hour according to the instructions provided (See Appendix A). Prior research does not suggest a significant influence due to examiner differences (Gardner, 1971). Each child was requested to tell a fantasy story which was recorded verbatim by his therapist. This procedure essentially duplicates that employed by Gardner (1969, 1971).

Fantasies from all the children in the study were collected, coded and reproduced and given to the Raters for rating and analysis. The Raters were kept naive not only to the purpose of the study, but to the identity and source of the fantasies they rated.

## Rating and Analysis of Data

### Raters

Two advanced graduate students in clinical psychology served as raters for the fantasy material. Prior to the study, they were instructed in the use of the rating questionnaire and rated several fantasies for practice. Then, each independently analyzed and rated each of the 60 stories in the study. A reliability check was obtained of .86. This level is considered to be an acceptable one.

### The Fantasy Rating Questionnaire

The rating questionnaire used for this study is a combination and modification of those used by Gould (1970) and Pitcher and Prelinger (1963). In addition, several dimensions were added and the form reorganized to more exactly correspond to the hypotheses of this study. The questionnaire yields a numerical rating score between 1 and 5 for each of the formal variables examined. In addition, qualitative aspects of thematic, identification and other variables are included in the rating scales. Each story is rated on each dimension of every variable included for rating on the questionnaire. The questionnaire is included in Appendix B.

## CHAPTER IV

### RESULTS

#### Reliability

The ratings of the two raters were compared to determine the level of their agreement on the questionnaire data. An interrater reliability coefficient of .86 was calculated. This is a very acceptable level of reliability. In addition, percent of agreement on specific variable dimensions were calculated. This was found to be about 80 percent. These figures suggest a sufficient level of agreement for valid interpretation of the results obtained.

#### General Analysis of Data

Ratings obtained from the Fantasy Rating Questionnaire were combined from the two raters, and a mean value was determined for each subject on each dimension. These ratings range in value from one to five for each variable, with higher scores indicating increased frequency or significance of the variable. They were then analyzed on two comparison levels: Normal children versus Deviant children (Group) and Withdrawn children versus Acting-Out children (Sub-Group). The t-test (Weiss, 1968) was used to determine whether the predicted group was rated higher on Formal and General Variables. The Chi-Square Test (Weiss, 1968) and Fisher's Exact Test were used to determine whether the predicted group was rated higher on Theme Variables.

For each hypothesis in the Formal variable section, the significance of the obtained differences between the groups was tested first for the sum of all the variables involved and then for each individual questionnaire dimension independently. These dimensions are described in the Fantasy Rating Questionnaire in Appendix B. Theme frequencies were calculated for the Normal children and Deviant children Groups and the Withdrawn children and Acting-Out children Sub-Groups and then compared at both levels. Only those Questionnaire dimensions being compared in the hypotheses were examined in the present study.

#### Relevant Questionnaire Data

##### Formal Variables

The Formal dimensions of the Questionnaire (Expansion, Differentiation of the Main Figure, Inner Complexity of Characters, Range of Activity, Realism, Action vs. Thought Processes, and Emotional Differentiation) were compared first collectively with a composite score and then individually. The collective comparison relates directly to the first Formal hypothesis of this study which states that Normal children will be rated higher on cognitive maturity than Deviant children. The t-value for this comparison is .521 which corresponds to the .31 level of significance. Therefore, Hypothesis 1 was not supported at the .05 level (See Table 1). In fact, the difference between the Normal children group and the Deviant children group was in the opposite direction from that predicted. Of the seven questionnaire dimensions that comprise the Formal variables, only one

Table 1

Directional, Probability and Significance Results of Formal  
and General Fantasy Questionnaire Variables  
(Comparisons Between Normal and Deviant  
Children)

Statistical Test: t-Test

N=60

Variables	Predicted Direction	Obtained Direction	Normal $\bar{x}$ value	Deviant $\bar{x}$ value	1-tailed t-value	Probability Level
FORMAL VARIABLES						
Cognitive Maturity	Normal	Deviant	2.34	2.87	.521	.31
Expansion	Normal	Normal	2.65	2.07	1.098	.13
Differentiation of Main Figure	Normal	Normal	3.01	2.97	.226	.42
Inner Complexity of Characters	Normal	Deviant	3.76	2.49	1.173	.12
Range of Activity	Normal	Normal	2.81	2.74	1.636	.06
Realism	Normal	Normal	2.95	3.16	.798	.22
Action vs. Thought Processes	Normal	Deviant	3.10	3.27	.690	.25
Emotional Differentiation	Normal	Deviant	2.49	3.71	5.046	>.001
Creativity	Normal	Normal	3.22	2.42	2.194	.02
GENERAL VARIABLES						
Length of Story	Normal	Normal	186	123	2.208	.02
Number of Themes	Normal	Deviant	2.46	2.83	1.185	.12
Number of Characters	Normal	Normal	3.2	1.62	3.069	>.005



produced a significant difference (See Table 1). The  $t$ -value for the Emotional Differentiation dimension was 5.046 and reached significance at greater than the .001 level in the nonpredicted direction. Of the six remaining dimensions, three reached near significance (between .051 and .100 levels). Two were in the predicted direction: Expansion ( $t=1.098$ ,  $p=.13$ ) and Range of Activity ( $t=1.636$ ,  $p=.06$ ). One was in the nonpredicted direction: Inner Complexity of Characters ( $t=1.173$ ,  $p=.12$ ). Of the seven dimensions compared in this group, four were in the predicted direction (Normal) and three were in the nonpredicted direction (Deviant).

These same variables were compared at the Sub-Group level (Withdrawn children versus Acting-Out children). This comparison is related to cognitive maturity within the Deviant children group by Formal Hypothesis 2 which states that the Withdrawn children will be rated higher on cognitive maturity than the Acting-Out children. The difference between these sub-groups was not significant at the .05 level (See Table 2). This comparison yielded a  $t$ -value of .684 and a probability level of .25. When the individual dimensions were compared independently, three were found to be in the predicted direction, and three were in the direction opposite from that predicted. Two variables produced a significant difference at the .05 level or greater: Inner Complexity of Characters in the predicted direction ( $t=3.023$ ,  $p\leq .005$ ) and Realism in the nonpredicted direction ( $t=2.111$ ,  $p=.03$ ). Of the remaining four dimensions, three reached near significance: Differentiation of Main Figure in the nonpredicted direction ( $t=1.584$ ,  $p=.14$ ) and Action vs.

Table 2

Directional, Probability and Significance Results of  
Formal and General Fantasy Questionnaire  
Variables (Comparisons Between Acting-  
Out and Withdrawn Children)

Statistical Test: t-Test

N=60

Variables	Predicted Direction	Obtained Direction	Withdrawn $\bar{x}$ value	Acting-Out $\bar{x}$ value	1-tailed t-value	Probability Level
FORMAL VARIABLES						
Cognitive Maturity	Withdrawn	Acting-Out	2.79	2.97	.684	.25
Expansion	Withdrawn	Acting-Out	2.62	2.71	.126	.47
Differentiation of Main Figure	Withdrawn	Acting-Out	2.89	3.21	1.584	.14
Inner Complexity of Characters	Withdrawn	Withdrawn	3.42	2.88	3.023	>.005
Realism	Withdrawn	Acting-Out	2.66	2.98	2.111	.03
Action vs. Thought Processes	Withdrawn	Withdrawn	3.17	2.72	1.890	.06
Emotional Differentiation	Withdrawn	Withdrawn	2.96	2.59	1.688	.08
Creativity	Withdrawn	Withdrawn	2.77	2.68	.415	.34
GENERAL VARIABLES						
Range of Activity	Acting-Out	Acting-Out	2.82	3.71	3.954	>.005
Length of Story	Withdrawn	Withdrawn	163.5	142.9	.115	.48
Number of Themes	Withdrawn	Acting-Out	2.71	4.35	1.963	.04
Number of Characters	Withdrawn	Acting-Out	2.92	3.46	.627	.28

Thought Processes ( $t=1.890$ ,  $p=.06$ ) and Emotional Differentiation in the predicted direction ( $t=1.688$ ,  $p=.08$ ).

The Acting-Out children and the Withdrawn children were compared separately on the Range of Activity dimension in order to test Formal Hypothesis 3. (See Table 2). The Acting-Out children were rated significantly higher ( $t=3.954$ ,  $p\leq .005$ ), thus supporting the hypothesis that the fantasies of these children contain a greater range and degree of activity than those of the Withdrawn children.

Formal Hypothesis 4 predicted that the Normal children would be rated higher than the Deviant children on creativity, and the Withdrawn children would be rated higher than the Acting-Out children on this dimension. On the Creativity variable, the comparison between the Normal children and the Deviant children was significant in the predicted direction with a  $t$ -value of 2.194 and a  $p$  of .02. (See Table 1, page 62). The comparison between the Withdrawn children and the Acting-Out children within the Deviant group was not significant at the .05 level ( $t=.415$ ,  $p=.34$ ) (See Table 2).

### General Variables

The General variable compared in this study include the Length of Story, Number of Themes, and Number of Characters. These are explained in the Fantasy Rating Questionnaire in Appendix B. The Normal children and the Deviant children were compared on each of these three variables (See Table 1, page 62). General Hypothesis 1 predicted that Normal children would produce longer fantasies than Deviant children. Length of Story was found to be significant at greater than the .05

level in the predicted direction ( $t=2.208$ ,  $p=.02$ ). General Hypothesis 3 predicted that the fantasies of Normal children would contain a larger number of characters than would the fantasies of Deviant children. Number of Characters was found to be significant at greater than the .05 level in the predicted direction ( $t=3.069$ ,  $p\leq .005$ ). General Hypothesis 2 predicted a greater number of themes in the fantasies of Normal children than in Deviant children. Although the comparison of the Number of Themes variable reached near significance ( $t=1.185$ ,  $p=.12$ ), it was found to be in the direction opposite from that predicted.

The same comparisons were made at the Sub-Group level for the Withdrawn children and the Acting-Out children (See Table 2). Only one of these differences was significant at the .05 level. Number of Themes reached significance ( $t=1.963$ ,  $p=.04$ ) in the opposite direction from that predicted. The second part of General Hypothesis 2, which states that Withdrawn children will produce more themes in their fantasies than Acting-Out children, was not supported. In fact, the relationship is just the opposite. Of the remaining two variables, Length of Story was found to be in the predicted direction ( $t=.115$ ,  $p=.48$ ) and Number of Characters was found to be in the nonpredicted direction ( $t=.627$ ,  $p=.28$ ). However, there is no significant difference between the two groups on these two variables.

### Theme Variables

The frequency of the various theme categories occurring in the fantasy stories was tabulated for each group of children (Normal and Deviant) and for the two sub-groups within the Deviant group (Withdrawn

and Acting-Out). The most frequent themes occurring overall were "Aggression" and "Hurt or Misfortune" (See Table 3). These were followed by "Oral," "Rage," "Sociability," and "Death" themes, in that order. In the Normal children group, "Oral" themes were most frequent, followed by "Aggression" and "Sociability." In the Deviant children group, the most frequent theme category was "Hurt of Misfortune," followed by "Aggression," "Rage," and "Death." It is interesting to note that six themes were scored in the "Other" category (Work, Curiosity, Fame and Reward). Of these, five occurred in the fantasies of the Normal children.

Themes from the stories of the Deviant children were further divided into two sub-groups: Acting-Out children and Withdrawn children (See Table 4). The most frequent themes in the Acting-Out group were "Aggression," "Hurt or Misfortune," "Oral," "Sociability," and "Rage," in that order. The only incidence of a theme in the "Other" category occurred in the Acting-Out group (Fame).

Theme Hypothesis 1 predicted that there would be a greater frequency of themes of rage, revenge, victimization and aggression in the fantasies of Acting-Out children than in the fantasies of Withdrawn children. When the groups were compared on theme frequency, it was found that the Acting-Out children had a significantly higher incidence of these themes ( $f=33.59$ ,  $p<.001$ ) than did the other group of children (Normal or Withdrawn) (See Table 5). These correspond to the theme categories of "Rage," "Aggression," "Death," and "Hurt of Misfortune" on the Questionnaire and are called "Negative Themes" in Table 5. The

Table 3  
Frequency of Fantasy Themes by Group

Theme	Normal	Deviant	Total
Oral	16	11	27
Rage	4	17	21
Aggression	13	18	31
Death	5	12	17
Hurt or Misfortune	7	24	31
Morality	4	5	9
Dress	0	0	0
Sociability	10	8	18
Crying	0	1	1
Sexuality	0	2	2
Happiness	4	5	9
Other	5	1	6
Work	1		
Curiosity	3		
Fame	0	1	
Reward	1		

Table 4  
Frequency of Fantasy Themes by Subgroup

Theme	Acting-Out	Withdrawn	Total
Oral	3	8	11
Rage	12	5	17
Aggression	15	3	18
Death	10	2	12
Hurt or Misfortune	13	11	24
Morality	4	1	5
Dress	0	0	0
Sociability	1	7	8
Crying	0	1	1
Sexuality	2	0	2
Happiness	1	4	5
Other	1	0	1
Work			
Curiosity			
Fame	1		
Reward			

Table 5

Directional, Probability and Significance Results  
of Theme Fantasy Questionnaire Variables

Statistical Tests: Chi-Square; Fisher's Test

Variables	Groups Compared	Predicted Direction	Obtained Direction	f Value	Probability Level
Negative Themes	A.O vs. W.	Acting-Out	Acting-Out	33.59	>.001
Positive Themes	Nor.vs.Dev.	Normal	Normal	12.71	>.001
Socialization Themes	Nor.vs.Dev.	Normal	Normal	19.86*	>.001
Self-centered Themes	Nor.vs.Dev.	Deviant	Deviant	17.31*	>.001
Parent/Authority Figures					
Positive Characterization	Nor.vs.Dev.	Normal	Normal	11.59**	>.001
Negative Characterization	Nor.vs.Dev.	Deviant	Deviant	11.41**	>.001

\*Calculated with Yates' Correction Factor

\*\*Calculated with Fisher's Exact Test



Normal children were found to have a significantly higher number of "Positive Themes" ( $f=12.71$ ,  $p \geq .001$ ) ("Oral," "Morality," "Sociability" and "Happiness") when compared to Deviant children.

Theme Hypothesis 2 predicted that Normal children would have more themes reflecting socialization, while Deviant children would produce more self-centered themes. This comparison was made between themes reflecting socialization and themes centering in the self (See Table 5). Normal children were scored with a significantly higher frequency of socialization themes ( $f=19.86$ ,  $p \geq .001$ ). The Deviant children, on the other hand, were found to have a significantly higher incidence ( $f=17.31$ ,  $p \geq .001$ ) of themes Centering in the Self than the Normal children. These theme categories are explained in the Fantasy Rating Questionnaire in Appendix B. Both of these comparisons were significant in the predicted direction.

The Normal children were also compared to the Deviant children on characterizations of authority figures, when present (See Table 5). Theme Hypothesis 3 predicted that the characterizations of Normal children would tend to be positive and that the characterizations of Deviant children would tend to be negative. There were 29 of the 60 stories which contained such characterizations. Of these, 14 were from Normal children and 15 were from Deviant children (See Table 6). Normal children were found to have a significantly higher incidence of positive characterizations than Deviant children at the .05 level ( $f=11.59$ ,  $p \geq .001$ ). Conversely, Deviant children were found to have a significantly higher frequency of negative characterizations at the .05 level ( $f=11.91$ ,  $p \geq .001$ ).

Table 6  
Group Differences in Characterization of  
Parent Figures

Figure	Normal	Deviant	Total
Mother: Positive	4	5	9
Negative	1	3	4
Father: Positive	6	2	8
Negative	3	5	8
Total	14	15	29

These comparisons both were found to be significant in the predicted direction.

#### Other Questionnaire Data

Only the data relating directly to the hypotheses of this study were summarized in the tables and analyzed statistically. However, various other dimensions were included in the questionnaire such as psychosocial level variables and self-representation variables. In addition, numerous qualitative observations are available from the data.

In terms of ratings on psychosocial variables, observation of the data indicates higher ratings for children from the Normal group than those from the Deviant group. There appears to be a greater incidence of themes of mistrust, shame and doubt, guilt and inferiority in the Deviant children's fantasies. Self-representation in the fantasies appears to be consistent for all children sampled. Direct "I" portrayals in the stories were very infrequent and equally common from both groups of children. However, there does seem to be more frequent self-representation in the role of victim in the fantasies from the Deviant children.

The raters agreed that the language, vocabulary and syntax of the fantasies from the Normal children were richer and seemingly more mature than that in the Deviant children's productions. In addition, there was a shared feeling that a differentiation could be made between fantasies from Acting-Out and Withdrawn children or between Acting-Out and Normal children after reading them. However, there was less of a sense of

difference between the stories from Normal children and those from Withdrawn children. This was not tested in any way.

Summary: Discriminating and Nondiscriminating Variables

The variables tested in this study are organized into three groups: Formal Variables, Theme Variables and General Variables. The Formal and General variables relate to the structure of the fantasy stories, while the Theme variables derive from an examination of content. In the hypotheses, the Formal and General variables are related to fantasy as a cognitive process, and the Theme variables are related to internal conflicts and relationship to the outside world.

The results of this study do not suggest that the Formal variables discriminate between Normal and Deviant children or between Withdrawn and Acting-Out children in any consistent significant way. However, several differences on dimensions of the Formal Variable Group were obtained and will be examined in the next chapter. The results suggest, however, that the General variables do tend to discriminate to a significant degree between the Normal children and the Deviant children, although no significant difference was demonstrated on these variables between the Withdrawn children and the Acting-Out children. The Theme variables were found to significantly discriminate between the Normal children and the Deviant children and between the Withdrawn children and the Acting-Out children, where tested.

The nondiscriminating variables in the Formal Variable Group which accounted for the lack of differentiation in this area were: Expansion,

Differentiation of Main Figure, Inner Complexity of Characters, Range of Activity, Realism and Action vs. Thought Processes. Only Emotional Differentiation discriminated significantly the Normals from the Deviants (See Table 1, page 62). Within the Deviant group, only Inner Complexity of Characters, Realism and Range of Activity were significant discriminators. Number of Themes was the only nondiscriminating variable between Normals and Deviants in the General Variable Group (See Table 1, page 62, and Table 2, page 64).

In the chapter that follows, there will be a discussion of the relationship of the data to the hypotheses of the study, an interpretation of the data, a re-examination of various theoretical and research issues, a discussion of the merit of this study, and a view of directions for additional research in this area.

## CHAPTER V

### DISCUSSION

#### Hypotheses and Results

Formal Hypothesis 1, which states that the Normal children will be rated higher on measures of cognitive maturity (Formal variables) than the Deviant children, is not supported by the data. In fact, only one of the variables, Emotional Differentiation, significantly differentiated the two groups: this difference was significant in the nonpredicted direction. Of the seven formal variables relating to cognitive maturity, four were scored higher for the Normal group, and two of these reached near significance ( $.051 \leq p \leq .100$ ). These dimensions are: Expansion, Differentiation of Main Figure, Range of Activity and Realism. Formal Hypothesis 2, which states that the Withdrawn children will be rated higher on measures of cognitive maturity than the Acting-Out children except for the "Range of Activity" dimension, is not supported by the data. In fact, the results are in the opposite direction but not significant. Of the six formal variables considered, two significantly discriminated between the two groups: Inner Complexity of Characters (predicted direction) and Realism (nonpredicted direction). Two other dimensions reached near significance in the predicted direction: Action vs. Thought Processes and Emotional Differentiation. Formal Hypothesis 3, which states that Acting-Out children will be rated higher on the "Range

of Activity" dimension than Withdrawn children, is significantly supported by the results. Formal Hypothesis 4, which states that Normal children will be rated highest on the Creativity scale, followed by the Withdrawn children and then the Acting-Out children, is not supported by the results. Normals were rated higher on creativity to a degree that reached near significance. Within the Deviant group, Withdrawn children were rated higher than Acting-Out children, but the difference was not significant.

General Hypothesis 1, which states that Normal children will produce longer stories than the Deviant children and that Withdrawn children will produce longer stories than Acting-Out children, is supported by the results for the difference between Normal and Deviant children. The Withdrawn children also produced longer stories than the Acting-Out children, but the difference is not significant. General Hypothesis 2, which states that Normal children will produce a higher number of themes than the Deviant children and that Withdrawn children will produce a higher number of themes than Acting-Out children, is not supported by the data. General Hypothesis 3, which states that Normal children will produce a higher number of characters than Deviant children and Withdrawn children will produce a higher number of characters than Acting-Out children is partially supported by the results. The difference between Normals and Deviants is significant in the predicted direction. However, there is no significance between the two Deviant sub-groups.

Theme Hypothesis 1, which states that the Acting-Out children will have a higher frequency of themes of rage, revenge, victimization and

aggression than either other group, is supported by the data. Theme Hypothesis 2, which states that themes reflecting socialization will be more frequent among the Normal children, while themes centering in the self will be more frequent among the Deviant children, is supported by the results. Theme Hypothesis 3, which states that characterizations of parental or authority figures will be positive in the Normal children and negative in the Deviant children, is supported by the data.

In summary, those differences posited by the Theme Hypothesis tend to be supported by the results of this study. Those differences predicted by the Formal Hypotheses tend not to be supported, while those predicted by the General Hypotheses are partially supported.

In comparing the fantasy stories of Normal children to those of Deviant children, the results of this study suggest that the productions of Normal children are longer, utilize a greater number of characters, and are seen as more creative. In addition, the content of Normal children's stories tends to reflect the influence of socialization, portrays parents and authority figures in a positive way, and presents positive themes. Each of these characteristics is a significant discriminator in comparing the fantasies of the two groups. Some significant differences are also indicated between the fantasies of Withdrawn children and those of Acting-Out children. Acting-Out children portray much more action in their stories than do Withdrawn children. Their stories more frequently deal with themes of rage, revenge, victimization and aggression than do the stories of Withdrawn children.



## Results and Purpose of the Study

The intent of this study was to document differences between the fantasies of Normal and Deviant children and between those of Withdrawn and Acting-Out children within the Deviant Group. It was also suggested that the fantasies of the Normal children would indicate a greater degree of cognitive maturity than found in Deviant children, and that Withdrawn children would demonstrate a higher level of cognitive maturity than would Acting-Out children. However, no such clear cut array is indicated by the study. Rather, the relationship is a much more complex one. On some measures (creativity, length of story and number of characters), the fantasies of Normal children would seem to be more mature. However, the Formal variable ratings do not consistently reflect this maturity. On those formal dimensions not obtained in the predicted direction (Inner Complexity of Characters, Action vs. Thought Processes, and Emotional Differentiation), the difference in the direction of the Deviant group appears to be due to the high scores of the Withdrawn children. This indicates that the Normal and Withdrawn children are, in many ways, more similar than either group is to the Acting-Out children. In fact, on several dimensions, the Withdrawn children are rated as more mature than the Normal children, and thus, no significant difference was obtained between Normal and Deviant children on cognitive maturity. However, the results do suggest that if the fantasies of Normal and Withdrawn children were combined and compared to Acting-Out children on cognitive maturity, the former group would be rated significantly higher. The meaning of this relationship will be examined later.

The relationship between the Withdrawn and Acting-Out groups on the cognitive maturity variables is also not a simplistic one. Although no clear-cut difference is indicated globally, the Withdrawn children describe significantly more complex characters in their stories and tend to describe more thought than action and portray greater emotional differentiation. The Acting-Out children tend to include a greater number of themes, describe a greater extent of action and are less reality-oriented than were the Withdrawn children. A closer examination of these last two dimensions will follow, along with some questions regarding their validity as indicators of greater cognitive maturity.

#### Theoretical and Practical Implications

Various conclusions of theoretical importance follow from the differences outlined above. First, significant differences do exist between the fantasy productions of Normal and Deviant children, as well as between the fantasies of Withdrawn and Acting-Out children. The significance of these differences remains to be explicated. However, they would seem to indicate that the development of deviant behaviors in children is associated with systematic internal or cognitive changes, as well. The content of their fantasy and its structure shows differential patterns that are not consistent with the fantasy of normally adjusted children. The content reflects differing intrapsychic concerns as well as a different way of viewing the world. The structure reflects cognitive restrictions and, in some dimensions, a lessening of effectiveness or maturity. To a lesser degree, these differences also occur in

conjunction with different types of deviant behavior. The question of whether the behavioral changes or the cognitive changes came first is an important one for conjecture, but it remains empirically moot.

The theoretical implications relevant to these conclusions are vast. They relate to an understanding of normal and deviant cognitive development. Cognitive changes associated with various psychiatric symptoms have often been reported in the literature for a variety of dimensions of thought processes. Fantasy as an indicator of cognitive development has also been documented. However, the current study links fantasy to both normal and deviant patterns of thought and behavior. By documenting changes and patterns of changes, various notions relevant to theoretical child psychopathology follow. Perhaps most significant is that cognitive changes do accompany behavioral ones and that different patterns of behavior are associated with different patterns of cognition. The nature of the role of fantasy is this change and the type of change that occurs is then open to speculation. In fact, the whole role of fantasy as a cognitive process is to be considered.

The practical implications of these conclusions obviously follow and could be developed and validated with further research. If changes do occur and occur differentially, fantasy characteristics may be predicted from behavioral data and vice-versa. This makes a further case for the possible use of fantasy both as a diagnostic and as a therapeutic technique. Further, an understanding of the role of fantasy in each individual allows for more effective and appropriate intervention. Finally, fantasy as a research technique in investigating development,

cognitive style, psychopathology, etc., is shown to be a viable methodology.

### Interpretation of Results

The fantasies of each group have now been characterized from the data and related to specific hypotheses. To summarize, the fantasies of Normal children tend to be longer and more creative, with a greater number of characters than those of Deviant children. Although not seen as globally more mature, the stories tend to utilize a greater expanse of space, and show a greater range of activity. The themes of Normal children's stories are more positive, and the content shows a greater influence of socialization and a more positive characterization of authority and parent figures. Within the Deviant group, Acting-Out children tell stories with a greater range of activity, a higher number of themes and a greater frequency of themes of rage, revenge, victimization and aggression. Their stories are also more autistic (less reality-bound) and show a tendency for a greater differentiation of the main figure than do the stories of the Withdrawn children. The use of the term "autistic" here refers to a continuum relating to the degree to which fantasy conforms to reality concerns rather than to a label or diagnostic category. The Withdrawn children's fantasies show a greater complexity of characters, more expression of thought than action, and a tendency toward greater emotional differentiation.

The significance of these characterizations is derived from the areas of significant difference. The finding of a difference between

the Normal and Deviant groups is important in suggesting that the cognition of children who engage in deviant and abnormal behaviors differs from that of so-called normal, well-adjusted children. The nature of this difference suggests, first, that normal children see the world as a safer, more secure and less punitive place. Their stories more often portray themes of happiness, sociability and nurturance. Parents and authority figures are seen as caring, helpful and providers of security and various needs. Deviant children, on the other hand, portray the world as more threatening and see authority figures in a negative way. This view of the world and the figures who govern it will no doubt affect how the child behaves in it. It is understandable that a child who sees the world as dangerous and authority figures as punitive would either withdraw from such an unpleasant environment or lash out against it. The normal child, however, would seem to feel comfortable and at home in his world. When fewer threats are perceived, fewer defenses are needed.

There is no reason to believe that the perceptions of either group are entirely distortions. In fact, the Deviant children have no doubt experienced a world which was threatening and insecure. The data, however, indicate that responding to such a world tends to form a cognitive set which may color future perceptions. To the extent that these perceptions are distorted, they may be termed neurotic. It is interesting to note that the Acting-Out children, whose behavior is frequently the most obviously deviant, scored highest on the dimension relating to autistic thinking (Realism dimension). That is, their

stories reflected accurate reality situations less often than those of Withdrawn or Normal children.

The view of significant others in the external world as capable of meeting one's needs is an important prerequisite to relating to them. The interpersonal relationships and social behaviors of both Acting-Out and Withdrawn children are characteristically distorted. They tend to avoid these relationships either by withdrawal or attack. These Deviant children's fantasies would seem to indicate that they compensate for this lack of external social fulfillment in a world too dangerous to pursue it by creating an internal world richly populated. Their stories were rated highest on the complexity of their fantasy characters. Despite the external veneer of apathy, unconcern or avoidance of emotional involvements, the stories of these children are rich in interpersonal relationships and intricate nuances of feeling. To this extent, the Deviant group was rated significantly higher on the dimension of emotional differentiation.

This last dimension concerns not only emotional involvement but also emotional control or impulsivity. The content of the stories from the Deviant children reflects not only stronger emotions but also less emotional control than that of the Normal children. The tone of this affect is frequently negative, and themes of rage, revenge and aggression are significantly more frequent among the Deviant children than among the Normals. However, within the Deviant group, an important difference appears. A greater degree of action and overt emotional expression is found in the stories of Acting-Out children along with a significantly

higher frequency of themes of rage and aggression. Correspondingly, this group is rated higher than the Withdrawn children on dimensions of central figure development and range of activity. However, the Withdrawn group is rated higher on inner complexity of characters, the predominance of thought over action, and the internal differentiation of emotions. Themes of sociability, orality and victimization are more frequent. This difference seems to indicate a tendency to internalize emotionality with strong affective control among the Withdrawn children and a tendency to externalize or act-out emotionality with less emphasis on control among the Acting-Out children. The similarity of fantasy and cognition to overt behavior in each group suggests both a compensatory and a preparatory (rehearsal) function for fantasy. This important theoretical issue will be reconsidered later. However, it provides insight into the Withdrawn child's apparent emotional constriction and the Acting-Out child's impulsivity.

That these cognitive sets are indeed distorting and somewhat maladaptive is suggested in the data by the fact that the fantasies of the Deviant children are judged to be less creative and more stereotyped. In a sense, they are less "fantastic." In addition, the stories of the Deviant children are significantly shorter and contain significantly fewer characters. No significant differences were found within the Deviant group on these variables. A logical deduction from this phenomenon leads to a suggestion that the Deviant children are less capable of creating original, developed stories due to their involvement with conflict and distorting cognitive sets. In this way, they are bound

to a certain array of concerns from which they cannot easily escape. Fantasy becomes, then, less a creative venture in the sense of "regression in the service of the ego" (Kris, 1939). Rather it is a sort of neurotic repetitive process bound to perceptions and distortions that prevent adaptive problem-solving and conflict resolution (Freud, 1908).

This touches again on the issue of cognitive maturity and the Formal variables included in this study. Although the predicted results were not obtained, a more careful examination of these variables will clarify what the data mean. It is apparent that the individual does more than merely store experience. He organizes and patterns it, summarizes and abstracts it in various ways, and thus produces new structures arising from relatively complex, subjective generalizations about individual experience (Sullivan, 1953; Hartmann, 1958; Sandler & Nagera, 1963). It follows that the kinds of organizations of experience within the ego would reflect important aspects of its functioning. Ego development manifests itself not only in terms of contents of experience (reflected in this study in the fantasy themes and contents), but also in terms of various formal or structural aspects.

There seems little doubt that these formal characteristics labeled variously as "mental sets," "frames of reference," and "cognitive styles" develop in various degrees of complexity in every individual. They theoretically reflect, therefore, not only the cognitive maturation level of the child, but ego or personality development, as well. Seven such dimensions were included in this study based on prior research by Pitcher



and Prelinger (1963). They will be considered in relation to the results obtained and the significance of that data.

#### Discussion of Specific Questionnaire Variables

Expansion. The assumption underlying this dimension is that with increasing experience and knowledge, and with a growing sense of personal mastery and ego stability, there should develop an increasingly encompassing conception of and ideational utilization of space. Implied here is a conception that individuals, in the course of their development, acquire increasingly structured and expanding "cognitive maps" of the world (Piaget, 1956). Previous findings (Pitcher & Prelinger, 1963; Ames, 1966) have indicated that normal children use wider and wider spaces in their fantasies as age increases. In this study, Normal children tended to use a greater expanse of space than Deviant children, indicating a more mature conceptual framework and a greater sense of ego mastery. However, no difference was found between the Withdrawn and Acting-Out children. To conclude no difference in cognitive maturity is not the only possibility. Rather the constrictive style of the Withdrawn child and the expansive, impulsive style of the Acting-Out child is expected to influence their use of space in fantasies. Such an influence might serve to negate any difference due to higher cognitive maturity among the Withdrawn children. Such an explanation is plausible. However, it is not directly supported by the results of this study.

External differentiation of the main figure. This dimension was defined with the thought that as the child increasingly differentiated

the main figure in his stories and showed more logic and sequence in organizing them, he might be manifesting a growth in his capacity for perceptual differentiation and an increasing awareness of people as having consistent identities (Piaget, 1962). Research with normal children indicates, however, that as the child gets older, the main characters of his stories tend to become less clearly defined (Pitcher & Prelinger, 1963). A possible explanation for this interesting vagueness of the main figure could be that as children grow older, they include more characters in their stories. Their view of their world and capacity to deal with it enlarges to include more characters. In this study, no significant difference was found between Normals and Deviants. However, Acting-Out children tended to score higher than the Withdrawn children. A reinterpretation of this result suggests that an enlarged world-view might indicate a less mature conceptual schema than first thought. In addition, when viewed along with other aspects of the data, the higher score is consistent with the Acting-Out child's tendency to focus on self against others with great emphasis placed on affective impulsivity and a defense against interpersonal involvement. Therefore, a less developed sense of intricate interpersonal relationships with numerous developed characters would be expected. In addition, when the Acting-Out children were compared to the Normal and Withdrawn children, they scored significantly higher on this dimension. However, the straight comparison of Normals to Deviants showed no difference, perhaps due to the cancelling effect of the scores of the Withdrawn group.

Inner complexity of characters. This dimension was based on the hypothesis that stories whose characters show inner differentiation might reflect the child's awareness of internal complexity within himself and thus roughly indicate a process of differentiation within the ego. Previous trends in this direction among Normals have been noted (Pitcher & Prelinger, 1963; Gould, 1972). In this study, Deviant children tended to be rated higher on this dimension primarily due to the significantly high scores of the Withdrawn children. Perhaps this is again best understood in terms of the set or style of these children whose strong investment in fantasy and related avoidance of external relationships has resulted in a rich, highly differentiated internal world. The complexity of their characters exceeds that of Normal children and is much higher than that of Acting-Out children. This result is similar to that found in the fantasy of obsessive-compulsive personalities (Frazier, 1974) and may reflect similar characterological considerations.

Range of activity or passivity of characters. In including this dimension, it was assumed that as the child increasingly mastered his actions and his immediate environment, the stories would increasingly show activity rather than passivity. Passivity, as the term is used, looks to things that happen to the characters in the stories rather than to their active deeds. Previous research results have been ambiguous and inconclusive (Pitcher & Prelinger, 1963). In this study, the Normal children tended to score higher on this dimension, suggesting a modulated balance between active and passive stances in relation to the world. Within the Deviant group, the Acting-Out children scored significantly

higher than the Withdrawn children. These data are significant for two reasons. First, they indicate that within the Deviant group, the Acting-Out children do indeed appear to score in a manner consistent with their behavior when compared to the Withdrawn children. This represents a sort of internal check on the validity of the subject selection. More importantly, the extent of the difference suggests that the passive-active continuum is a significant factor in differentiating these two groups. The greater representation of activity in the fantasies of the Acting-Out children is consistent with their general emphasis on action and themes of rage and aggression. The more passive stance in the stories of the Withdrawn children is consistent with their behavioral withdrawal and tendency to internalize emotion and emphasize themes of victimization. It would appear that greater activity in the stories of children is not really a sign of mastery of the self or of the world. A dominating amount of activity may rather imply less control over drive tension or impulses. That more and more things happen to characters (increased passivity) could possibly reflect a wider awareness of what could happen in the world. If such an explanation were accepted, the shift from activity to passivity could perhaps imply a shift from relative concreteness to a more "abstract attitude" in Goldstein's sense (1939), implying more internalization and less immediate arousal of overt action by a stimulus. However, an overly passive stance prevents action on the environment and is associated with a sort of autoplasmic orientation. Such a role is equally maladaptive to living in the world in an effective manner. The issue of degree and the importance of modulation becomes

obvious. When reinterpreted from this point-of-view, the results of this study tend to suggest that the Normal children are the most mature and capable of adaptive modulated action, followed by the Withdrawn children and then the Acting-Out children.

Realism. If one were to apply Freud's formulations (1925) about the gradual institution of the reality principle over the pleasure principle, one would expect an increase in the realism of fantasy stories with increasing age and cognitive maturity. However, no difference was found between the Normal and Deviant children. This finding, as well as theoretical considerations, would suggest that realism, in the sense of conforming to reality, should not be assumed to correspond to realism in the contents or structure of fantasy stories. To some degree, as the child becomes better related to reality so that he needs less constantly to reassure himself, he may feel free to increasingly use his imagination. Furthermore, it might be concluded that, to an extent, the increasing use of fantasy implies that a child is learning to control his drives, a development which would come as the ego defenses are more firmly established and drives are better channeled. Increasing use of fantasy in an ego which is better adapted to reality would then represent not so much a primitive phenomenon as a relatively more mature expression of the ego which reflects its flexibility of functioning in response to varying stimuli from within as well as without. The issue of degree and extent of control is again relative. A complete break with reality concerns has long been associated with psychotic regression. Control of this autistic flight seems to be a crucial factor both in terms of its management

and integration and of delimiting its purveyance in order to assure return. Within the Deviant group, the Acting-Out children were rated significantly higher on the presence of autism in their fantasies than were the Withdrawn children. The degree of this difference, considered along with the issue of impulsivity in these children, suggests that this fantasy break with reality concerns is not a well-modulated one. Rather, it appears to reflect an aspect of cognitive distortion due to maladaptive mechanisms instead of an adaptive, creative process. This seems to be more a mechanism of denial than a deiristic regression. Nonetheless, its function would seem to be defensive, its purpose distorting, and its result constricting.

Action vs. thought process. This dimension was felt to reflect further indications of increasing differentiation of perception and impulse-delay (Piaget, 1956). In this study, no difference was found between the Normal and Deviant groups, although a tendency toward increased reliance on thinking in fantasy stories was found when the Withdrawn children were compared to the Acting-Out group. The significance of this finding has been previously discussed. It suggests increasing reliance on internal processes instead of action and a developing passive stance in the Withdrawn group.

Emotional differentiation. This dimension was again felt to tap the degree of awareness of an internal affective life, as well as some sort of developing empathic capacity in children. The Deviant children were rated significantly higher on this variable than were the Normal children. The Withdrawn children tended to score higher than the Acting-

Out children. This result was previously discussed as an indicator of compensatory processes in the Deviant group to make up for their avoidance of external interpersonal emotional involvement. These children appear to be acutely aware of their feelings, perhaps too much so. Their sense of empathy has perhaps become distorted into a sense of hypersensitivity which results in hyper-responsiveness. They are heavily invested in these internal affairs to the exclusion of a satisfying external life, or perhaps because of the lack of satisfying external relationships. This seems to be especially true of the Withdrawn children. Such a phenomenon relates, perhaps, to the popular notion of "withdrawing to a fantasy world."

This extended examination of the Formal variable reveals several significant factors not obvious at first glance. Although the hypotheses relating to cognitive maturity are not significantly supported by the data, several important results are indicated. First, the similarity between the Normal and Withdrawn children often conceals differences between the Normal and Deviant children. That is, on many dimensions, the Acting-Out children appear to be significantly different from either group when viewed separately. Second, questionnaire variable dimensions originally felt to indicate higher cognitive maturity when scored in one direction may actually indicate a higher level of functioning when scored in the opposite direction. Third, and most important, the cognitive set or style of the child may be a more important factor in determining the level or type of cognitive functioning than his level of mental development, per se. The

distortions imposed by certain cognitive sets override any indication of formal maturation. It would seem that the original hypotheses regarding cognitive maturity are supported by the data, but the results are not significant due to the factors cited.

#### Discrepant Results and Nondiscriminating Variables

Most of the variables yielding results in the nonpredicted direction are Formal variables and were discussed in the preceding section. This is true of the variables that did not produce significant differences, as well. In comparing Normal and Deviant children, one variable, General Number of Themes, resulted in a difference near significance in the nonpredicted direction. The Deviant children were rated higher on this dimension. The same effect occurred in comparing Acting-Out and Withdrawn children. The Acting-Out children were rated higher. This appears to be an artifact of the Fantasy Rating Questionnaire. Because the Acting-Out children were consistently rated as producing stories containing rage, aggression, death and hurt or misfortune themes, the number of themes scored for this group was inflated. The similarity of these themes resulted in a sort of multiple-rating effect. When rage was scored, aggression was almost always scored, too. The same was true of the hurt or misfortune category. These categories should be further defined and made more explicit so that this phenomenon is eliminated. The categories should be independent. This problem obscured the data on this variable.

Two other General variables, Length of Story and Number of Characters, were nondiscriminating in comparing the Withdrawn children and the Acting-



Out children. Consistent with previous interpretation of the data, it is suggested that features relating to cognitive set or style distorted the results intended to estimate cognitive maturity. The anticipated higher level of functioning in the Withdrawn children was not evidenced due to their constrictiveness and unwillingness to participate in developing a long, complex story told in an interpersonal interaction context. However, the Acting-Out children responded in a characteristic expansive style that resulted in an inflated number of words and characters. As a result, no significant difference between the two groups was evidenced. However, the data further support the importance of these stylistic factors as determinants of cognition. It is significant to note that although these variables did not discriminate at the sub-group level, they did successfully discriminate between the Normal and Deviant groups.

#### Agreement of Results and the Literature

Having characterized the results of this study and examined their meaning, it is now possible to compare these results to those reported in the empirical literature and predicted by the theoretical literature. However, theoretical concerns as they relate to significant controversies will be examined in more detail in the next section.

The results relating to the fantasy stories of normal children generally agree with those results reported in the literature. Fantasy does appear to be a kind of cognitive skill found in all children (Singer, 1966) and does seem to be a part of normal development.

Specific demographic variables mentioned by Singer (1968) were controlled rather than examined in this study. The differences noted in the stories of different groups agree with the notion that through learning and predisposition, various styles of fantasy formation emerge. These styles are felt to reflect the personality organization of the individual (Singer & Antrobus, 1963; 1972). The results of this study also tend to agree with Singer's conclusion (1966) that deviant children will demonstrate underdeveloped or immature fantasy. However, the results of this study provide more complex data than Singer's conclusion would imply. The data suggest that fantasy production is determined by more than the level of cognitive maturity. However, this has been documented by Werner (1957) and Lukianowicz (1960), as well.

Singer's (1966) description of the fantasy of the action-oriented child is not entirely consistent with the results of this study. He describes these children as being out-of-touch with their environment, lacking a perspective of past and future, being unconcerned with the consequences of misbehavior, and being concrete and stimulus-bound. In this study, the Acting-Out child was rated high on autistic processes, suggesting some loss of contact with environmental concerns. However, the data suggest that these children are not stimulus-bound. They are capable of a rich fantasy life that is felt to be compensatory in nature, and they appear to be painfully aware of the consequences of their behavior. In agreement with Singer (1966) is the conclusion that this fantasy is more defensive than adaptive. This lack of an adaptive function has been characterized by some as "regressive" (Sears, 1950).

In this sense, these data agree with those of Horowitz (1970) who observed that the fantasies of young children are similar to those of older children having problems adapting. However, he describes the organization of these stories as more primitive and simple than the stories of normal children of the same age. Again, this study found a more complex relationship between degree of adjustment and level of cognitive functioning. However, these results are not inconsistent. They are felt to be a more complete analysis of the relationship.

The results of this study also agree with the findings of Klinger (1970) who related the contents of the fantasies to the child's experiences. These experiences appeared often to be stressful as demonstrated by the themes of the stories. His finding is consistent with that reported by Breger et al., (1971) and relates to Freud's concept of the day residue (1908) in that fantasy content reflects the recent experience of the child.

The presence and frequency of various themes is also in agreement with the data reported in the literature (Ames, 1966). The high frequency of oral, aggressive, and violence themes for Normal and Deviant children of this age is noted. Ames (1966) also reported that a negative characterization of parents is more frequently found in the stories of children with adjustment problems. This result is consistent with the data from the present study. It should be noted, however, that Ames' research dealt with younger children.

The findings of Pitcher and Prelinger (1963) are in general agreement with this study in relating formal variables to ego

organization. The current data are consistent also in relating these variables to cognitive maturity and level of adjustment. However, cognitive set or style is included as a determinant in interpreting the data of this study.

Gould's (1970) research on self-representation in fantasy found a significant relationship between maladjustment and aggressive/destructive imagery within a normal population. This study supports her conclusions and extends it to include a deviant population, further supporting the conclusion. Gould also concludes that the Acting-Out child tends to identify with the aggressor in his stories. This finding is consistent with the high frequency of aggressive fantasy centering in a main figure as aggressor found for the Acting-Out children in this study. Gould further characterizes the Acting-Out child as indulging in magical thinking, describing themes of rage, revenge, victimization and primitive aggression, and having a limited, constricted fantasy process. This study agrees in emphasizing the role of autism and rage and aggression. However, it is felt that the fantasy processes of the Acting-Out child are less constricted and noncreative than Gould concluded.

The findings of this study are also consistent with those in the literature that ascribe a defensive function to fantasy (Feshbach, 1955; Buss, 1961; Leiman & Epstein, 1961; Pytkowicz, 1963). Singer (1964, 1966) and Shaffer (1936) explicated some defensive aspects of fantasy. Those which have been supported by this study include: excessive reliance on fantasy associated with withdrawal and impoverished interpersonal relations and autistic fantasies associated with cognitive

distortions. The pathological aspects of fantasy are summarized by Shaffer (1936) in a manner supported by the current study. That is, to the extent that fantasy interferes with the appropriate perception of reality or prevents necessary attention to external detail, it becomes maladaptive and may be termed pathological. The current study has suggested adaptive aspects of fantasy as well (rehearsal; creative functions) not specifically mentioned in surveyed studies.

The relationship between fantasy and interpersonal life was studied by Wagner and Segemann (1964). This study supports their conclusion that withdrawal into fantasy adversely affects interpersonal skills. However, the current data suggest that compensatory fantasy may be the result of rather than the cause of interpersonal problems. The cycle is, however, a self-perpetuating one.

An unexpected finding of the current study is the extent to which the structure of fantasy is determined by cognitive set or style, as well as cognitive maturity. However, such a finding is consistent with theory, as well as with reported fantasy research with adults (Balken & Masserman, 1940; Shaffer, 1946; Blatt & Quinlan, 1967; Steissguth et al., 1969; Frazier, 1974). The similarity of the Withdrawn group to the Normal group on formal dimensions is another unexpected finding. However, the reliance of this group on rich, well-developed fantasy is much like the described orientation of the obsessive (Frazier, 1974). It is not surprising, then, that these children would often score as high or higher on measures of ideational development as the Normals.

### Some Theoretical and Research Issues

In considering the results of this study, several important theoretical issues with implications for future research emerge. These include the role of fantasy as a cognitive process in normal and deviant functioning, the relationship between fantasy and behavior, and the nature of withdrawal and acting-out as types of deviant behavior in children.

That fantasy is a normal cognitive process appears to no longer be a question. Children and adults alike appear to engage in fantasy and daydreaming behavior with differing degrees of frequency. This behavior also appears to vary from individual to individual as a function of predisposition, experience and the cognitive organization of that experience. A whole variety of variables have been shown to relate to the form of this organization including age, sex, socioeconomic background, interpersonal style and cognitive set. The current study further documents the relationship between fantasy and varying types or styles of behaviors. What all of this would seem to suggest is that fantasy, like other cognitive processes, both reflects and determines the individual's ego structure and style of relating to his world.

The origin of fantasy appears to stem from the mother-child relationship (Benassy & Diatkine, 1964). . . The early internal images that are related by some to hallucinations (Guntrip, 1973) form the prototype for both thinking and internalized object-relations. The fantasy process is derived from this imaging and continues to be intricately related to both cognitive development and interaction with the environment. It formulates the beginning of reality testing by participating in the

growth of a sense of reality that hinges on a differentiation between the "I" and the "not I." In this way, the very basic sense of self as a separate and particular entity is differentiated in relation to fantasy. Subsequent relations of this self to the world via object-relations involve fantasy as a means of organizing perceptions and making sense of the external world. It is this function of fantasy which is emphasized by Piaget (1956) in his discussion of assimilation and accommodation as schema for organizing experience. These schema are relatively lasting, and distorted perceptions give rise to distorting fantasies that perpetuate the cognitive organization. Viewing fantasy as "wish-fulfilling" in the traditional psychoanalytic sense would appear most simplistically to refer to the function of fantasy as an avenue for meeting the primary and secondary needs of the individual, either directly via object-relations or symbolically. Viewing fantasy as "defensive" would seem to refer to the perpetuation of cognitive distortions designed to help the individual adapt to his world with the minimum of anxiety. The word "adapt" is crucial here. Fantasy is essentially adaptive in all its functions as a process that mediates between the external world and the internal world. It is derived from the interplay of internal needs and external experience. Therefore, it is both innate and learned; both autoplasmic and alloplasmic. It is this view of fantasy as an adaptive mechanism more fully developed by the more recent psychoanalytic theorists such as Hartmann and the Object-relations School.

This study tends to support such a conceptualization of the role of fantasy in development among Normal and Deviant children. The data have

been interpreted as indicating that fantasy meets needs in a compensatory or direct manner and that it perpetuates cognitive sets as elements of intellectual and ego organization and structure. Distorted sets based on distorted percepts are perpetuated as well, with obvious "defensive" or "adaptive" value. These adaptive aspects are shown to be impaired when distortions occur, with a resulting impairment of cognitive processes and creative problem-solving ability. The relationship of these distortions to perceptions of the external world is clearly indicated by the contents of the fantasies studied. Deviant children consistently tended to focus on negative themes and characterizations of significant others. As a result, typical socializing forces were resisted and a preoccupation with self results.

Such a theoretical stance is more interpersonally and phenomenologically derived than is the traditional psychodynamic one. The psychoanalytic view relates content to psychosexual concerns and innate sexual or aggressive impulses. The current conceptualization focuses on the interaction of the individual and his world. The "unfacilitating environment" (Winnicott, 1971) is viewed as the determining force behind distortions, much as Sullivan's "distorting security operations" (1953) are derived from interpersonal experience. The break with biological determinism, while not complete, is substantial.

The theoretical perspective reflected in the interpretation of the data is one which attempts to combine the intrapsychic and the interpersonal experience of the child. As such, it addresses the interfacing between object-relations theory and interpersonal theory or phenomenology.



An attempt at joining these two camps with all their disparities poses a dilemma with numerous theoretical inconsistencies. Object-relations as internal objects are actually object representations. The implications of this dilemma are not relevant to discussion here. However, the author acknowledges the numerous theoretical difficulties inherent in such a stance.

The central role of fantasy in object-relations bears closer examination. Fantasy represents a certain way of entering into relationships with objects whether or not these objects exist independently in reality (Lagache, 1964). Such a relationship may be seen as involving cathexis with positive, negative or mixed values. Reality may be encountered via fantasy with the organizing influence of past perceptions or escaped via fantasy connections with memory or anticipations of future experience. The direction of this involvement may be one which internalizes or externalizes the experience. Here the relationships of fantasy to incorporation, identification, and projection become a significant theoretical concern. The subsequent development of a self-concept with values and role orientations and the process of socialization, therefore, intricately involve fantasy as a form of object-relatedness. A full explication of this point is beyond the scope of this discussion and is only tangential to the current study. However, it relates to Klein's (1927) discussion of these processes in developing her notions of the depressive and paranoid positions.

Fantasy as an internal organizing process and as a means of relating internal to external experience has been considered. It remains to

relate fantasy to overt behavior in the external world. Numerous correspondences are found in this study and reported in the literature (Symonds & Jensen, 1961; Skolnick, 1966; McClelland, 1966). Much attention has been directed toward determining the nature of a causative relationship (Broverman et al., 1960; Kagen, 1956; Singer, 1970). The resulting controversy was summarized in the literature survey. The dichotomy between fantasy as catharsis, which diminishes the propensity for action, and fantasy as stimulus, which prepares for, or results in overt action, is the central issue. The results of this study support Singer's (1970) attempt at synthesis, which suggests that both relationships exist. The fantasy stories of both Deviant subgroups tended to correspond to their observed overt behavior patterns. That is, the fantasy of Withdrawn children appeared to compensate for active external object-relations with a resulting inhibitory effect on activity level. The fantasies of Acting-Out children appeared to stimulate future acting-out behavior, impulsivity and aggression. In many ways, the fantasies were similar but seemed to function differentially in this respect for the two groups. A possible explanation might relate this phenomenon to the nature of the child's relationship with the external world. Here, reference to internalization and projection seems relevant. The fantasy of Withdrawn children may be viewed as developing within the framework of an internalizing object-relations orientation with a resulting cathartic/inhibitory effect. The fantasy of Acting-Out children may be seen as relating to a projecting or externalizing orientation with a resulting increase of overt behavior. This

explanation suggests that the nature of cognitive and ego organization is the crucial factor in determining the nature of the relationship between fantasy and behavior. Such an hypothetical framework consistently explains the data presented in the literature, as well as those from this study.

The origin of this relationship is an unresolved question. Which came first: behavior or perception giving rise to fantasy? Returning to the issue of the origin of fantasy, a basic stimulus-response paradigm seems likely. At early and simple levels of behavior-perception image relationships, the objects are concrete, the needs physical, and the responses reflexive or automatic. The repetitive pairing of cognitive perception with behavioral experience would seem to simultaneously produce the experience for internal organization and the overt behavioral response. With increased cognitive maturation, this internal organization becomes a mediating factor between stimulus and response. The advent of this mediation signals the beginning of the fantasy-behavior relationships posited.

If these relationships result from the cognitive and ego organization of the individual, various cognitive sets or styles would produce corresponding styles of fantasy and behavior. The current study suggests that this is indeed the case regarding Withdrawn and Acting-Out children. Further, as these relationships develop, they reciprocally influence the perceptual store that accompanies them. Therefore, the internal cognitive set or organization is influenced and modified. Differential patterns of fantasy and their relationships to behavior have

been identified for the two groups. The significance of these two types of deviant behavior in children gains added meaning.

The differential investment of each group in fantasy is more comprehensible. For the Withdrawn children, the internalizing (or depressive) orientation of fantasy and object-relations allows them to avoid the world and the interpersonal relationships that they have found to be so painful. Adaptation is based on a rich, fulfilling and compensatory internal life. Therefore, fantasies are more complex and more creative, and ideational concern is often greater than that found in Normals. The internal direction of the object-relations allows for withdrawal from a threatening world and results in an inhibited activity level. For the Acting-Out children, the orientation is more of an externalizing (paranoid) one. The push of this relationship is into or against the world rather than away from it. The threatening environment is perceived just as it is perceived by the Withdrawn children. Fantasy content concerns resulting from experience in such a world are therefore very similar. However, adaptation in such a world stems from a different organizational stance (personality style) with different behaviors resulting. There is more external concern to correspond to the externalizing attitude. Fantasy remains active but directed toward overt behavior. Since inhibition is less important, impulsivity continues with fewer controls. The internal world is less differentiated and creative, as indicated by fantasy. Thought is indeed more concrete but not stimulus-bound. It is rather stimulus-producing and stimulus-directed.

The more abstract attitude of the Withdrawn children is consistent with the role of cognition in the withdrawal process.

That such a process ranges as a continuum from the norm to the deviant extreme is obvious. Understanding these deviant behaviors derives from a new perspective. They are not simply the result of internal or unconscious impulses. Rather, they stem from the experience of the individual in the world and his perception of that environment. These behaviors represent an adaptive attempt to make sense of that world and organize that experience, which may or may not be successful. However, the person must be viewed from a holistic perspective rather than a reductionistic one which attempts to reduce behaviors to fixations. The internal and the external are both operative and significant factors. They interact, mingle and interplay. No aspect can be legitimately ignored.

### Strengths and Limitations of the Study

#### Subjects and Selection Criteria

It would appear that the selection criteria used to choose the subjects for this study adequately controlled for those variables not under investigation. The subjects tended to come from middle class suburban backgrounds in the mid-south. To this extent, the sample is more homogeneous than a random sample of this age group would be. However, it was necessary to restrict the sample to this population in order to control for demographic variables previously shown to significantly influence fantasy production (Singer, 1966). A question

of the delineated power to generalize from this sample may be raised, but it does not appear to be a significant issue theoretically or in the literature (Singer, 1968).

The use of two different types of intelligence measures (the Otis-Lenning for Normals and the Wechsler Intelligence Scale for Children for Deviants) posed an initial concern. However, the data do not indicate a discrepancy in levels of intelligence. For two children in the Deviant group, scores on both techniques were available, and no significant difference was noted. However, no strict comparison was made concerning interest reliability. Future studies might include some such index to indicate the comparability of the scores on the two measures.

Although the results of this study do indicate that the Acting-Out children and Withdrawn children meet the specified criteria, some confusion was encountered among professionals nominating their patients for inclusion in the study. Such a difficulty could be avoided by more completely specifying the behavioral, cognitive and affective criteria required for selection. The development of a sort of check list would simplify the selection procedure. Then a positive score on a certain percentage of the items (for instance, 80 percent) could be designated as the requirement for meeting the minimal criteria for selection.

Within the Normal children group, a tendency was noted for these children to be somewhat quieter and less assertive than expectations for an average 8 to 10 year old boy. Seemingly, the teachers tended to choose the best-behaved youngsters who met the selection criteria.

Although not a serious problem, this phenomenon could be avoided by specifying "average activity level and assertiveness" as an additional criterion for the selection of children in the Normal group.

In summary, the selection criteria appeared to validly control for extraneous variables and to discriminate appropriate subjects for the study. The subjects seem to be somewhat homogeneous but represent a valid sample of the population pool.

### Methodology

No problems are evident in the design of the current study. The collection of the data took place quickly and efficiently. Individual differences in collecting the fantasy stories does not appear to be a significant factor. Review of the written sheets turned in and discussion with the various professionals involved suggests a generalized conformity of methodology. These results agree with those of Gardner (1970). It would seem that the provided collected directions are sufficiently explicit and easily followed. The possibility that the author unconsciously influenced the Normal children to produce longer stories due to his greater involvement with the study should be considered in examining the data for the length of story variables.

Although no major problems were encountered in analyzing the stories, more instruction and practice for the raters before analyzing the fantasies is recommended. Inter-rater reliability was high ( $r=.86$ ), but some confusion developed in the early stages regarding various dimensions of the questionnaire. It should be noted that both raters

utilized in this study share similar theoretical orientations. This may have spuriously inflated the reliability coefficient. Future research might include comparison ratings from raters of disparate views as a further check on the validity of the questionnaire and general agreement on the concepts involved.

#### Fantasy Rating Questionnaire

Several unanticipated problems with the rating questionnaire came to light in the study. These relate essentially to the explicitness of the various rating dimensions. On the Differentiation of the Main Figure scale, main figure should be redefined to include groups such as "the Army" or "the family" which may be utilized collectively in the fantasy as the protagonist. On the Realism scale, the use of animals in an anthropomorphic fashion should be included as an example of realism, if the portrayal is consistent. This definition was included in the questionnaire but not in an explicit enough manner. The problem in rating themes on the questionnaire has been previously mentioned. Several of the themes (rage, aggression, and hurt or misfortune) appear to be related in such a fashion that all three were frequently checked as a group. This served to spuriously inflate the "Number of themes" variable, especially for the Acting-Out children. The theme categories should be clearly defined in the questionnaire in such a way so as to insure their mutual independence. Choosing one theme should not necessarily be correlated with choosing another. A final problem concerns the Creativity scale. Again, the absence of clearly defined



categories made rating more subjective. The various levels of creativity should be more explicitly specified to ensure objectivity. These various weaknesses in the Fantasy Rating Questionnaire were taken into consideration in interpreting the data. However, a summary impression suggests that the questionnaire is a valid, reliable, well-constructed discriminating technique.

### A View Toward Future Research

#### Methodological Suggestions

Future inquiries into the relationship of fantasy to normal and deviant development will encounter problems similar to those found in this study. However, the basic methodology appears to be a valid, parsimonious and efficient one. The weaknesses previously noted can be remedied by the following: base intelligence criteria on a single measurement technique, develop a more explicit, objective checklist to define the Acting-Out and Withdrawn children, include activity level and assertiveness as a selection criterion for the Normal group, ensure the accurate facility of the raters with the rating questionnaire before analyzing the fantasies, and revise the Fantasy Rating Questionnaire to correct the noted deficiencies.

Additional methodological variations are numerous. A single examiner could collect all of the fantasy stories to further control for individual differences in interaction style. More raters of varying theoretical orientations could be included in analyzing the fantasies. In addition, the language of the rating questionnaire could be changed

to less of a psychoanalytic vocabulary. While these changes might strengthen the study, a significant change in results is not anticipated. Entirely different avenues of research would necessitate radical methodological changes. These will be discussed in the next section.

#### Further Avenues of Research

Two important directions for future study extend from the present research. The first concerns more general theoretical issues not currently resolved. This includes the relationship of fantasy to normal cognitive development. A basic normative, longitudinal study for latency-aged children is needed. Further, the role of fantasy as a normal cognitive process needs additional explication. Is it derived from external or internal experience, or both? Under what conditions is it defensive, adaptive, self-stimulating or creative, and what are the identifying parameters of these processes? The relationship between fantasy and overt behavior also needs further delineation. When is fantasy cathartic, and when is it stimulating or preparatory to action? Numerous demographic and personality factors need to be further studied as they influence fantasy production in children. Most of the empirical studies in these areas have concerned adults. In addition, research is needed on the role of fantasy in affective development and the differentiation of the self-concept. Fantasy as a process involved in identification and/or incorporation is an important related issue. The relation of fantasy content to psychosocial and psychosexual developmental issues also needs both descriptive and comparative study.

A second direction for research more directly related to the current study concerns the nature of fantasy in psychopathology and as a function of varying cognitive sets or styles. This study could be replicated using psychotic children or other forms of deviant behavior. The fantasy productions of children with organic impairment, psychosomatic disorders or physical disease could also be examined for characterizing differentiating patterns. In addition, bright or retarded children, females rather than males, urban or upper or lower class subjects could be studied. Variables relating to family structure, parenting styles and peer relationships could be included. Such research would yield a body of data relating styles of fantasy to styles of normal and deviant behavior. From these data, various questions relating to diagnosis and treatment may follow. Does "unconscious fantasy" symbolically relate to symptom formation (Freud, 1900)? How does fantasy relate to anxiety? Why are certain fantasy themes associated with certain psychiatric syndromes? Answers to questions such as these can result in diagnostic sophistication and modifications in therapeutic technique (Horowitz, 1970).

Whatever the direction, the area of fantasy research is in need of exploration. Shakespeare's question as to the breeding ground of fantasy—heart or head—remains unanswered. But one thing is certain: it dies not in the cradle. The relationship of fantasy processes to perception, cognition and development is an intricate one requiring further explication.

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## APPENDIXES

## APPENDIX A

## INSTRUCTIONS FOR COLLECTING FANTASY STORIES

It is important that a standard procedure be followed with each child. Soon after the child has entered the room, the story should be requested. This will decrease the possibility that the events of the session will influence the story. Chat with the child in your usual manner until you feel that he is somewhat at ease. Then say something like this;

I am interested in children's stories, and I like to invite children to make them up for me. It's against the rules to tell stories about things you've read or have seen in the movies or on television, or about things that really happened to you or to anyone you know. Like all stories, your story should have a beginning, a middle and an end. So use your imagination and tell me the most interesting story you can.

(After Gardner, 1971)

Pause. Most children will plunge into a story at that point. He may have time to think. Once he starts to tell the story, record what he says verbatim. It is permissible to request the child to slow down or repeat a section. Most children are flattered that you are writing down their story and will cooperate.

If the child cannot think of the story, reassure him that this is fine and that you will help him to think of one. Then say something like this:

I'll start the story and when I point my finger at you, you say exactly what comes to your mind. Then you'll see how easy it is to make up a story. Okay, let's start. Once upon a time; a long, long time ago, there lived a \_\_\_\_\_.

Point to the child. When he fills in the blank, continue,

And that \_\_\_\_\_ (And that dog . . . )

Point to the child to finish the sentence. Follow with "And then . . . ." or some other introductory connective, while recording the story. This is usually sufficient to produce a story. If it doesn't work, it is best to stop and try another day. Say something like:

Well, today doesn't seem to be your good day for story telling. Perhaps we'll try again some other time.

When the child finishes his story, you may ask questions to clarify specific items. The purpose is to provide additional details that will help in understanding the story. Typical questions might be: "Was the fish in your story a boy or a girl?", "Why was the dog mad at the cat?", or "Who was Larry? Do you know anyone by that name?" Include this information on the sheet with the fantasy story. Before returning the fantasy, please be sure to include:

- (1) The child's first name and last initial.
- (2) A brief description of his problems or behavior.

Thank you for your cooperation.

(After Gardner, 1971)

QUESTIONS TEST

APPENDIX B

## FANTASY RATING QUESTIONNAIRE

Subject Number \_\_\_\_\_

Rater \_\_\_\_\_

### Formal Variables

F1 EXPANSION (rate the greatest degree of expansion found in the story as indicated by specific mention of places such as world, zoo, woods). An indefinite "away" is not noted.

- (1) No spatial expansion mentioned; or body actions or processes only.
- (2) Inside the house or within the home property (yard, garden).
- (3) Outside the house, familiar places and institutions (school, church, store, movies, zoo).
- (4) Unfamiliar or more vaguely defined, more distant places on earth (foreign countries, sea, sky but not space, the "woods," "water," "forests," etc.).
- (5) Places outside the world; outer space, realm of fantasy, imaginary worlds not possibly existing on the earth, fairy land.
- (X) Cannot say. (Spatial expansion is mentioned but not clarified.)

F2 DIFFERENTIATION OF THE MAIN FIGURE (MF)

- (1) There is a clearly differentiated MF which remains in central focus throughout the story.
- (2) There is a well-defined MF, but there are some unclarities; focus shifts somewhat at times.
- (3) A MF can be distinguished, but other figures frequently are more in the foreground or tend to become MF's for a time.
- (4) MF is unclear, but some guess can be ventured.

(5) No MF is distinguishable; different figures becomes MF's with equal emphasis.

(X) Cannot say.

F3 INNER COMPLEXITY OF CHARACTERS (score the highest degree of complexity found in the story regardless of which character is involved.

"Processes" below refer to perceiving, thinking, feeling, deciding, wanting, etc., but not to physical processes such as breathing or digesting). NOT sleeping, waking, laughing or crying. "Hurting" if not physical.

(1) Characters act or experience as a whole; no mention of internal processes is made at all.

(2) One simple process (seeing, feeling, hearing, hurting, wanting, etc.) is mentioned.

(3) Two processes in simple interplay or temporal sequence are mentioned with regard to at least one character.

(4) More complex insights, conflicts, etc., are described.

(5) The story is entirely psychologically oriented.

(X) Cannot say.

F4 RANGE OF ACTIVITY OF CHARACTERS (ACTIVE OR PASSIVE)

(1) Characters are completely dominated by external happenings.

(2) Characters are primarily being influenced by things happening to them; some mention of activity on their part.

(3) Activity on their side is in approximate balance with things happening to them; or they act upon one another.

(4) They are predominantly active; some mention of events affecting them.

(5) Their actions dominate the scene completely; no mention of anything happening to them.

(X) Cannot say.

F5 REALISM (concerning both content items and relations, events between them).

- (1) Realism dominates the story completely; the happenings are concrete, well-defined, appropriate and logical.
- (2) Realism is dominant; some occasional imaginative or illogical events take place.
- (3) Realism and fantasy are in approximate balance.
- (4) Fantasy predominates, but some realistic trends are present.
- (5) Fantasy dominates the story completely; figures and happenings are altogether imaginary and have no possibility in reality at all; autistic.
- (X) Cannot say.

Special rule: Choice of an animal or object behaving consistently like a child should be scored as realism as would be an animal or object behaving appropriately to its nature. Mixture of roles should be considered to reflect fantasy.

F6 ACTION VS. THOUGHT PROCESSES (planning, reflecting, evaluating, remembering, forgetting; to be rated for the story as a whole, not only for MF).

- (1) No mention of thinking at all; actions or happenings dominate the scene completely.
- (2) Actions or happenings predominate, but some mention of thought is made.
- (3) Some thinking is described and is related to events and happenings taking place.
- (4) Thinking, planning, or reflection dominate the scene, but some concrete happenings take place.
- (5) No mention of actions, events or happenings; thought, planning, reflection dominate the story.
- (X) Cannot say.



## F7 EMOTIONAL DIFFERENTIATION (to be rated for story as a whole).

Description of pleasure and pain are included here.

- (1) No feeling, affect or emotion is mentioned at all.
- (2) One simple feeling, emotion or affect is indicated in the story, or simple affective expressions such as laughing or crying.
- (3) Some different and varying emotions and feelings are described.
- (4) There is a marked emphasis on different qualities and shades of feeling, emotion and affect.
- (5) Descriptions of complicated, involved or nuanced feelings, emotions or affects dominate the story.
- (X) Cannot say.

## Theme Variables

## TI Check the theme or themes distinctly present in the story.

- \_\_\_\_\_ Oral (nutrients, eating, feeding, etc.)
- \_\_\_\_\_ Rage (revenge, victimization)
- \_\_\_\_\_ Aggression
- \_\_\_\_\_ Death
- \_\_\_\_\_ Hurt or Misfortune (physical or emotional)
- \_\_\_\_\_ Morality
- \_\_\_\_\_ Dress
- \_\_\_\_\_ Sociability
- \_\_\_\_\_ Crying
- \_\_\_\_\_ Sexuality
- \_\_\_\_\_ Happiness
- \_\_\_\_\_ Other (specify)

T2 Determine the extent to which the overall theme and tone of the story reflect the socialization and control of impulses versus a lack of inhibition and self-control. Check one:

- ☐ Themes centering in the self.  
☐ Themes reflection socialization.  
☐ Cannot say.

T3 PARENT FIGURES (indicate, if present, the extent to which parent and authority figures are portrayed positively: loving, caring, giving, good, etc.,: consider the nature of any interactions if present).

Female (mother)

- ☐ Positive  
☐ Negative  
☐ Cannot say  
☐ Absent

Male

- ☐ Positive  
☐ Negative  
☐ Cannot say  
☐ Absent

#### Psychosocial Modality Variables

General Rule: Relevant material may appear not only in relation to humans, but also to animals and even objects at times. Simply note the degree of presence of relevant material in the story.

- (1) No or minimal expression of relevant material.
- (2) Some definite mention of relevant material.
- (3) Relevant material dominates the story.

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#### PM1. TRUST VS. MISTRUST

Relevant material consists of mention of physical maintenance processes (eating, swallowing, digesting, feeding) and of activities related to mothering, feeding and child care (dressing, putting to sleep, alleviating pain, curing, comforting). Material expressing lack of maternal or physical or protective care, such as abandonment, hunger, helplessness, rejection and loneliness would exemplify MISTRUST, as would biting, chewing, devouring and suffering deprivation, getting lost, accidents or injury (but not due to aggression by others). NOT relevant is disciplining or punishing. Material indicating MISTRUST should be indicated by a subscript "m" next to the rating.

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#### PM2. AUTONOMY VS. SHAME AND DOUBT

Relevant material consists of mention of self-assertion against the restriction of others, either overtly or secretly; of mention of discipline or violations of it. Relevant to SHAME AND DOUBT (and to be noted with subscript "s") are mentions of obedience, compliance and withdrawing from a scene of action, particularly hiding.

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#### PM3. INITIATIVE VS. GUILT

Emphasis on energetic driving, exploration, enterprise, attack and conquest, fighting (but not in the context of discipline). Guilt

would be expressed in material concerning body damage (in the context of enterprise or struggle), injury, inability to act, expression of fear or defeat (to be noted with subscript "g").

#### PM4. INDUSTRY VS. INFERIORITY

Emphasis on constructive production, building, the meaningful exercise of skills, on carrying through tasks with patience and perseverance, on working responsibly, workmanship, skills, concern with how things are done and with technical achievement. Conversely, expressions of inferiority, inability, ignorance, lack of skills, of being handicapped, or of hopelessness to achieve (to be noted with subscript "f").

Note: Rate merely the appearance of expressions relevant to each issue in each story. They do not refer specifically for instance to the main figure or situation.

#### Identification and Self-Representation Variables

- 11 Indicate the use of direct or distant self-representation in the story.

\_\_\_\_\_ Direct (use of "I" or child's own name).

\_\_\_\_\_ Distant (use of animals, fictional characters, or unspecified names, persons, etc.).

\_\_\_\_\_ Cannot say.

- 12 DISTANCE If 11 is "distant," estimate the degree of distance.

- (1) Use of family members or children's names. Character could exist in real world.
- (2) Mixture of possible and obviously fictional or make-believe characters.

- (3) Use of nonexistent fictional or make-believe characters with no inclusion of possible characters. (Tom Sawyer, Donald Duck, Peter Pan, etc.).
- (4) Fantastic characters (monsters, people from outer-space, etc.).
- (X) Cannot say.

13 IDENTIFICATION (rate on the basis of the role of the MF or primary action of the story toward the MF).

- (1) savior (rescue or prevention of harm).
- (2) provider.
- (3) victim.
- (4) aggressor.
- (5) other (specify).
- (X) Cannot say.

General Variables

- G1 LENGTH OF STORY (number of words) \_\_\_\_\_.
- G2 THEMES (number of distinct, separate themes) \_\_\_\_\_.
- G3 CHARACTERS (number of different characters, animal, human, or inanimate, mentioned in the story) \_\_\_\_\_.
- G4 CREATIVITY (rate the story in terms of originality and creativity of the fantasy material).
  - (1) Stereotyped; cliches.
  - (2) Somewhat creative.
  - (3) Creative.
  - (4) Unusual and markedly original.
  - (X) Cannot say.

## VITA

Elgan Louis Baker, Jr., was born in Lexington, Kentucky on June 8, 1949. He was graduated from Lafayette Senior High School in Lexington in June, 1967, and entered DePauw University in Greencastle, Indiana the following September. He received a Bachelor of Arts degree with Honors and High Distinction in Psychology and a Bachelor of Arts degree with High Distinction in French from Depauw in May, 1971.

In September, 1971, he entered Graduate School at the University of Tennessee, Knoxville, to pursue a doctorate in Clinical Psychology. During his training, he served as a Veteran's Administration Psychology Trainee at the Veteran's Administration Center, Lexington, Kentucky, and the Veteran's Administration Center, Johnson City, Tennessee. His clinical internship was served at the University of Colorado Medical Center, Denver, Colorado. In June, 1976, he received his Doctor of Philosophy degree with a major in Clinical Psychology from the University of Tennessee.