
65
323

THE UNIVERSITY OF OKLAHOMA

GRADUATE COLLEGE

EXPLORATIONS IN HUMAN DEVELOPMENT WITH AN EARLY MEMORIES INVENTORY

A DISSERTATION

SUBMITTED TO THE GRADUATE FACULTY

in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

BY

JAMES LOWELL HOLLEMAN

Norman, Oklahoma

1965

EXPLORATIONS IN HUMAN DEVELOPMENT WITH AN EARLY MEMORIES INVENTORY

APPROVED BY

DISSERTATION COMMITTEE

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Many individuals contributed to the development and completion of this research. Making an especially significant contribution was Dr. John R. Morris, who served as research director, and who was of invaluable assistance throughout all phases of the project. Dr. Dorothy Foster, Dr. Mildred O. Jacobs, Dr. William J. Mummery, and Dr. Victor A. Elconin served as members of the dissertation committee. Dr. Foster, Dr. Mummery, and Dr. Morris gave considerable amounts of their time to the early memories ratings.

The study was developed on the basis of materials provided by Dr. Martin Mayman. His cooperation made possible the use of the early memories procedure developed at the Menninger Clinic. Assistance in the selection of subjects was forthcoming from Warden Joe Harp of Oklahoma State Reformatory; Lester Reed, superintendent of Norman Schools; Mrs. Mary Gatchel and Miss Florence Pevehouse of the Norman High School counseling staff; Mr. Ansel Young, Norman High School assistant principal; Dr. Foster; Dr. Mummery, and the staff of the University of Oklahoma Guidance Service. Dr. Thomas S. Ray gave invaluable assistance in statistical computations.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES

EXPLORATIONS IN HUMAN DEVELOPMENT WITH AN EARLY MEMORIES INVENTORY

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

> Time present and time past
> Are both perhaps present in time future,...
>
> What might have been and what has been
> Point to one end, which is always present.

These lines from Eliot's "Burnt Norton" (1936) put succinctly a general assumption in psychology--that elements of those past events most important in shaping character are evident in current functioning.

Lewin (1936) emphasized the point more strongly in his "principle of contemporaneity." In brief, Lewin asserted that only those elements of history which have effects in the here-and-now are of consequence in individual acts:

> It was typical of the Aristotelian way of thinking not to distinguish between historical and systematic questions. The result was that one took past and future facts as causes of present events. In opposition to this assumption we shall here strongly defend the thesis that neither past nor future psychological facts but only the present situation can influence present events. This thesis is a direct consequence of the principle that only what exists concretely can have effects. Since neither the past nor future exists at the present

> moment it cannot have effects at the present. In representing the life space therefore we take into account only what is contemporary (1936, pp. 34-35).

Lewin's principle of concreteness states that science can deal only with what is "actual" and "concrete." The "actualness" or "concreteness" is determined by whether or not the matter under consideration "has effects." The history of the individual is considered "real" only to the extent that it functions in the present, presumably through memory or, indirectly, through its influence on the present character of the individual.

Lewin considers the person's life space as the "totality of all possible events that influence the individual," and he provides for each qualitative region of the life space, besides its structural and dynamic qualities, a temporal quality. Thus, the individual's life space contains a past, present, and future (MacColl, 1939).

Those who write about psychotherapy do not usually credit Lewin's interpretation, but the contemporaneous view has gained a practical application in therapy. Alexander (1960) describes a progressively greater emphasis in psychoanalysis and dynamic psychotherapy on what he terms the "corrective emotional experience":

> When Freud discovered the transference, he proclaimed that the patient in order to be cured must not only understand his neurotic past but re-experience it in relation to the therapist. Ferenczi and Rank maintained that re-experienting during treatment of previous dynamic patterns alone, without remembering the original

> events in which they originated, permits the patient to recognize their past-determined nature and exchange them for attitudes appropriate for the present . . . the cognitive act, namely, the intellectual recognition of the difference between past and present, is secondary to the actual <u>experiencing</u> of this difference in interaction with the therapist (pp. 42-43).

These discussions of Lewin and Alexander are only examples of the manner in which contemporary theorists rely on the "presentness" of past events, on the existence in the current functioning of the individual of elements of his history.

Developmental Research

Problems in gathering data have chronically plagued developmental investigators. Ausubel (1954) has considered techniques in common use and discussed objections to them. His attention has been devoted to both cross-sectional and longitudinal designs.

Although most convenient, the cross-sectional method runs aground on the problem of group comparability. In view of the rapid changes in our culture, the milieus of preadolescent and adolescent individuals, for instance, may differ greatly. Apart from the problem of time, expense, and difficulty of administration, even the longitudinal method usually suffers because of the probable occurrence of unusual social events during the course of the study--economic depression, war, etc. It also has been suggested that any group willing, as a whole, to submit to continuous study over a long period would not be typical (Ausubel, 1954).

A rather large number of studies have involved the retrospective design (Bell, 1960). Bach (1952) has described these studies as efforts to "reconstruct the childhood life space from retrospective reports by adults." A common procedure involves eliciting memories of subjects' early childhood from the subject and his parents. Bell distinguished retrospection from prospection, which is "the study of such earlier phases while actually in process," thus, prospection would probably include longitudinal and cross-sectional studies.

Ausubel's objections to prospective research findings have been noted. Hartmann (1950) cites Freud in presenting objections to reliance on either retrospection or prospective data alone:

> Years ago Freud complained that the direct observations of child psychologists are frequently questionable because they describe phenomena not really understood in their relationships and in their dynamic impact--while, on the other hand, the conclusions about childhood which we reach on the basis of analysis with adults have the disadvantage that we gain them through a complicated system of reconstructions only, and through many detours of thought . . . . Theories about early developmental stages have to be built on data of both reconstruction (retrospection) and direct observation (prospection) (pp. 7-9).

A further criticism of the reliance on retrospective reports by adults in testing developmental theory came from Bach (1952):

> . . . even when . . . situational factors are such as to facilitate the most uncontaminated view of the past, implications from neurology make it highly implausible that an adult brain can mediate 30 years

later the exact reproduction of childhood experiences (p. 97).

Lewin raised serious methodological objections to prospective research:

> It is . . . not always easy to determine what things exist psychologically for a given person . . . . From the standpoint of dynamics, one must consider the whole situation as the total of what has effects for the individual under consideration . . . one may use effectiveness as the criterion of existence: 'What is real is what has effects' (1936, pp. 18-19).
>
> . . . the situation must be represented in the way in which it is 'real' for the individual in question, that is, as if affects him . . . the physical world with its 'objective' characteristics in terms of physics are to be included in the representation of the psychological life space only to the extent and in the manner in which they affect the individual in his momentary state (1936, p. 24).

Like Lewin, Rogers (Hall & Lindzey, 1957) assumes that only the individual can determine what is "real" in his psychological environment: "The organism reacts to the field as it is experienced and perceived. This perceptual field is, for the individual, 'reality'" (p. 479). Other postulates of Rogers, cited by Hall and Lindzey, follow the same line:

> Behavior is basically the goal-directed attempt of the organism to satisfy its needs as experienced, in the field as perceived (p. 481).
>
> The best vantage point for understanding behavior is from the internal frame of reference of the individual himself (p. 482).

Thus, we find that Hartmann and Freud object to reliance on either retrospective or prospective research alone, that Bach finds serious objections to retrospective

research, and that Lewin and Rogers present reasonable criticisms of prospective designs.

Going still further, Lewin rejects consciousness as any indication of the "reality" of an experience for the individual. The "reality" of an experience, according to Lewin, can only be determined by its effects on the person, and one is not always aware of these effects while they are in progress. As an example of this, Lewin mentioned the individual response to a social climate. One may be aware of an undercurrent in a social situation only when that undercurrent changes and one's feeling response to it alters.

It would seem to follow from all of these objections that the significance of developmental incidents can be determined only by some means which would gauge their effects in molding character. The views of these theorists would seem to offer support for the development of techniques designed to cast light on the past of individuals through consideration of their current functioning.

Freud noted (Hartmann, 1950) that psychoanalysis, as a research technique, was designed to do just this. But Freud complained that the conclusions about childhood reached by means of psychoanalysis were gained "through a complicated system of reconstructions only, and through many detours of thought."

The present study will consider one possible method for shedding light on the developmental history of individuals

through consideration of their current relationship predispositions. The research technique employed to study such predispositions involves the content analysis of reported early childhood memories.

Early Memories Research

In retrospect, it is rather difficult to see why the retrospective method gained such wide currency. Vast quantities of information bear on the unreliability of adult recall of childhood events. Bartlett (1932), Freud (1950), and Carmichael, Hogan, and Walter (1932) are among many investigators who have demonstrated the lack of precision in human memory.

Freud became disillusioned with his patients' memories early in his career, when it became apparent that most were far from factual representations. They often, in fact, served, early in treatment, to conceal actual events too painful for the individual to recall:

> (Early recollections) do not owe their existence to their own contents, but to an associative relation of their contents to another repressed thought . . . . Only seldom is it possible to understand the meaning of a concealing memory without recourse to the entire life history of the individual (1938, p. 62).

Bartlett (1932) offered somewhat different conclusions on the basis of his classic studies:

> Remembering is not the re-excitation of innumerable fixed, lifeless and fragmentary traces. It is an imaginative reconstruction, or construction, built out of the relation of our attitude towards a whole active mass of organized past reactions and experience, and to a little outstanding detail which commonly appears in

> image or in language form. It is thus hardly ever really exact, even in the most rudimentary cases of rote recapitulation, and it is not at all important that it should be so (p. 213).

Carmichael, Hogan, and Walter (1932) demonstrated that verbal labels significantly influenced the reproduction of relatively ambiguous figures, sharpening them according to the label.

Freud's disillusionment with the data of early childhood recollections came at a turning point in the development of psychoanalysis. During the earliest decades of its development, psychoanalysis was, in fact, a retrospective study of individuals. At first, Freud had given the events of childhood a primary role in the development of neurotic symptoms. He employed, then abandoned, the methods of hypnosis and "pressing" for their recall (Berman, 1957). Later, he came to regard the method of free association as essential for the study of the earliest years.

Freud's great disillusionment came, first, with his announcement that childhood seduction, or premature sexual experience lay at the roots of hysteria, then, with his discovery that most of the sexual experiences were really phantasy productions and never occurred:

> All this seems to lead to but one impression, that childhood experiences of this kind are in some way necessarily required by the neurosis, that they belong to its unvarying inventory. If they can be found in real events, well and good; but if reality has not supplied them they will be evolved out of hints and elaborated by phantasy. The effect is the same, and even today we have not succeeded in tracing any

> variation in the results according as phantasy or reality plans the greater part in these experiences (1943, pp. 323-324).

In this, and in various other statements (Berman, 1957), Freud came near to expressing the current view of early recollections: that while they may shed little clear light on the individual's development, they may give a good deal of information about his current functioning. During the years that Freud was becoming disillusioned with early memories, Adler was giving them increasing importance as a diagnostic technique (1929a).

A statement by Lewin is salient, at this point:

> (the individual's) views about his own past and that of the rest of the physical and social world are often incorrect but nevertheless constitute, in his life space, the 'reality level' of the past. In addition, a wish-level with regard to the past can frequently be observed (1950, p. 53).

Only seldom is it possible to understand the meaning of a concealing memory without recourse to the entire life history of the individual, Freud wrote (1938). It evidently did not occur to him that his interpretation could be a two-way street, that one could proceed from the early recollection to the life history of the individual.

Adler considered the use of early memories as a projective technique to be one of the major discoveries of individual psychology:

> (Early recollections) give us glimpses of depths just as profound as those which are . . . released from the unconscious during treatment . . . as they symbolize the individual's main line of striving (1929a, p. 179).

Adler's interpretation of memories followed the lead of Freud's interpretation of dreams:

> The manifestation as such tells us nothing. In itself, it is multiple in meaning. Every interpretation must be read into it and demands proof . . . . What interests us does not inhere in the phenomenon itself but lies, one might say, in front of it and behind it; that we can only then understand a psychic manifestation if we have previously intuitively felt it to possess a lifeline (1946, p. 2).

> . . . What is fixed in memory is always important. There are schools of thought which act on the opposite assumption. They believe that what a person has forgotten is the most important point but there is really no great difference between the two ideas. Perhaps a person can tell us his conscious remembrances but he does not know what they mean. He does not see their connection with his actions. Hence the result is the same, whether we emphasize the hidden or forgotten significance of conscious memories or the importance of forgotten memories (1929b, p. 108).

Attempting a systematic procedure for the analysis of early memories, Adler developed a list of recollection-symbols analogous to Freud's dream symbols. The presence of a sibling implied rivalry; the presence of mother symbolized dependency; the meeting of a danger outside the home symbolized the fear of leaving home. Throughout his discussion of early memories, Adler relied on the assumption that "distortion itself cannot be without motivation."

> It does not matter whether they (early recollections) are fancied or true since they are part of one's personality. Some persons insist that they are not sure whether they remember a thing or whether their parents have told them about it. This, too, is not really important because even if their parents did tell them, they have fixed it in their minds and therefore it helps to tell us where their interest lies (1929b, 120).

L. A. Berman (1957) has pointed out that there has been increased interest among Freudians, in recent years, in early recollections. Representative of the newer point of view within psychoanalysis is the comment of Saul (1956):

> Earliest memories are absolutely specific, distinctive and characteristic for each individual; moreover, they reveal, probably more clearly than any other single psychological datum, the central core of each person's psychodynamics, his chief motivations, form of neurosis, and emotional problem. This is the empirical, observable fact. As to explaining it, it seems that the major unconscious motivations select those memories which fit them . . . . Early memories are retained to serve present needs. (They) express even more purely and distinctly than the dream the constant motivational core, the nuclear emotional constellation . . . . Early memories, because they are less influenced by daily events, struggles, and anticipations . . . are the long-range expressions of what is most constant in the motivation of the personality (p. 229).

In another example of the new trend in psychoanalysis, and a pertinent one from the standpoint of the present study, Stella Chess (1951) proposed that a child may employ memory "in the service of his mastery of the world and people around him." She referred to an obsessive-compulsive nine-year-old boy, who made a highly distorted perception of a play therapy situation in which the investigator was a participator. The boy later referred to the event as an actual happening:

> Such an event might, when presented as an adult memory of a childhood experience, be interpreted as a traumatic happening which shaped his personality, whereas its greatest interpretive value lies in its ability to shed light on the early fixation of a well-defined neurotic view of reality (p. 189).

Berman (1957) offered a comparison between the

dynamics of screen memories and dreams, the interpretation of which has long been a major objective in psychoanalytic therapy:

> . . . both are reconstructed from unconscious memory traces, symbolize unconscious fantasies and emotional conflicts. Both are distorted by condensations and displacements. While Freud makes explicit use of dream symbolism in his blind analysis of a screen memory taken from the Henris' study (1898), he does not deal specifically with the parallels between screen memories and dreams. Why should one sort of fantasy production--the dream--lend itself to systematic rules of interpretation, while another--the screen memory--does not? We can only guess that in screen memories the choice of symbolism appeared to be those of dream analysis. A noteworthy development of recent years is that <u>inside</u> psychoanalytic circles one can observe a shift away from the screen memory concept (p. 5).

The subject of early childhood memories has been given attention by academic psychologists since late in the last century (Miles, 1895; Henri & Henri, 1898; Colegrove, 1899; Potwin, 1901; Gordon, 1928; Crook & Harden, 1931; Mekeel, 1938; Murray, 1938; Waldfogel, 1948; Plottke, 1949; Friedmann, 1950; Eisenstein & Ryerson, 1951; Broadsky, 1952; Kahana et al, 1953), and considerable research has continued to the present.

There is evidence that the data obtained by means of early recollections are quite stable in the face of sharply contrasting environmental circumstances (Hedvig, 1963). Hedvig compared undergraduate psychology students on the <u>Thematic Apperception Test</u> and an early memories collection procedure. Early recollections and <u>TAT</u> stories were written after (a) experience of success, failure, or some neutral

experience; or (b) after experience of hostility, friendliness, or a neutral experience. The TAT stories were significantly influenced by the experimental conditions, whereas the early memories elicited were not:

> (Early recollections) were thus found to have greater stability than the TAT. This stability of (early recollections) provides additional support for their clinical validity as a projective technique in revealing permanent personality characteristics (p. 54).

There also is some support for the inference that intellectual factors have little influence on recalled experiences, either with regard to the affective tone of such recollections or the number of pleasant or unpleasant recollections offered by the individual (Meltzer, 1930, 1931). The two studies of Meltzer considered only recent recollections, but may have some bearing on early memories investigations. On the day following a Christmas vacation, Meltzer asked 132 college students to list and briefly describe all of their experiences of the vacation period. The students were asked to indicate which of their experiences were unpleasant and pleasant and to rate the intensity of such experiences. The procedure was repeated after six weeks, and the sets of experiences obtained in the two collections were compared.

There was some tendency for those higher in academic achievement to report a greater total of experiences. Otherwise, pleasantness-unpleasantness dimensions--both number and intensity--were virtually uncorrelated with either

intelligence test scores or grade totals (the highest r reported was -.14). Individuals who scored higher on the intelligence tests and who had higher grades recalled more unpleasant incidents. Those scoring lowest in intelligence testing and in grades recalled more pleasant experiences. The middle-ranked group reported fewer experiences than either of the extreme groups.

Mayman's Research

Dr. Martin Mayman and others (1958a, 1958b, 1960, 1962) have been carrying out a thorough study of early recollections. Mayman takes a quite contemporaneous view of the memories which his procedure elicits. They are, in effect, considered to be the same as Lewin's situational units, which are interpreted as having an extension in regard to both their field and time dimensions.

It has been Mayman's stated aim to establish a technique for analysis of early memories "to identify in an individual those transference paradigms which have exerted the greatest influence in his character formation" (1958a). Mayman points out:

> One's behavioral style and characteristic ways of patterning his relationships with others, particularly his therapist, are often repetitions--a replaying on the therapeutic stage--of deeply ingrained relationship predispositions. A psychodynamic study of the self-concept would ask not only how a person views himself, but also how he relates himself to others; whether he seems predisposed to repeat particular kinds of rewarding or unrewarding relationships and experiences; what emotional response he tends to elicit from others; and along what lines he seems predisposed to structure his life (1962, p. 1).

Mayman has resurrected the term "ego-state" from the early history of psychoanalysis. He relates it to what he terms "a germinal psychoanalytic theory of the self, in contradistinction to the more structural theory of the ego." It is usual in psychoanalysis to describe the shift from one to another ego organization as a "chronologically ordered set of events," Mayman states. "Actually, it would be more correct to state only that different levels of ego-integration co-exist in a person and are maintained in some hierarchical relationship to each other" (1962, p. 10).

The sense of self relevant to a particular ego-state may be repressed:

> The more repressed a particular ego-state, the more alien to the individual is that sense of self as well as the feelings, impulses, and relationship-propensities which together comprise (and define) that ego-state (1962, p. 11).

The validation of Mayman's technique has been primarily clinical, although efforts are in progress to obtain information more systematically:

> Our experience with the clinical use of an early memories inventory seems to justify the assumption that early memories are selected and edited unconsciously according to one's personal dynamics, and can be used as sources of inferences regarding tacit, ingrained pre-conceptions of self and others; one's incorporated repertoire of transference paradigms; and some of the determinants which may have led to the development of these character patterns (1960, p. 1).

Thus, the assumption is that those events which were significant in shaping the life of an individual remain with him, to color the current recollections which he retains of

his past. Mayman proposes that such memories may provide sources of inferences concerning determinants leading to the development of current character patterns. Criteria are provided by Mayman (1958b) which have been found clinically useful in rating memories from the standpoint of psychoanalytic stages of ego development.

It is proposed here that the Mayman technique for evaluating early experiences should prove fruitful as a means of testing hypotheses derived from developmental theory. Evidently, this approach to developmental study has neither been attempted in systematic fashion nor proposed.

The present study will employ the evaluation of the current transference paradigms of individuals. Subjects will be adolescents and post-adolescents who differ in certain relatively known ways, and for whom differences in development can be assumed on the basis of developmental theory. Predictions concerning the early memories elicited from the two groups will be made on the basis of developmental theory.

Relevant Developmental Theory

Personality theorists who consider the adolescent period make a common assumption about the individual as he nears maturity. All suppose that development, to this point, may be divided into more or less clearly definable stages, and that by virtue of similar genetic predisposition and environmental opportunity, the vast majority of human beings

in this culture have very similar kinds of experiences in each stage.

If he is to make an adequate adjustment later on--Ausubel (1954) assumes--the individual, early in his life, comes by a good opinion of his personal worth and his ability to deal effectively with the environment. This kind of assumption is usual in psychoanalytic theory (Munroe, 1955); Erikson (1959) sees the organism, during the earliest months, as becoming committed to an attitude of trust or mistrust of other individuals and the world.

In Ausubel's view, the child's "feeling of personal worth, importance, and ability to control and manipulate the environment to his own ends" is derived from a misinterpretation of early parental subservience to infantile demands. Ordinarily, such a misinterpretation is permitted by the parents to obtain only until the age of two or three years. As the musculature matures, the child is able to get about and involve himself in difficulty, thereby motivating the parents to assume a volitionally ascendant role in the relationship. As the parent makes the option, the second stage of ego development--called by Ausubel "satellization" --is begun.

Following a period of negativistic defiance, in which the child vigorously opposes the surrender of its omnipotence, the child's interaction with the parents becomes more realistic, he realizes that he is dependent upon them,

submits to them, and is accepted and intrinsically valued by them.

Satellization is a term unique with Ausubel, but his supposition of a phase of negativistic defiance followed by alliance with the parents is common to both orthodox psychoanalytic theory and Erikson's theory. At least the defiance is expected in the negativistic, anal phase of development, in the Freudian view (Munroe, 1955). Oppositionality is a feature of the Erikson developmental period resulting in a decision between autonomy and shame or doubt (Erikson, 1959).

A position of Ausubel which he apparently shares at least with Erikson has to do with peer group relations of satellizers and non-satellizers. The former are believed to have greater recourse to continuing peer group support during later developmental difficulties. In many ways, Ausubel's description corresponds to developments of the latency period and to Erikson's theme of decision between industry and inferiority (1959). In the psychoanalytic view, however, latency is ordinarily made possible by the quiescence of the sexual urge, so that the child can then turn his attention to peers and school activities (Munroe, 1955). Thus, psychoanalysis attributes far less importance to latency than do Ausubel and Erikson.

Thus, in terms of events during the course of development, a concensus among theories would differentiate between groups of individuals, one of which has demonstrated

a successful adjustment, while the other has not. It is the thesis of the present study that these developmental differences should be reflected in parallel differences in transference paradigms revealed by the groups through their early childhood recollections.

It is proposed here that successful individuals, in terms of social or academic adjustment, will provide, in their early memories, evidence of satisfaction of oral needs, a submission to parental authority (with accompanying evidence of negativism), and greater recourse to peer group support than will unsuccessful individuals.

CHAPTER II

PROBLEM

The theoretical positions developed in the previous section indicate that a study of the current functioning of individuals should yield evidence of significant events during the course of maturation. In addition, it has been noted that a projective technique exists which may provide a means for relating contemporary characteristics of individuals to developmental phases. The purpose of this study was to investigate further the potential of this projective technique in the study of development.

Mayman and others (1958a, 1958b, 1960, 1962) developed the procedure under consideration. Mayman's procedure evaluates 10 memory-responses given by the individual concerning his early experiences. It also considers two stories which the individual remembers as having been related about him by his parents. A basis for including the stories would appear to be an opinion of Adler (previously cited) that it does not matter whether the individual actually recalls the incidents or has been told them "because even if their parents did tell them, they have

fixed it in their minds and therefore it helps to tell us where their interest lies" (1929b, p. 120).

The Mayman procedure consists of a structured interview in which there is provision for inquiry concerning outstanding details of the scene recalled, the viewpoint from which it is perceived, age at the time of the incident, and any feeling tone elicited by the recollection. The subject is encouraged to provide a specific incident, rather than any general, descriptive remarks.

In analyzing the 10 memories and two stories thus elicited from subjects, Mayman (1962) has reported that they "are found to fall with remarkable ease" into six major categories: (1) oral anaclitic relationship modes, (2) anal, (3) phallic-intrusive and phallic-locomotor, (4) phallic-sexual, (5) oedipal, and (6) latency configurations. Most subjects have difficulty in giving their precise age at the time of the recalled incidents, but since the interpretive view is one of contemporaneity, theoretically, this should make little difference.

Mayman has provided descriptions of memories and stories appropriate to the six major categories. Under Mayman's classification, most of the major categories are divided by at least four, and usually more, subclassifications. Those regarded as of greatest consequence for this study are oral optimism vs. oral pessimism, anal sublimations and reaction formations vs. anal expulsiveness and

retentiveness, and productive latency vs. inferiority and withdrawal.

The present study compared the childhood memories--as rated by a group of judges--for individuals who differed in social or academic adjustment. Subjects of the study were near the end of, or immediately beyond, the adolescent stage of development. The first phase of the research was designed to consider the validity of the Mayman technique in developmental research. The second phase consisted of a further application of the technique in the area of academic adjustment.

On the basis of theories of Ausubel (1954) and Erikson (1959), and countless clinical observations, one would predict more successful adjustment for individuals who (1) in infancy experienced satisfactory nurturant and protective care from parents or parent surrogates, (2) later modified their relationships with parents or parent surrogates in a more realistic fashion (ordinarily following a period of negativism), and (3) subsequently evidenced successful adjustment through harmonious peer relationships.

If the technique is a valid one for the study of human development, one would anticipate for individuals making a successful adolescent or post-adolescent adjustment memories featuring: (1) oral optimism (Ausubel's omnipotent stage), (2) anal configurations (Ausubel's negativistic stage), and (3) productive latency (the satellizer's

alliance with peer groups and extra-familial adult authorities). For the unsuccessful groups, one would expect less likelihood of oral optimism, an absence of anal negativism, and fewer productive latency themes.

The finding of Hedvig (1963) that the immediate life situation is of no influence on early recollections permitted the selection of subjects from widely differing environments for comparison on developmental experiences of continuing characterological significance.

For purposes of this study, individuals who had been convicted of felonies and who were serving sentences in a penal institution were defined as socially unsuccessful. Individuals described by their high school as having made satisfactory disciplinary records and who had no police records were defined as socially successful.

For the second phase, subjects who attained college grade records higher than was predicted for them--on the basis of test scores and high school records--were defined as scholastically successful. Individuals who attained college grade records lower than was predicted for them, on the same basis, were defined as scholastically unsuccessful.

The following hypotheses were tested in each of the two phases of the study:

(1) Successful subjects will present more early recollections featuring themes of oral optimism and fewer of oral pessimism than will unsuccessful subjects.

(2) Successful subjects will present themes characteristic for the anal period, whereas unsuccessful subjects will not.

(3) Successful subjects will present more themes of successful latency than will the unsuccessful.

CHAPTER III

METHOD

Eighty subjects were chosen for the present study. All were white males in good health. None was physically handicapped.

Phase 1

Social adjustment was the variable of interest in this, the validation phase of the study. Forty young men of comparable age and IQ, as measured by the California Test of Mental Maturity, Short Form (CTMM), but differing sharply in social adjustment, were chosen as subjects.

Twenty subjects were inmates at Oklahoma State Reformatory, Granite, Oklahoma. Each inmate was serving his first term in a penal institution, having been convicted on a relatively minor felony, such as auto theft, burglary, or forgery. The inmates were regarded as having been unsuccessful in social adjustment.

The comparison group consisted of 20 recent graduates of Norman High School, Norman, Oklahoma. As nearly as possible, they were matched on age and IQ with the inmates. None of the comparison group had been in difficulty with the

law, and high school authorities rated all of them as having excellent disciplinary records. These subjects were considered to have made a successful social adjustment.

Phase 2

The variable of interest in the second phase was academic adjustment. The two groups considered were composed of college students and former college students. All had attained sufficiently high scores on the American College Test (ACT) and had made sufficiently high grades in high school that they were presumed to be of at least average intellectual ability.

All had enrolled for the first time in college at the University of Oklahoma in the fall semester of 1962. Individuals in the two groups were matched on the basis of predicted grade point average, as nearly as possible.

The prediction of grade point average was made from prediction tables derived as part of a study of the 1960 freshman class at the University of Oklahoma. The study was conducted by the staff at the University of Oklahoma Guidance Service (Foster, 1964). Variables used in the prediction were the student's sex, high school grade average, and his composite score on the ACT.

The prediction tables were validated in connection with the freshman class of 1962. Following the second validation, it was concluded that the "correlations found between actual and predicted GPA's are substantially higher

than are found in most studies of this nature." The actual correlation between obtained and predicted grade point average was, on the second validation, 0.70.

Procedure

All subjects were seen individually and in private. In the case of inmates, subjects were seen in an office at Oklahoma State Reformatory. College and former high school subjects were seen in an office at the University of Oklahoma Guidance Service or at their homes, at their convenience. In any case, preliminary instructions were given to each subject as follows:

> This is an investigation concerned with the early recollections of individuals. The task that you will be asked to do will involve relating, from as early in your experience as possible, and no later than 12 years of age, certain incidents, as you actually recall them. Some of them will relate to your parents. Others may relate to incidents which you may feel rather reluctant to report.
>
> I can assure you that whatever information you provide will be held in strict confidence and that, in fact, your name will at no time be associated with it, by any person other than myself. In fact, I am interested in the results with regard to groups of persons, rather than individuals, and you may be sure that the recollections which you provide will not be singled out for any purpose which might prove embarrassing to you.
>
> You will be given plenty of time to respond on each section of the procedure we are about to begin, so there is no need to rush. Please remember that when I ask you about early recollections, a specific incident will be much preferred to any general, descriptive remarks.

To emphasize the confidentiality of information, the names of subjects were not entered on the form which was

prepared for recording early recollections. Instead, in each case, the group number (meaningless to the subject) and date were entered before the administration was begun.

In preliminary aspects of the interview, certain additional information was obtained from subjects which would permit comparisons of the socio-economic class of subjects. It was determined whether the parents were living, the combined parental income, size of home town, and amount of parental education.

In eliciting the first memory, subjects were asked to: "Think back as far as you can and try to recall your very earliest memory." As in preliminary instructions, and for subsequent segments of the interview, subjects were asked to offer a specific incident, rather than more general remarks.

When subjects had presented initial recollections to their apparent satisfaction, they were asked: "What was your reaction to the events, at the time?" An effort was made to differentiate between hearsay and actual, visual images.

Subjects were asked, further, whether or not they saw or felt themselves in the situation as recalled, their approximate age at the time of the incident, and any feeling tone evoked by the recollection. This standard procedure was repeated as the subject was asked to relate his next earliest memory, his earliest and next earliest memories of mother, his two earliest memories of father, his happiest and

most unhappy memories, two stories which his family or friends have told about him from his childhood (whether or not he remembered the incidents portrayed), any memory which he regarded as "very special," and one other memory which may have occurred to the subject during the course of the questionnaire administration.

It should be noted that the parents generally appear in other memories than the ones called for in regard to the mother and father. In fact, scoring is not related to parental or other figures. Subjects were merely asked not to duplicate memories and were asked to produce twelve distinct memories and stories. A standard procedure provided by Mayman for collecting specific kinds of recollections in briefer form, for the purposes of testing the limits of selective recall, was omitted.

The twelve memories obtained by the above procedure were rated by three volunteer judges, each of whom held the doctor of philosophy degree in psychology. When they rated the memories, the judges were not told to which experimental group the subject belonged.

The rating of judges was done by concensus, and the memory protocols were considered by the judges as a group. Judges were bound by a set of rating criteria which were slightly modified from that used by Mayman. These included general statements about the characteristics of memories scorable in a given category, as well as sample memories for

the purpose of illustration. The modified criteria are given as Appendix B.

Mayman has broken down the six major categories in three stages, in most cases. For instance, oral configurations are subdivided into oral optimistic and oral pessimistic memories. Three major themes are proposed under oral pessimistic memories: (1) basic mistrust, (2) deprivation or insufficient supplies of attention, food, or love, and (3) aggressive reactions to frustration or deprivation. The further breakdown includes, in the case of basic mistrust, (a) danger of personal extinction and (b) bleak, empty aloneness, anaclitic depression, and traumatic separation.

Only the more general categories were considered in the present study. The oral configurations were reduced to oral pessimism and oral optimism. In the case of anal configurations, recollections were subdivided into (1) those featuring retentiveness or expulsiveness and (2) those featuring sublimations and reaction formations. Each of the two phallic configurations was reduced to (1) active and (2) passive or receptive forms. Oedipal memories were sorted into (1) hostile-competitive and (2) positive harmonious classes. Latency memories were subdivided into those featuring (1) productivity and positive self-esteem and (2) inferiority, withdrawal, and isolation from or rejection by the peer group.

The scores for analysis consisted of the number of

memories for each individual falling within a particular sub-category. The following group comparisons were made with regard to the first part of the study:

(1) The oral period--the high school (comparison) group was expected to present more early recollections featuring themes of oral optimism and fewer of oral pessimism than the inmate group.

(2) The anal period--the comparison group was expected to present themes characteristic for the anal period, whereas the inmate group was not.

(3) The latency period--the comparison group was expected to present more themes of a successful latency than was the inmate group.

The following group comparisons were made with regard to the second phase:

(1) The oral period--the HA group was expected to present more early recollections featuring themes of oral optimism and fewer of oral pessimism than the LA group.

(2) The anal period--the HA group was expected to present more themes characteristic for the anal period than the LA group.

(3) The latency period--the HA group was expected to present more themes characteristic of a successful latency than was the LA group.

The data were analyzed by means of analysis of variance. Individual comparisons were made by means of the

Multiple Range Test (Duncan, 1955). The .05 level of significance was used to accept or reject the hypotheses.

CHAPTER IV

RESULTS

The results of this investigation will be presented separately for Phases 1 and 2, including presentations of matching variables for the subjects. Subsequently, all four groups of subjects will be compared.

Phase 1

Phase 1 (the validation phase) included two groups, one composed of state reformatory inmates and the second composed of recent high school graduates. All the graduates had been certified by high school authorities as having excellent disciplinary records. The high school group will hereafter be referred to as the comparison group.

Table 1

Matching of the Inmate and Comparison Groups on Age and IQ

Variable	Inmates			Comparison		
	Mean	Sigma	Range	Mean	Sigma	Range
Age	19.55	2.17	17-23	18.26	0.54	17-19
IQ	107.65	6.49	101-122	107.60	6.47	100-122

While the inmate and comparison groups were matched as closely as possible on IQ, it was not possible to match them exactly on age. As shown in Table 1, the inmates were somewhat older than were comparison group members. Seven of the 20 inmates were more than 19 years of age, whereas none of the comparison group was older than 19.

Table 2

Analysis of Variance for the Validation Phase

Source	Sum of Squares	df	Variance Estimate	F
Total	942.00	479		
Between Subjects	0.00	39	0.00	
Between Groups	0.00	1	0.00	
Within Subjects	942.00	440		
Sub-categories	2.00	1	2.00	2.36
Developmental Periods	449.43	5	89.89	106.17**
Sub-categories by Groups	1.23	1	1.23	1.45
Sub-categories by Periods	53.22	5	10.64	12.57**
Periods by Groups	10.37	5	2.07	2.45*
Sub-categories by Groups by Periods	71.87	5	14.37	16.97**
Remainder	353.88	418	0.85	

*P <.05 *P <.01

Results of the analysis of variance for the validation phase appear as Table 2. Individual comparisons of groups on the negative and positive sub-categories within developmental periods appear as Table 3. Individual comparisons of groups on developmental periods, without regard to sub-categories appear as Table 4.

Table 3

Individual Comparisons on Sub-Categories for the Validation Phase (Groups by Periods by Sub-Categories)

Periods	Sub-categories	Mean Number of Responses Inmates	Comparison	Difference
Oral	Pessimism	2.65	1.55	1.10**
	Optimism	1.85	1.90	0.05
Anal	Retentive-Expulsive	0.65	1.10	0.45
	Adaptive	0.00	0.35	0.35
Phallic-Locomotor	Passive	1.85	2.10	0.25
	Active	3.25	3.50	0.25
Phallic-Sexual	Inceptive	0.20	0.35	0.15
	Intrusive	0.30	0.05	0.25
Oedipal	Hostile-Competitive	0.35	0.05	0.30
	Positive-Harmonious	0.20	0.25	0.05
Latency	Inferiority	0.05	0.20	0.15
	Productivity	0.65	0.60	0.05

**$P < .01$

As shown in Table 2, both groups gave particular emphasis to some developmental periods and significantly less to others (F for developmental periods). Together, the

two groups emphasized different sub-categories in different periods. For instance, Table 3 reveals that the two groups, together, emphasize the retentive-expulsive category for the anal period, but the active sub-category for the phallic-locomotor period. The significant F for sub-categories by groups by periods shows that the two groups emphasized different sub-categories under different periods.

Table 4

Individual Comparisons on Developmental Period for the Validation Phase (Groups by Periods)

Periods	Mean Number of Responses		
	Inmates	Comparison	Difference
Oral	4.50	3.45	1.05**
Anal	0.65	1.45	0.80*
Phallic-Locomotor	5.10	5.60	0.50
Phallic-Sexual	0.50	0.40	0.10
Oedipal	0.55	0.30	0.25
Latency	0.70	0.80	0.10

*P <.05 **P <.01

Hypothesis 1. The initial hypothesis stated that the comparison group was expected to present more early recollections featuring themes of oral optimism and fewer of oral pessimism than the inmate group. Table 3 shows that the comparison group did present significantly fewer early

recollections featuring themes of oral pessimism than did the inmates. However, the difference between the two groups with regard to oral optimism was not significant.

Hypothesis 2. The second hypothesis stated that the comparison group was expected to present more early recollections featuring themes characteristic for the anal period than would inmates. Table 4 shows that the comparison group did, in fact, present more such themes.

Hypothesis 3. The third hypothesis was concerned with themes characteristic for the latency period, the comparison group being expected to present more such themes. As shown in Table 4, no significant differences were found with regard to latency memories.

Other differences between the two groups, which have no direct bearing on the experimental hypotheses, are presented below, under secondary findings.

Phase 2

Phase 2 (also referred to as the application phase) included two groups, a high achievement (HA) group, which, on the average, attained grades about one grade point greater than was predicted for them, and a low achievement (LA) group which, on the average, attained grades about one grade point lower than was predicted for them. Matching variables for the application phase are shown in Table 5. The mean attained GPA's for the two groups differed by almost two grade points--or the difference between a "B"

Table 5

Comparison of the HA and LA Groups on Predicted and Attained GPA's and the Difference

GPA	HA Mean	HA Sigma	HA Range	LA Mean	LA Sigma	LA Range
Predicted	1.99	0.58	0.64-2.95	2.04	0.54	1.12-2.99
Attained	2.93	0.40	1.92-3.54	1.00	0.63	0.00-2.31
Difference	0.94	0.36	0.23-1.75	1.04	0.42	0.49-2.08

and a "D". Both groups were predicted to be "Average" or "C" students. The HA group attained approximately a "B" average, while the LA group attained a "D" average.

Results of the analysis of variance for the application phase are presented in Table 6. As in the initial phase, individual comparisons of groups by sub-categories appear as Table 7. Individual comparisons of groups by developmental periods, without regard to sub-categories, appear as Table 8.

The significant F for sub-categories reveals that the two groups tended to emphasize one sub-category more than another, across all developmental periods. The significant F for developmental periods reveals that the two groups emphasized some developmental periods (for instance, oral and phallic-locomotor) more than others (for instance, phallic-sexual and oedipal), as was the case in the first phase. In the case of sub-categories by periods, the two

Table 6

Analysis of Variance for the Application Phase

Source	Sum of Squares	df	Variance Estimate	F
Total	962.00	479		
Between Subjects	0.00	39	0.00	
Between Groups	0.00	1	0.00	
Within Subjects	962.00	440		
Sub-categories	10.80	1	10.80	13.54***
Developmental Periods	526.42	5	105.29	132.02***
Sub-categories by Groups	0.03	1	0.03	0.04
Sub-categories by Periods	43.28	5	8.66	10.85***
Sub-categories by Periods by Groups	46.38	5	9.28	11.63***
Remainder	333.37	418	0.80	

***P < .001

groups, together, emphasized different sub-categories in different periods. For instance, as shown in Table 7, they more heavily emphasized the retentive-expulsive sub-category for the anal period, but the active sub-category for the phallic-sexual period.

Table 7

Individual Comparisons on Sub-Categories for the Application Phase (Groups by Periods by Sub-Categories)

Periods	Sub-categories	Mean Number of Responses HA	LA	Difference
Oral	Pessimism	1.65	1.60	0.05
	Optimism	1.70	1.65	0.05
Anal	Retentive-Expulsive	0.60	0.70	0.10
	Adaptive	0.10	0.10	0.00
Phallic-Locomotor	Passive	2.60	2.35	0.25
	Active	3.55	3.60	0.05
Phallic-Sexual	Inceptive	0.00	0.25	0.25
	Intrusive	0.10	0.05	0.05
Oedipal	Hostile-Competitive	0.05	0.00	0.05
	Positive-Harmonious	0.35	0.05	0.30
Latency	Inferiority	0.15	0.25	0.10
	Productivity	1.15	1.40	0.25

None significant.

Hypotheses. None of the three hypotheses for the application phase was supported. Further, the two groups did not differ on any of the developmental periods or sub-categories, as shown in Tables 7 and 8.

Table 8

Individual Comparisons on Developmental Period for the Application Phase (Groups by Periods)

Period	Mean Number of Responses HA	LA	Difference
Oral	3.35	3.25	0.10
Anal	0.70	0.80	0.10
Phallic-Locomotor	6.15	5.95	0.20
Phallic-Sexual	0.10	0.30	0.20
Oedipal	0.40	0.05	0.35
Latency	1.30	1.65	0.35

None significant.

As in the case of the validation phase, additional findings for this portion of the study, not strictly relevant for the hypotheses, will be considered below, under secondary findings.

Combined Analysis

So that all four groups of the present study might be compared, and so that secondary findings might be thrown into sharper relief, an overall analysis of variance was done. The analysis is presented as Table 9. Table 10 shows all means for the four groups, and individual comparisons among the four groups on periods and sub-categories are presented as Tables 11 through 17.

Table 9

Analysis of Variance
for All Groups

Source	Sum of Squares	df	Variance Estimate	F
Total	1,904.00	959		
Between Subjects	0.00	79	0.00	
Between Groups	0.00	1	0.00	
Within Subjects	1,904.00	880		
Sub-categories	12.15	1	12.15	14.96***
Developmental Periods	959.21	5	191.84	236.26***
Sub-categories by Groups	1.92	3	0.64	0.79
Groups by Periods	28.74	15	1.92	2.36**
Sub-categories by Groups	87.99	15	17.60	21.67***
Sub-categories by Groups by Periods	135.54	15	9.04	11.13***
Remainder	678.45	836	0.81	

**P <.01 ***P <.001

Table 10

Means for All Four Groups

Period	Sub-categories	Inmates	Comparison	HA	LA
Oral	Pessimism	2.65	1.55	1.65	1.60
	Optimism	1.85	1.90	1.70	1.65
Anal	Retentive-Expulsive	0.65	1.10	0.60	0.70
	Adaptive	0.00	0.35	0.10	0.10
Phallic-Locomotor	Passive	1.85	2.10	2.60	2.35
	Active	3.25	3.50	3.55	3.60
Phallic-Sexual	Inceptive	0.20	0.35	0.00	0.25
	Intrusive	0.30	0.05	0.10	0.05
Oedipal	Hostile-Competitive	0.35	0.05	0.05	0.00
	Positive-Harmonious	0.20	0.25	0.35	0.05
Latency	Inferiority	0.05	0.20	0.15	0.25
	Productivity	0.65	0.60	1.15	1.40

The findings with regard to the oral developmental period are made more evident in Tables 11 and 12. Inmates exceeded all others in emphasis on the oral period (Table 11), and virtually all of this difference can be accounted for in their much greater emphasis on oral pessimism (Table 12). The HA, LA, and comparison groups did not differ among themselves with regard to oral pessimism. There were no differences among the four groups on oral optimism.

Table 11

Differences Between Oral Period Means

Groups	Comparison	Differences HA	LA
Inmates	1.05**	1.15**	1.25**
Comparison		0.10	0.20
HA			0.10

**P <.01

Table 12

Differences Between Oral Pessimism Means

Groups	Comparison	Differences HA	LA
Inmates	1.10**	1.00**	1.05**
Comparison		0.10	0.05
HA			0.05

**P <.01

As shown in Table 13, the comparison group alone stands out among the four groups in regard to the anal developmental period. There were no differences among the groups with regard to anal sub-categories.

Table 13

Differences Between Anal Period Means

Groups	Comparison	HA	LA
Inmates	0.80**	0.05	0.15
Comparison		0.75**	0.65**
HA			0.10

**P <.01

Table 14

Differences Between Phallic-Locomotor Means

Groups	Differences		
	Comparison	HA	LA
Inmates	0.50	1.05**	0.85**
Comparison		0.75**	0.65**
HA			0.10

**P <.01

The inmate and comparison groups presented significantly fewer phallic-locomotor themes than either the HA or LA groups (Table 14). In the case of the HA group, these differences can be accounted for primarily in terms of phallic-locomotor memories rated as passive or receptive in orientation (Table 15). As shown in Table 15, the HA and

LA groups again did not differ, although HA exceeded both the first phase groups, whereas LA exceeded neither.

Table 15

Differences Between Passive Phallic-Locomotor Means

Groups	Comparison	Differences HA	LA
Inmates	0.25	0.75**	0.50
Comparison		0.50	0.25
HA			0.25

**P <.01

Table 16

Differences Between Latency Period Means

Groups	Comparison	Differences HA	LA
Inmates	0.10	0.60	0.95**
Comparison		0.50	0.85**
HA			0.35

**P <.01

In Tables 16 and 17, differences between means for the four groups for the latency developmental period and for positive latency experiences are shown, respectively.

Table 17

Differences Between Positive Latency Means

Groups	Comparison	Differences HA	LA
Inmates	0.05	0.40	0.75**
Comparison		0.55	0.80**
HA			0.25

**P <.01

The LA group emphasized this memory response to a greater extent than either first phase group. The first phase groups did not differ on latency, nor did the HA group differ from them. There were no differences among the groups with regard to the isolation or withdrawal sub-category. However, LA emphasized memories featuring constructive social activity to a greater extent than either the inmate or comparison groups.

Secondary Findings

Following collection of data for the validation phase, it was noted that inmates presented more themes of physical injury to themselves than did the comparison group. The same relationship held with regard to the HA and LA groups, the latter compiling the larger number of physical injury themes. This was, in fact, the only variable on

which the LA and HA groups differed, significantly, when they were considered independently of the Phase 1 groups. Inmates presented 25 memories of physical injury, the low achievers 23, and the HA and comparison groups 11 each.

Since the assumption of independence was tenable in these cases, the hypothesis of no difference was tested by means of Chi square. In the case of the validation phase, the resulting Chi square was 5.44; $P < .02$. For the application phase, the Chi square resulting was 4.24; $P < .05$.

CHAPTER V

DISCUSSION

It has been proposed that memories are as selective as perceptual processes, having relevance for the contemporary personality and life situation of the individual. Further, it is believed that one's memories not only can serve a significant role in helping one to understand an individual, but, in addition, recollections might provide valuable data in studying the developmental significance of certain classes of events or experiences.

Mayman (1958a, 1958b, 1960, 1962) has done some pioneering work in the development of a technique for systematically eliciting and categorizing early memories, and it is this technique which the present study utilized for exploratory purposes. The Mayman procedure was modified to some extent so that rather gross indications of early development could be scored in relatively objective fashion.

To facilitate such exploration, early memories were elicited from each member of two relatively "known" groups of individuals: (1) graduating high school seniors with good disciplinary records and (2) state reformatory inmates.

The same early memories procedure also was applied with two relatively "unknown" groups of individuals, one of which did better than was expected and the other poorer than expected in their first semester of college study.

It is felt that the use of such atypical groups is justified in that the goal of the study is the development of an experimental procedure, and not in making general statements about people or classes of individuals. This discussion, then, will be primarily concerned with the technique and its validity.

The Validation Phase

The Early Memories Inventory produced results which significantly discriminated the inmates from the comparison group on the basis of memories involving oral pessimism. There was no significant difference between the inmate and comparison groups with regard to oral optimistic memory responses.

Most of the oral memories of inmates reflected frustrations of oral needs, threats to survival, and the like. All of these, one speculates, would color the world as a dangerous impediment, rather than a field of optimistically viewed opportunities for development. The feeling tone of such recollections is exemplified in the following:

> (Earliest memory of mother) I was about six when she had my little brother. She was in the hospital for a while. I stayed with a next-door neighbor. She came home and had my little brother with her. I was happy when she came back. While I was staying at the

neighbors' I kept wishing she'd come home and asking when she'd come back. I was just told she was in the hospital, sick.

(Story told about him) My mother told me about one time I had the measles. There was snow on the ground. It was right after I was born. I nearly died. Dad walked several miles through the snow to get me a doctor.

(Earliest memory of mother) I was about eight or nine. She had my little brother. I stayed at my grandmother's house. She went to the hospital. I felt strange, down at my grandmother's house, my mother not around.

In contrast to these are some examples of "missing parent" memories offered by members of the comparison group. These, however, were scored as oral optimistic:

(Second earliest memory of father) Mother had gone to work in (a variety store) during the Christmas rush. Nearly every night my father would take us to the show and give us a dime to spend. Mother would get off about 9 p.m. I enjoyed going to a movie nearly every night.

(Happiest memory) It was on my fifth birthday. We had gone to California. Dad was working and couldn't come out with us--my mother, brother, and me. On my birthday, he came and gave me a bubble-blowing set, or something like that. If I had more fun with anything I don't remember it.

The inmates produced a mean of 4.50 memories involving orality, while the comparison group had a significantly lower mean of 3.40. This difference, which is the most distinguishing characteristic of the two groups' memories, certainly reflects the expected deficiency in the personality development of inmates. While the pessimistic memories (e.g. abandonment, threats to existence, frustrations) were more expected, the optimistic memories given by the inmates seemed, to the individuals rating them, to reflect the wish

or the need for a successful nurturant relationship, which probably had not existed in a large number of cases.

It is relevant here to consider additional data about family background which were collected along with the memories. Fourteen of the 20 inmates were from tangibly broken homes. That is, one or both parents were dead, or the parents were divorced or separated.

Among the remaining six, there was clear evidence, in four cases, of emotional separation of the subject from one or both parents. Certain statements by the inmates illustrate the point:

> I never could get along with Dad.
>
> I looked on Dad as the person who came home once a week and brought me a toy. My Daddy was an habitual drinker but not an alcoholic. My mother would never let me have friends over when he was drinking.

In another case, the father was away from home for many years during the subject's childhood and received only minimal reference in recollections. In more than one of the six cases which did not include a tangibly broken home, there were several recollections of destructive acting out by parents. In addition, the child was often supported in similarly destructive acting out by the parents. Fights and alcoholic displays on the part of the parents were almost a regular feature. Thus, 18 of the 20 inmates were from broken homes, for all practical purposes.

In rather sharp contrast to the inmates, the comparison group included only three individuals from

tangibly broken homes. The death of the father was responsible for the separation in two of the three cases. There was only one home broken by divorce.

Even in these three cases, however, the situation was somewhat different, since in each case of the father's death, the larger family context provided a consistent "fathering" figure. In one case, the subject and his mother lived with the grandparents, the grandfather consistently assuming the role of the father. In the other case, the subject was 10 years old at the father's death and other adult males of the parents' families then assumed paternal roles. In the single case involving divorce of the parents, that divorce did not come until after the period covered by the early childhood memories (up to 13 years of age).

With regard to family resources other than the parents, again there were striking differences between the inmate and comparison individuals, even when the basic family constellation remained intact. Comparison group members gave evidence of much greater availability of uncles, aunts, grandparents, and other relatives, and it appeared that these relatives were important sources of identification for the subjects. For instance, it was quite common for comparison group members to refer to a strong attachment for a grandfather, but such references were rare among inmates.

Relative to the anal period, inmates presented

significantly fewer memories of encounter with authority than the comparison group. Individuals in the comparison group gave an average of 1.45 memories involving anality, while the mean for the inmate group was 0.65. For the inmate group, when encounters with authority, relative to the anal period, did occur, they were exclusively passive-aggressive or uncontrolledly expulsive in nature. In contrast, the comparison group gave evidence of a tendency toward conformity with authority by means of reaction formations and sublimations.

With regard to the latency period, the two groups did not differ, the inmates producing a mean of 0.70 latency recollections, and comparison group members relating an average of 0.80 latency memories.

In summary, then, we may say of the two validation phase groups that the inmates showed greater evidence of having formed an attitude of basic mistrust with regard to the world, that they experienced a lack of fulfillment, and that there is about them an air of dissatisfaction, of sour resentment. There is further evidence that they do not merely yearn for that which they feel is missing in their lives, but were aggressively demanding and grasping, the fruits of such action never filling the void left by early deprivation.—

Mayman interprets memories of oral deprivation as referring "back to the earliest forms of child-mother and

child-world relationships." In this phase, the child's survival depends upon the love provided by parents. The absence of such feeling of the parent for the child may leave the latter with a life-long sense of "impending disintegration." Losses at this period are likely to be more severe in their consequences than failures at any other period:

> Wishes are relatively undifferentiated, and easily 'flood' the ego-system. Not to be fed is a more 'total' frustration than failure at a later age to obtain some coveted object, because at the earlier anaclitic stage there are virtually no resources to which an infant can turn for solace or escape (1958b).

In psychiatric terminology, then, we would refer to the inmates as giving considerable evidence of "oral character" formation, a deviant pattern described by Erikson as being characterized by fears "of being left empty, or simply of being left, and also of being starved of stimulation." The later effects of such feelings may be expressed in "a cruel need to get and take in ways harmful to others" (1959, p. 61).

It might be inferred that, being rejected by their parents in ways which deprived them of satisfaction of oral needs, the inmates, as well, were given no disciplinary support which they could assimilate, in contrast to the comparison group. The latter often gave evidence of harmonious adjustment to authority which was never the case among inmates. Rebellion is, indeed, to be expected, and there was usually evidence of it, but there was much more

evidence of it among comparison group members than among inmates.

According to Mayman (1958b) difficulties of the anal period occur as "the child . . . has advanced to more differentiated self-other relationship modes, and the conflict now concerns where and how his own ego boundaries shall be drawn . . ." The critical issue here is the "pitting of the child's will against the parents'." The child must become differentiated from those on whom he must depend, and he must find for himself some means of maintaining a satisfactory relationship with the parents.

On the basis of data from the validation phase, we would conclude that the Mayman technique for the study of early recollections has been demonstrated to be of considerable value in the study of such extreme groups as were considered here.

The Application Phase

The HA and LA groups did not differ, in their memory responses, in any of the predicted ways. Some differences between the groups were noted "after-the-fact," and these suggest methods for "sharpening" the technique under consideration. They will be discussed below.

Combined Analysis

The most striking result of the comparisons among all four of the groups had to do with the sequentially

greater emphasis on developmental periods. From the overall standpoint, it can be said that the four groups were more alike in their responses to the developmental periods than they were different. The phallic-locomotor period received greatest emphasis, individuals of the four groups producing a mean of 5.70 recollections rated as falling in this category. The mean for the oral period was 3.625; for latency, 1.1125; for anal, 0.90, and for oedipal and phallic-sexual, 0.325.

The pattern of emphasis did not vary among groups, although for the inmates, there was very little difference in emphasis between oral and phallic periods. The inmates produced a mean of 4.50 recollections scorable as oral and 5.10 scorable as phallic-locomotor.

More than any other group, the inmates reported memories scorable as oral. As noted, they produced a mean of 4.50, compared to means of 3.40, 3.35, and 3.25 for the comparison, HA, and LA groups, in that order. The latter three groups did not differ among themselves, although the inmate mean was significantly different from all three.

This result lends further support to the interpretation of the inmate responses as evidence of oral pessimistic character development. All differences among the groups on oral responses can be accounted for by their differences in oral pessimistic responses. The inmates produced a mean of 2.65 such responses, compared to means

of 1.55, 1.65, and 1.60 for the comparison, HA, and LA groups, respectively. The four groups did not differ in the production of oral optimistic responses.

It might be pointed out here that the hypothesis formulated with reference to oral optimism predicted that the comparison and high achievement groups would produce more oral optimistic themes, and thus would give evidence of what Erikson calls "oral optimistic character" formation. He describes such individuals as ones who have "learned to make giving and receiving the most important thing in life" (1959, p. 62). This characterological tendency is somewhat like the oral receptive orientation described by Munroe:

> The receptive orientation anticipates and deeply requires support from the outside--from parents, friends, authorities, God. By themselves, people with this orientation feel helpless and alone. Optimistic, friendly, loving, when things go well, they easily become anxious and distraught at any rebuff or equivocation on the part of authorities on which they depend. The strength of their masters is essential to their security, even if the masters are selfish and cruel (1955, p. 469).

A consideration of the anal developmental period threw the four groups into a different perspective. Here, the comparison group stood out over all others, attaining a mean in anal memories of 1.45, compared to means of 0.65, 0.70, and 0.80 for the inmate, HA, and LA groups in that order.

It can be concluded, then, that the only one of the four groups chosen with particular emphasis on conformity to authority has produced more memories of early,

anal-characteristic, conflict with authority, the conflicts rather clearly defining the comparison group members as subordinates. That they are not now merely submissive to authority, but able to assume authority is indicated by the fact that comparison group members included class officers, including the class president, and two or three outstanding athletes, including the football captain. A large number of these individuals, although living at home, were partially self-supporting.

We could most safely say that they evidence, in their characterological development, some characteristics of what Erikson terms the "compulsive personality," with its traits of punctuality, cleanliness, and conformity. An observation of the experimenter is relevant in this case. Of all four groups, the comparison and HA groups were most cooperative when asked to participate in the study. In fact, more comparison group members participated than were required by the research design.

Differences among the groups are also apparent with regard to category III--phallic-locomotor activity. Here, the two college groups produced significantly more memories than either group of the initial phase. The HA and LA individuals did not differ significantly, producing means of 6.15 and 5.95, respectively. In contrast, the inmate and comparison groups produced means of 5.10 and 5.60, in that order. The latter difference was not statistically significant.

The inmate group, then, gives little evidence, in comparison to other groups, of concern with "assertiveness, conquest or mastery," in Mayman's words:

> The modal characteristic of these memories is that of meeting the world head on or of making a self-assertive, intrusive impact upon one's surroundings so that one is admired, respected or feared for his size, power, or effectiveness.

While the means for the second phase groups were somewhat greater than that for the validation phase groups, with regard to active phallic-locomotor memories, much of the discrepancy for the HA group is produced from the standpoint of passive or receptive phallic recollections. With regard to the latter classification, means for the inmate, comparison, HA, and LA groups were, respectively, 1.85, 2.10, 2.60, and 2.35, the HA group exceeding inmates significantly.

In contrast to at least the inmates, then, the high achievers present more recollections of passive phallic-locomotor activities and of being the object of phallic-aggressive assault. With regard to these two categories, Mayman points out:

> We should avoid the preconception that such passive attitudes . . . are characteristic only of women. Such passive memories do occur in men. One should be careful not to assume that every passive self-representation by a man is based upon an oral-anaclitic relationship mode; passive memories may represent a passive-feminine disposition at the phallic level.

Other passive phallic-locomotor memories may represent quite the opposite of triumph in that the subject represents

himself as the object of assault or as being overpowered. In consequence of such a role, the subject may become timid, compliant, or subdued. "Such a memory may be a vehicle for implicity saying 'look how cruelly I have been handled by people (or by fate).'"

This is not to say that there was much of this note in the phallic recollections of high achievers. In fact, the present study was so designed that such fine differentiations could not be made. Nor is it true that any of the four groups presented more passive than active phallic recollections. The two college groups presented more of both active and passive phallic-locomotor. The difference between active and passive was smaller in the case of over-achievers, however. Until finer distinctions can be made, however, one can merely speculate about the contribution of passive-feminine tendencies to college achievement in males. It was previously noted, however, that the comparison (anal) group and the high achievers were more cooperative than the other two groups. It may be that they are characteristically compliant in regard to individuals or institutions whom they perceive as authorities.

Very few memory responses were scorable as falling in the phallic-sexual and oedipal categories by any of the four groups, and no differences in these two categories were statistically significant.

More than either first phase group, the low achievers

emphasized the latency period of development. LA members produced a mean of 1.65 such recollections, in contrast to means of 1.30, 0.80, and 0.70 for the HA, comparison, and inmate groups. Although the second phase groups did not differ with regard to sub-categories, the LA group was significantly different from the inmate and comparison groups with regard to productive latency, the means for this sub-category being 1.40, 1.15, 0.60, and 0.65 for the LA, HA, comparison, and inmate groups, respectively.

Mayman's interpretation of latency memories is somewhat more ambiguous than for the preceding categories. It seems clear that they apply to relationships with peer groups, in contrast to family relationships. But one may also infer that this period "may be hypercathected by an individual to avoid the recall of painful memories from an earlier period," according to Mayman.

Thus, two possible interpretations remain, with regard to this period. First, the low achievers may have emphasized socialization with peers to a greater extent than the inmate and comparison groups. Secondly, it may also be inferred that they emphasize this theme as one means of avoiding painful memories from an earlier period.

The latter interpretation seems rather unlikely, however, in that the HA and LA groups did not differ in their overall emphasis on the sub-categories, one of which could be considered more negative in tone or unfavorable for

development than the other. Where the two groups did differ in this regard--with respect to themes of personal injury, which will be discussed later--the low achievement group emphasized such themes, in contrast to the HA group.

To summarize, it can be concluded that the inmates gave greater indication of oral pessimistic characteristics than any other group, and less emphasis on passive phallic-locomotor activities than the second phase groups.

The comparison group placed greatest emphasis on anal content in memory responses. The low-achievement group placed greater emphasis on latency than the first phase groups.

For the high achievement group, there was greater emphasis on phallic-locomotor activities than by the first phase groups, much of this attributable to passive orientation.

Secondary Findings

Most striking among the unpredicted findings had to do with the production of themes of personal injury. Most clearly of all score categories, it differentiates between the successful and unsuccessful individuals in the present study. Inmates presented a mean of 1.25 such recollections, the LA group a mean of 1.15, and the HA and comparison groups means of 0.55.

As noted, none of the subjects was physically handicapped, and there was no evidence from any other source

that physical injury had played a major role in the structuring of their lives. In addition, the physical injuries mentioned were ordinarily not major in their consequences--a fall into a cactus, a fall from a horse or bicycle, a blow from an older sibling or playmate, or being pierced or slashed, in a minor way, by a sharp object.

According to Mayman's procedure, such recollections, depending on other features, might be scored as oral pessimistic, active or passive phallic-locomotor, or intrusive or inceptive phallic-sexual. There is, however, some theoretical basis for interpreting them all as oral pessimistic.

Such an interpretation could be based on that of Kaufman and Heims (1958), who studied the phantasy productions of juvenile delinquents. Kaufman and Heims hypothesize that a loss of relationship at a very early stage of ego development is equated by the child with a loss of body substance. A depressive nucleus is produced in the individual "by the trauma of the loss of a parenting figure through either repeated actual or psychological separations."

Such a loss, Kaufman and Heims suggest, might occur when a child is pushed too prematurely toward an adult interaction with the world, thereby being deprived of needed parental care. For the individuals studied by Kaufman and Heims, the parents characteristically maintained a sado-masochistic manner of relating. The separations and losses

(losses of body substance) were attributed by the child to sadistic acts of the parents.

Although it now appears likely that the Kaufman and Heims interpretation of phantasy productions would apply, further study of the meaning of personal injury memories is indicated. The appearance of this consistent discrepancy between the successful and unsuccessful groups would seem to point toward a unitary meaning and scoring of such memories.

Conclusions

The Mayman technique successfully differentiated a group of antisocial individuals from a group of socially conforming individuals. On the basis of data yielded by the technique, one would be justified in stating that the group of antisocial individuals considered here recalled severe deprivation during the oral period of development more frequently than the group with which they were compared. Under the conditions of this research, they presented fewer memory responses related to conflict with authority, relative to the anal period.

A note concerning the meaning of "conflict with authority" as used here seems appropriate. It refers to a conflict of wills, ordinarily between child and parent, which can be described as passive-aggressive or willfully expulsive in nature. It should be borne in mind that oral aggressive and phallic-locomotor behavior may bring one into conflict with authority, but only as a byproduct of the

activity. Such conflict is not the primary aim of oral and phallic activity, as is the case with anal behavior.

Any further interpretation of these findings must, of course, rest on the assumption that the production of early memories relative to a given developmental period reflects developmental events in that period. It has been shown, however, that current developmental theory would predict the results obtained here.

Hypotheses concerning the early memory production of the two college level groups were not supported. Thus, predictions were accurate with regard to groups deviating in social adjustment, but not with regard to groups deviating only in scholastic adjustment. It might be noted here that developmental theory is much more consistent and clear in statements made about developmental occurrences contributing to social success or failure than about occurrences contributing to scholastic success or failure.

One might speculate that while social adjustment involves developmental differences, scholastic achievement does not. In fact, however, all four groups can be viewed from the standpoint of scholastic attainment. It has been pointed out that all inmates were educationally retarded and that ordinarily the retardation was severe. Many inmates withdrew from school in the earliest grades and some were virtually illiterate, while all members of the comparison group were high school graduates who had made consistent,

satisfactory progress.

In evaluating the four groups from this standpoint, then, it would appear that the groups of Phase 1 represent extreme contrast on educational achievement, whereas the groups of Phase 2 represent only a moderate contrast on that variable. It would, thus, not be surprising that the differences in development between the latter two groups would not be as striking as developmental differences between the former groups. It might be speculated that larger samples with regard to the achievement variable would lead to statistically reliable differences.

While the technique considered here is provided some support as a research procedure to implement the contemporaneous approach to human development study, others might prove equally feasible and perhaps more effective. Speculations about development--parent-child relations, in particular--are common in connection with the clinical application of projective techniques. Other such techniques than the one considered here might be adapted for more systematic study.

Some suggestions have been made for altering the early memories procedure for developmental study, and additional study of "known groups" may lead to more such suggestions. The finding with regard to personal injuries suggests that, with further development, the technique under consideration might achieve a precision which would permit

rather extensive study of "unknown" groups of individuals whose developmental experiences are sources for continuing speculation, but concerning which research presents insurmountable problems. A ready example is provided by creative individuals, rather rare in the general population, so that few would probably appear in any sample chosen for longitudinal study of any intensity.

Initial study of individuals of known creative productivity, by means of the contemporaneous approach, might aid in the planning of more standard, longitudinal and cross-sectional studies.

It should be noted that additional analyses of early memories collected by the Mayman technique can be made and might prove fruitful. Although the rating procedure might prove rather onerous, memories might be considered more completely than was done in the present study--that is, from the standpoint of the complete Mayman breakdown, beyond the major sub-categories considered here.

In addition, groups might be contrasted from the standpoint of their earliest memories of mother, father, and the like, which was not done here. The memories of special importance might be worth further consideration, as well as all memories of "free choice" vs. structured choice.

Special scoring problems were presented by stories which subjects reported as being told about them by parents or friends. They were often not accompanied by affect,

which facilitated the scoring of actual recollections. When they were, however, there seemed to be striking differences among groups with regard to the affective quality. For instance, raters were unanimous in noting a quality of "cuteness" in stories reported by the comparison group. Such "cuteness" was rare in the case of stories reported by inmates.

Probably such qualitative differences can be made specific to a given category, upon further study. One guess is that it would relate to oral optimism.

An additional point which may prove to be of major importance in further study has to do with the complexity of memories. Inmates ordinarily presented rather simple, unitary recollections which presented little scoring difficulty. However, it appeared that many memories of the comparison group could be scored in more than one way. Perhaps the complexity of memories is a variable of importance. It may, for instance, be related to the psychosexual maturity of the individual. Certainly, this variable warrants further consideration.

CHAPTER VI

SUMMARY

This study was designed to determine whether or not a projective technique based on the analysis of early childhood memories might prove useful in the study of human development. In a test of this usefulness, three predictions were made with regard to differences in early childhood memories of two groups of individuals differing markedly in social adjustment. One group was composed of 20 inmates at Oklahoma State Reformatory. The second group was composed of recent high school graduates whom school authorities described as having excellent disciplinary records.

It was predicted that the high school group would present more early memories rated as characteristic for the anal period of psychosexual development, fewer rated as oral pessimistic, and more rated as oral optimistic than would the inmates. Predictions with regard to anal and oral pessimistic memories were borne out. However, the two groups did not differ in memories rated as oral optimistic, nor did they differ in regard to memories rated as latency.

In a second phase of the study, two groups which

differed in regard to college achievement were compared on early memory production. It was found that they did not differ with regard to types of memories recalled.

A comparison of all four groups considered in the study led to the conclusion that they were similar, in their responses to the major categories, emphasizing, in order, the phallic-locomotor, oral, latency, anal, oedipal, and phallic-sexual categories. However, each group tended to emphasize one category more than any other group, and the categories receiving such emphasis differed from group to group.

More than the other three groups, inmates emphasized the oral category in their memory-responses. The comparison group produced significantly more anal memory-responses, while the high achievement and low achievement groups emphasized the phallic-locomotor and latency categories, respectively.

Apart from the major categories of the memory technique, the most effective means for differentiating between the groups of both phases of the study was through a consideration of themes of personal injury in early memory responses. In each phase of the study, the unsuccessful group produced significantly more such themes than did the successful group.

A rationale for including all themes of personal injury under the oral pessimistic sub-category was discussed. The findings with regard to personal injury themes suggests

that other means might be found for modifying the early memories procedure so that it might be made more useful in the study of human development.

It was concluded that the Mayman technique has been shown as promising for developmental study. Such a procedure, it was suggested, might find application in regard to problems presently beyond the scope of existing developmental study techniques.

REFERENCES

Adler, A. Problems of neurosis: a book of case-histories. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Truebner, 1929. (a)

Adler, A. The science of living. New York: Greenberg, 1929. (b)

Adler, A. Individual psychology. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Truebner, 1946.

Alexander, F. Current problems in dynamic psychotherapy in its relationship to psychoanalysis. In Masserman, J. H., & Moreno, J. L. (Eds.), Progress in psychotherapy, Vol. V. New York: Grune-Stratton, 1960.

Ausubel, D. P. Problems of adolescent adjustment. Bull. Natl. Assn. Secondary Sch. Principals, 1950, 34, 1-84. (a)

Ausubel, D. P. Negativism as a phase of ego development. Am. J. Orthopsychiat., 1950, 20, 796-805. (b)

Ausubel, D. P. Theory and problems of adolescent development. New York: Grune-Stratton, 1954.

Bach, G. R. Some diadic functions of childhood memories. J. Psychol., 1952, 33, 87-98.

Bartlett, F. L. Remembering: a study of experimental and social psychology. New York: Macmillan, 1932.

Bell, R. Q. Retrospective and prospective views of early personality development. Merrill-Palmer Quart., 1960, 6, 131-144.

Berman, L. A. The projective interpretation of early recollections. Univer. of Michigan doctoral dissertation, 1957.

Broadsky, P. The diagnostic importance of early recollections. Amer. J. Psychother., 1952, 6, 484-493.

Chess, Stella. Utilization of childhood memories in psychoanalytic therapy. J. child Psychiat., 1951, 2, 187-193.

Child, I. L. The relation between measures of infantile amnesia and neuroticism. J. abnorm. soc. Psychol., 1940, 35, 453-456.

Colegrove, F. W. Individual memories. Amer. J. Psychol., 1899, 10, 228-255.

Crook, M. N., & Harden, L. A quantitative investigation of early memories. J. soc. Psychol., 1931, 2, 252-255.

Dudycha, G. J., & Dudycha, M. M. Adolescents' memories of preschool experiences. J. genet. Psychol., 1933, 42, 468-480.

Dudycha, G. J., & Dudycha, M. M. Childhood memories: a review of the literature. Psychol. Bull., 1941, 38, 668-682.

Duncan, D. B. Multiple range and multiple F tests. Biometrics, 1955, 2, 1-42.

Eisenstein, V. W., & Ryerson, R. Psychodynamic significance of the first conscious memory. Bull. Menninger Clinic, 1951, 15, 213-220.

Erikson, E. H. The healthy personality. In Klein, G. S. (Ed.), Psychological issues. New York: International Universities, 1959.

Foster, Dorothy A. Validation of the 1960 grade prediction tables. Unpublished manuscript, Norman, Oklahoma: Univer. of Oklahoma, Guidance Service, 1962.

Freud, S. Childhood and concealing memories. In The basic writings of Sigmund Freud. New York: Modern Library, 1938.

Freud, S. Screen memories. In Vol. V, Collected papers. London: Hogarth, 1950.

Freud, S. Three essays on sexuality. In Vol. VII, The Complete psychological works of Sigmund Freud. London: Hogarth, 1953.

Friedmann, Alice. Early childhood memories of mental patients. Indiv. Psychol. Bull., 1950, 8, 111-115.

Gordon, Kate. A study of early memories. J. Delinquency, 1928, 12, 129-132.

Hall, C. S., & Lindzey, G. Theories of personality. New York: Wiley, 1957.

Hartmann, H. Psychoanalysis and developmental psychology. In The Psychoanalytic study of the child, Vol. V. New York: International Universities, 1950.

Hedvig, Eleanor B. Stability of early recollections and Thematic Apperception Test stories. J. indiv. Psychol., 1963, 19, 49-54.

Henri, V., & Henri, C. Earliest recollections. Pop. Sci. Monthly, 1898, 53, 108-115.

Kahana, R. J., Weiland, I., Snyder, B., & Rosenbaum, M. The value of early memories in psychotherapy. Psychiat. Quart., 1953, 27, 73-82.

Kaufman, I. Three basic sources for pre-delinquent character. Nerv. child, 1955, 11, 12-15.

Kaufman, I., & Heims, Lora. The body image of the juvenile delinquent. Amer. J. Orthopsychiat., 1958, 28, 146-159.

Kaufman, I. The defensive aspects of impulsivity. Bull. Menninger Clin., 1963, 27, 24-32.

Lewin, K. Principles of topological psychology. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1936.

Lewin, K. Field theory in social science. Cartwright, D. (Ed.). New York: Harper, 1951.

MacColl, Sylvia N. A comparative study of the systems of Lewin and Koffka with special reference to memory phenomena. Contrib. Psychol. Theory, 1939, 2, No. 1.

Mayman, M., & Faris, Mildred. The use of early memories as a diagnostic procedure in work with patients and relatives. Paper read at Amer. Orthopsychiat. Ass., Chicago, March, 1958. (a)

Mayman, M., Smith, S., & Haigh, G. Early memories and relationship paradigms. Unpublished manuscript, Topeka, Kansas: Menninger Clinic, 1958. (b)

Mayman, M., & Faris, Mildred. Early memories as expressions of relationship paradigms. Amer. J. Orthopsychiat., 1960, 30, 507-520.

Mayman, M. Early memories and abandoned ego states. Paper read at Amer. Psychol. Ass., St. Louis, August, 1962.

Mekeel, H. S. Family relations and childhood memories. In Murray, H. A. (Ed.), Explorations in personality. New York: Oxford, 1938.

Meltzer, H. Individual differences in forgetting pleasant and unpleasant experiences. J. educ. Psychol., 1930, 21, 399-409.

Meltzer, H. The forgetting of unpleasant and pleasant experiences in relation to intelligence and achievement. J. soc. Psychol., 1931, 2, 216-229.

Miles, Caroline. A study of individual psychology. Amer. J. Psychol., 1895, 4, 534-558.

Mosak, H. H. Early recollections as a projective technique. J. proj. Tech., 1958, 22, 302-334.

Munroe, Ruth L. Schools of psychoanalytic thought. New York: Holt, 1955.

Murray, H. A. The genetic investigation of personality: childhood events. In Murray, H. A. (Ed.), Explorations in personality. New York: Oxford, 1938.

Plottke, P. First memories of normal and delinquent girls. Ind. Psychol. Bull., 1949, 7, 15-20.

Potwin, Elizabeth. A study of early memories. Psychol. Rev., 1901, 8, 596-601.

Saul, L. J., Snyder, T. R., & Sheppard, Edith. On earliest memories. Psychoanalytic Quart., 1956, 25, 228-237.

Sears, R. R. Survey of objective studies of psychoanalytic concepts. New York: Social Science Research Council, 1943.

Waldfogel, S. Frequency and affective character of childhood memories. Psychol. Monographs, 1948, 62, No. 291.

APPENDIXES

Appendix A

Form Employed in the Collection of Memory-Responses

Parents' education_____ Date_____

Parental income_____ No._____

Parents living?_____ Group_____

Home town size_____

1.

Think back as far as you can and try to recall your very earliest memory. (A specific incident, rather than general, descriptive remarks.) Which details stand out most clearly? Age at the time? How did you feel about the incident at the time?

2.

Now, tell me your next earliest memory. Age at the time? How did you feel about the incident at the time?

3.

What is your earliest memory of your mother? Age at the time? What was your experience of your mother in the incident? How did you feel about the incident at the time?

4.

What is your next earliest memory of your mother? Age at the time? What was your experience of your mother in the incident? How did you feel about the incident at the time?

5.

What is your earliest memory of your father? Age at the time? What was your experience of your father in the incident? How did you feel about the incident at the time?

6.

What is your next earliest memory of your father? Age at the time? What was your experience of your father in the incident? How did you feel about the incident at the time?

7.

What is your happiest or most pleasant memory of childhood (age 12 or before)?

8.

What is your unhappiest or most unpleasant memory of childhood, from age 12 or before?

9.

Whether you remember the incidents involved or not, are there any stories which your family has told about you from your childhood? (It may be some incident which you recall.)

10.

Please give me one other such story told about you from your childhood.

11.

Please give me one other recollection, of an event which you regard as very special, or which may be an incident you like to think back on from time to time. It should be from age 12 or before, and should not duplicate any other recollection you have told me about.

12.

Please tell me at least one other memory of your choice. It may be some incident that occurred to you as you were relating the others, one which you have not told me about, and should not duplicate any other recollection you have told me about.

Appendix B

Rating Standards for Early Memories

I. Oral Configurations (Anaclitic Relationship Modes)

A. Oral Pessimism

1. Themes of basic mistrust
   a. Danger of personal extinction by abandonment, starvation, suffocation, being swallowed; sense of engulfing evil and impending doom. (Reminiscent of M. Klein's "paranoid position.")
   b. Bleak, empty aloneness; anaclitic depression; themes of getting lost, being sent away from home more or less permanently, death of parents; themes of traumatic separation and of depression verging on despair. (Reminiscent of M. Klein's "depressive position.")

2. Deprivation or insufficient supplies of attention, food or love: oral pessimism, dissatisfaction, sour resentment, sense of unfulfillment (rather than despair, as in 1)
   a. Temporary separation from others: parents are off by themselves and not aware of the child; child is sent off to school or to other relatives; feeling left out of some adult activities; all of which give rise to a poignant sense of not belonging
   b. Other themes of deprivation: insufficient supplies of comfort, reassurance, love, attention, care or food; dissatisfaction with one's lot
   c. Sadness over the loss of some treasured object

3. Aggressive reactions to deprivation or frustration: demanding or grasping needed supplies rather than merely yearning for them as in I.2
   a. Suffused with impotent rage
   b. Greedy hunger for what one does not have: taking and holding on to, appropriating or snatching away, grasping, or biting

c. Resentment--and/or malicious treatment of--younger sibling
d. Meets with punishment, criticism or "accidental" injury as a direct consequence of oral-aggressive behavior

B. Oral Optimism

4. Gratification themes: sense of basic trust, expectation of fulfillment, oral optimism, sense of personal worth.
   a. Snug pleasures of sleep, bed, breast, bath, food, or physical closeness
   b. Comforting care during an illness
   c. Close, comforting presence of mother or mother surrogate (father may fill this role at times)
   d. Receiving gifts as proof of love with ensuing sense of warmth, belonging, and fulfillment
   e. Being helped by an adult to learn to look after oneself, e.g., being taught one's name and address, how to tie one's shoes

5. Gratification themes with a reversal of roles so that one becomes the giver rather than the recipient of nurturant care: taking the nurturant parent role toward a younger sibling, pet, friend, or sick parent

II. Anal Configurations

A. Retentive-Expulsive

1. Retentiveness: willful stubbornness, defiance, passive-aggressive non-compliance
   a. Withholding from adults; sulking
   b. Defiance by refusal to comply with an adult's request --including food fads, refusal to go to bed
   c. Passive-aggressive "inability" to produce what is asked for or expected by adults
   d. Meets with punishment, ridicule, or attack upon one's self-esteem by a superego figure due to one's retentive behavior

2. Expulsiveness: hurting self or others by dirtying them or treating them like dirt
   a. Insufficient sphincter control (usually with memory of shame, guilt or punishment); other forms of being dirtied or feeling oneself to be unclean
   b. Being the object of vilification
   c. Defiance by vilification, spitting, throwing things (especially rocks, dirt, or mud), treated by others like

dirt or extruding others by pushing them away or keeping them at a distance
d. Meets with punishment, ridicule, or attack upon one's self-esteem by a superego figure due to one's expulsive-aggressive behavior

B. Sublimation or Reaction-Formation

a. Doing what one is supposed to do, avoiding conflicts with coercive parents
b. Attention to cleanliness, cleaning up, being clean
c. Preoccupation with one's own or another's possessions, with emphasis on quantity, orderliness, and ownership (distinguish from phallic envy)

III. Phallic-Intrusive and Phallic-Locomotor Configurations

With attention to vehicles which carry one through thoroughfares or into new places; or pleasure in mastery; or pleasure in proofs of one's maleness. Pleasure here is either narcissistic or homosexual. Attention is on the activity or one's maleness, not on one's ability to please and to possess the coveted heterosexual love-object, as in the phallic-sexual and oedipal configurations

A. Passive Forms

a. Passively watching large moving vehicles or other wondrous objects; watching fires (but not setting them); watching the feats of others
b. Being taken for a ride by an adult
c. Being teased, being tossed about playfully by an adult, or carried by father in horse-and-rider play
d. Admiration and envy of phallic objects of others; disappointment and unfavorable comparison with one's own phallic object or prowess; yearning to do as well as one's ego-models; "penis-envy" memories
e. Passive phallic-locomotor activities leading to physical injury, narcissistic insult, or physical punishment
f. Being knocked down and overpowered by brute strength (symbolic of being raped); being subjected to corporal punishment
g. Fear of dangerous, brutish creatures
h. Being shy, timid, fearful of exercising initiative
i. Themes of physical injury: actual injury to the genitals, symbolic of castration themes; tonsil or other operation on body members

B. Active Forms

a. Expressing initiative, independence or eager curiosity; going off on one's own, wandering away to explore one's surroundings
b. Boisterous play, usually with peers; vigorous activity including physical attack
c. Active use of phallic-intrusive conveyance; riding a bicycle, riding a horse, going on a trip (being taken for a ride should be listed as passive phallic)
d. Competitive games; enjoyment of competition, pleasure in conquest, insistence on asserting one's dominance over people or impersonal obstacles (to be distinguished from the "greedy hunger" of oral pessimism). Proving one is not inferior--being as good as someone else
e. Identification with father; admiring father and wanting to be like him, to use his tools as he does, to fix things as he does
f. Setting fires and enjoying the ensuing excitement
g. Active phallic-locomotor activities leading to physical injury, narcissistic insult or physical punishment

IV. Phallic-Sexual Configurations

Activities are frankly sexual or veiled but recognizably sexual in nature

A. Inceptive Forms

General: trying to incite a sexually desired object to make a frank or veiled sexual approach

a. Being fetchingly coy, seductive; trying to make oneself attractive and endearing; teasing others in a sexually provocative way
b. Narcissistic pleasure in one's appearance; attention to pretty clothes, attractive grooming; pleasure in being looked at, noticed, admired or photographed
c. Shame or embarrassment rather than pleasure following inceptive self-display
d. Inceptive sexual activity leads to physical injury, narcissistic insult or physical punishment

B. Intrusive Forms

General: moving outward to make contact with a sexual object

a. Playful, sexually-tinged curiosity or exhibitionism; sex play or secretive, sexually-tinged play with peers; interested examination of the sex organs of others but only as a "passive bystander"

b. Proud or excited self-display, usually sublimated in dancing, singing or performing in some other manner before an audience of potential admirers (The accent here is on doing something to win favor, not of narcissistically standing by or waiting or expecting to be admired)
c. Shame or embarrassment rather than pleasure following intrusive self-display
d. Intrusive sexual activity leads to physical injury, narcissistic insult, or physical punishment

V. Oedipal Configurations

A. Hostile-Competitive

a. Jealousy or rivalry (with father or a sibling) for the affection of mother or a mother surrogate who is coveted as a heterosexual love object; interest in mother's doing with another male
b. Failure to win the loved mother, often accompanied by self-blame for one's personal inadequacy
c. Resentment or fear of the father as an overt or tacit rival for mother's favor
d. Confliot between parents in which the child sides with the mother and rejects the father

B. Positive-Harmonious

a. Denial of oedipal conflict by stress on the warm, harmonious relationships with both mother and father.
b. Doing things with mother which are pleasureful and exciting, with father tacitly excluded
c. Pleasure in bringing mother a phallic gift

VI. Latency Configurations

A. Inferiority

Withdrawal from, isolation in, or rejection by one's peer group

B. Productivity and Positive Self-Esteem

a. Socialization with peers; group play with well-differentiated roles
b. Industriousness, learning to do things, constructing and planning with others in a common endeavour
c. Manipulative skills turned to creative accomplishment