



The Columbus

Picture Analysis of Growth towards Maturity

3rd, unchanged edition

M.J. LANGEVELD, Utrecht

Translated by G. UILDRIKS, Utrecht

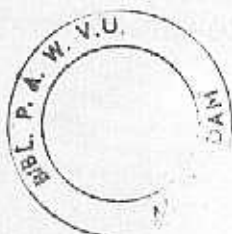
A series of 24 pictures and a manual, 1981



S. Karger · Basel · München · Paris · London · New York · Sydney

1st edition 1969
2nd, unchanged edition 1976

Deutsche Übersetzung: S. Karger, Basel 1969



National Library of Medicine, Cataloging in Publication

Langeveld, M.J. (Martinus Jan), 1905-

The Columbus: picture analysis of growth towards maturity: a series of
24 pictures and a manual

M.J. Langeveld. - 3rd, unchanged ed. - Basel; New York: Karger, 1981

Translation of Columbus

WS 105.5E8 L277c

ISBN 3-8055-2529-X

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Printed in Switzerland by Thür AG Offsetdruck, Pratteln

ISBN 3-8055-2529-X

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Preface and Introduction

I. The indispensability of projective techniques and their psychometric limitations

1. There is no doubt about it that the so-called "projective tests"¹ combine two characteristics which one would prefer not to find together: they are needed, and they are difficult to develop and interpret in a psychometrically adequate methodological form. The statisticians we consulted foresaw difficulties, the solution of which would require more than a human lifetime; nor do recent publications such as those of KAGAN and LESSER, MURSTEIN [1963] or TOMKINS [1947] make us optimistic about the psychometric perspectives in this field.

Had not FRANK [1939, 1948] already expressed his reservations in the forties, and had MURSTEIN really made much progress twenty years later? "In projective methods the examiner is not primarily concerned with the subject's deviations from a statistically established norm, which may or may not be significant. Especially in the study of personality development and of the personality process, such norms are of little significance and, indeed, may only obstruct investigation of such dynamic problems." With these words FRANK² formulated an understandable but fiercely contested theory. The objective pursued by MURSTEIN's book, on the other hand, is quite the opposite: it is devoted to an attempt to furnish an interpretative foundation for the T.A.T. in quantitative terms³. Towards the close of his book, however, MURSTEIN laments: "Our theoretical and quantitative foundation is still in its infancy. Such quantitative systems as exist have provided minimal evidence of validity, but they are time-consuming and laborious, and usually measure only one or a few aspects of the individual rather than providing a fairly complete personality picture . . . In the final analysis the clinician may continue to use his own judgement as to how to weight the various clues which the test data offer, but a thorough grasp of the research literature may aid him in weighting the variables, as well as suggesting new avenues for analysis" [pp. 359-360].

The sad disclosure that the research has appeared to have had more impact upon those not using the T.A.T. for a practical purpose affords little encouragement to study the literature, and our optimism is not increased by his subsequent comment "that little in the way of directly quantitative scoring systems has been shown to be superior to clinical judgement" [p. 361].

TOMKINS opens his preface to *The Thematic Apperception Test* [New York 1947] with the words: "This is a book about a test which is barely fifteen years old . . ." As is well known, his book has extended beyond one volume and is a valuable work, although it has not attained mathematical exactitude.

We have exercised the greatest possible restraint with regard to a "test" of which it is impossible to say just how old it is. At what point did our collection of pictures strictly speaking become a "test"? By some standards, no "projective" technique whatsoever has yet reached that stage—which tempts some people to believe that "tests" of this kind are "obsolete", "have had their day"⁴. In our view, quite the reverse is true. That does not mean that the outlook for the psychometrical future of these methods is particularly bright. However, despite the observations of MURSTEIN cited above, we should not at all wish to disparage the task awaiting future psychometrical development; but we do consider it a mistake to confine oneself to the presuppositions of psychometry now in existence, and believe that the analysis of projective protocols will have to undergo an important formalising development from the point of view of semantic analysis before much of value can be expected from psychometrical formalisation. We shall be returning to this point later [cf. p. 38 *sqq.*].

Much thought, research and theorising will have to be devoted to this field over a long period of time, by "amphibians" well-trained and efficient in both the field of mathematics and of clinical psychology. The number of such people is, of course, limited.

2. In the meantime, the alternatives to projective techniques did not supply us with the results we needed, and our conviction strengthened that we could not dispense with the Columbus.

In the first place, there was the question as to whether we could in fact fulfil our advisory and, above all, remedial function in developmental and educational problems satisfactorily without making use of such an apparatus. To answer this we adopted three main procedures.

We confined ourselves to those tests which satisfied the highest psychometrical requirements. The results obtained in this way by various co-workers, both at home and abroad, did not, however, provide the information we required. Moreover, we reached an impasse in such practical points as use of time, extreme youth and environmental differences of the children. It was time-consuming and the results were inadequate.

We worked with two groups: the one with and the other without the use of the repudiated methods. We endeavoured to base our prognoses or advice upon an examination which did, and one which did not include projective data. Restriction to the exact tests and their results appeared to be decidedly inadequate.

We worked with a test battery in which standardised methods functioned alongside projective techniques, and checked our findings by drawing up and submitting indications to other investigators, chiefly members of the medical profession. The results were very satisfactory. In a similar procedure utilising exact methods only, the investigators were divided into two separate groups: those familiar with the use of projective methods and those little acquainted with them. Whilst the latter confined themselves to the strictly psychometrical data, the former adopted a more qualitative approach to their intelligence tests, seeking and utilising other indications beyond the psychometrically admissible. Neither group, however, obtained results which were adequate for the object in view.

We shall not here go further into the reasons why the use of questionnaires of various types proved impossible—e.g. on account of the subject's age, or the level of the parent's education or language, etc.—or only led to very limited results. Our verification was chiefly of a clinical nature—an extensive diagnosis and specification of indications being further checked by referring of the subjects to doctors, by follow-up with parents and school, and by discussion with teams of judges working independently. Quantitative verifications in the stricter sense were also carried out to a limited extent, principally where the formation of comparable groups seemed possible. Finally, the results obtained by means of the Columbus by some twenty other individual investigators attached to institutions, consultation bureaux or schools also enabled us to come to a reasonable basis for the conclusion of the series.

Presentation of pictures-which-represent-something is certainly not the sole projective technique in existence. There is, moreover, great diversity within the domain of these picture methods, from the type T.A.T.

to that of the 4-Picture-Test [VAN LENNEP] and the Make-a-Picture-Story-Test [SHNEIDMAN]. Much has been written about the aim and interpretation of such tests. It is not necessary to repeat that here.

3. This is not the place for expressing criticism or praise of what has been achieved in other series; the reasons for both would take us far beyond the limits of this booklet. The very fact that, despite the serious limitations of a psychometrical nature, we share the opinion of numerous others that projective techniques by means of pictures are indispensable, is one token of appreciation. The possibility we leave open of combining our cards with those of another series is another. We are leaving this decision to the clinician: this demonstrates on the one hand our faith in his proficiency for his task in general, and on the other our reservations regarding the psychometrical formalisation of some series—in themselves considered important. We hold the M.P.T. in high esteem, but attach little value to its bids for psychometrical formalisation. Whilst this in no way diminishes our regard for the series, it must certainly be seen as an indication of the high standards required of the preparation and execution of psychometrical validation. Considerable research and far-reaching amendments in the preparatory analysis of the pictures, the series and the protocols, will be necessary before psychometrics can make its potential contribution. The latter does not seem to us unlimited, but it is valuable within the confines of its limitations. We certainly perceive the value of research into, for instance, “tension index”, or “direction of forces”, although prolonged analysis of research protocols, together with a more thorough knowledge of the subject himself, leads us to revise the original indication-interpretation radically on these and similar points too often for attainment of a simple quantitative scale to seem feasible⁵. The initial material can, however, very well be utilised in clinical practice without there being question of a decisive judgement.

The concept of “tension”—as, for example, employed in the M.P.T.—presupposes a theory of personality, and its development and formation, no less than other concepts of this type in projective techniques and their aids. In gauging the presence of “tension”, certain conceptions regarding age patterns and norms, grades of synthesis and unity, of co-ordination, concentration and complexity, etc. are presupposed, and until they have been formulated in exact terms, exactitude in the form of a scale of measurement is inconceivable⁶. This will, as far as we can see, still require much research. For the time being, therefore, such conceptions

will inevitably be employed within the frame of reference of certain theories and their fairly general acceptance in theory (explicitly) and practice (implicitly). Our objections to over-estimating the psychometrical usefulness of counting the tenses of a verb employed (or the person, manner etc.) are of quite a different order. These factors depend on the one hand upon the language spoken as such, and on the other upon the linguistic level of the environment, age group, etc. Only under very special conditions is there any point in research of this kind.

In all this, attempts at exactness are only in their early stages, and notwithstanding all recognition of what has been attempted here, we cannot do otherwise than "go on despite obstacles". We shall return to this in chapter II, 5.

II. *Aim and structure of the series*

The aim of the series is to facilitate projective examination of children from a very early age up to maturity. It may be used from five years onwards, an age selected on empirical grounds, and consistent with professional literature. HAVIGHURST's view that: "Finally, after five years, the child is a person, and his own self will take hand in defining the future developmental tasks"⁷ has been shared by such diverse and arbitrarily chosen authors as BIZE, BÜHLER, BUSEMANN, FREUD, STERN, TUMLIRZ, ZAZZO and many others, despite the limited agreement of their work on other points. A division was also made at the fifth year by GESELL *et al.* (later at the tenth and the sixteenth)⁸, and cultural-anthropological and socially conditioned variation apart⁹, opinion is fairly unanimous on this point. The Columbus, therefore, makes it possible in cards 1-8 to become acquainted with the degree of emancipation from the developmental and educational tasks of the immediately preceding period, as well as the adjustment to current ones from five years onwards.

The value attached by professional literature to the decisive significance of early childhood on essential points is, if anything, on the increase; the child's *active* participation in the formation of meanings takes place only after he has already *undergone* a number of formative influences. The way in which he does this can become clear in the more differentiated expressive media (more differentiated than for instance, finger painting). This still takes place at a time during which identification with the guardians of his security and those in authority predominates over the

relationship to peers and to the self as a developing identity and responsible agent.

There are a number of descriptions and interpretations of this phase of life already in existence, so that there is no need to construct a theory of child development especially for the Columbus. Consensus of opinion upon essential points relating to the degree of independence is too great for this. Nevertheless, HARTUP rightly observes that relatively little research has been carried out in the field of "dependence" and "independence"¹⁰. Although he has only the publications of the United States in mind, this also applies to other parts of the world¹¹ where the psychology of the developing child claims attention.

Returning now to the aim of this series, the child's "future mindedness", his attitude to the future, deserves our special attention, for willingness to envisage the future in terms of giving to one's own life, "*prospective directedness*", is fundamental for an educationally laudable course of development. The Columbus series affords ample opportunity for becoming acquainted with the child's relationship to the future. It reveals the "future mindedness" as such, the way in which the future is approached, the increasing *independence* which is presupposed, acceptance of solitude, initiative, and many other aspects.

Of great importance too is *the relationship to the childhood basis of life* in family and friendship; this is approached in a variety of ways—with apparent success.

We have only mentioned two determinants of the Columbus. Systematic inspection of the cards will undoubtedly disclose gaps. These—in so far as we are aware of them—have been left intentionally wherever other, usually widely circulated, series contain a picture we consider satisfactory, for example in the T.A.T. 1, 5, 7GF, 13G, and M.P.T. the numbers 4B, 10G. The Columbus series can easily be completed by the user. The gaps are not numerous. Creation of duplicates, however, seemed to us undesirable. Moreover, in spite of the gaps, the cards as a whole give good access to a view of the line of development of both boys and girls from early childhood to maturity. Experience has also taught us that girls have no difficulty in projecting on boy's figures, so that in some cases the number of cards could be limited in this respect too.

It will be noticed that a number of cards may be employed for a great diversity of ages. This is sometimes because they bear little relation to age, and sometimes because different aspects of a picture may be used at different ages, the one early, the other much later, while the picture as a

whole is suitable for both. The numeration of the series is not, therefore, of decisive importance, the sequence actually employed in practice being determined by the point of view from which the investigation is carried out. Provision of a numeration still remains desirable for administrative purposes, but it should be realised that this is its chief purpose and significance. Each picture is also provided with a distinguishing name in order to facilitate references to it without the constant consultation of a list of numbered pictures which the provision of a number alone would entail.

A further purpose was served by a number of psychologists of limited training and experience, selected exclusively on the basis of their availability and formal qualification. This may be illustrated by the following historical event. In a footnote to his well-known *Theory and research in projective techniques (emphasising the T.A.T.)*, MURSTEIN recounts¹² that he once gave a lecture on "global validity", at which, he writes, "One well-known psychologist disdainfully asked: 'Who gave the T.A.T.?' " According to MURSTEIN a remark of this kind implies that a test such as the T.A.T. cannot be used by ordinary psychologists in possession of a Ph. D. in the subject, but only by "the few acknowledged T.A.T. experts extant", whilst "The justification of continued use of the T.A.T. resides in its utility to the average clinician, not to the expert." This line of reasoning certainly contains an element of truth: a reasonably well trained practising psychologist in possession of a Ph. D. must be able to make use of a test such as the T.A.T. Whether the "well-known psychologist" spoke disdainfully and whether he in fact intended the sentiments ascribed to him by MURSTEIN must be left on one side. He may or may not have been one of those last remaining experts, but he *might* also have had in mind the "interviewer effect" touched upon by MURSTEIN himself, "the effect of the examiner's personality"¹³ on the examination. His remark could then very understandably have irritated MURSTEIN. Even so, it was precisely in order to become acquainted with *this* effect, and to see "ordinary" psychologists and educationalists at work that we employed them. We shall be returning to this question again later: such an effect is certainly present but does not represent a specific short-coming of the inexperienced psychologist arising out of his inexperience as such. It is even possible to be scientifically weak and yet collect excellent material. The difficulty then appears to lie in its interpretation. A personal factor does exist, but a) is only of essential importance in extreme cases, b) varies according to the age and level of development of the subjects, and c) can

be augmented by an error in training (e.g. excessive distantiation), whilst d) an incorrect training can also spoil much in the case of suitably endowed psychologists.

As already pointed out, we set out to develop a series of pictures connected with the problems of mental development in so far as this must be envisaged as a process of increasing emancipation: a process of "wishing to be or become someone oneself", and, therefore, at the same time a process of distantiation, liberation, of overcoming obstacles. In sum, it relates to future prospects, growing roots (basic security etc.), emancipation, and the obstacles lying in this sphere. In our investigation we were led back to early childhood, and chose as our other limit late adolescence with its images of the future and the adult state.

Although extensive use is, of course, made of normal verbal communication, the cards also elicit responses in non-verbal forms¹⁴ such as drawings, modelling and play—the latter especially in the case of young children. The difficulties of quantitative analysis are, of course, hereby augmented.

Three of the cards (Nos. 5, 14, 24) have been reproduced in colour. In the first place because projective processes which have come to a standstill and become unproductive often seemed to be renewed by the aid of these cards¹⁵. Furthermore, it is by means of them that the Columbus can, under favourable conditions, accomplish the transition to projective communication as a dialogue—traditionally referred to as therapy.

The choice of the cards as a complete series has thus (see above) accepted the restriction entailed by the existence of a number of very useful pictures in other tests already of wide application. For many years we have made use of odd cards from several different series, combined into one test sequence within a particular examination. Directions for the construction of such an individually orientated sequence varying from case to case would constitute a handbook in clinical-psychological examination—which is not our purpose here.

III. Origin and previous history of the test

1. The "test" originated at the Institute of Education. University of Utrecht. Our thanks are due to the Foundation for Educational Research for the important financial support received over a period of years. We have given our "test" the name "Columbus" for several reasons. There

was "nothing new" in the whole business, except for a few obvious and in our opinion indispensable features of which we shall still speak. This formed the starting point. Furthermore, we were interested in the child's voyage of discovery. In any case the appearance in the title of the name of the initiator or of one of the many who had collaborated in the completion of the work was felt to be undesirable. So Columbus became, half in jest, half seriously, our fixed term.

It is impossible to make separate mention of all those who have in one way or another helped in the completion of the Columbus. Apart from the subjects of examination themselves, I should chiefly like to mention three categories: the designers, the mathematicians and the psychologists or educationalists.

As the series went through three preliminary stages, designers were already involved in the project during its first, experimental-exploratory stage. I did not select them myself. The co-operation of six different designers was enlisted in the transitional stage and in the third stage. The tasks with which they were confronted were such that even extremely talented artists sometimes responded with creations which were not suitable for our purpose—due, for instance, to the projective character assumed by their own activity. Revision was sometimes possible by the introduction of other designers. The pictures were drawn by both men and women, adults 20 to 40 years of age. During a certain period of time we also elicited the co-operation of the subjects themselves in changing the pictures or extending the series. Three pictures (Nos. 2, 3 and 4) were taken in their original form from the practice of Dr. E. A. A. VERMEER. During the first stage much trouble was also taken by Dr. R. LUBBERS to give a initial shape to the series. He soon went his own way, as his publications amply testify.

2. The psychologists and educationalists carried out a three-fold function: they were the little or in-experienced examiners sought out in order to prevent the introduction of intuitive corrections in method and relationship during the trial investigation. In addition there were those of more or extensive experience who functioned as interlocutors in the interpretation of the findings. Interpretation of the material and the construction of a *provisional* picture constituted the third function, carried out independent of myself and subsequent interpreters of the same material.

More than sixty persons in all contributed to the completion of the Columbus, the majority of whom were psychologists and clinical

educationalists of various degrees of training, and not chosen by myself. The research extended over a period of twenty years. The data yielded by the Columbus were compared with those attained by means of other picture series for purposes of verification on the one hand and elimination or at least restriction of duplicates on the other.

The problem of agreement on matters of interpretation—often considered an insuperable obstacle—was greatly minimised by experience with interpretations given by investigators or groups of interpreters working quite independently of one another. Its limitation related chiefly to the degree of differentiation within the indications perceived rather than the interpretation as such.

Ultimate differences of interpretation led to few *relevant* differences in the educational or therapeutic measures advised. Finally, the rapidly increasing demand for photocopies of the temporary, experimental forms of the Columbus cards and the resulting exchange of experiences spurred us on to revise and publish the series despite the time involved—and the very much greater length of time which must elapse before exact validation of such methods in general becomes feasible. The absence of psychometrically irrefutable interpretations calls for a quality in the user of such “tests” which is regarded by some as unscientific and consequently inadmissible for practice¹⁶.

The difficulty at present involved in transcribing an object of research into operational terms in order to facilitate adaptation in a standardised test form does not discharge us of the task of helping the child, his educators and society to the best of our ability. Educational and psychotherapeutic work does not differ in this respect from, for example, medical work. There too vast quantities of research and numerous diagnostic studies as yet fail to lead to results which can be transcribed into operational terms and tested¹⁷.

Projective techniques are not difficult to learn. There are, however, people who make it difficult for themselves to learn, just as there are children and adults who do not allow themselves to be able to learn mathematics. Ability to learn in both cases is more a question of personal availability than of native endowment, even though there are persons who “never learn” in both fields.

During the period 1947–1967, discussions of cases in whose examination the Columbus had been used were held almost weekly. The composition of the discussion groups changed regularly. The examination during which the Columbus cards were employed, together with a pre-

liminary interpretation of findings, was always carried out quite independently of myself and the other participants in the discussion by regularly varying examiners. In 590 of the cases out of those whose protocols were discussed in this way, a follow-up extending over at least 5 and at most 18 years was possible. In more than 500 other cases, examination combined with a medical check or check by the school or parents was carried out over a shorter period of time. The Columbus was also given individually in more than 4000 other cases, independent of the above-mentioned interpretation groups.

$\frac{3}{8}$ of the research concerned girls and $\frac{5}{8}$ boys, and was carried out with gradually changing pictures. Out of a total of 56 experimental cards, 24 finally remained and were incorporated into the series in a final form, after having undergone diverse changes.

A picture was considered suitable when by its means a psychologist of limited experience was enabled to harvest a reasonable quantity and diversity of apparently useful responses from children of different sex, milieu and problems, and of the age envisaged. The usefulness must, of course, also be tested with reference to the projective themes. It was only possible to speak of suitability in *this* respect when the projections threw light *inter alia* on the field in question; restriction of the number of duplicates with existing pictures in and outside the Columbus was also taken into account.

The ability of children from various cultural environments to recognise the situations portrayed in the pictures had surprising consequences for us. A situation *sometimes* recognised with difficulty in a city environment of neglect appeared to create no difficulty whatsoever in children from an identical milieu when subjected to pressure—e.g. during residence in an educational institution. The “farm-like” interior of card 6 sometimes created difficulties for city children in Western Europe, but immediately appeared to be understood by Yemenite refugee children in Israel. It was anticipated that the child sitting under the table in card 1 might create difficulties in environments where the people lived on the ground. However, no difficulty was experienced by our Egyptian subjects, and other children retained the theme of the picture with only this difference that the situation was seen as, for instance, a small tent within the tent. Finally, a quantifying comparative investigation showed that the difficulties lying in this sphere in the Netherlands were of the same magnitude as those encountered amongst children outside Europe, and even outside the Western world. There was, however, the reservation that the

socially isolated, deeply neglected groups to be found, for example, in a few American cities, in "bidonvilles" in France, or as vagrant children etc., were less able to recognise the situations than children from primitive societies or from poor neighbourhoods which were not socially isolated, etc. However, the amount of time elapsing per card before a response is given, before the projective relationship is accepted, varied widely, not only from case to case within a single social environment, but also between children of different environments.

The significance of culturally and socially conditioned variations may be clarified with the aid of a single example.

When MARGRIT ERNI¹⁸ finds that the picture of the ideal father is inundated by that of the ideal husband in 2% of 13-year-old girls, and in 28% of the 19 to 20-year-old girls examined, a cultural background and social life is presupposed in which the father plays an active role, and where certain tasks, functions and even safeguards are expected of him. A "test" like the Columbus cannot be employed without sound knowledge of these backgrounds, for they determine to a great extent a) the possibility, and b) the meaning of certain relationships and the pictures relating to them. Any particular classification of development into phases is affected in the same way, and the question as to what exactly is appropriate to a certain age is very dependent upon such influences.

The specific nature of the social and cultural elements and aspects of the cards for higher age groups (e.g. 17, 18, 19) sometimes called for an introductory talk, usually linking up with preceding communication by means of more immediately "comprehensible" pictures such as, for example, card 14; this appeared to be a very useful starting point in such cases.

Notes

- 1 For the word "so-called" in this sense see Chapter III.
- 2 LAWRENCE K. FRANK: Projective methods, p. 60 *sqq.* (Thomas, Springfield 1948).
- 3 BERNARD I. MURSTEIN: Theory and research in projective techniques. (Emphasizing the T.A.T.) (Wiley, New York 1963).
- 4 J. VAN RIEMSDIJK: Geschiedenis en perspectieven van de Rorschach. (The Rorschach: history and perspectives) (Utrecht 1966).
- 5 In this we are of a different opinion from WALTON, HUTT, ANDREW and HARTWELL: A tension index of adjustment etc. J. abnorm. soc. Psychol. 46: 438-441 (1951).

- 6 As is quite apparent from BJÖRN SJÖVALL: *Psychology of tension. An analysis of Pierre Janet's concept of "tension psychologique" together with a historical perspective.* Studia Scientiae Paedagogicae Upsaliensia IX (Svenska Bokförlaget, Norstedts, Stockholm 1967).
- 7 In his well-known *Human development and education*, p. 22 (Longmans, Green, New York 1953).
- 8 Cf. GESELL and ILG: *The first five years of life* (1940). The child from five to ten (1946).
- 9 Cf. e.g. E.E. BOESCH: *The Bangkok Project; step one. Vita humana 3: 123* (1960). "Personality development in children in different cultures is not simply parallel but shows areas of retardation and acceleration according to cultural mould." Such contentions may be found made by numerous authors.
- 10 WILLARD W. HARTUP: *Dependence and independence*, chapter VIII, pp. 333-363. In HAROLD W. STEVENSON; JER. KAGAN and CH. SPIKER: *Child psychology. The 62nd Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education*, part I (Chicago 1963).
- 11 This can easily be seen by consulting the relevant parts in *Entwicklungspsychologie* (In H. THOMAE: *Hb. der Psychologie III* [Hogrefe, Göttingen 1959]) which also pays attention to French works, especially RUDOLF BERGIUS: *Entwicklung als Stufenfolge* (loc. cit. pp. 104-195).
- 12 p. 260 (Wiley, New York/London 1963).
- 13 Op. cit. p. 249. For this effect see *inter alia* the Manual accompanying the Michigan Picture Test, p. 9, and bibliography. Also the bibliography in VAN DE LOO: *De proefleider als variabele in het klinisch psychologisch onderzoek* (The examiner as a variable in clinical psychological examination) (Dekker en Van de Vegt, Nijmegen/Utrecht 1962).
- 14 Cf. MOYRA WILLIAMS: *Mental testing in clinical practice*, p. 60 (Pergamon Press, Oxford 1965). "Such tests are particularly valuable with children, and those who do not express themselves easily. Ability to verbalise or to understand complex instructions will have little effect on the test results."
- 15 "The role of color seems scarcely to have been touched upon; yet it appears that the use of lifelike tints enhances projection." MURSTEIN, loc. cit. p. 363. Our own findings since 1947 confirm this in part: it makes no relevant difference to have the majority of cards in black and white. A few coloured cards are needed and these have been chosen on empirical grounds (distantiation, relaxation, fresh start, new possibilities: cards 5, 14, 24). Cf. on this question further: BRACKBILL: *J. cons. Psychol.* 15 (1951); THOMPSON and BACHRACH: *J. project Techn.* 15 (1951); LUBIN: *Amer. J. ment. Defic.* 60 (1955); LUBIN and WILSON: *J. genet. Psychol.* 54 (1956); RABIN and HAWORTH: *Projective techniques with children* (Grune and Stratton, New York 1960); BERG and POLYOT: *J. project Techn.* 20 (1953); WRITE and GARDNER: *Percept. mot. Skills* 11 (1960).
- 16 Within the limits of this booklet, we are confining ourselves to a few examples of publications which dispute the usefulness of projective methods in psychodiagnostik work. It is very worthwhile to analyse the theoretical presuppositions underlying these criticisms before uncritically rejecting or underestimating them.
- R. M. ALLEN: *Personality assessment procedures* (New York 1958).
- H. J. EYSENCK: *The structure of human personality* (London 1953).
- J. P. GUILFORD: *Personality* (New York 1959).

14 **The Columbus**

P. THORPE and A. M. SCHMULLER: *Personality, an interdisciplinary approach* (Princeton 1958).

17 To mention just one field as an example: that of the study of aphasia. Investigators start out with aim of developing a test of aphasia, which would lead to reliable diagnostic indications for aphasia-revalidation and exact measurement of therapeutic effects, but are for various reasons compelled to relinquish this objective. Cf. for the Netherlands: R.J.TH. SCHREUDER and Dr. A. GRAVESTEIN. *Jaarverslag* (T.N.O. 1966, chapter 5: Gezondheidsorganisatie, pp. 82–83.

18 MARGRIT ERNI: *Das Vaterbild der Tochter*, pp. 287–288 (Einsiedeln 1965).

Chapter I

The Cards

1. *Origin of the cards*

A brief indication of how we arrived at our series can best be given as follows:

Extensive and varied material was on the one hand obtained by means of talks with children and young people, conducted in such a way as to avoid curtailing their production of images by premature interpretations on our part, and on the other through repeated attempts at expression of images in painting, drawing or modelling. This was further elaborated in three ways:

1. by recourse to a subject's most recent products, requesting him to reinterpret them, and allowing him to record the new interpretations or new forms in new images;
2. by confronting other children with such products and asking them what they thought of them; this was followed by further portrayals on the basis of their interpretations;
3. by getting children to choose from a number of sources pictures which they liked or found interesting for one reason or another; these were then photographed and put before other children.

In addition we were, of course, familiar with image formation on the basis of experience with existing methods such as T.A.T., M.P.T., C.A.T., Jackson, F.P.T. etc., or on the basis of play therapy, puppet shows, etc. A number of Dutch publications were of great help here [VAN LENNEP, STEKETEE, VERMEER, VUYK, etc.].

The collection mentioned under 3 was compiled from magic lantern pictures, children's books, magazines from a great diversity of countries and types, children and young people choosing from them those pictures which most riveted their attention, together with odd photographs from documentary films.

A fourth category of pictures was ultimately formed which served as a source for the choice of the series: those designed for and found pro-

ductive in certain categories of cases in the clinical practice of co-workers and former co-workers of the Institute of Education at the University of Utrecht. These too were included in our research.

From the total number of pictures we eliminated those which produced the same or more or less the same results (leaving one type for further investigation) and those which elicited little or no projection and also a number of those which only yielded results with very limited groups or under very specific circumstances. The remaining 56 pictures still presented enough problems.

One group of problems emerged from quite a different source: starting out from generally accepted theories on development, the question arose as to the points upon which it must be made possible to find indications of a projective nature. If these points were formulated, which pictures could then serve the greatest possible number of children? Study of those already existing in other publications led once more to further restrictions upon our own series, but at the same time to clearer insight into the nuances of the existing series, their disclosures and freedom from adverse effects upon the child. This called for extensive research and follow-up research. Since projection is really possible upon everything, those configurations are sought which elicit it most effectively. That is to say, they give access to an abundance of material on decisive points with as many different children as possible—children varying in age, sex, environment, life history, conflict-problems, etc. Despite years of research, the ideal cannot be said to have been attained. An investigation is concluded and the theoretical and practical conclusions drawn, when no further improvements seem to be making their appearance in the material, and the necessary supplementation of existing methods is thought to have been achieved.

Still one more factor plays a role in the construction of the series: it must not become any larger than really necessary. Avoidable duplicates have not, as far as we can see, been included.

Generally speaking, it seldom appeared possible to work profitably enough with direct photographs of enacted or natural scenes. Accordingly, these were not included in our series, but a well-known American series, The Michigan Picture Test, certainly contains a few which satisfy reasonable requirements.

The cards do not—any more than a number of other projection series—in principle depict “realistic” scenes. Recognition of an area as, for example, a landing, house, bedroom, etc., is not in itself absolutely

essential, but they *do* call for ability to enter into the situation. Children who are not acquainted with one or more storeys in their own home are confronted with an open question in number 2. There is no objection to telling them about the construction of houses with more than one storey, and explaining that here the child is standing on the landing. More time will, however, then have to be devoted to the card, the explanation being followed by another card if necessary and returning to the first one later. No single card is intended to be a reproduction of reality, projective examination calling for the depiction of quasi-naturalistic situations which lend themselves to a variety of interpretations. The house-like building in the background of card 14 (reclining boy) was introduced on account of the empirical finding that a number of children were evidently unable to relax in the absence of all signs of human habitation; the addition of the house was not found to work as a hidden obstacle to projection by activating projections of non-existent parental ties. After having experimented extensively with the picture of a boy resting without a visible road, we found ourselves compelled to depict such a road in the foreground—a road which signified for a number of children continuation, fresh start, the beginning and ending of a *period* or repose.

II. *The cards. General*

There are 24 cards in all. Three of them have been reproduced in colour, 21 in black and white. Only two cards (Nos. 17, 19) relate to girls in such a way as to make it impossible for boys to do much with them, whilst card 21 is more meaningful for girls than for boys.

The numeration does not denote a necessary sequence. Some of the cards intended for young children (e.g. No. 1 and 3) can be used for girls from 16 years onwards with profit, *inter alia* in order to depict perspectives of motherhood. Despite this liberty for regrouping, however, the series is articulated in accordance with phases of development. The small child up to eight years of age will find possibilities in the first five cards, and perhaps in 6, 7, and 8 too. The cards 4 and 5, and especially 6–11 inclusive, contain the most for the primary school child. Preadolescent children can work with 7 to 15 inclusive, adolescents with 9–16 inclusive and older adolescents (middle adolescence) with 18, 20 and 21 too. Girls in the latter group can work with the same cards as the boys, and with 17

and 19 too. They are often unable to do much with 16. But 20, 21, 22 work well. In late adolescence, young people can make use of 12–16 inclusive (or 17, 18, 19) and 20–23 inclusive.

III. The coloured cards

Cards 5, 14 and 24 have been reproduced in colour. Nos. 5 and 14 may be widely used during the later years, 14 from twelve years onwards and 24 from about eight years. No. 24 can also be used quite independently. This card fulfils a function of its own. It facilitates transition to communication in imagery, the “projective talk”, therapy, travesty-projection. It can appear in groupings constructed on the basis of previous conjectures or findings, especially as a closing card to usher in freer talk. Card No. 5 can, of course, also serve to ascertain the subject’s attitude towards the test situation or communication in images. No. 14 can serve this purpose too, but a simple desire for “repose” is now facilitated. The subject may, therefore, be given the choice between 5 and 14. Should this card give difficulties in the case of late adolescent girls—which seldom occurred in our experience—the same function can be fulfilled by both 21 and 22.

Subjects showing signs of “projection fatigue” often liven up and become productive again after 5, 14, 24. The choice of these particular three coloured cards is based upon two quite heterogeneous factors: 1. the series as a whole would become unduly expensive if many or all the cards were reproduced in colour; a limited selection had, therefore, to be made, and 2. the choice was determined by the following points of view, themselves of empirical origin:

Card 5 affords—except in the case of the small child—opportunity for distantiation, for escape and return, for a change of partner or situation (including the test situation!), for bringing something to a close and making a fresh start, etc.

Card 14 provides opportunity for relaxation; it is also possible to fall asleep, or else arise refreshed and start anew; further, the card makes it possible to evince adolescent distantiation, loneliness and such like.

Card 24 affords the opportunities already indicated, but at the same time makes a completely new entry possible by disengagement (as in 5 and 14) followed by initiation of radical changes where desired. Many children make use of the opportunities provided by a “magic”

shop to change themselves or their world, or both, in very characteristic and specific ways, or to enter the world with an élan which is quite revealing and usually gives a sense of liberation.

IV. *The individual cards*

1. *Sequence, combination.* As already indicated, the sequence of the cards is not binding, although they do, for instance, bear a certain relation to age. We shall consider them in their numerical sequence, but this does not detract from the liberty of combination *in concreto*. It can, however, make a difference whether a card is one of the first two of the series to be offered, if there has been no preceding contact with the investigator which has awakened or developed the willingness to take part in the task with which they confront him.

The cards have been chosen in such a way that they can be used individually, in an age sequence, or in combinations; in the latter a group of pictures is put before the subject, accompanied by instructions to make a coherent story (compare VAN LENNEP's Four Picture Test). Instances of combinations—the nature of which is determined by the problem *in casu*—are: 3-4-6 (with young children), 3-8-9 and/or 10 (with older ones), 5-12, 5-23, 5-24, 11-14, 14-11-12, 16-14-11-12, 19-21, 19-20-21. A number of other combinations are also possible.

According to HUTT¹ an attempt should be made to set up specific norms for every card or combination of cards, for every age and for both sexes separately. In our opinion, very little has been or can be contributed to this—even by the respectable research underlying his own series. In verification studies of this nature the possible combinations of cards appeared to be numerous, and the social and environmental variations too great and too multifarious, whilst thirdly the age scatter per card was too great—even in the M.P.T. itself.

It is an undeniable fact that variations in interpretation and choice of stimulus are primarily connected with underlying theories and pre-suppositions concerning mental development, personality development, the influence of education and environmental conditions. We have aimed at a selection and elaboration of pictures which is compatible with as wide a category of such theories as possible without detracting from any specific stimulus-value ("picture pull"), a problem which was not, of course, always completely soluble. In that case, as pointed out earlier, the series is

open to combination with cards from other series. This same openness exists where certain themes were found to be superfluous or unsuitable for projective examination by means of pictures. Specific school research, for example, was considered unnecessary; all the data relevant to this relationship can be obtained by means of direct information or by means of questionnaires². However, if the use of particular pictures is required, they can, for example, be taken from the M.P.T. (No. 3).

Every good diagnostic examination affects a certain order in the subject's mind, has a cathartic or therapeutic effect, and in many cases the lines of demarcation between diagnostic and therapeutic or educational activity cannot be sharply drawn. This is one of the chief causes of rational difference of opinion concerning what is or is not suitable for examination by means of pictures. Apart from causing traumas (which repeatedly appeared to be the case with, for example, Jackson, card 4, C.A.T. 7 and 8), the stimulus may be so suggestive and misleading (e.g. C.A.T. 2, 4, 10) that the therapy is saddled with the task of clearing up the damage or pseudo-problems which have been wholly or partially caused by the diagnostic procedure. The aggressive attitude of some psychologists, who are determined to obtain information on some points at all costs and try to compel the child to project, gets a chance in several series. The Columbus cards always leave a way out; this must not, however, be at the cost of the stimulus-value ("picture-pull") of the cards.

2. *Basic determinants.* The individual cards may be regarded from different points of view, corresponding to the basic determinants in the series: e.g. relationships to the parents, to peers, to later marital partners; attachment as basic security, attachment as lack of freedom, lack of freedom through over-protection or over-domination, security as the basis of safety in the process of effecting emancipation; the desire to be or become oneself over and against conventional adjustment, etc. In the following paragraphs we shall go through the series, directing our attention predominantly—though not exclusively—to one of the above-mentioned basic determinants, that of the relationships to parents, peers, marital partners. Other basic determinants, of course—both of the child's growth and of the series itself—find expression too.

Although there is no single card which is simply intended to disclose signs of independence or dependence, the Columbus does aim to give insight into the obstacles confronting the process of emancipation. Any card which failed to afford opportunity for this is of no use in the series.

A card designed to create at least some opportunity for bringing to light specific forms of impediment is *ipso facto* marginal with regard to everyday situations and results in either exceptional positions (e.g. M.P.T. 6 or 11B) or semi-unrealistic situations (e.g. T.A.T. 11, 12F, 18 BM, 19).

3. *The child's relationships to others.* The series opens with the child situated within his own world, in the security of the family and its relationships (father, mother, other child), whilst the whole is located in the house. Card 2 shows a stage further in emancipation: the child is out of bed, the guardians of his security are not portrayed, he must decide for himself (whether to go back to bed or set out on an enterprise of his own, whether to go to the parents or move away from them, calling, being called, waiting). In the cards which follow, 3 and 4 depict the relationship "inside-outside" and "outside-inside", "distantiation from the group", and—in 4—"belonging to the group", or liberating oneself from it. The subject can take the initiative (go outside, come inside, go on together); the relationship of the outsider may be apparent (is this solved?), is the house in 3 and 4 inhabited, and by whom, and who is doing what?

Card 5 (Bird) cannot be placed in a particular sequence, since it can be employed at any point during the first and second age groups (and often later too, cf. table I, and chapter II, 1). It can also be put at the beginning or the end of specific combinations (see p. 19); the decision on this point may be made both by the examiner and the child himself.

In card 6 the relationship is specified once more, but this time it is not the child or children who come to the fore, but the parents. Nevertheless, further determination of the situation involves giving actual content to this relationship. The boy on card 7 is standing in the foreground: what is he going to do? Go into the house or walk past it? Will he notice the man? If so, will he go to him or avoid him? Will he be given a relationship to peers (not depicted) or to tasks in life ("he is coming home from school", etc.)? Here determination of the relationship to the world is left to the boy himself, whereas in the preceding cards emphasis was upon basic security. Peer relationships often introduced on the child's own initiative in 7 are explicitly present in 8. But what is the matter with the boy on the right-hand side, with the children in the background? "Suddenly one of the boys (girls) walks away. Where to? Why?" "Where are *they* going to presently?" Card 9 makes it possible to create a personal world all of one's own. Relationships to the household below? To the outside world? Do others

come too? In the half-realistic landing of card 10, the question arises as to who takes the initiative: someone coming from inside? The boy? And what is going to happen? Inside—or elsewhere?

Card 11 clearly discloses the emancipation of pre-adolescence, or the absence of it. A journey of one's own can be undertaken, notwithstanding the unrealistic fact that the oars are missing from the boat. What else happens? The issue at stake in card 12 is that of liberation from an indeterminate past and giving form to future vistas. No. 13 shows a child at night, standing in front of the window, with an extremely limited "backing", looking out into an inaccessible outside world: the night. What has happened? What has wakened him? What is happening before his eyes? What threats does the evidently uninviting outside world hold for him? And does he go back to bed? Or does he go and ring someone up? What does he recount the following day? etc. Then on card 14 a boy settles down for a rest. Alternatively there is an atmosphere of repose in 14; security too. There is also a forward movement. What sort of road is that? Card 15 shows someone on his way somewhere: where to? What is he going to do? Why is he walking there? Holidays? Work? Going to visit someone? The child-parent relationship of 6, 7, 8 has gradually slid away. It *can* be drawn upon once more in 16 and 17, but the subject's own autonomy and self-directedness may become apparent. The problems of 3 and 4, of 7 and 8 reappear at a higher level in 18, 19 and 20. An abode of one's own (or: a return to the former security of home) may appear in 19, 20, 21, and the fact of looking after oneself (or being looked after) in 22. A problem from 7 and 10 is taken up again in 20 and 23 in the autonomous movement towards the unknown.

Card 24, like 5 (Bird) and 14 (Boy resting) can function at a number of points, but the Magic Shop is particularly effective firstly for renewing an exhausted talk—just as the boy in 14 rises and goes further (where to?), and secondly forming the transition to a projective talk or therapy: the changes, which can be wrought by means of a magic charm, in the world and in oneself in travesty and by changing the subject's identification with a particular role or person.

In practice, eclecticism with regard to one's analytic categories is more or less unavoidable. As a particular aspect of growing up becomes clearer in a protocol, there is a tendency to move from one category (e.g. independence in the parent-relationship) to another (e.g. frustration-tolerance). As a second example, we shall now consider the cards from this latter point of view.

4. *Frustration.* The presence of "frustration" can become apparent in the constrained character of the stay under the table ("as a punishment", "has been naughty", "no, is not allowed to come out", etc.), on card 1. Card 2 can seem to express the situation of not being permitted to do something or not daring, whilst the detachment from the group and the restraint experienced at home can be apparent in 3. Card 4 can reveal a situation of being left behind, or leaving the group; the house can fail to provide security. Card 6 shifts the problems to what is troubling the parents. Card 7 leaves it open whether one can enter the house and if one does not, for what reason. The children are at the periphery of card 8 and there is a mother figure which *can* give protection from the window, but can also intervene in a frustrating manner. The attic can signify withdrawal due to failure of fear. The boy on the landing on card 10 may be afraid to go inside, or may be on the point of going away in anger, out of fear, etc. Cards 11 and 12 disclose lack of enterprise, fear of emancipation, card 13 fear of threats or outside events, or else the way in which past traumas continue to exert restrictive effect upon the process of becoming independent. The boy resting can be afraid of going home. The hiker may be walking away from a difficult situation, whilst card 16 can represent the "father", the "never-do-well", the "exploiter", card 17 then disclosing limitation of freedom of movement, friction, masterfulness, avoidance of contact. In 18 there can be frustrations in the boy-girl relationship, in relationships with peers, in sport where the subject must pit his strength against that of others, etc. The girl at work in 19 can be left in the lurch by her friend, distinguish others from herself as "beautiful", be afraid of not finding a partner. The corner house on card 20 can place the unsureness in making contact in the boy, or can presuppose vain hope and anticipation on the part of the girl, etc. Card 21 can depict a return to the older generation on account of loneliness, the available house may be overlooked, etc. The inhabitant of the bedroom may be lonely and compelled to take care of himself ("no one takes any notice of him (her)"). A lonely or anxious traveller into the unknown does not venture nearer to the lighted window on card 23. The magic shop must bring release or open up possibilities for revenge, etc.

V. *Grouping of the series according to age*

The series as a whole can be divided up according to two principles:

1. that of age, and
 2. that of the problems with which it confronts the child.
- With regard to the first, two facts must be borne in mind:

1. some of the cards can be used at more than one age, and 2. one cannot be guided too much by a precise classification according to age, since the amount of progress made in development of the personality over the years varies.

If these reservations are borne in mind, the series may be divided up—as far as age is concerned—as follows:

1. Cards 1 (Under the table), 2 (At the top of the stairs), 3 (In front of the window), 4 (In front of the farm) and 5 (Bird) are suitable for *age group I (up to seven or eight years)*; with the understanding that card 1 may be employed again with girls of 15–16 up to 18–20 years, whilst 4 and 5 may also be used at the beginning of age group II (up to 10–12 years); 5 can sometimes be used with groups III and IV too.
2. Cards 6 (Interior), 7 (Boy near house), 8 (Playing in the street), 9 (Attic), 10 (On the landing), 11 (Boat), 12 (Archway), 13 (In front of the window at night) and 14 (Boy resting) can be used for *age group II (seven–eight up to 10–12 years)*; with the understanding that card 9 may also be used with the third age group, whilst 11, 12 and 13 may be used with both the third and fourth groups too. This also applies to card 14, which—like 5 and 24—makes it possible to make a fresh start. Card 10 generally ceases to be useful around the 14th year (i.e. the first half of age group III).
3. *Age group III begins with 10–12 and ends round about 16 years.* As noted under 2, Nos. 9, 10, 11, 12, 13 and 14 can also be used here, 5 and 24 likewise, although 5 often yields little except with children living in closed institutions or those wishing to give expression to their desire to terminate the examination. Card 6 is restricted to the younger members of this age group. Card 15 (Hiker), 16–17 (Older generation, son, daughter), 18 (Playing fields) are also suitable for this period.

4. *Age group IV begins with 15–16 years and ends with 18–20 years. Of the cards which have not yet received mention, those of especial use here are 19 (Girls), 20 (Corner house), 21 (Houses), 22 (Bedroom), 23 (Lighted window). Of those already mentioned, 24 (Magic shop), sometimes still 14 (Boy resting) and even 5 (Bird), 10 (Landing), 11 and 12, 13 (In front of the window at night), 15 (Hiker), 18 (Playing fields), 16–17 (Father—son—daughter, etc.).*

Table I. Optimal usefulness of the cards in the various age-groups

Pl.	I	II	III	IV	
1	+			+♀	Under the table
2	+				At the top of the stairs
3	+				In front of the window
4	+	+			In front of the farm
5	+	+	(+)	(+)	Bird
6		+	+		Interior
7		+			Boy near house
8		+			Playing in the street
9		+	+		Attic
10		+	+		On the landing
11		+	+	(+)	Boat
12		+	+	(+)	Archway
13		+	+	(+)	In front of the window at night
14		+	+	(±)	Boy resting
15			+	+	Hiker
16			+	+	At work
17			+	+	In the garden
18			+	+	Playingfields
19				+	Girl's room
20				+	Corner House
21				+	Houses
22				+	Bedroom
23				+	Lighted window
24		+	+	+	Magic shop

The *sequence of the cards* arose as follows:

- A. The protocols of children in four age groups were analysed: 8, 10, 14 and 16 years. There were 80 children in each group. This analysis was carried out by different psychologists from those who knew the children from the general psychological examination. Subsequent classification was carried out on the basis of two comprehensive criteria:
1. fits in with the picture of the age group (age-norm)—is either too young, or else seeks undue autonomy,
 2. full of conflict—relatively stabilized.

The investigation was again carried out in two parallel forms:

1. intuitive classification
 - a) of what is appropriate to a particular age and what is not,
 - b) of when the pursuit of independence must be considered inappropriate,
 - c) of when it is possible to speak of “full of conflict” and “stabilized”, as against
2. comparison with criteria based on existing technical literature and analysis of a number of test cases (approx. 500).

Although the results of the second procedure were somewhat better than the first, both investigations led to two conclusions of immediate practical importance:

1. further analysis remains possible in each individual case, with a view to further clinical-educational and routine educational treatment;
2. although satisfactory results for preliminary indications were obtained in both cases, variations arose in the clinical and educational approach which could be traced to intuitive or more deliberative specification of the primary classification.

B. The same cards were then put before groups of children of 6 and 7, 11 and 12, 17 and 18 years of age. In this way an age sequence was constructed and continually tested with changing groups over the course of years. This led to the present construction of the series as summarised in table I. Despite the problems associated with the application of statistical methods discussed at the outset of this handbook, we do not believe that insuperable difficulties have been encountered here or

in a number of other cases. Some overlapping of age groups appeared to be unavoidable, but is certainly not undesirable, let alone open to objection.

Further research followed. The cards were put before the subjects in three ways:

1. for written response
2. for oral response given to individual examiners
 - a) as an isolated examination,
 - b) as part of a more comprehensive examination, preceded at least by an intelligence test and one test which called for personal activity (Wartegg, Tree drawing, H.T.P. (House, tree, person etc.),
 - c) an individual examination averaging three hours in all, with the Columbus at the end.

The written response—in contrast to the findings of, for example, VAN LENNEP in his F.P.T.—yielded the poorest, (i.e. most gratuitous, unprojective) results, especially when carried out in a school context (cf. later, chapter III, I, 4 and 5). Only seriously disturbed cases were then revealed. This type of examination did not appear to yield any better results with the use of T.A.T., M.P.T. and other pictures either. The type of school made a little difference, but was of no great significance. Verbal output was by far the greatest in these school stories. Written responses given outside the school context varied greatly according to the nature of the individual problems and the environment. The projective character of the response was frequently quite lost in circumstantial or well-directed stories, imaginative creations which could scarcely be termed projective. There was a greater amount of stereotype book-fantasy and stories than in well-conducted direct contact.

Significantly better results were obtained in the independent examination, although much depended upon the person of the investigator. Narratives of projective value were much more easily given to someone whom the subject knew and liked.

It became apparent that children may also think up imaginative stories containing no more than superficial traces of projective indications. This was clearly visible in the school situation, but a similar attitude was often to be found in the individual test situation too. Oral contact yielded verbally shorter, but projectively more productive stories. In cases 2b and

c, the results were of much greater value from a projective point of view than in case 2a. The distinction between 2b and 2c was not relevant, and there was no question of influences of fatigue with children of eight years of age and older. Examination including observed periods of play in the playroom also yielded good results with a younger group. The latter (80 subjects, six to eight-year-olds) could not, of course, be compared with the written responses: the results obtained with the same group when the test was given by the teacher in the classroom, however, appeared to tend towards gratuitous stories of little projective value, just as in the case of the 10-year-olds (80 subjects). Groups 2a, b and c also contained 80 subjects, 12 and 13-year-olds.

Notes

- 1 Manual accompanying the M. P. T. p. 11.
- 2 Cf. for instance MICHAEL RUTTER: A children's behaviour questionnaire for completion by teachers: preliminary findings. *J. Child. Psychol. VIII*: 1-11 (1967).

Chapter II

Subdivision and Use of the Series

Problems and analysis of the examination and the protocols

1. *Examination, incentives.* A number of the stimuli to projection with which the cards confront the child have already been dealt with in the previous chapter. We shall not return to this point here, for, in a sense, the whole series can be said to relate to the problems associated with the development of self-reliance and with emancipation. Accordingly, the aspects of security, of "backing", of overt relationship to guardians of security progressively diminish, whilst that of independent behaviour of all kinds increases. If—as for instance in 7, 16, 17—the relationship to the parents is still made explicit, this is done in order to make the emancipation easier to observe.

As soon as we try to go beyond these general descriptions, it must be borne in mind that it is not possible to predict with certainty just what a subject will do with any single card. One can only create, test and correct pictures by means of empirical enquiry and parallel theoretical specification, finally retaining some of them as "temporarily the most revealing with regard to certain relationships"; no more. Thus the possibility that a subject will project an entirely different relationship is never excluded. Moreover, a relationship may fail to be projected—being at most named or indicated—for the very reason that it is for the subject self-evident.

Furthermore, a picture or a combination of pictures (cf. chapter I, sub. IV) may become the starting point for a projective talk (a form of communication in images between examiner and subject). In that case, it is not possible to predict where one will end up. As already observed, three cards provide an opportunity for terminating something and making a fresh start, for liberation from an existing state of affairs and for projecting what is new and has still to be realised: Nos. 5, 14, 24. All three provide opportunity for leaving the diagnostic sphere and moving over to the educational or therapeutic sphere, or else for flight from the situation. The background of human habitation has completely disappeared in card 24, but it appeared to be indispensable in 5 and 14.

Presentation of the cards may be accompanied by carefully formulated inducements to response¹ as the situation requires. This may also facilitate projections which do not fall within a frame of reference determined *a priori*.

First some illustrations of what is meant by "carefully formulated inducements . . ."

Examples of inducements

Card 1 "Where is the little boy (girl)?" "Under the table." "What happens then?"

"What are those?", pointing to the legs, etc.

"Is he (she) at home with mummy and daddy?"

"Does the little boy (girl) stay under the table?"

"When the father gets up, what happens then?"

Card 2 "Where is the little boy (girl) standing?"

"What is he (she) thinking about?" "What would he (she) like?"

"Does he (she) hear anything?" "Does he (she) see anything?"

"What is underneath?" "What is above?"

"Who are the people in the house?"

Card 3 "Where is the little boy (girl) standing?" "What can he (she) see?"

"What would he (she) like?"

"Is he (she) at home alone? What do you think?"

"Does one of those children come to play with him (her)? . . . or is that not allowed? . . . or doesn't he (she) want to? . . . Who stops them from playing together?"

"Is he (she) going out to play presently? . . . Or doesn't he (she) want to? . . . Or isn't he allowed to? . . . Who says he may not?"

"Why won't (can't) he (she)?"

"But if his (her) mother now says: all right, you may,—will he (she) want to or will he (she) rather stay inside?"

Card 5 "Once upon a time there was a bird; or: Once upon a time there was a child. Which do you think is better to begin a story with?"

Card 6 "If this man (father) gets up now . . .?"

"If this woman (mother) gets up now . . .?"

"And if they wake up, get up, what then?"

Card 7 "And where is he (she) going to presently?"

"Or does he (she) stay at home?"

"Who lives there?"

"Why is that door open?"

Card 17 "She puts down the paper and says: . . . She gets up and . . . He turns round and . . ."

Card 21 Above all treat this one quietly with female subjects.

"She comes there to live . . . And then . . .?"

"Is she alone? With her husband or family?"

In our experience, such questions do not seem to diminish the reliability of the responses, as long as they are put in a serious manner and without undue emphasis. Nor does subsequent play in the case of young subjects show any trace of suggestive influence.

A *projective examination* is only possible against the background of certain information: data covering, for instance, age, sex, family constellation and status, family relationships, school and school achievements, place of residence, housing accommodation, country of birth or former residence, etc. It is not, of course, advisable to have recourse to projections for data which are directly available, but the child often furnishes additional information, together with his own illuminating commentary, during the examination too.

In our opinion, a projective examination should always form part of a total examination of a person, and projective techniques form part of the whole of a test battery.

In *presentation* the child should always be given an opportunity to "graze" before "inducements" of the kind indicated above are resorted to. The presentation can be introduced in all kinds of ways. Age makes a great difference in this, but so does resistance to the investigation. With a small child one can look at pictures and think up stories, and for older schoolchildren it can be a matter of imagining what a book from which *this* picture comes might be about, whilst still older ones can be more directly asked to use their "imagination". The approach chosen will vary from case to case.

In the *registration of what takes place*, the examiner should not forget himself and not neglect apparently irrelevant remarks on the part of the subject. The tape-recorder can be useful for registering intonation, pitch, speed of talking, etc. In any case, even where an aid of this kind is lacking much of the value of the examination depends upon what the examiner is able to record of such aspects.

As already observed, a *projective interview* can be linked up with the examination—especially by means of cards 5, 14 and 24. MURRAY recommended postponement of an interview until a few days after the

testing, but we have never had convincing reason for insisting upon this point. Where communication between subject and examiner is good, it can often be preferable to follow up directly with a projective interview. This continuation may also be dictated by the child's own need. The main question is what one wishes to obtain from such a talk. Does one want "more material", or "better" material—"better" in the sense of more representative for the child and his life, or in the sense of "more readable for me"—; or does one wish to help the child to work through the images he has produced to the deeper layers of his problems, or to cope with his difficulties better, or to overcome them?²

FISCHER, CARR and other investigators have pointed out the varying "levels" (cf. later p. 40) from which projections and other forms of communication derive³. Such distinctions should certainly be recognised, and where possible made use of. However, since they vary widely with the point of view underlying the interpretation of the human person and its genesis, this question must be dealt with elsewhere⁴.

There is no doubt that children occasionally only project under great inner stress (under less favourable circumstances, such as written projective examination as part of a school entrance examination; when the test is given by an authoritative, aggressive or otherwise frustrating figure). JOEL⁵ has pointed out that "the subject reacts not only to the examiner's real attitude, but also to what he thinks the examiner's attitude is." This is often true, and refers not only to suitability and training of the examiner but also to the impossibility of conducting a good projective examination without first building up a workable relationship between examiner and child. An "interviewer effect" certainly exists, both to the advantage and the disadvantage of the projective situation. Some psychologists are quite unsuitable for carrying out such an examination, and no psychometric means of purifying the test and interpretation of findings are known which eliminate them. VEROFF, ATKINSON, FELD, GURIN, VAN DE LOO⁶, to mention just a few, have clearly shown such an effect; they have not, however, indicated any adequate ways of discovering criteria for the selection of clinical-educational or therapeutic examiners. Careful selection, as well as special training for the practical tasks involved, seems to be unavoidable. One of the essential qualifications of an examiner consists in an ability to adapt himself to each individual case without relinquishing a personal element in the contact⁷. Research on this point has been largely confined to very rough distinctions such as examiner's colour of skin, and the subjects were usually adult. More research is certainly required here.

2. *Analysis of the problems and structural framework.* Simplifying, we might say that the cards have been designed and, after extensive research and many changes, given their final form in order to help to reveal certain of the child's relationships to security and its guarantors; the basic security of the small child on the one hand, and the new tasks of growing up on the other; for example: the relationship to parents, to peers, to people generally, to the child's own future, etc. The term "problems" is employed in a double sense: as a question of developmental psychology as such and to refer to the problems confronting *this* particular child during the process of growing up: the problems of development with which a child must come to terms (e.g. baby—mother or child—mother relationship) as against a particular child's own problems *in concreto* ("My mother is never at home"). One might say: the problems of mental development as opposed to the problems of this particular child. Terminologically we distinguish between them as *psychological problems* and *personal problems*.

If we take a closer look at the personal problems as these receive expression in the protocols, it must be noted once more that their *content* (what is a problem for the child and in what way) can also lie within the psychological problems upon which it was hoped that the card would draw. The material is then "thematic". But the material *can* also appear to lie outside the intended sphere, and then we term it "*allothematic*". In practice, the verification of the thematic character of the material is not infrequently derived from or supported by quite different sources (e.g. direct information, allothematic projection on a *different* card, etc.).

Thirdly, attention should be paid to the subject's relationship to his projective activity. We shall confine ourselves here to those distinctions which have been of most significance for us, first bringing them together in a summary. This does not, however, represent a scale of evaluation with regard to use.

- a) Involvement—distantiation
(seen, for instance, in identification, use of present tense, dramatic character of what is projected, emotional temperature of the relationships projected, etc.)
- b) Ventures a personal interpretation—gives mere description
Alongside the ability to "venture" or "risk" a personal interpretation appropriate to a process of liberating oneself from infantile ties⁸, there is also "liberation" of a neurotic nature. It is, therefore, doubtful whether one should speak of "venture" in both cases. The child may also be completely in the grip of his personal

problems. The fact that he projects them thematically is then quite an achievement. Failure to go beyond description can, as is well known, also be due to neurotic factors. The child who ventures a personal interpretation, who does not leave it at a failure (remaining silent, saying whatever comes into his head), b) description ("a boy is standing by a house"), c) enumeration ("a house", "a tree", etc.) is still able to distantiate himself from what can be experienced in the picture. He may then, for instance, develop an intellectual or even artistic fantasy. Both may still contain projective elements, but these are often limited. The themes of the interpretations may be original, traditional or directly derived. The invention may be projectively determined, but it can also be sheer flight of fancy in which the personal problems remain suppressed. The imposition of intellectual or artistic forms can point to avoidance as well as to superior mastery of the situation. A clever interpretation may accompany involvement, but it can also indicate non-commitment. A personal interpretation, therefore, does not necessarily indicate involvement, and the subject who retains a degree of distantiation does not necessarily confine himself to description. It depends upon the degree of personal differentiation and upon his various levels of functioning. The term "positionality" [PLESSNER 1928] might be employed to designate this relation. The degree of distantiation discloses something of the subject's ability to cope with life and the way in which he copes (by repression, by offhandedness, by rationalisation, by loss of form, etc.)

3. *Four categories.* A second series of distinctions completing the preceding categories in certain important respects is given in the survey below. The columns of the table must be read vertically. Horizontal relations are not intended, or else cannot be expressed in tabular form.

I. Apart from theories of affectivity and emotionality, the six points of view mentioned above must be taken into consideration in the evaluation of concrete cases. Relations to II, III and IV are certainly present and must be evaluated from case to case.

II. As already noted, problems may be "psychological" and "personal"; the content may be thematic and allothematic with regard to the card in question. The latter can lead to the presentation of other cards and to the transition to a projective interview via 5, 14 or 24. In addition, when going through the protocol, attention should be paid to the way in which the content must be qualified. The four distinctions

drawn may serve as a scale for this purpose. An elementary degree of structural form is, for example, evident in the summational construction of the story, possibly made explicit by expressions of the type "and then . . . and then".

III. The response is clearly given by the person as a whole. The question remains as to which structural form he can deal with, has learned, has adopted as his "style"; alternatively, the degree and nature of the lack of structure. Structure can *inter alia* be apparent from the fact that the story is built up around a theme, and usually the personal theme. Another feature closely connected to this is the *internal wealth of relations* of each story. The more relations there are, the more difficult it is to create and orderly reproduction. Cf. I (Affectivity—Emotionality), II (Material).

IV. A set of distinctions like those mentioned under III becomes necessary.

Table II

I. <i>Affectivity- Emotionality</i>	II. <i>Material of the problems</i>	III. <i>Structural form</i>	IV. <i>Quality</i>
1. degree of differentiation	1. complex	A	1. well-regulated v. poorly or ineffectively regulated
2. intensity	2. simple	1. logical	
3. capacity to endure strain v. disinte- gration; self-control	3. elementary	2. historical anecdotal	2. transparent v. opaque
4. <i>which</i> affects and emotions make their appearance?	4. primitive	3. sensitive	3. discriminative or clever v. simple, formal, weak, deficient
5. assimilation of affects and emotions: orderly, with conflict; level and pattern of assimilation		B	
6. adequacy with respect to age, sex and situation		<i>Lack of order</i>	
		1. chaotic	
		2. deficient	
		3. contradictory	

4. *Points of view in the analysis of the personal problems.* A step nearer to the content of the personal problems can be made by employing the categories given in the table printed here. This is not intended as a final and exhaustive enumeration. It would require a separate volume to set out fully the grounds upon which they are based, whereas we shall have to confine ourselves to chapter IV. Moreover, other categories or change of emphasis in the same categories are certainly conceivable on the basis of other theories of personality development. However, this does not, in our opinion, detract from the usefulness of the Columbus series.

Table III

A. <i>Relationship to the present</i>	B. <i>Relationship to oneself, others, the world of objects</i>
<p><i>I. Relationship to persons</i></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. the parents 2. brothers and sisters, relatives, milieu 3. friends 4. school- or work-environment 5. reality of the relationships <p><i>II. Degree of integration in milieu and community</i></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. emotional quality of relationships: babying, discipline, formal character 2. operative v. rejected authority 3. participation in communal life (fixated, dictated, commitment), reciprocity v. self-interest 4. type of demands made on the child by the environment; how does the child cope with them? 5. passive or creative participation 6. openness of family or environment to the outside world (from a social point of view and with regard to new motivation) <p><i>III. Socio-economical and cultural background</i></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. city, town, village, country, etc. 2. degree of attachment to habitation, or freedom of movement 3. range of familiar world 4. tendency towards breaking out of the geographical, social, economic milieu, and the degree of realism in this 	<p><i>I. Relationship to instinctual drives</i></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. repressive v. carried away by them 2. destructive v. ordered 3. complexity 4. admmissive—restraining v. self-indulgent 5. style: rationalising, aesthetising, brutalising, dissocial <p><i>II. Relationship to resistances encountered</i></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. evasion, flight v. facing up to things (a) in defence, b) solving, coping, c) a process of self-liberation 2. attack (wild, orderly) <p><i>III. Relationship to existing conscience</i></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. authority-bound v. independent 2. tolerant v. inflexible 3. lack of awareness of norms, rationalised egocentricity <p><i>IV. Sense of identity</i></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. degree of sense of identity; reticence, alienation, or anxiety towards other people and change 2. loss of identity in identifications 3. self-knowledge: degree of (in-) admissible narcissism; ditto of naivety; (un-) balanced judgement of own social or physical handicap 4. ability to relax; ability to change one's mind; degree and nature of help in this

Table III (Continued)

B. <i>Relationship to oneself, others, the world of objects</i>	C. <i>Relationship to the future</i>
<p>V. <i>Relationship to others</i> (cf. A, I)</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. feels alone, left out, threatened, rejected 2. reciprocity, self-interestedness, competition 3. which other people play a role? 4. adults, peers, opposite sex 5. attitude towards the weak, helpless, or alternatively the perspective of one's own child-and of motherhood (cf. A, I, II, III) <p>VI. <i>Relationship to the world of objects</i></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. extent of knowledge, nature of the selection 2. nature of the relationship (possession, play, instrumental for something) 3. exploratory v. ascertaining; analytical, synthetising, collecting 4. indifferent (reason why) 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 2. <i>negative</i> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> a) through attachment to the past b) through fear or inability to see far ahead c) through limited or untenable orientation d) through social or physical defects II. <i>Mode of approach to the future</i> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> a) <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. guileless 2. self-confident 3. wary 4. apprehensive 5. indirect, evasive 6. defensive e.g. out of fear of loss or freedom of movement) b) <i>Elan of attitude to future</i> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. undisturbed: slow—quick 2. disturbed: <ol style="list-style-type: none"> a) inhibited—agitated b) reflective—thoughtless
C. <i>Relationship to the future</i>	
<p>I. <i>Outlook on the future</i></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. <i>positive</i> a) <i>realistic</i>: <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. in community with others 2. with others, but using them as instruments 3. in opposition to or in spite of others 4. matter-of-fact, (in)dependent, (un)attached b) <i>naively magical</i>: <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. how is the future envisaged? 2. is the image attainable? 3. what is avoided? 4. how does the subject imagine his own life? 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> III. <i>Relationship to the incompletely known</i> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. exploratorily forming a world of one's own 2. naively—fortuitously exploring 3. unrealistic—fortuitously 4. keeping to the business on hand 5. seeking self-protection 6. without initiative IV. <i>Relationship to the formless</i> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. productive 2. unproductive 3. fearful

The categories assembled here are, of course, also based upon a theoretical system but they have originated from the analysis of protocols and in conjunction with the educational task forming the purpose of the examination. One must not, however, lose sight of the fact that here it is not a question of drawing a platonic-contemplative portrait, but of setting up diagnostic indications for two heteronomous fields of action: the continuation of life by this child on the one hand, and our intervention on the other.

5. *Interpretation as a problem in general*

"But man has discovered a new way to stabilize and propagate his works. He cannot live his life without expressing his life. The various modes of this expression constitute a new sphere. They have a life of their own, a sort of eternity by which they survive man's individual and ephemeral existence." Ernst Cassirer: *An essay on man*. (New Haven, Yale, N.Pr. 1944, p. 224)

a) It is precisely to "express his life" that we invite the child in the projective examination: directly recorded on paper or tape-recorder, this expression lies before us "in a new sphere", in which the expression of this individual life "survive(s) man's individual and ephemeral existence".

The interpretation of larger wholes conceived in language has so far chiefly been the occupation of certain branches of knowledge such as language, literature and history. The teaching of that interpretation has attracted little attention within psychology, although it is not clear *a priori* why the clinical or even experimental psychologist, who is directly or indirectly confronted with verbal units of expression, might not be able to derive valuable indications from these fields of study. Despite the merits of psychometric verification and the need for further development of models on the basis of which they can to a certain extent be improved and extended, we must, in the absence of a much more fundamental interpretative analysis of such complex "units of subjective meaning", in what follows to be referred to more succinctly as "units of meaning", share LAGACHE's apprehension of an "illusion d'objectivité scientifique"⁹. Not only is the object itself too complicated for this, but it is also impossible to reduce the humanities to statistical models and simply ignore or negate their findings so far.

Meantime, however, the question as to whether interpretation of protocols might not be able to profit from methods of interpretation employed in the humanities has never, to my knowledge, been asked or answered. A few indications must suffice here.

It is clear that aesthetic categories can only play a very incidental role. Nevertheless, those which have, for instance, been developed by VAN DER KUN in his analysis of various aspects of action in drama are certainly valuable¹⁰. Other categories, though, are not transferable, unless sometimes in the form of remote analogies (e.g. the historical category of authenticity)¹¹. There are, on the other hand, essential psychological categories such as, for example, mental conflict, psychic tension, the degree and nature of maturity, which as such have nothing historical about them. Handbooks of interpretation which confine themselves to purely psychological categories may certainly be fruitful [cf. that of LINDZEY, BRADFORD, TEJESSY and DAVIDS]; but they do not construct formal categories, and, therefore, fail to pave the way for a more exact formalisation of the protocols. Although analogies with literary analysis and structural semantics do not suffice for the solution of our problems, they do in our opinion indicate points of similarity and give us cues which merit further analysis¹².

b) Although we may here do no more than draw attention to a field and method of work constituting a—to our knowledge quite neglected—source of fruitful models of approach for the theory and practice of protocol interpretation, we also wish to focus attention upon a method of investigation which contains particularly striking analogies to the method indicated here. We got children of 8, 12, 14 and 16 years (± 20 boys and 20 girls in each case) to choose four cards out of the whole series. They were told beforehand that they would have to make up *one* story covering all four pictures. The cards were then first presented one by one, the choice being postponed until a survey of the whole series was possible. The older children thought out and wrote down their own stories. Those of the youngest group were first heard and then noted card by card by an examiner, the notes being subsequently gone through once more together with the child in order to develop a single story where possible, along lines indicated by the child.

Stories of undoubted projective value were produced in all age groups, but the construction of the larger whole (which remained a problem with the youngest group), exhibited a distinct quality: the development of coherent motifs was very instructive from a projective of view, but also gave rise to experimentation with methods of interpretation whereby categories analogous to those in literature and structural semantics were found to be fruitful. The same was the case even with investigators with whom we had not been in touch at all¹³.

It is not difficult to see a particular statement in the context of a novel as both a structural element of that novel *and* as projection. "Peut-être que voir l'aube était pour elle une façon un peu enfantine de se rassurer: tout était en ordre dans la machine terrestre . . ." A sentence of this kind in a French novel¹⁴ expresses something of what beholding the dawn means for one adult, a woman. Daybreak is reassuring: everything goes on as it was. The sentence then continues: "la journée se passerait bien, rien n'était à craindre." The reassurance pertains to more than the continued rotation of the earthly machine: "all is well" means for her "all is *safe*". Daybreak means: "continuous safety", and this tells us something essential about the person. For others, daybreak can, for instance, primarily mean recommencement of work, and, therefore, routine; or else just one more sign of what a wretched world this is; or else yet another day of emptiness that cannot be filled; or yet another period of freedom and pleasure; or a reminder of the lonely who must once more face things alone; or herald yet another day of uncertain perils, etc. Dawn cannot mean "everything", a symbol cannot stand for anything and everything. Nevertheless, even a character in fiction can only be understood in the context of his personal history and circumstances of life¹⁵, the immediate context which gives colour and form to a disclosure (the "modalisation" [LÜCKERT]) or the wider one, often based on information and test data. The use of questionnaires and other more easily quantified methods may be profitable in compiling these data. Whether a sentence in a novel or one in a test protocol is taken as the starting point, we arrive at similar considerations. The analogies here are, therefore, worth exploring further.

c) One of the great difficulties of interpreting protocols lies in the fact that (1) projective images and the relationships between events and images of a projective character on the one hand, interspersed with (2) contents and relationships which merely appertain to the construction of the story or represent figments of imagination. When a story starts out in a particular tense, there is a great chance that it will be continued in the same tense, if only for grammatical reasons. Use of a particular configuration may well entail a whole syntax. But the opening itself may also determine the further sequence: on card 15 the subject may begin: "He travelled to a far-off land where he had never been before", and then continue in such a way as to accentuate the fact of being on a journey, whereas his central experience really lies in the alienation from his own milieu. The very fact of travelling raises the question as to means of transport and so conceals the real motif. Only when it becomes apparent that the traveller is unable to find shelter, or that he does not desire it, does this motif turn up once more. There is a certain amount of "system coercion" in the story, proceeding on the one hand from language and its laws, and on the other from the story itself as a logically or at least anecdotally coherent whole. Thirdly—and most important for us—there is the motif-niveau. It is at this level that "projection" occurs. Mutually irreconcilable themes or a change of imagery are possible here in the course of—and probably on account of—their production and expression

by the subject. There may be diverse coherent themes, or else one particular theme may be developed consistently. Emotional sensitivity resulting from the experience of mental conflicts leads to a predisposition to develop purposefully chosen images, to (mis)represent situations, to anticipate events, to turn towards or away from realities and possibilities¹⁶.

d) An orientation in life of this kind also proceeds, of course, from the character of the self as formed by continual processes of readaptation and renewal, partially on the basis of existing habitual, affective and cognitive systems, and partially on the basis of new discoveries and recent emotional experiences. As a result of this, anticipation of the future is intuitively naïve, secure, courageous etc. A pre-reflexive, proto-ego-formation on an instinctive-constitutional basis begins to take place in the child in interaction with the primary environment; this "ego" is gradually confronted with an increasing number of good and bad experiences of life with which it must deal. In this it is aided by a number of forces which need not be mentioned here¹⁷. Gradually the promise of childhood and youth gives way more clearly to a more stable picture of what he wants of life. During the earlier period consolidations, explorations and efforts at renewal also occur. The more or less conservative character of periods of de-consolidation derives from the nature of the preceding forces influencing the consolidation attained, upon its structure, and upon the individual's remaining creative potentialities.

The presence of mutually (ir)reconcilable themes in projection (card 15 "the traveller appeared really to be close to his starting point" can signify an *irreconcilability* of themes) is of no less importance than increasing thematic consciousness of approaching reconsolidation during the projection (card 15: "You can't always be on the way somewhere; soon he will turn left and . . . he lives in that town . . . and his wife is waiting for him there"). The sensitive, rejected child may portray in card 15 the image of "finding no one at home", "not being able to find anywhere to stay", not going to the town because "he doesn't know anyone there anyway". Intimation of a short stay—"he wants to stay the night there, but then he goes on his way"—indicates a consolidation which has not yet been concluded. Emphasis upon details (e.g. description of the town) may signify compulsive systematisation (unnecessary further specification of the town is given), but also introduction of a pause in the productivity, or a desire to dally by something that for some reason or other holds emotional satisfaction, or preparation for a new turn of imagery.

e) There are important differences between the experimental and the real test situation, particularly for subjects with few or no personality disturbances. There is for many something "non-committal" about the experimental situation, or else an incitement to "achieve". This encourages the production of gratuitous imaginative stories in which the projective element is greatly weakened by anecdotal embroidery. If the examination takes place in school, the subject may well take a stand towards himself, substituting sheer ratiocination for the hazards of a more personal sphere. The school-like level of contact, together with the school-like injunctive character of the relationship, can lead to very misleading narratives¹⁸.

The non-projective form of narrative may also retain a systematic use of grammar, syntax or arrangement of the story which, in a projective relation, would have less chance to subsist. "We know that every negation of one's self is connected with troubles in the perception of time" [STRAUS and MINKOWSKY]. The same girl (16 years) whose consequent use of tenses is evident in what is known to her to be an "experiment" (i.e. a relationship in which she does not accept the attitude in which she could produce a projective story), does not even retain the temporal sequence of events in a personal clinical situation. A younger child observes illuminatingly: "When once you've made a drawing, you always know a story as well."

There is the very real danger that "validation" of a projective test will be carried out in a situation which is essentially different from a clinical one, and such contributions to validation must take this into account. These problems recur in the interpretation of protocols, and the question must first be asked as to whether the child is in fact placed in a situation which facilitates or advances projection. Failure to do so leads to distorted impressions of the systematic character of, for instance, the linguistic forms of the projective expressions, whilst levels which could be projectively activated remain unproductive, and the result is confined to anecdotal themes of a superficial and rationalised character, or else crude simplifications of the child's real problems. Quantitative formalisation of projective material not only requires data which have been obtained in an essentially representative manner, but also a much deeper insight into, and knowledge of, the structural models and intrinsic relations into which information can be analysed than that now at our disposal, or likely to be at our disposal for some considerable time. The formalisations now utilized as the basis of statistical adaptation are seldom of more than superficial significance, and not infrequently quite meaningless.

6. *Directions for a preliminary analysis of the protocols.* Once a choice of cards has been made, a protocol of the examination is written up, followed by a preliminary analysis by way of general orientation. Here are a few points of view which may be of service in this.

Card 1 Relationships to parents, brothers or sisters can be made explicit. Is the child's sense of security unshaken? Temperature of the relationships? Are there signs of emancipation, alienation, or conflict? Or else of excessive security?

Card 2 The relationships are not depicted here. Who comes to the fore now? Is this home? Does the child go to the people? Does he feel insecure in the situation suggested by the picture? Or does he move about independently within the security of the house?

Card 3 The child is now standing with the house behind him. What are the relationships to his own age group? Does he reach out into the world? Is there a lack of open communication between inside and outside, or vice versa? Is the child sufficiently sure of himself, as a result of (relatively) unshaken basic security, to go out of the house, or is that too overwhelming? Does he still need an explicit form of protection, for example from mother's words? Cf. cards 8, 13.

Card 4 With whom does the child identify himself? With the group in front or the child following? Or does the latter just represent an incidental problem to be solved in passing, before the group goes on its own way? Is the child following repulsed? Or has he been taken care of? Or does he choose to go home of his own accord? Is this choice problematic? Does the child following belong to the group or not? Is the relationship of (not) belonging rationalised? Cf. cards 8, 12.

Card 5 Active emancipation? Secure background? Safely taken along? Where to? What happens there? Does he find others? Who? Does he return? What is the situation then? (No one appears to have missed the child. Or else they have.) Does the child seem to have wanted to escape from the test-situation? How did he respond to the suggestion: "... and then something altogether new began to happen: what, for example?" Cf. cards 14, 24.

Card 6 Cf. card 1. Relationships are more explicit, but are they recognised? What role is attributed to the guardians of security (care, protection?) and in what situation (child asleep, ill)? Is there real security?

- Card 7* Cf. card 2. The relationships are barely indicated, especially that to the mother remaining concealed within the house. But: is this his home? Where does he come from, where is he going to? Does he notice that someone is sitting in the summer-house? That the door is open? Does he walk past? Where to? Does he walk up the garden path past the summer-house and ignore it? Is there any relationship depicted to the parents? Emotional anaemia? Real independence?
- Card 8* Cf. card 3. Now we are in the street. Is playing with other children something which is taken for granted, or does this child find it difficult? Is it absent? Are the surrounding houses still of importance? Does the one boy go away? Where to? Why? What is that small child there going to do? Are these boys and girls also able to play together? Is there a leader? Do they make a plan? Who is (not) allowed to join in? Why (not)? The boys, or a group of them, are soon going away: where to? What are they going to do? The girls too. Cf. too cards 4 and 18.
- Card 9* Cf. cards 2, 12, 13. At home? Yet free to create or destroy a world of one's own there. Is he coming or going? What is going to happen? Does he (she) remain alone? Why "away" from the world of everyday life but not altogether out of it?
- Card 10* Uncertainty: undertaking to form his own relationships. Perhaps a return to the world of play: it is (still) asking too much. Marking time. Waiting for someone else to take the initiative. Cf. cards 4, 23 and 10-11.
- Card 11* Emancipation. Does he free himself from past ties? Does he come back? Cf. card 5. By-products: distinction between living and non-living things may be blurred (water is ice, oars appear to be hands or vice versa etc.): send on to the doctor, inter alia have an encephalogram made.
- Card 12* Emancipation and outlook on the future: is this constructive? Is there a sense of reality? Do characteristics of adolescent-euphoria or -disphoria make their appearance? Cf. cards 11, 16-17, 18, 19, 22.
- Card 13* In part a repetition of 10 and 12 at a deeper level. What made him get up? What does he see happen? What has happened outside? How does the child order and characterise his past and certain specific events in it? For instance loss of parents, being placed under guardianship, emigration, change of environment, etc.

- Card 14* Cf. cards 5 and 24, also 11 and 12, but above all: everything can be brought to a close now or something new can begin. What is brought to a close, left behind, begun anew (etc.)? Does he take the people and the tasks well?
- Card 15* Does he go "out into the world"? Towards people, towards what is undefined (or: towards freedom), in search of adventure, away from here, or does he choose to stay in the vicinity: work, a trip? What is he going to do? Where is he going to? Is he going to someone? Is he leaving anything or anyone behind? Does he return (to a task, a person, a family)? Cf. card 14.
- Card 16* Who are these people? How does the boy like his work? What does he think of the man in the picture? If the man speaks, what does he say? Does the boy go about the work without showing disapproval of the man's passivity? The more he seems to take this for granted, the greater the degree of maturity. Or are there traces of resentment? Of "feeling himself put upon"? Is it the father, and is he already getting old?
- Card 17* Man-wife or father-daughter? What has the man come for? What is the nature of the relationship: supervision, help, information, leave-taking, etc.? On what note does it take place?
- Card 18* Why are they going to this field? What happens there? If people come and stand nearby, what kind of people are they? Does sport or play dominate? Does the formation of contacts come to the fore? If a trainer or similar figure is introduced, does he serve to help the subject avoid making contacts? Is the initiative taken by anyone in particular?
- Card 19* Situation? Coming or going, staying behind? What does staying behind mean? Being left over? Having a task to fulfil? And when that one girl has gone away, who comes then? Does anyone come? Where is that girl going to? Is there a perspective of loneliness? Is that still unproblematic, i.e. the risk of being left over alone has not come up? Cf. cards 20, 21, also 17.
- Card 20* Man, boy-friend, fiancé, son, brother—mother, girl-friend, fiancée, daughter, sister. Someone is coming into the street here. Where is he going to? Does he pass by? Does he come inside? What does he do (school, subject, etc.)? When he turns the corner, where does he go to? Cf. cards 17, 19, 21.
- Card 21* At the bottom of the card someone is coming into the street, where is he going to? Who are those people? Who lives in that

last house to the right? Has the subject already settled down here? Or is he only here temporarily? Doesn't think of settling down.

Card 22 Who is caring for whom? Am I looking after myself, or does someone do it for me? Who? Where is it? At home? In a hotel? Hospital? In rooms? Abroad? Does the person get up soon? And what then? Do visitors come? Who? Why? Does the person who was looking after me come back? What does he say? Cf. card 6.

Card 23 Going out into the unknown. Who goes? Who is inside? How is he treated? Is it "his own home"? Does he or she go outside? Why? What is happening outside? Is there any result (e.g. disappointment)? Does he go anywhere else other than to the open door? Cf. card 10.

Card 24 Will you come inside (with me)? What would you like to buy? You can buy *anything you like* here. What are you going to do with this opportunity? Or else: Someone is coming outside: who is it? He's got something in his hand. What is he going to do? Travesty? Change of the situation of life? Of the world? Of oneself? Cf. cards 5, 14.

The aids for the interpretation of protocols in Table III have been put forward successively, but their sequence can vary. It would seem to us best—especially for the less experienced—to begin with the directions given under B, V. The distinctions made under B, II then follow, and after that B, III and B, IV. The sequence given in the Table itself, with B, V at the end, has been chosen in order to enable the reader to bring forward insights and distinctions already acquired in the reading of the "Directions", which may otherwise be seen as an oversimplification. In all this, of course, the user is presumed to have a certain amount of knowledge of, and experience in dealing with the problems of mental and personal development already at his disposal.

Notes

- 1 Arguments against the use of such questions are, of course, a) the impossibility of standardising such stimulants in a strictly uniform way, and b) the danger that they do more than simply direct attention to possibilities, exercising suggestive influence too. Extreme calmness is an obvious requirement. Similar difficulties exist with regard to questioning in the Rorschach. Cf. e.g. BLATT, ENGEL and MIRROW: When inquiry fails. J. project. Techn. 25 (1961). Despite objections they too retain the verbal stimulation in projective examination of this kind.

47 Subdivision and Use of the Series

- 2 Cf. e.g. R. LUBBERS: Voortgang en nieuw begin in de opvoeding. Beeldend verhalen als hulpmiddel bij opvoedingsmoeilijkheden. (Helping to go on and helping to begin again, communication in story and pictures as a method of educational aid) (Van Gorcum, Assen 1966).
- 3 J. cons. Psychol. 20 (1956); 21 (1957) etc.; A.C. CARR: in Progr. clin. Psychol. III (London 1958).
- 4 Cf. our book at present in preparation: Personagenese.
- 5 W. JOEL: The personal equation in projective methods. Rorsch. Res. Exch. 13 (1949). Concerning the relation between examiner and examined. Cf. also J.M. KIJM: De varianten der intentionaliteit bij de Rorschach-test (Nijmegen 1951).
See also MAX L. HUTT in the Manual with the M.P.T., pp. 8-9 and p. 10.
See also the following notes.
- 6 (Survey Res. Center, University of Michigan). Cf. their: The use of thematic apperception to assess motivation in a nation wide interview study. Psych. Monogr. 74, No. 12 (1960). K.J.M. VAN DE LOO: De proefleider als variabele in het klinisch psychologisch onderzoek. (The examiner as a variable in clinical psychological examinations) (Dekker and van de Vegt, Nijmegen/Utrecht 1962). See also the publication mentioned in the following note.
- 7 This also appears to be the opinion of MASLING in his article: The influence of situational and interpersonal variables in projective testing. Psychol. Bull. 57 (1960), with extensive bibliography.
- 8 For the small child, the world of pictures and stories is still clothed with the authority of adults, as if with an earlier form of what will later be called "objective"; projection as a truth of one's own is still scarcely thinkable, although involvement is compatible with the distantiation of the descriptive form. These phenomena are also open to psychoanalytical interpretation. I am avoiding this because. I consider the psychoanalytic theory of mental development untenable in other respects.
- 9 "Certains modes de dépouillement et d'évaluation confinent au 'ratioalisme morbide' et ne peuvent conduire qu'à une illusion d'objectivité scientifique." D. LAGACHE: Psychologie clinique et méthode clinique; Evolut. psychiat., avril-juin, p. 165 (1949).
- 10 J.J.M. VAN DER KUN: Handelingsaspecten in het drama (Berkhout, Nijmegen 1938).
- 11 WARREN EN WELLEK (cf. their Theory of literature [New York 1956], 3rd edition), would, therefore, wish to speak of an inadequate, an "extrinsic approach" from the point of view of literature; this might very well be "intrinsic" for the psychologist from his point of view.
- 12 In the first place, there is the similarity in the object itself: expression and, possibly, description. Furthermore, the whole cannot be understood in terms of a simple juxtaposition of parts; the parts do not determine the meaning of the whole in the absence of a comprehensive view of larger wholes. One needs to have lived for some time—for better or worse—before significant wholes of relations can come into existence, both in the experience of the present and the relation to the future, as well as in both together. For the analogy here cf. e.g. G. GUSDORF: Introduction aux sciences humaines, p. 336 (Paris 1960). Moreover, every projective protocol reveals either development, or else stagnation—psychologically indicative of an undesirable situation, a "hinge" in life, confrontation with a superior

force, etc. The projective data as a whole, like the myth or work of art, reveal a "structure". The term "structure" has been much in discussion in a number of sciences as well as in psychology, and still occupies many people Cf. e.g. ROGER BASTIDE (ed.): *Sens et usages du terme structure dans les sciences humaines et sociales* (Mouton, Den Haag 1962); MAURICE DE GANDILLAC, LUCIEN GOLDMANN et JEAN PIAGET (eds.): *Entretiens sur les notions de genèse et de structure* (Mouton, Den Haag 1965). A structure pointing to complexity, diversity of constitutive elements within a whole, exhibits varying degrees and forms of cohesion and unity, articulation, preamble, elaboration and even climax and denouement (as therapeutic moment in the diagnostic examination). Just as ROMAN INGARDEN, and more recently for instance ROLAND BARTHES, spoke of "niveaux" (levels) (cf. p. 32 preceding) in literary works of art (ROMAN INGARDEN: *Das literarische Kunstwerk* [Tübingen 1960], [1st ed. 1930], Chapt. III, VII and XI.) which do not represent elements but substructures, so the distinction between niveaux, structure and substructures in projective protocols is significant although the meaning of these terms must be determined independently. M. GOLDMAN sees in the concept "structure significative" (unit of meaning) the most important instrument for investigating and explaining most of the facts characterising a person both in the past and the present. In the collection of BASTIDE mentioned above: pp. 124-135. In some cases the concept of structure confines itself to perceptibility. A further analysis of this category ("structure significative") leads him to the problems of its concrete relation to that which it signifies, and thereby to a distinction between the essential and incidental in it. The relationship to more inclusive structures than those forming the starting point is reviewed—also the relationship to world-views ("visions du monde"), historical and social context. These are all methodological analogies, and methodological interpretation of projective "stories" cannot simply pass them over. We shall be giving further consideration to the methodological insights attained by the structural analysis of texts in a separate publication.

13

Cf. M. SAFOUAN: *Réflexions sur le psychodrame analytique*. Bull. Psychol. 30 (1963) as interpreted by A.J. GREIMAS: *Sémantique structurale. Recherche de méthode* (Larousse, Paris 1966). I only became acquainted with this publication during the preparation of this Manual. GREIMAS analyses SAFOUAN's data on p. 214 sqq. See also the work of BENVENISTE. Concerning "forms of construction" of the narrative (e.g. E. MUIR, G. MULLER, G. POULET, etc.), of folk stories (PROPP in Int. J. amer. Linguistics, Oct. 1958), of more everyday linguistic wholes (cf. R. BARTHES: *Réthorique de l'image*; in Communications IV [1964]), the film narrative (J.P. FAYE [1967]), etc.—ROMAN JAKOBSON, H.J. POS *et al.* point out the unbreakable relation between language (linguistics) and literature (in the twenties of this century). Phonology yielded the first analytical models for phonology, semantics and other human sciences, such as, for example, ethnology and sociology. Important contributions were made by the construction of deductive descriptive models as developed in linguistics by the analysis of significant structures (N. CHOMSKY). In addition, there is the important work of GREIMAS, R. BARTHES, J. TYNIAOV, WHITEHALL, LÉVI-STRAUSS and a number of others. Here is a very important field of work, which can contribute much to the formalisation of the interpretation of projective protocols.

This takes us far beyond the function of a Manual of this kind, however, and calls for the co-operation of many.

- 14 ANNE PHILIPPE: *Les rendez-vous de la colline* (Julliard, Paris 1966).
- 15 Cf. G. SNIJDERS: *Y a-t-il un bon usage du T.A.T.? Enfance*, p. 62 (1966).
- 16 It is this "anticipation affective", which has been very well observed by N. ABRAHAM in his valuable contribution to the *Entretiens sur les notions de genèse et de structure* (ed. M. DE GANDILLAC) (Mouton, Den Haag 1965): *Réflexions phénoménologiques sur les implications structurelles et génétiques de la psychoanalyse*, pp. 269–287.
- 17 Because they have already received much attention in the literature of developmental psychology, clinical psychology and pedagogics.
- 18 Cf. D. LAGACHE: *L'unité de la psychologie. Psychologie expérimentale et psychologie clinique*, p. 15, pp. 19–21 (Presses Universitaires de France, Paris 1949).

Chapter III

Some Remarks Concerning Projection, Maturity, Emancipation

I. *Projection*

1. *The obsolete opposition between "inside" and "outside".* We are not setting out to write yet another history or theory of the concept "projection", but some historical perspective is necessary as a starting point. The term itself emerges in the field of epistemology in the late nineteenth century [AVENARIUS] and is connected by both psychologists [e.g. J.M. BALDWIN, S. FREUD] and philosophers with the opposition between "inside" (in the mind) and "outside" (in the world); not, in our opinion, a very fertile contrast from a psychological point of view. What is "inside" then becomes projected "outside". An occurrence of his nature is, for instance, attributed to perception: the qualities of perceptions "caused" by man himself are then attributed by him to the outside world and thereby "projected". Sometimes—says FREUD, for example, in "Totem und Tabu" [1912]—projection of this kind "carries with it the advantage of psychical relief", especially when the instincts striving for omnipotence have come into conflict with one another. The self, under pressure from these instincts, now behaves as if "the danger of the development of anxiety were not threatening from the side of instinctual drives but from that of an event or power in the external world."

The development of psychoanalytic thinking leads to an opposition between the "self" and "the outside world" [e.g. in ANNA FREUD], where the "external world" becomes above all the bearer of what "the child's weak ego" ascribes to others in his unwillingness to recognise it in himself¹.

The word "inside" arouses a misleading impression of localisation. There is not, after all, a "place" to be found "inside". The *body* does have an inside, but this is not meant when the psychologist refers to the "inner" world in projection. "Inside" means here: "forming a part of the person as a subject"; subject of his experiences, of his judging and acting. "Outside" is accordingly everything that is an object of experience, that does not become the subject of experiencing, etc. The dynamic character of being a subject, however, calls for further specification with regard to what can

be intended in the opposition "inside-outside". This becomes clear when we introduce "the other", for a particular characteristic forming part of a person as a subject may be unrecognisable for someone else, or discernable in different ways. Others may fail to find expression in word, gesture, behaviour, action or creation etc., and so remain "concealed". Consequently the term "inside" is just as much a metaphor as the term "concealed". In that connection, "outside" may, however, now come to mean: capable of being known by another person, rather than: mundane object, etc. "Inside", however, does not simply signify what is *available* to the subject for expression, but also what temporarily absorbs or permanently constitutes his person, without necessarily being available to him for expression—in which case, it is usually termed "unconscious". What is "unconscious" in this sense becomes expressed—as is well known—in another form (e.g. in slips of the tongue, associations, actions, etc.). In this sense, "inside" is then "outside". It is observed by others in the words, tone of voice, facial expression, and in the world of objects in which the subject has expressed himself by creativity, arrangement, choice, or change. The substances, objects, constellations etc. encountered by the subject "outside" himself can be "inside" in so far as they are incorporated by him in his existence: articles of everyday use bear his signature, their selection, arrangement, care, availability, express his habits and preferences. The so-called "sphere" or "atmosphere" around a person or of his house or room reveal the "inside" of the subject in the world of objects.

The contrast between inside and outside is, therefore, superficial, and although sometimes useful, often mistaken. We are not, therefore, inclined to attribute too much value to passages in which "projection and *expulsion*" [MELANIE KLEIN] are connected or in which the contrast "inside"-"outside" is emphasised ("is turning *outside* to his *external* objects" [MELANIE KLEIN]).

The "inner self" is not necessarily "inside", "outward appearance" not necessarily something "outside". Nevertheless, the subject may be occupied with himself, undergo "inner experience", mounting associations, be preoccupied with ideas and intentions, with proprioceptive experiences [cf. LOWENFELD 1950] etc. which do not necessarily become outwardly visible and form part of the shared experiences of the communal world. What was previously "inside", confined to the individual's "inner world", may become visible as a result of tension of long enough duration or strong momentary emotions caused by some incidental circumstance; or

as a result of some development in cognitive or emotional life, or of a weak ego-formation, at least of an ego which becomes incontinent under certain, not always predictable, circumstances. The media of expression in which this constellation becomes accessible for another person are numerous. Terming them as a whole "a language", we can well understand the dictum of, for example, MADELEINE RAMBERT: "Nous devons donc non seulement comprendre la logique de l'enfant et sa forme de pensée, *mais nous initier à son langage imagé.*"²

The use of the words "project, projection, projective" to indicate the total assortment of mechanisms leading to expression in this "language of imagery" extends the meaning of these terms³ but is not unusual. This extended meaning, as will have become apparent, also applies to our usage in this Manual. However, it by no means excludes the possibility that a distinction between divergent causal mechanisms may need to be made when protocols are subjected to further analysis in connection with a psychological examination carried out for immediately practical purposes. This we believe to be the case, whether in relation to educational guidance or supervision, psychotherapeutic treatment or medically conceived psychiatric therapy.

In certain branches of science, it is man's physiological and anatomical characteristics, and in general his physical, chemical and biological characteristics too, that are under examination. Alternatively, it is possible to describe and regulate his movements, behaviour and purposefulness individually or in groups, but here we are concerned with a third point of view: what all this *means* to him. For these "meanings" are responsible for what he feels about life and determine the character of this life as the life-of-this-particular-person⁴.

2. *Man in his world of meanings.* Man lives in a world of meanings: the world "has" all kinds of meaning and man creates great fabrics of meaning in language, in symbols, in ideational and cultural forms. Elsewhere^{4a} we have distinguished between four ways in which meaning is ascribed to the events in man's life: "*open*", i.e. ascription of meaning in a communal and practical world, meaning shared by others e.g. a knife and fork are for eating one's meal; "*non-committal*" e.g. within the context of a child's play, the knife and fork can have a temporary meaning of boat, soldier, bridge, etc.—the meaning being shared by those who enter into his world of fantasy at that moment; "*creative*" meanings as e.g. produced by artists; and finally the meaning with which we are concerned in pro-

jection: *personal* meaning or interpretation of events, meanings referring to myself as a person coping with life in this person's way.

Events and objects in the communal world also have a subjective, personal meaning for the individual human person, depending upon *his* make-up. One and the same event can be experienced in totally different ways by different individuals, each of whom attributes *his* personal meaning to it and has a different emotional experience. This is a fundamental aspect of the subjective relation of every human being to the world.

As WERNER pointed out, the fence around the farmer's field has quite different attributes for the law-abiding citizen and the active child: for the former it acts as a warning to keep away, whilst for the latter it is an *invitation* to climb. In other words, the "world" in which the child lives, which he creates, is quite different in meaning from that of the adult (unless the latter chooses to step into that of the child and "play with" him).

This process of world-creation is by no means confined to children and play, but is a fundamental aspect of human existence. The world of meanings in which a person lives cannot be explained in terms of facts of nature alone—although it cannot be understood apart from them—but must be understood in terms of itself. The fact that someone says he has toothache, for example, can be brought into relation with a bad tooth, but the fact that this particular person interprets this in terms of "man's sinful nature", or else projects it into another person as "his" pain, cannot be inferred from the mere fact of having a bad tooth.

When a person is said to be "far-sighted", this cannot be deduced from the fact that our eyes are situated "high up" and not—for example—at the height of our knees. Nor can it be understood in terms of this, but given the high location of our eyes, a world of behaviour, movement and meaning comes into existence which is *inter alia* linked up with that position. Bodily structure and the world of meaning are "understandably" connected with one another. On the other hand, a number of physical data, such as processes of a colloid-chemical nature, cannot as such be seen in a comprehensible and coherent whole. These do not make a contribution of their own to the world of meanings because man has no direct knowledge of them, although they may well be experienced in a more comprehensive whole, e.g. as "fitness", "agitation" and such like.

The quickened heartbeat can be understood in a context of meanings because it is experienced directly and as such, but that is much less so with basal metabolism, and not possible at all with brain metabolism. The latter do, however, make their appearance in causal explanation.

In this way card 1 of the T.A.T. (Boy with violin) often seemed to indicate impairment of physical health when the violin was said to be broken or unable to be played. However, the nature of the physical indisposition was not clear without medical examination. In a striking number of cases, interpretation of card 1 of the Rorschach as a "decaying leaf" pointed to physical defect such as tubercular disorders and disorders of the lungs, but of course medical examination was always desirable for verification, and indispensable for an accurate diagnosis.

In terms of subjective meaning, however, the "personal" interpretation referred to above, is the child's emotional experience of his illness which is the decisive question for us. Is it dealt with by a general lack of grit, discouragement, feeling of insufficiency? Is there a helpless call for help to the environment or an attitude of blaming the latter for not knowing how to solve it, etc.? This is where the images with which we are most directly concerned in clinical-educational work disclose themselves. The question now arises as to how far—in the above example—physical impediments (directly understood or subjectively interpreted as such) stand in the way of further development. They can do this *inter alia* by damaging the relation to the future. They may also lead to premature aging and resignation. On the other hand, they may turn out to have been accepted in a matter-of-fact way and similarly integrated in the tendencies toward independence and outlook in the future.

If we move away from the example chosen—the dialogue of man with his physical limitations—attention must first of all be paid to the dialogue with basic experiences, of which the subject's own physical constitution forms an important aspect. The basic experiences are those with the world of people and things: security in human relationships, a security which is the *sine qua non* of further encounters and explorations of the surrounding world of objects, and from which ability to bear frustration, punishment, injury and to take responsibility proceed.

What are the basic experiences in this particular child's case? How has he dealt with them in the development of his personality? Has it been at the cost of his own development and productivity? What sort of help does he take for granted, and how much? What has he ceased to expect? Which threats can he handle, which arouse his apprehension? Does he create new patterns of life? Which aspects of freedom remain for him in diverse situations? In which respects is the child *not* the victim of his limitations? Where is he productive, even creative, in the development of his possibilities?

3. *The child and his formation of meanings.* The psychology of individuation, of character development, personality development, etc. deals with the way in which man—in *casu* the growing child—forms himself-and-his-world in a single reciprocal process. Man's continual recognition or creation of "meaning" in his encounter with the world forms one aspect of that process, in which naive exploration or systematic advance, both involving interaction of self and world, is inherent. In this process, a) the attitude of *this* particular person towards the world, b) his grasp of his relation to the world in deeds and concepts, is perpetually ushered in and accompanied by meanings of a *different nature*: moods, feelings, emotions, images. They often anticipate the facts, and the way in which the subject experiences the external world and his own purposes is now revealed in terms of themes or atmosphere⁵. They accompany all his deeds and call up different responses in others. It is this attitude, anticipating and accompanying events and permeating the subject's existence—and of which he has gradually become conscious—which yields the forms of expression we know as images, actions, objects etc. The world "attracts", challenges our foresight, anticipation of events [STRAUS, VON WEIZSÄCKER, NUTTIN etc.], but at the same time makes it necessary to incorporate experiences in one's own person, to limit behaviour in social forms, and to regulate knowledge attained in the systematic forms of language, culture, science. Let us term these processes of adaptation-*a posteriori* "systematisation" and the anticipating pro-ject in the confrontation with the world "design", and it will then be clear that the systematisation leads to models and methods which can also be learned and thus put directly into practice on the basis of fixed indications.

The subject then saves himself the design-phase and thereby the subject-anticipations which make their appearance in "language image" as modality or become visible as themes. Systematisation *as such* can, therefore, form part of a subject's anticipating pro-ject—in which case there is flight into systematisation. In this way both systematisation and design may be understood as anticipating project.

4. *When is a child able to project?* It may well be difficult to differentiate between the subjective formations and their objective or at least socially functioning content. Even more difficult is the task with which the psychologist and psychotherapist are confronted: that of learning the "language" employed by the subject in his subjective experience and interpretation of the world—the language in which the "design" is couched,

and the imagery which may surround, distort and obstruct the systematisation. This is, of course, more often the case with children than with adults who have had some intellectual training or undergone a degree of conventionalisation.

"Projection" does not stand an equally great chance in all forms of contact with reality. It presupposes something more than purely cognitive, formal-methodological or matter-of-fact contact and is not possible in the face of an overwhelming or threatening reality. "Repression", "apathy" or something of this sort may then be expressed, but not much more than this. The small child—as already stated (p. 47 no. 8)—has also a marked tendency to confine his exploration of his body, himself and his world to what he is told about them. A diversity of impulses, chance exploration, play, cognitive discoveries etc. may break down this security in adult authority, but in the Western world the child does not usually begin to produce more than incidental verbal images until about the fifth year. Image formations do sometimes make their appearance with children as young as three years in the safety of the familiar playroom in play therapy, but this is not frequent. It is, then, understandable that for instance RAMBERT, working chiefly with puppets, remarks: "*Dès cinq ans environ, l'enfant est capable de projeter son conflit dans un dessin ou une histoire*" (op. cit. p. 36). Before this time she sees the child appear as actor in his play, and we see in the playroom the child who is intelligent and well-cared for construct or demolish obstacles, select soft or hard figures from the supply of dolls, in accordance with the projective urgency. All this, however, requires much of the family and the therapeutic environment, as well as the general cultural environment, if anything like coherent imagery is to be obtained and not simply that of a playful-imaginative and incidental sort. The world which is common to us all must have formed and established itself in the child to some degree if more than sensorially gratuitous and illusive play⁶ is to be possible and if we are to be able to read from that play something of the way in which the child subjectively experiences himself and the world. But from about five years onwards a change gradually sets in, a change which cannot be separated from the linguistic level of the environment and the child's mastery of language.

It is often suggested that "projection is the fantasy of the subject about the object" [MURRAY, FIERZ, etc.].⁷ MURRAY has even summarised ten characteristics of fantasy⁸. This is not the place for an extensive discussion on this point, but we should like to draw the reader's attention

to the fact that this definition is not reversible: fantasy is not *per se* projection, nor is the question one as to whether or not a story is invented "about the object" [FIERZ]. In projection, that object may very well be the subject himself. When MURRAY names egocentrism as one of the characteristics of fantasy, it is clear that the fantasy intended here has very little to do with that of the artist or with the relaxed, serious or playful imagination of children at work or play. In this way we would arrive at categories of human relationships to the self and the world which are too broad to clarify much for us with regard to projection as such.

5. *Analogy between the "language" of images and language.* There is a certain analogy between understanding language proper and understanding the "language" of images. This analogy can be seen most directly by comparing the difficulty of understanding a foreign language with which one is little acquainted or not at all, with the attempt to understand the statements made by children on being confronted with the pictures. Extension of this analogy and its application to what is revealed by the child in play or creative work is certainly possible, but would require a more extensive elucidation than can be given here. We are returning, therefore, to the analogy between "foreign language" and the image-"language" of our subjects. Their image-dialect is not *completely* unknown to us: we know something of their world in general, we have an anamnesis at our disposal, we understand the words they use and the child in turn is fairly well acquainted with *our* language too. We even dispose of one datum more than is often the case in contact with the speaker of a foreign language: in many respects the picture depicts a communal world. Both parties are able to recognise that "a boy is lying under a tree", whereas in the case of the foreign language, the so-called "situation" in which the other person is speaking may be quite unclear to the listener.

When working with children, a growing realisation on their part of what the images allude to is often to be seen; the child recognises and interpretes his own images. "... yes, that's just like daddy and me", he will say of his own accord.

Systematic presentation of simple pictures (e.g. of a tree, a house, a bridge), can also yield an insight into the formation of meaning in the "projective language" of children when the responses are compared with anamnestic data concerning the situation of life, physical constitution, special difficulties in human relationships etc. The study of protocols of children in comparable situations (e.g. in closed institutions, in foster

families, following incest) ushers us into the projective dialect. The immanent relations between the various cards of a series also yield knowledge of this nature, etc.

In this way, the psychologist gradually becomes familiar with the language of projection, but he will always have to understand it in its individual variations, in an individual context, and transpose it into an interpretative picture, upon which the educational or therapeutic guidance must be based.

Production of "images" can be seen as a process of theme-formation and modalisation [cf. LÜCKERT⁹]. Events are interpreted (thematic attribution of meaning), sometimes being linked in an anecdotal or dramatic way, and imbued with emotional values; modes of experiencing are indicated.

As to the thematic meanings, these can best be understood by starting out from quite a different analogy: namely, from the development of the meaning of words in normal linguistic usage which occurs when parts of a known verbal meaning are split off and applied within a specific relationship. This process is often based upon an equation of parts, analogy-formation, which in itself may again be partial. When we refer to someone as "a tower of a man", the analogy is confined to the strength and size; the architectural details play no role in the transfer of meaning. The thematic meaning (big and strong) is coloured with the modality of, for example, security.

As LÜCKERT rightly remarks elsewhere, modalisation may also take place without the development of themes. Feelings of discomfort may arise in connection with a picture or a real situation, for instance, without a specific meaning necessarily being distinguished ("that man wants to catch that boy . . . he's a scoundrel, who . . .").

Unlike language, however, it is not possible to construct a standard glossary: a different aspect of meaning can be split off from the tower (e.g. inflexibility, imprisoning). The tendency to draw up fixed lists ("this" means "that") is old, and finds expression in our time in such contentions as: "We know that children, like primitives, identify themselves and their parents with animals" [BENDER and RAPAPORT]¹⁰, which are without foundation. The writer is not in a position to pass judgement on primitives, but children who "identify" their parents with animals, as the above-mentioned authors so categorically assert, belong to the realm of fiction. The C.A.T. shows *inter alia* that some animals depicted in some situations can also serve as projective images of, for instance, certain aspects of the

parentchild relationship. Yet they are not as such a great success—according, for example, to the investigation of SIMSON¹¹. Moreover, SIMSON nowhere makes use of the word “identify”, nor does his account contain any ground for the generalisations of BENDER and RAPAPORT. Moreover, animals also serve as ancestor symbols for adults amongst primitive peoples, and adults can, in case of need, also project upon animals, projecting even their own parent-relations in this form if necessary.

Nevertheless, anyone accustomed to use a dictionary knows that “the” meaning of “a” word is not to be found there. The difficulty of attaching “exact” meanings to images in projection cannot be *contrasted* with the purported ease with which words can be translated. In both cases a context within which the word or image acquires its meaning is necessary. In both cases there is the problem of constructing such a context as a provisionally tenable construction in itself; “provisionally”, because the “text” in which the unknown “word” appears may well introduce corrections to the provisional context as soon as the word begins to become clear. Facts disclosed in the anamnesis, for example, make the projection readable, but the general view of the projective data clarifies or corrects the anamnesis.

Without intending to do more in the foregoing than to draw attention to an analogy which needs to be worked out independently, and without losing sight of the fact that the analogy between the spoken language of a particular society and the images employed by the individual in expression and communication must not be pressed too far, we believe that it does serve to clarify and emphasise the fact that imagery provides us with a form of communication which facilitates our contact with the child and is indispensable in the help which is to be given to him¹². This in no way excludes the use of other diagnostic indications. Communication is, however, a constitutive requirement of human relationships. Educational, therapeutic or related methods cannot be based upon the purely objective communication of exact information, to which human contact is added as just an extra touch: the contact, communication between examiner or therapist and subject is presupposed in the whole. This applies even more strictly to the case of children and young people than with adults. In addition to this, the differentiation of the childish picture of the world and its expression are both largely dependent upon the child’s environment, upon the degree of differentiation in what is experienced and done and, above all, upon the way in which what is experienced, thought and felt receives expression. The analogy with the foreign language is, therefore,

variable: the image-dialect employed by the child is not independent of the language of his educational environment. This applies both to the language as such and to language in the figurative sense of the whole means of expression and communication employed in that particular milieu.

A part from analogies with learning to "understand" a "language", analogies of quite a different nature also exist, namely, with the methodological analysis and interpretation of linguistic wholes (stories, myths and such like). We have already drawn attention to this at the close of chapter II: *Use of the series*, in 5: *Interpretation as a problem in general*.

The analogy between the language of imagery and ordinary language has been referred to in connection with the problems of projection on the one hand, and on the other on account of the way in which all language—including the language of imagery—combines the general function of communication with individual expression of the speaker as a person. Furthermore, great attention should be paid to the analysis of the verbal contact (e.g. between examiner and subject) and of the linguistic wholes (e.g. in the statements of subjects in the protocols of such talks). It is from these that the models for what might eventually form the basis of a more exact interpretation of projective data of a particular person must emerge. More exact insight into the development of the human person in general might also be possible on this basis.

In this connection we should ask ourselves what our picture of a "mature" person ought to be like—a picture which varies quantitatively and qualitatively according to the individual, social and cultural background.

II. *Chief characteristics of maturity*

1. *Six principal aspects.* The forms taken by the development and education of the growing child depend, of course, upon the contributions or demands made by milieu, education and society. When MASLOW speaks of the "mature person" as chiefly characterised by "self-actualisation", by "needs" such as "love, safety, gratification", it can be said of these "needs" that they are not specifically characteristics of maturity except in an adult form. Others speak of "self-fulfilment", "optimal need-satisfaction". That too presupposes a "self" and "needs" which are somehow clear indicators of how things go or should go, somehow already "mature": such terms are, therefore, based upon circular reasoning. Without losing sight of the

diversity of types of maturity open to realisation, even within the picture of manhood or womanhood in a single culture, the emphasis cannot be laid primarily or exclusively upon *self*-realisation anywhere. It is precisely the mature person who must face up to the relationship "self-others", "self-society", self-future", "self-past", after a long history of this "self" in which it had to take shape.

Maturity is, therefore, characterised as follows:

1.
 - a) *personal responsibility*, the consequences of one's actions and omissions being borne by oneself,
 - b) *sharing responsibility* in social life, in the present and for the future,
 - c) *bearing vicarious responsibility* for the child, the helpless, weak, sick or old.
2. The mature person must, therefore, dispose of the *conditio sine qua non* of this
 - a) *in the competence, knowledge, skills*, required for leading an existence in which he is a help rather than a hindrance to others,
 - b) in his willingness and ability to *carry out the tasks* for which he is suited without inconvenience to others.
3. As an adult he is situated in a three-fold temporal relationship in life, since fruitful assimilation of the past and active preparation for the future both underlie the fulfilment of tasks in the present. He must, therefore, be prepared to *break through* elements and structures which are already known or acquired by realising *new possibilities* in the world and himself.
Two further aspects are bound up with this:
4. (1) The adult, however "future-minded", must nevertheless see *himself as a partial and tendentious realisation of possibilities*, who is not free from his previous history, seriously *recognising his other limitations* (physical conditions, age, work, marriage, etc.) in life and thereby maintaining or recovering his *inner order* and stability without becoming a burden to others. How well does he know himself? How wisely and on what level does he choose his *goals*? How much pressure and restriction can he tolerate? How does he cope with them? How responsibly does he set to work—both with regard to self-realisation and his duties and his fellowmen? How creatively, conflictingly, harmoniously do these processes take place as a whole?

5. (2) Everyone is more willing to believe in his own realism, self-knowledge and knowledge of human nature than in the possibility that he has attributed these qualities to himself prematurely. "Common sense" must, therefore, be apparent *inter alia* in the recognition of one's limitations, as seen in willingness to accept information, to listen to good advice, and sensibility to the resistances caused by himself in others.
6. In all this the adult must retain his own *identity* even where far-reaching identification may be required. He must combine ability to *commit* himself to others (marriage, children, the helpless etc.) with retention of his own identity, and also avoid making greater demands upon others on account of his personal problems (suffering, defects, fears) than absolutely necessary, or taking advantage of them in the tasks they share (cf. 2b). The mature person *stands on his own feet*.

2. *Variants of maturity.* As already mentioned, various degrees and forms of maturity are to be found within one and the same cultural environment. Important variations make their appearance in different cultural and social environments too. There is, furthermore, a difference in personal stature, whereby the one adult is said to be "great", "wise", "saintly", etc., whereas the majority are "ordinary", etc. Maturity may also be analysed from more points of view than those given here. One can, for example, point to the need for willingness and ability to assume a reasonable part of the burden of another, for ability to give and receive love, etc. We have confined ourselves to the most essential, from which the principal tasks of life proceed (such as, for example: choosing, learning and carrying out a profession; choosing a partner, being married, caring for a family and bringing up children; fulfilling social duties, making one's social contributions, etc.).

The circumstances of life (e.g. increasing limitation of freedom) resulting from all this form another kind of problem, which belongs, in various ethnological forms, to the psychology of maturity, just as, for instance, the diminishment of physical strength, the power of recovery, activity and such like. Just as old age, when granted, entails inevitable consequences, so it can be said of maturity that it is in so far "inevitable" that society does not permit us to continue to live as if we *remained* children or teenagers. Education which does not take this

into account—a society which pretends that human beings can just go on playing inevitably leads to the downfall of the individual and the society itself.

It is not, however, our task here to work out the psychology of maturity further¹⁴. We believe we may confine ourselves to the foregoing.

III. *Emancipation*

1. *Points of view.* Certain fundamental relationships in the process of emancipation can, of course, be studied separately with the aid of the Columbus series; for instance, the various forms of parent-child relationship as investigated by CHAMPNEY [1941], BALDWIN, KALLHORN and BREESE [1945], SEWELL, MUSSEN and HARRIS [1955] etc.¹⁵. From the point of view of factor analysis, such investigations do not yield much more than fairly general categories of behaviour which are not always mutually coherent and which should at most be treated as points of view from which a protocol must be considered. Whether "democracy in the home" is illustrated by a cluster of variables which can be summarised as: democracy of policy, non-coerciveness of suggestions, readiness of explanation—or whether the variables at one's disposal are: "take a child on picnics, child has own spending money, non-evasion of child's questions about sex, ignore child's fighting" etc., for a concrete picture of each child all this must be specified in functional relation to the child *in question*, his parents etc. The point at which an attitude of "approval" moves over the boundary of "disapproval" is one question. Whether either the one or the other is *in fact present* is quite another, and this not only depends upon what parents do or say in abstracto but upon what this means *in concreto* in this situation with this child. In short, extremely important specifications must be introduced before we can profit from this kind of analysis. Until then, such categories can—as already stated—only serve to bring to mind points of view from which a protocol can be considered: is the child accepted by the parents; are they quickly worried about him; is this child deprived of his sense of security or is the latter decreased by the explanations given regarding the demands made upon him; is independence stimulated and in which situations, etc.?

2. *The pathology of emancipation.* Attention can also be directed to the "pathology" of emancipation. The child has been left in the lurch from

early childhood, he has become lonely; or else the points of contact with him have always been fleeting. Incidental emotional outbursts, infraction of the childish integrity (e.g. by incest), infraction and disturbance of development as a possible, assimilable sequence of experiences; one-sided overloading (e.g. by intellectualisation or sexual acceleration) etc. All these are examples and possible points of view which can dominate our attention.

In delinquent development as in neurotic development—which is not necessarily connected with the first—the question arises as to whether the child still participates in a childish “environment of growth”, where guidance and education play an effective part. MUCCHIELLI¹⁶ has indicated the *dissocial* character of the youthful development which leads to delinquency: the child is *no longer* “engagé”, no longer bound up with and incorporated in an environment of growth. Such an environment is chiefly formed by the family initially; the peer group increases in importance, and this must be accompanied by acceptance of increasing moral self-reliance, moral responsibility, if the development is not to end in dissocialised delinquency. Nor do parents who *only* live close to the child in his childish sphere bring their child up to responsible maturity with any greater degree of success than those who have only lived at a frustrating distance from him. The combination of love and lovableness with demands made upon the child, of attachment with distantiation, of communality with independence, is difficult everywhere, and everywhere the object of study.

IV. *Survey of a few aspects of the responses relating to emancipation (cf. chapter II, 6)*

- Card 1 a) Relationship to parents, brothers or sisters must be “solved”, de-infantilised as it were.
 b) There must be evidence that the child is safely embedded in his family, deriving enough security from it to be able to attain a degree of independence within its periphery.
- Card 2 a) The bed and the bedroom, places where one “is put”, are deserted. Does the child move about in the home autonomously? What reasons are given for this?
 b) Is he going away from something? Has he an objective aim? Does he go to look for anyone? What happens after that?
- Card 3 a) The child is at home. There is no evidence of any restriction of freedom. The peer group is clearly indicated. The relationship

"inside-outside", "alone-with the others" makes a call upon a personal decision in this respect. Does this take place? Does the child stay where he is? Why?

b) If the latter is the case: is anything suggested in order to break down the seclusion? For example: does one of the children come inside? And do they later go outside *together*?

Card 4 The relations "outside-inside", "going inside and standing aloof from the group", make more demands on emancipation: the family is present authoritatively, but the group is well represented too.

Card 5 a) Emancipation is now, as it were, directly offered: do you want to get away? Do you want to go back?

b) Emancipation can be radical, can appear to be a rupture with the past, toying with dreams of the future—but can also confine itself to a holiday from the present.

Card 6 Independence is almost relinquished and superfluous now. What is the role of the adults? Daily protection and care; special care? Does the subject assume a privileged position?

Card 7 There is relatively great appeal to independence: the parental home, even the parental sphere have been left behind. They can be chosen or avoided. The horizon of life can include the parental home, can limit itself to this, or pass it by altogether.

Card 8 The age group comes to the fore as play group. Is the subject accepted into it? How? The card can link up with no. 4, but also with nos. 6 and 7.

Card 9 Personal space is chosen; is there a strong enough desire to explore and to venture into the unknown? Or is there a tendency to escapism?

Card 10 Is it possible to take the initiative for making contacts? Is the subject an outsider? Does he come "inside" away *from* what is familiar? Does he seek admittance? Does he go away together with others or alone?

Card 11 The ways in which emancipation takes place are pronounced in this and the following picture. Something must be done.

Card 12 11 is situated in a more everyday world, and card 12 sets higher demands on the "future-mindedness".

Card 13 The disturbed relationships to the past, the menacing character of the future with its unknown hazards becomes apparent. The child is left to his own resources.

- Card 14* Here too the child is left to himself: which path is taken? Is the journey continued on the child's own initiative? Where to? What perspectives does the future hold? What degree of independence is there?
- Card 15* Someone is on the way here. Alone. How is this interpreted: relaxation, work, play; where is he going to? Does he seek people? Does he avoid people?
- Card 16* Relationship to the older person, to the subject's own task. When the work is completed, do they go away together and where to?
- Card 17* Father-daughter or man-wife? What is the relationship to the man like? Or to the father? What happens next? Something together? Does one of them go away?
- Card 18* Relationship to peers and opposite sex.
- Card 19* Girl-girl relationship; attitude towards work and the life of women. Are there signs of fear of loneliness? How is the future envisaged?
- Card 20* This question is now set more pertinently with respect to the future as the future of man-and-wife together.
- Card 21* To what extent does the young man, the girl, "settle down"? Or: are they "on a visit" to parents or grandparents?
- Card 22* a) Who is caring for whom? Is the central figure indicative of looking after or being looked after? Does the subject look after himself? Where is the inhabitant: at home, in a student's room, in a hotel?
b) Does the subject (still) identify himself with one of the parents?
- Card 23* a) How does the subject approach the unknown?
b) Is the "inside" left, does one return? Is there a departure for good? What sort?
c) Is the unknown threatening?
- Card 24* Everything that applies *now* can be different. What end is served by the magic charm?

Notes

- 1 Cf. ANNA FREUD: *Das Ich und die Abwehrmechanismen* (Imago, London 1937, 1946) and *The psychoanalytic treatment of children* (Imago, London 1946) (Especially: Part III).
- 2 *La vie affective* etc. p. 16
- 3 I have already spoken of a "so-called" projective test in the first footnote to the foreword.

- 4 "L'homme pour les sciences humaines, ce n'est pas ce vivant qui a une forme bien particulière (une physiologie assez spéciale et une autonomie à peu près unique); c'est ce vivant qui de l'intérieur de la vie à laquelle il appartient de fond en comble et par laquelle il est traversé en tout son être, constitue des représentations grâce auxquelles il vit, et à partir desquelles il détient cette étrange capacité de pouvoir se représenter justement la vie." MICHEL FOUCAULT: *Les mots et les choses*, p. 363 (Gallimard, Paris 1966).
- 4a Cf. Dr. M.J. LANGEVELD: *Studien zur Anthropologie des Kindes*, 1968, 3rd ed., chapter IV: *Das Ding in der Welt des Kindes*.
- 5 This caused EDUARD GRÜNEWALD to speak of the "personale Projektion" as "Schaffung symbolischer Vorgestalten in Richtung auf eine progressive Personalisation"; in *Die personale Projektion*, p. 37 (Reinhardt, München/Basel 1962).
- 6 Cf. E.A.A. VERMEER: *Spel en spel-paedagogische problemen* (Bijleveld, Utrecht 1955). "Illusive" meaning a form of "imaginative" play.
- 7 H.K. FIERZ: *Die Jungsche analytische (komplexe) Psychologie*; in ERICH STERN (ed.) *Die Psychotherapie in der Gegenwart*, p. 104 (Rascher, Zürich 1958).
- 8 Techniques for an investigation of fantasy. *J. Psychol.* 3 (1937).
- 9 H.-R. LÜCKERT: *Die Problematik der Persönlichkeits-Diagnostik* (Reinhardt, München/Basel 1965).
- 10 LAURETTA BENDER and J. RAPAPORT: *Amer. J. Orthopsychiat.* 14: 523 (1944). Cf. to MADELEINE L. RAMBERT op. cit. p. 31.
- 11 Vergleich von CAT und einer inhaltsanalogen Mensch-Bilderreihe. *Diagnostica* 5: 54 (1959).
- 12 Cf. WILLARD VAN ORMAN QUINE: *Word and object* (The M.I.T.-Press, Cambridge 1964) (le dr. 1960), on the "indeterminacy of translation".
- 13 Cf. R. LUBBERS: *Voortgang en nieuw begin in de opvoeding. Beeldend verhalten als hulpmiddel bij opvoedingsmoeilijkheden* (Van Gorcum, Assen 1966).
- 14 Cf. on this point E.L. KELLY: *Consistency of the adult personality*. *Amer. Psychologist* 10 (1955); B.L. NEUGARTEN *et al.*: *Personality in middle and late life: Empirical studies* (Atherton Press, 1964) New York; R.H. WILLIAMS; C. TIBBITS and W. DONAHUE (eds.): *Process of ageing* Atherton Press, New York (1963). In Europe other publications by BÜHLER (1932, 1959), CHORUS (1959), EYSENCK (1946), HASELOFF (1956), JAFFÉ (1951), JONSSON (1957), KEHRER (1954), MAEDER (1933), MUNNICHs (1960, 1966), STERN (1949, 1955), THOMAE (1959), etc.
- 15 H. CHAMPNEY: in: *J. abnorm. soc. Psychol.* 36: 525-542 (1941). A. BALDWIN; J. KALLHORN and H. BRESSE: *Psychol. Monogr.* pp. 1-75 (1945). W. SEWELL; P. MUSSEN and C. HARRIS: *Relationship among child training practices*. *Amer. Soc. Rev.* 20: 137-148 (1955).
- 16 ROGER MUCCHIELLI: *Comment ils deviennent délinquants. Genèse et développement de la socialisation et de la dissocialité* (Editions Sociales Françaises, Paris 1965).

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