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A CONSTRUCT VALIDATION STUDY OF EARLY MEMORIES

bу

Sara Bahar Hons. B.A., Wayne State University, 1972 M.A., University of Detroit, 1978

A Dissertation
Submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies through the Department of Psychology in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy at the University of Windsor

Windsor, Ontario, Canada 1984 © Sara Bahar, 1984



I could see myself as seconding the deity in his effort to give form and order to a world, to develop and multiply its convolutions, extensions, and complexities. I was one of the segments of the wheel, an aspect of that unique force caught up in the multiplicity of things; I was eagle and bull, man and swan, phallus and brain all together, a Proteus who is also a Jupiter.

Marguerite Yourcenar
Memoirs of Hadrian
New York: Farrar, Straus & Giroux,
1981 (Fourteenth printing), p. 143-144

ABSTRACT

The purposes of the study were to ascertain whether Early Memories could be scored along scales of Narcissism and Psychosexual Stages, and furtner whether these scores would correspond with scores on Narcissism and Psychosexual Stages obtained from the Thematic Apperception Test, thus ·lending support to the theoretical conceptualization that Early Memories are screen memories which can be examined as projective devices expressive of an individual's enduring character traits and prototypical dilemmas. In addition, this study examined whether specific kinds of narcissistic styles in individuals correspond with specific psychosexual stages; and with the number of psychosexual stages expressed; and with another measure of narcissism, the discrepancy between self and self-ideal on a self report inventory. These latter questions are an outgrowth of the recent developmental theories of narcissism that regard it as accompanying all stages of development and having the potential of being either healthy. or pathological, rather than the earlier views that posited narcissism to be inherently pathological and indicative of early fixations. High interjudge reliability was established on a pilot study of 20 subjects, and on the subsequent main sample of 60 subjects where Early Memories and TATs were scored for Narcissism and Psychosexual Stage. Significant correlations were obtained between EM and TAT results for Narcissism by both judges, for Psychosexual Stages by one judge. Those who had Healthy Narcissism scores did have lower self, self-ideal discrepancy than those who had Injured Narcissism scores. No specific narcissistic designation correlated with any one psychosexual stage, and neither did any one narcissistic designation correlate with the number of psychosexual stages expressed.

DEDICATION

To Becky and Joseph Bahar
who nourished in me the love for learning
and to

Rebecca and Lea-Rachel Kosnik who stand by me in my pursuit of it.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Through the written word and studentship I nave learned another way to listen to the human voice, which now, in turn, throws light on the meaning of books and the matter of life.

As this dissertation project and another phase of my educational process is completed, I welcome this opportunity to express my gratitude to a number of people.

I was privileged to have as my chairman, Dr. William Balance. Bill's nonintrusive scholarly help as I was attempting to operationalize and examine the theoretical ideas that were meaningful to me, as well as his encouragement and support were invaluable.

I am indebted to Dr. Martin Mayman, my outside reader, whose influence on this project is evident throughout the following pages.

Marty, with his combination of intuitiveness, sensitivity, insights, and depth of knowledge has been an esteemed theoretician, and over time ne has become a cherished friend.

Special thanks go to my other committee members. I was fortunate to be able to count on Dr. Gediminis Namikas for perceptive observations and valuable practical interventions. Dr. Antoon Leenaars showed an interest in this project and freely gave of nis time. Dr. Gerald Cohen was asked at the last minute, during my oral defense of this thesis, to become a committee member, and he graciously consented.

I am grateful to Dr. Donald Rudzinski and Robert Matthews who served as judges, devoting hours of their time to a seemingly endless task, with conscientiousness and enthusiasm.

Special credit goes to Irene Arseneau and Donna Hamelin who were excellent typists and reliable sources of information on format.

Over the years, during my professional training and development, there have been others who, while not directly involved in this project, contributed significantly to my interests and were influential in my becoming the clinical psychologist that I am. In this context, I find it fitting to acknowledge Dr. Terrance Filter, Dr. Bernard Green, Dr. Deanna Holtzman, and Dr. Marvin Hyman.

Finally, I would like to express a very special thanks to all of my patients.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

An essential component of psychotherapy is the ever evolving formulation of nypotheses and their constant scrutiny by the therapist in his or her efforts to understand-nelp the patient. A clinician often finds it necessary to assess a patient through conceptualizing questions that seem relevant, choosing and utilizing techniques for answers, interpreting and integrating the results obtained. In this art of clinical assessment, grounded in disciplined thinking and knowledge, the particular assessment devices used, especially those that are condusive to a clinical therapeutic setting have always been important to clinicians. In this research project I have undertaken to demonstrate the use of Early Memories, as one such diagnostic device applied to adults where they can be used reliably and shown to nave validity.

REVIEW OF LITERATURE ON EARLY MEMORIES

Freud and the Concept of Screen Memories

The concept of Screen Memories was introduced by Freud for the first time in 1899, in the paper bearing the same title. According to Jones questions having to do with the operation of memory and its distortions, the reasons for naving fantasies, the amnesia of the early years, and the infantile sexuality behind these were in Freud's mind for some time before the publication of this paper. Freud stated (1899):

Great pathogenic importance must be attributed to the impressions of that time of life...if, however, we seek in our memories to ascertain what were the impressions that were destined to influence us to

the end of our lives, the outcome is either nothing at all or a relatively small number of isolated recollections which are often of dubious or enigmatic importance. (p. 303)

Freud then went on to state that it is only after the sixth to seventh year of life, especially after ten, that we remember our lives as a continuous series of events, and that we are inclined to consider the lack of memory prior to these ages as a self evident consequence of children's mental development. He went on to state:

Actually, however, a normally developed child of three or four already exhibits an enormous amount of highly organized mental functioning in the comparisons and inferences which he makes and in the expressions of his feelings; and there is no obvious reason why amnesia should overtake these psychical acts, which carry no less weight than those of a later age. (p. 304)

In other words, the lack of memory is to be seen as a psychic issue and not a developmental-maturational one. In terms of the few earliest childhood memories it would seem natural to expect these to be of great importance to the individual, since they would have survived out of years of near total amnesia. This however, is hardly ever the case which also increases the interest in childhood memories. In Freud's words:

...we are met with a fact that is diametrically opposed to our expectations and cannot fail to astonish us. We hear that there are some people whose earliest recollections of childhood are concerned with everyday and indifferent events which could not produce any emotional effect even in children but which are recollected (too clearly, one is inclined to say) in every detail, while approximately contemporary events, even if, on the evidence of their parents, that moved them intensely at the time, have not been retained in their memory. (p. 305-306)

In an effort to explain the above, Freud went on to state that these memories are seemingly trivial and often of unimportant events in

importance; they are mnemonic reproductions which are substitutes for significant impressions. In other words, what is important about then is suppressed, and what is indifferent is retained. Their scarcity and blandness is not due to a child's intellectual capacities but due to psychic reasons. In the paper on Leonardo (1910), Freud wrote:

What someone thinks he remembers from his childhood is not a matter of indifference; as a rule the residual memories - which he himself upesn't understand - cloak priceless pieces of evidence about the most important features in his mental development. (p. 84)

In other words, in response to what is forgotten about childnood rather than remembered; that is, concerning the childnood amnesia, Freud maintained that this forgetting is completely counterbalanced by screen memories. In his paper on "Remembering, Repeating, and Working Through" (1914) he wrote:

Not only <u>some</u> but <u>all</u> of what is essential from childhood has been retained in these memories. It is simply a question of knowing how to extract it out of them by analysis. (p. 148)

Psychoanalytic theories of conflict, repression, remembering, and forgetting explain the dynamics involved in screen memories. There is a wish to remember something of psychical importance which is opposed by a wish to forget because of its objectionable nature which in turn results in a compromise memory that makes up what is consciously remembered. The compromise is closely associated with an important experience in the child's life and functions as a displacement from it and necessarily lacks in its overt form the important elements of the original. What we see is a process by which a conflictual experience having to do with infantile sexuality ince triggered activates forces of repression,

The innocent childnood scene is chosen because it has a point of association; a contact with what is repressed, and also altered in how it is remembered, to aid in such seemingly innocent expression. That is, falsifications of memory are taking place from a point of contact between the present and the past.

As such, screen memories owe their value not to their manifest content but to the relation existing between that content and some other that has been repressed, which can be revealed through analysis. The relationship chronologically can be in terms of innocent childhood scenes as connecting with and screening of later important events, which is the way Freud first conceptualized the time relationship of early memories. Something later in life goes into the unconscious while also associating itself with an innocent childhood scene. The manifest content belongs to early childhood, the mental experiences that are unconsciously being expressed belong to later life. Quoting Freud:

Recollections of this kind, whose value lies in the fact that it represents in the memory impressions and thoughts of a later date whose content is connected with its own by symbolic or similar links, may appropriately be called a screen memory. (p. 310)

In other words, a retrogressive memory with a retroactive displacement occurs when later thoughts or feelings are fee back into a childhood Later on in psychoanalytic literature, for example in the paper on "The Psychopathology of Everyday Life" by Freud (1901), we also see an early event as being screened by a later memory; a later event serving as a cover for early experiences; that is, related to retrospective phantasies. Something unimportant of a later occurrence becomes the screen memory where content is of recent origin for something earlier that is repressed. These are screen memories that are "pushed anead" or "displaced forward" in the words of Freud.

A third time relationship is that of a contiguous or contemporary one where another event occurring at the same time as the traumatic one is used for a displaced expression for the traumatic one.

Another theoretical consideration concerning screen memories has been that of the "reality" of the content of screen memories. The question is whether the substitute expressions stand for actual events or if these events are at least in part manufactured in order to fit psychic needs. Psychodynamic theories have favored the view that often these memories, while probably based on actual events are in large part created according to psychic needs. In a footnote to the paper on the Analysis of the Rat Man (1909) Freud wrote:

...people's 'childnood memories' are only consolidated at a later period, usually at the age of puberty; and that this involves a complicated process of remodelling where the past is reconstructed in the light of the present (with input from unconscious phantasies). (p. 206) -

The support for the legitimacy of the idea that early memories are not necessarily objectively true comes from clinical observations as well

as theoretical speculations. Freud pointed out how the self is viewed as a participant in the memory and observations are made from the physical stature of an adult. Freud also offered a number of case histories. In one of these, a vivid memory of taking flowers from a girl is interpreted as the wish to deflower her (1899). In another case the memory of learning the difference between the letters m and n in terms of m naving one mure stroke is interpreted as an encroaching retrospective memory where an earlier experience of the anatomical differences between men and women is translated into an academic learning experience (1901). In addition to analyzing one of his memories of crying for his mother and demanding that a closet be opened to see if she was there, interpreted in terms of death concerns (1901), Freud also analyzed the earliest memories of Leonardo and Goethe. Leonardo da Vinci's earliest memory of nim being in a cradle where a vulture sticks his tail into his mouth is seen as an example of a constructed memory. It is interpreted as being indicative of a passive homosexual fantasy. Goethe's early memory of throwing plates and dishes out of a window and breaking them with joy is analyzed as a symbolic statement of the wish to throw out a new sib that had just been born. These interpretations are carried out on the bases of all the information available about these people, without the benefit of direct associations.

The characteristics of the screen memories that have been elucidated have a bearing on the way they are remembered and reported. One has the impression of being an onlooker and seeing oneself in a visual manner. In addition, the perspective reported is that of an adult, not one from the stature of a child. These aspects of the mode of remembering also lend support to the reconstruction theory of early memories versus their

being actual events reported as such. In addition, even if the veridicality of such memories could be checked out, inevitably falsifications and distortions come up. These considerations led Freud to state in the paper on Screen Memories (1899):

It may indeed be questioned whether we have any memories at all from our childhood: Memories relating to our childhood may be all that we possess. Our childhood memories show us our earliest years not as they were but as they appeared at the later periods when the memories were aroused. In these periods of arousal, the childhood memories did not, as people are accustomed to say, "emerge"; they were formed at that time. And a number of motives, with no concern for historical accuracy, had a part in forming them, as well as in the selection of these memories themselves. (p. 322)

Freud, in the "Psychopathology of Everyday Life" (1901), in the chapter on "Childhood Memories and Screen Memories" mentioned how there are analogies between paramnesias, where the correct proper name is not remembered, and screen memories, in that both involve substitutions in remembering caused by displacements along superficial associations. In both cases what accounts for the amnesia or revision of memory in terms of the displacements and distortions are the motivations arising from conflict. He further tied the above to national myths (1901):

Thus childhood memories of individuals come in general to acquire the significance of 'screen memories' and in doing so offer a remarkable analogy with the childhood memories that a nation preserves in its store of legends and myths. (p. 48)

In Freud's paper "The Occurrence in Dreams of Material From Fairy Tales"(1913) a relationship is noted between fairy tales and screen memories:

In a few people a recollection of their favorite fairy tales takes the place of memories of their own childhood; they have made the fairy tales into screen memories. (p. 281)

Freud also noted that screen memories could be treated like dreams showing evidences of repression, displacement, condensation, symbolization, and secondary elaboration. He stated that when a dream is repeated or persists in memory, it is especially significant because of its revelation of something constant and basic in the forces that make up the personality. So too, probably with early memories.

It can be seen from all that has been said so far that the screen memories, with the processes involved, are analogous to symptom formations. That is, screen memories are compromise formations between the forces that try to push the actual memory -wish- into consciousness, and the ego's defenses against it, resulting in the remembrance of an event -symptom- in a distorted form that gives it the semblance often of triviality.

<u>Post</u> Freudian Contributors to Screen Memories

Following Freud's writings, Otto Fenichel is a psychodynamic thinker who has made contributions to the theory of screen memories (1927). He mentioned how screen memories serve an economic function in that since repression requires constant energy, screen memories by allowing repressed material to reach consciousness through displacement provide a discharge and a safety valve, reducing the work needed for repression. He also talked about a "hunger for screen experiences", meaning that in the struggle between the forces for expression versus the forces for repression, the ego is in search of substitute ideas in its store of memories which can be used as compromises. He felt only by such an assumption can we understand retroactive screen memories. When such substitute images are found that are suitable for consciousness,

relief is obtained, and the forgetting of an unpleasant experience is made easier economically.

Greenacre has made significant contributions to an understanding of screen memories (1949). She stated that the intensity, brightness, and visual qualities which are characteristics of screen memories are dependent on five interrelated sources. One is the strength of the sense of reality depending on the ego's development. To the extent that the ego is strong and a sense of reality is firm, the easier can a child tolerate frustration and anxiety, and the less the need for compromises that involve displacement and screening.

A second factor has to do with the intensity of the disturbing experience which is often of a visual nature that provokes the screening. She hypothesized that the severity of the trauma produces an overflow in the form of a secondary visual excitement. The snock quality contributes to the brightness and vivianess of the screen memory due to a displacement from the central stress to peripheral innocuous details. That is, one may find oneself noticing and stressing an inconsequential detail which seems vivid and sticks in memory afterwards even when the central trauma is forgotten. This may be observed even in adults who remember an extremely frightening experience later where there may be a deflection of horror to sometning which is reassuring in its innocence and familiarity. Frequently, through analysis, it is discovered that the specific details selected are screens for earlier frightening or guilt provoking experiences that are now being reactivated with the new trauma. Greenacre mentioned how the same principles may be involved in the unreliable observations of witnesses and their stressing often of irrelevant and peripheral details.

A third factor she cited as contributing to the intensity and visual quality is the stage of libidinal development of the child and the extent of the arousal, frustration, and anxiety involved at the time. How a traumatic experience affects one is dependent on what stage of psychosexual development one is in and how it is being traversed.

A fourth factor was cited by Greenacre as being the genetic stage of superego development. She felt the detached quality of screen memories `is attributable to the superego which causes an intense watchful state:

The detached onlooker quality characteristic of the typical screen memory may be due not only to the paralysis and temporary depersonalization caused by fright or panic and carried over to the substitute remembered experience, but further and pernaps chiefly to the arousal of the superego functions whose force influences decisively the need to deny and the feeling of general intensity, and which are represented by an actual watchfulness in the screen memory. (p. 70)

A fifth factor that may influence screen memories she attributed to the sado-masochism present in the character structure which may seize upon a traumatic event as a screen for the expression, justification, and fulfillment of such wishes. The unconscious readiness-to develop anxieties and one's characteristic ways of dealing with anxieties may make a person of especially strong sado-masochistic tendencies view a traumatic experience as a gratification of punishment drives. People who characteristically tempt fate may fit into this category. Greenacre discussed a case where she felt the screen memory was of this type which made it traumatic, unelaborated, isolated, persistant, and resistant to analysis. She felt they are resistant to analysis precisely because they are defending underlying conflicts.

In a paper "It Is My Invention: A Special Screen Memory of Mr. Lewis Carroll" (1955) she traced through the various writings of Lewis

Carroll. This led her to the conclusion that there was a series of interlocking screen memories which appeared repeatedly throughout the writer's entire life. Themes of these memories included primal scene and birth of babies where an excited onlooker was present.

A number of psychoanalytic thinkers, as far back as Abraham in 1913, nave described specific memories and the conflict laden earlier memories concealed behind the screens.

Anna Freud (1951) observed that innumerable traumatic memories may be telescoped in a single screen memory. Glover (1950), and Greenacre (1950) have noted that the memories of traumatic events in childhood should be carefully examined for their own screening function.

Rose (1960) reported a homicide, where associated screen memories served as an attempt to master, through reenactment, traumatic experiences associated with the primal scene.

Norman Reider (1953) commented on the lack of affect screen memories generally display. He attributed this to protection from becoming aware of feelings associated with the original incident. According to Reider, if feelings do come up with the screen memories they provide a link to the screened off incident-conflict. He utilized case material to demonstrate how screen experiences are utilized for the displacement of an affect. Following reconstructive interpretation in therapy, new screen memories may come up as derivatives in the service of continuing to screen off affects in the service of repression.

Ego Psychology and Screen Memories

With the beginnings of ego psychology, the focus in psychoanalytic thinking shifted from the id, to including the ego's adaptive and

defensive operations. In terms of screen memories this meant that in addition to analyzing the latent content of these conscious productions for vicissitudes of the id, one could also analyze the manifest content to educidate the workings of the ego. It was now evident that the way in which a person screens reflects a variety of ego functions and superego promptings. Furthermore, it became increasingly clear that this view would include a structural outlook. The manifest content now became important as reflecting personality at all levels of organization. In the words of Mayman (1968) in his paper entitled "Early Memories and Character Structure":

...with the advent of psychoanalytic ego psychology, and in its wake projective testing and the projective hypothesis, the screen function of consciousness came to take on a double meaning. Perceptions, fantasies, random thoughts which served the ego's countercathectic purposes were seen to carry traces of the unconscious contents they were intended to mask. Like any good disguise, surface appearance represents a skillful blend of camouflaging design and the images one wishes to hide. (p. 303)

They thus became useful sources of information about ego capacities, such as defenses and the nature of object relationships.

Personality Assessment and Early Memories.

Many of the theoretical views expressed thus far were interrelated with and furthered the use of Early Memories for personality assessment. As such, these memories are viewed as the long range thematic expressions of what is most constant in prototypical dilemmas and life strategies. In expressing the nuclear emotional motivational constellation of a person they are little influenced by daily events, having been selected and shaped to express a core that persists throughout life. In this context, the question of whether they change over time or not is related

to both developmental considerations and the consistency of the personality. Modifications, elaborations, editions, distortions are associated with new experiences at each stage of development, reflecting new wishes, anxiety, and defenses, as well as cognitive maturations that revise these personal myths. However, since there is an interrelationship between the "memory" and the person consciously reviving the memory and coming up with the final revisions reflecting the personality, the question then is almost synonymous with the question of how much a personality changes over time. If a major shift in the balance of psychic forces were to occur, a new or revised memory expressing better the new forces within the present ego structure would emerge.

Initially personality assessment through early memories was solely in the clinical sphere through individual case histories with a focus on id psychology conceptualizations. This interpretative approach is comparable to the techniques developed for dreams, emphasizing the analysis of condensations, displacements, and symbolizations which transfer the latent, unconscious, traumatic content or experience onto an acceptable, conscious derivative in the form of the manifest content of the memory. This is based on the therapeutic encounter itself where dynamics are explored theoretically and validated as one gains more information about the patient as therapy progresses. The patient himself reconstructs over time his past in the light of the present. In this context Early Memories have diagnostic and prognostic significance.

These approaches are open to the criticisms that case research methodologies incur. Namely, issues having to do with representativeness

and subjective biases come into question.

There have been a number of objective clinical and experimental approaches to Early Memories as well, coming into prominence especially with the advent of ego psychology. Often the objective clinical studies make use of the projective hypothesis and methodology. While the projective devices have a long history, with the advent of ego psychology, projective tests also took on another dimension. Efforts were made to bridge the projective methods and psychoanalytic theory through an understanding of ego psychology. Considering the range of reports that are open to the subjects, as well as the range of categorization and inference open to the experimenter, Early Memories in recent past have been used as projective devices analyzable by the projective hypothesis. Mayman (1963) wrote:

...early memories are in fact projected (and more or less disguised) reconstructions of an earlier and still regnant intrapsychic reality; ...such reconstructions are unconsciously selected so as to conform with, and confirm, deeply ingrained images of oneself and of his significant others, and therefore point to nuclear self-other relationship predispositions; and that the adult ego synthesis is subjected to the same organizing principles as intrude projectively into the structure and content of one's early memories. In short, we assume that a person's collection of early memories will reveal the imprint of core conflicts upon the forms and qualities of his self-experience, and that, as with Thematic Apperception Test stories, one may sift the productions for intrusive interpersonal themes which may define that person's enduring view of himself and his enduring expectations of others. (p. 103)

A test battery provides a set of conditions and makes certain demands to which the person being tested has to respond. He has to perceive, interpret the task, and come up with a response he deems appropriate. In this process, the test stimuli that are provided may

be highly specific calling for specific responses, or the stimuli and the demands made may be more open ended. On one end of the continuum, the tests are highly structured and on the other unstructured - calling for projections - since a relatively broad range of responses would satisfy the nonspecific demands made; a circumscribed range of thought is not intrinsic to the task. Thus, with unstructured tests the individual responding is called upon to impose relatively more of himself. \The interpretations the examiner in turn can make are also broad. The theory of projective testing postulates that by their nature, that is, being less structured, they enhance the expression of the subject's needs, defenses, and conflicts. A considerable quantity of research has demonstrated the value of projective techniques (Rabin, 1968; Rapaport, Gill, and Schafer, 1968; Zubin, Eron, and Schuner, 1965). There is also research challenging their value, however, as is reported by Rapin, Kerner suggests that the failures may be due less to these techniques than to the state of the theories guiding their use. It is important that the projective techniques be related to psychological theory which in itself provides some measure of validation for these methods.

As a projective technique Early Memories are seen as having certain advantages over other projective devices in that they are completely unstructured, not responses to an external stimulus; they don't appear like tests; the issue of familiarity with the "test" is not relevant; differential experiences with pencil and paper are not issues, as is the case with drawing methods; they are free of cultural educational influences; they are not as time consuming as many other procedures; and they can be administered with ease. Early memories can be utilized for rapid

screening, for educational and vocational guidance, for initial hypotheses in therapy, for pointing to transference configurations likely to emerge in therapy, and for differential diagnoses. Data obtained from Early Memories can be used in the service of research, testing hypotheses, doing correlative studies, etc., since they lend themselves to quantitative methods.

Review of Pertinent Studies

A review of literature shows a multitude of experimental and quasiexperimental studies, as well as individual case histories that involve
Early Memories. Historically, the earliest of such studies were
collections of early memories with the purpose of learning more about
one's past. On the basis of these, generalizations could be made in
terms of the age of earliest memories, their visual character, racial
differences they exhibit, events most often described and the emotional
content of these.

Dudycha and Dudycha (1941) in their review of these studies reported those by Henri and Henri that date to 895, as well as studies by G. S. Hall in 1899 and by Tichener in 1900. The methods used are somewhat simplistic such as checklists or questionnaires given to assembled groups, and the focus is on what is recalled, not on what is repressed.

Many other studies in the literature reflect an Adlerian orientation of viewing only the manifest content, and are simplistic theoretically as well as in terms of methodology. Among the first experimentally sophisticated approaches to the manifest content of Early Memories was done by Purcell (1952) who showed that people who scored differently on Maslow Security-Insecurity Test had notable differences in the affects

reported in Early Memories wnether the subjects were children or adults, in terms of optimism versus pessimism, joy versus fear. Early Memories were taken from 126 subjects during various periods of life, from childhood to adulthood. Studies by Kanana et al. (1953), Saul et al. (1956), Kadis et al. (1952), and Eisenstein (1951) showed correlations between the Early Memories and patient's conflicts, demonstrating the validity of these memories as reflectors or predictors of personality. Kanana, Weiland, Snyder, and Rosenpaum provided six case examples and utilized Early Memories as part of diagnostic interviews. Saul, Snyder, and Shappard examined the diagnostic and structural nature of Early Memories. Eisenstein demonstrated through clinical examples and discussion the correlation between Early Memories and psychodiagnosis, particularly the relationship of Early Memories themes to psychosomatic disorders. Examples of correlations between Early Hemories and Rorschach data were given. Waldfogel (1948) in his study, demonstrated that memories increase with age, lending support to Freud's theory that repression is most dominant during the peak of infantile sexuality and consequently we retain fewer memories from these years than later ones. Waldfogel also found that memories become especially prevalent as of eight years of age, which lends further support to the theory that when repression is not as great, more memories are accessible.

There have been studies dealing with the constructive nature of Early Memories. Bartlett (1932) was one of the first to experiment in this area. In a series of experiments he showed how one's attitudes and familiarity with the material to be remembered affected what was "remembered", leading him to the conclusion that memory is a dynamic process of reconstruction rather than an objective retention of past

events. One remembers selectively from the moment an event enters awareness to the moment of its recall. Events are sifted through an apperceptive screen so that some facets are accentuated, some minimized, some ignored, based on one's personality. What is recalled is a unique "personalized" reconstruction. In psychodynamic terms, this is analogous to viewing memory as a screening process. Kennedy (1950) looked at the reconstructive process in Early Memories in the case of a child who was at a war nursery from nine months to five years of age, separated from her family. Memories of this period, two years later, during follow up visits showed recreation of events and the reworking of these over time, in an effort to make the loneliness experienced during this period more tolerable.

A study by Tobin and Etigson (1968) has a bearing on the possible effects of environmental stress on early memories. They hypothesized that for those people admitted to a geriatric home, loss themes would be more prevalent in their early memories. In a well controlled study they demonstrated that following the loss of familiar surroundings due to admittance to nursing homes, the subjects either altered old memories to include a new emphasis on loss themes, or selected new memories that had a greater preoccupation with loss. The earliest memory was gathered from an experimental group, before and after institutionalization which was the stressor in the study. A significantly greater percentage of respondents in the experimental group showed loss themes than subjects in four control samples from whom two earliest memories were gathered at a comparable time interval.

Lieberman (1957) compared two aspects of the impressions gathered from a battery of psychological tests with those gathered from a group

of the subject's Early Memories. Twenty-five women were studied and two scales were utilized: perception of the environment and reaction to the environment. The scales were scored separately by two scorers, one using the psychological battery and the other using the memories. A positive correlation was found.

Hedvig (1963) found Early Memories to be more stable than TAT protocols. In a study involving experimental manipulations by a nostile or friendly experimenter, and success or failure conditions, Early Memories were less subject to change than TAT stories as a result of these manipulations. In another study, Hedwig (1965), investigated the ability of Adlerian clinicians to determine from children's Early Memories whether the subjects had the diagnoses of psychoneurotic, adjustment reaction, or conduct disturbance. Two of three judges were able to make this distinction with statistical significance.

Langs, Rothenberg, Fishman, and Reiser (1960) have developed a "Manual for the Scoring of the Manifest Content of the Earliest Memories", and a comprehensive rating scale intended both as a diagnostic and research scale based on the presence or absence of a number of specific qualities. In their first study they presented reliability data showing that the scale differentiated ten hysterics from ten paranoid schizophrenics. The Early Memories of 20 hospitalized women, 10 diagnosed as paranoid schizophrenic and 10 as character disorders were obtained and scored, using the descriptive parameters, many of which were quantitative. The memories were scored independently by three judges as belonging to either category. The percentage of unanimous agreement before consensus discussion was 77.1%. In additional subsequent studies, they have shown how Early Memories predict

independently arrived at diagnoses. The subjects in this study were placed in four diagnostic categories. Subsequent Early Nemories analysis was consistent with clinical observations (1965a). The appredictive study on Early Memories and personality (1965b), the Early Memories of 48 male actors were scored according to manifest content and compared to personality measures obtained from clinical interviews, Rorschach, TAT, Wechsler-Bellevue, and autobiographies. Results were significant. One of the conclusions reached by the investigator was that pleasant memories may be essentially products of defenses, notably denial which is used as a defense in the recall of early traumas. Considering the subject pool and the fact that only the manifest content of memories were being used, the generalizability of results from such an approach is open to question.

In another study Langs (1968) demonstrated that altered states of consciousness would affect memories. Subjects under LSD influence recalled memories that were closer to primary process thinking with differences nevertheless among diagnostic groups, than subjects given placebo. Considering that Early Memories are reflective of ego functions, the results seem hardly surprising.

Levy and Grigg (1962) developed a clinically useful scale that focuses on the central emotional state of memories. They also included the concept that the contents of memories in terms of their themes parallel the subject's ego integration. Three categories of themes were developed which were Dependency-Independency, Destructive Aggression-Constructive Aggression, and Sexuality. Scoring criteria for each theme were devised. Early Memories of 21 subjects were analyzed according to their theme, producing significant results for interrater reliability.

On matching descriptions of patients based on Early Memories with therapists' ratings, they obtained moderate results.

Levy (1905) developed a variant of this scale, attempting to assess the qualities of the range of Early Memories available to subjects. An inter-judge agreement of 74 percent resulted from scoring Early Memories by three judges in three emotional areas. He hypothesized that memory groups that showed a variety of affective patterns are indicative of stronger ego functioning than those with few patterns. He was able to effectively differentiate a group of neurotics from psychotics on the basis of this hypothesis.

In a study by Burnell and Solomon (1964) Early Memories of recruits who had failed Air Force basic training were obtained and viewed using both a clinical evaluation and the Levy-Grigg scoring system. The study showed that an effective rating scale could be developed based on clinical judgments which then could be learned and applied by others. Both formal organizational features and thematic contents were rated. This method was found to be more effective than the Levy-Grigg scale.

In a study by Lord (1971) Early Memories were coded both in terms of an activity-passivity dimension, and in terms of positive-negative affect. Variations on these dimensions, nypothesized to be associated with variations in measures of current self representation and coping effectiveness were found to be significantly related to an active stance in figure drawings, self description as an initiator, and Witkin's measures of self differentiation of body concept and sense of separate identity. These findings were interpreted as providing support for the validity of Early Memories as a projective technique.

Mayman (1977) has developed a psychosexual scale called "Self-Other

Relationship Representations in Early Memories" that assesses interpersonal object relational development, in terms of the Early Memories reported. In one study, Mayman and Faris have evaluated Early Memories in terms of the family dynamics that they revealed. Early Memories that family members had of one another were obtained and contrasted. In one case, for example, a mother's memories focused on her son's self sufficiency: the son's on his mother's neglect that exposed him to potential dangers. The authors concluded that analyzing a set of Early Memories from an interpersonal approach gives a more meaningful and informative background of contextual information. Another scale developed by Mayman (1970) called "Quality of Object Relationships in Early Memories" is an Early Memories test that assesses Early Memories along the normal, neurotic, narcissistic, borderline and psychotic continuum in terms of the quality of object relations in the memories.

There have been several attempts where these scales or others based on Mayman's have been used. Studies have successfully shown relationships between early memory data and the relative proneness to shame and guilt (Binder, 1970) and to defensively high self-esteem in males (Harder, 1975). Ryan (1970) attempted to correlate early memory data with process data from the first five sessions of psychotnerapy, without significant results. Krohn (1972) contributed to the construct validation of object relations scoring methods based on the Early Memories by correlating his own scale with therapists' clinical ratings of their patients. Greenwald (1977) was able to predict subjects as having gastrointestinal diseases versus dermatological ones based on their scores on Early Memories as being environmentally engaged or disengaged. Rule and McKenzie (1977) were unsuccessful in relating

scores on early recollections to measures of "empathy" and "genuineness" in sensitivity groups. Filter (1978) used Early Memory scales in a group therapy outcome study with significant results.

Conclusion

In conclusion, we see that Early Memories are selective and based on reconstructions expressive of intrapsychic truths. They are formed by the current motivational make-up of the person, reflecting these motivations, which in turn are influenced by early childhood. The screening function goes on continuously so that the screening of memories may be derived from any period of life. They are economical ways of expressing a multitude of information; "pars pro toto". Thus, they can be used for making inferences about one's central dynamics, views of himself and others, ego capacities, as well as about id and superego functioning.

ADDITIONAL CONCEPTS RELEVANT TO THE STUDY

The Evolution of the Concept of Narcissism.

The term Narcissism as a perversion first appears in the writings of Havelock Ellis who examined narcissism as it manifests itself in literature and mythology. He discussed the concept in both sexual and non-sexual ways. Sexual narcissism is seen in the treatment of one's own body as a sexual object. The term is then extended to behaviour not overtly sexual, stated as the tendency for sexual emotions to be absorbed, and often entirely lost, in self admiration (Pulver, 1970).

In 1910, in a footnote to "Three Essays on the Theory of Sexuality" we see Freud's first reference to narcissism. He described it as a

phase in the sexual development of inverts as a specific perversion.

Several months later in his "Leonardo da Vinci and a Memory of his Childhood" paper, Freud continued to use the term in the same way.

According to Pulver, in a 1910 paper by Sadger, unpublished in English, the meaning of the term is extended from perversion to include for the first time a stage of narcissistic development stating that narcissism as love of one's self is necessary in psychosexual development.

In 1911, Rank published a psychoanalytic paper where he, according to Pulver, still viewed narcissism as the sensual love of the self but also connected it with behaviour that was not overtly sensual, specifically in vanity and self admiration. This was a recognition that narcissism existed underneath overtly nonsensual behaviour as a sensual love of self. We see the parallels of this in other psychoanalytic thinking of the time, in a variety of areas such as in sadism, masochism, exhibitionism, etc. Rank went on in this paper to describe the defensive nature of this self love in women as stemming from dependency on nongratifying men.

In 1913, in "Totem and Taboo" Freud used the concept of narcissism, tying it to primitive aspects of thinking and feeling, such as in magic and animism, stating "this attitude may plausibly be brought into relationship with narcissism and regarded as an essential component of it" (p. 89). That is, beliefs in animism and magic among primitives are manifestations of infantile narcissistic libidinal fixations.

Freud: "On Narcissism: An Introduction"

In 1914, Freud published his paper "On Narcissism: An Introduction". The paper shows an elaboration of his previous use of the term as a

sexual perversion denoting "...the attitude of a person who treats his own body in the same way in which the body of a sexual object is ordinarily treated - who looks at it, that is to say, strokes it and fondles it till he obtains complete satisfaction through these activities" (p. 73). In addition, however, Freud went on, and following developmental considerations he defined secondary narcissism as a withdrawal of libido from the outer world and a redirection of this libido onto the ego, which led him to consider object relational concepts. The relationship between narcissism and objects was elaborated in terms of type of object choice, and in terms of a mode of object relationship. Finally, in this paper, Freud considered the concept of narcissism in terms of the relationship between self regard and narcissistic libido.

Developmental Stage

As a result of clinical data, Freud assumed that there is a very early phase in the libidinal development of every individual which is characterized by the fact that it is the individual's own self which is primarily, perhaps exclusively cathected with libido. Object representations, if they exist at all, are either not yet differentiated by the infant from himself, or are cathected minimally in comparison to himself. At this stage, the infant is self centered, life revolving around bodily sensations and functions. This is the stage of primary narcissism, and regression to this stage after it has been outgrown constitutes secondary narcissism: "...the narcissism that arises when libidinal cathexes are called in away from external objects must be conceived of as a secondary form superimposed upon a primary one..."

(p. 32).

Object Choice

In terms of the choice of an object due to an identification with some aspects of the self, he said that a person may love either according to the narcissistic type or to the anaclitic -attachment- type. In terms of the narcissistic object choice one loves what he himself is -that is himself; what he himself was; what he himself would like to be; someone who was once a part of himself. In the anaclitic type a person loves the woman who feeds him, or the man who protects him.

Object Relationship

The application of the term narcissism to object relationships was due to Freud's observation that in schizophrenia, hypochondriasis, organic diseases, and in sleep there was an overt witndrawal from objects reflected both in behavioural and subjective changes. Going along with the tendency that was uppermost in his theoretical orientation of the time, Freud gave an explanation in which the major emphasis fell on the quantitative or economic factor; that is, the distribution of the person's libidinal cathexes. He suggested that in the cases mentioned above there is a withdrawal of libidinal cathexes from objects in the outside world and redirecting of this libido onto the ego, that is narcissism. Freud reasoned that it was such a mechanism operating in the psychotic patient's loss of interest in the reality around him, as is the case in dreams; in the self centeredness of megalomania; and in the hypochondriacal person's excessive interest in his bodily organs. (Thus the idea that these people developed narcissistic transferences in therapy.)



Self Esteem

The other addition in the Narcissism paper of Freud was in terms of the designation of ego ideal as the heir and adult version of infantile narcissism. Freud tried to demonstrate that the libidinal processes which are invested in the self and constitute narcissism may not be expressed directly for an adult but manifest themselves in the activity of the ego ideal. The ideals and standards which an individual aspires to can be alvehicle for the expression of narcissism. In such cases, self love is replaced by an admiration and determination to achieve certain goals and ambitions. If these goals and ambitions are unrealistic, and the yardsticks used in measurement are infantile, then self esteem described as the expression of nearness or distance from such ideals suffers. In other words, in narcissistic self esteem regulation, infantile ideas of or longing for omnipotence are either not outgrown or regressively revived, thereby showing problems with such regulation.

If we stop and review what narcissism meant at this stage of psychoanalytic development we see that the term was used first clinically as a perversion defined as treating one's own body as a sexual object; second, genetically in terms of a developmental stage; third, as an object relational phenomenon in terms of either a type of object choice where the self is more important than the object, or a mode of relating where there is a paucity of object relations; and fourth, in conjunction with the state of self esteem.

While the points made above about narcissism contain the seeds for most of the theoretical developments of the concept that followed it, there have been criticisms leading to changes, refinements, and

elaborations since 1914, leaving us often with much that is not clear in reference to parcissism.

The Drive Concept of Narcissism

The definition of narcissism most widely accepted by present day psychoanalytic thinkers is one formulated by Hartmann in 1950 and follows very closely Freud's original formulation, stated as the libidinal investment of the self (Kernberg, 1975, p. 315). This drive concept of narcissism, stated as the libidinal investment of the self following withdrawal of libido from the outside world has been challenged by many who are dissatisfied with the economic drive concept. It has been said that the quantitative explanations of the economic approach offer only descriptions and not explanations, and further that this model leads invariably to a consideration of physiological factors in explaining behaviour risking the use of a non-analytic model for analytic material. In addition, the energic model has been criticized for being too narrow, because it does not integrate the later structural theories, and thereby does injustice to the complexity of behaviour explained best when viewed from all the metapsychological viewpoints. Most importantly, it has been . pointed out that there is no clinical base to assume that the investment in self is in an inverse ratio to investment in another.

A second question raised had to do with the terms self and ego, which were used interchangeably by Freud, especially prior to the development of the structural theory, which has added confusion to the understanding of the concept of narcissism. Jacobson in 1964 defined self as part of the structure ego, understood to mean conscious, unconscious, and preconscious representations of the total person. This

widening scope of the self thus ranged from the specific self representation of a part of the body to the very general concept of identity. Libidinal investment of any of these was called narcissistic. In addition, as a result of Hartmann's elaborations of the structural theory, various vicissitudes of the libido, such as fusion or neutralization were also described in terms of narcissism. This meant that investment of any aspect of the self by any of the vicissitudes of the libido could qualify as narcissism. As a result, narcissism became too broad to be of value as an explanatory concept. For example, anywhere from one's preoccupations with his bodily functions to concern over career choice could be called narcissistic. Consequently, narcissism no longer referred to a sexual perversion consisting of the domination of the adult sexual life by a component of infantile sexuality as it was originally meant clinically.

Some modern thinkers, such as Stolorow, disperse with the concept of the libido entirely in their understanding of narcissism, defining it functionally as "structural cohesiveness, temporal stability, and positive affective colouring of the self representation" (p. 179). In such a formulation of narcissism, economic concepts are discarded, and any mental activity is called narcissistic to the extent that it is designed to maintain such cohesiveness, stability, and positive effective colouring of self representation.

Another currently controversial view that addresses itself to the drive concept of narcissism is the Self Psychology of Heinz Konut (1971, 1977). In Kohut's formulation of narcissism the economic metaphor is maintained, however, now it is not the target of the libido in terms of self versus the object that is defining, but rather

the quality of the libido in terms of its "idealizing" or "self aggrandizing" quality that determines whether there is a narcissistic manifestation or not. If the attachment to either the self or to the object is idealizing or self aggrandizing, then that attachment is considered to be narcissistic. That is, any libido is narcissistic if it has an idealizing or self aggrandizing quality. This kind of attachment is seen as resulting from a defect in structural development rather than reflecting conflict from the classical drive-defense model.

The definition of narcissism as the libidinal investment of the self was modified in a specific way by Kernberg when he postulated that the aggressive and the libidinal drives are intimately connected with one another. With this elaboration of the drive theory, the "libidinal investment of the self" comes to mean "the relative predominance of libidinal over aggressive investment" of the self (Kernberg, 1975, p. 318). In other words, an investment of the self with the fused libidinal and aggressive drives which are optimally neutralized and integrated in terms of psychosexual zones, aims, modes, and objects.

Narcissism as a Developmental Stage

As mentioned before, the use of the term narcissism to denote a developmental stage goes back to the earliest writings on the subject. Freud's first genetic reference, in a footnote added in 1910 to the "Three essays on the Theory of Sexuality" stated:

In all cases we have examined we have established the fact that the future inverts, in the earliest years of their childhood, pass through a phase of very intense but shortlived fixation to a woman (usually their mother), and that, after leaving this behind, they identify themselves with a woman and take themselves as the sexual object. That is

to say, they proceed from a narcissistic basis, and look for a young man who resembles themselves whom they may love as their mother loved them. (p. 145)

In his paper, On Narcissism (1914), in terms of the developmental aspects of narcissism, Freud introduced the concepts of primary and secondary narcissism. Primary narcissism was defined as the libidinal investment of the self before there is an investment in external objects, prior to a stable differentiation between self and other. Further, in this stage there is a lack of differentiation between wish and reality leading to the use of magic to achieve satisfaction and mastery, resulting in the megalomanic character of infantile narcissism. Secondary narcissism occurs after object love has been possible and refers to the withdrawal of libidinal cathexes from external objects and reinvestment in the self - implying a defensive maneuver.

Using the concept of narcissism to delineate stages of development has led to several problems. One problem has to do with the difficulty in determining the specific timing of the stages. In other words, when can we say that a stage of development is reached in which boundaries between self and object are clearly defined. Furthermore, developmentally phases overlap, and there is a disinclination to regard clinical entities as belonging exclusively to certain phases of development. Another problem is that even if we agree on a time span - the most commonly agreed time span for primary narcissism is the first six to eight months of life - calling this time span narcissistic -self libidinally invested- becomes oversimplistic since many other important developmental processes are also occurring at this time, including structural and object relational ones, for example, cathexing to outside objects such as facial gestalten, even if total self other differentiation

is not present. A third problem related to the second has to do with explaining developmental pnenomena of such a designated stage as narcissistic when other explanatory concepts might be better, such as the defensive or adaptive or affective states originating during this period. For example, even though Freud in his paper on narcissism explained megalomania solely as a narcissistic phenomenon, the defensive purposes of megalomania may lead us to a better understanding than the libidinal regression concept. Alternately, considering the ego developmental aspects of this stage may be as fruitful in their explanatory power. For example, even the omnipotent feelings of infants themselves are in part due to the infant's immature perceptual apparatus in separating self and outer world and thus tie to ego aspects. Another problem with developmental conceptualizations is that many phenomena of this stage explained as narcissistic imply causation. For example, calling feelings that originate in the first six months of life, such as wishes for union with another to reestablish oceanic feelings narcissistic often has led to the assumption that these feelings are caused by the libidinal investment of the self.

Increasingly the developmental view is utilized not in terms of strict time spans or with exclusive explanations or causative implications. In the words of Mayman (1981):

The concept of 'primary narcissism' becomes a more powerful explanatory term if we put it into a developmental context and assume that it, too, evolves through the various phases of one's life. Just as a person's capacity for, and forms of love develop, so, too, must the narcissistic complement of those relationships develop and grow; it is only pathological narcissism which remains fixated in early experiences of narcissistic injury and in various compensatory attempts to heal those wounds.

Normal narcissism - both 'primary' and 'secondary' - accompanies and evolves through every phase of personal development. To speak of a person simply as marcissistic is an insufficient characterization in my view. We should speak rather of the suckling stage, the narcissism of the toddler stage, the narcissism of the latency-age child, the gang-age child, and adolescent, and the young adult. Perhaps we should speak of 'sphincter narcissism' and of 'phallic narcissism' and of 'oedipal narcissism'. Surely, there must also be a narcissism that characterizes those developmental phases that Erikson identifies as proceeding beyond the Oedipal level of development. (p. 8-9)

Narcissism as a Mode of Object Choice and Object Relationship

Another important use of the term narcissism occurs in terms of object choice and relationship to objects. Three related but different phenomena come into view: one is in terms of a hypercathexis of the self to the detriment of object cathexis; two, in terms of a hypocathexis of the objects in the environment where there is a withdrawal from objects; and third, narcissism as immature relationships where the focus is on the self, distorting the real aspects of another or distorting self object boundaries.

On the basis of an economic conceptualization, it was hypothesized by Freud that increased libidinal cathexis of the self must be accompanied by a decrease of libidinal investment in others which has been theoretically questioned as explained earlier, and which further has not been validated by clinical observation. As a result, there has been a revision of this postulated inverse relationship between the libidinal cathexis of the self and the libidinal cathexis of objects. In Kernberg's words:

Normally, an increase of libidinal investment of the self also results in an increase in the libidinal

investment of objects: a self with increased libidinal investment, at peace and happy with itself, so to speak, is able to invest more in external objects and their internalized representations. In general, when there is an increase of narcissistic investment, there is a parallel increase in the capacity to love and to give...(1975, p. 320)

A further assumption is that cathexis of others is decreased when overt relationships with objects are minimal or absent. For example, we see this in Freud's application of the term narcissistic to certain situations of detachment such as sleep, hypochondriasis, and schizophrenia. However, it doesn't necessarily follow that overt withdrawal from objects is necessarily accompanied by either increased investment of the self or decreased object cathexis. Objects can be psychically present even when one is withdrawing behaviourally. Whether or not an individual interacts with objects, he nevertheless has a personal internalized set of object representations as well as representations of the relations between those internalized objects and the self. These representations are important in psychic experience and functioning. Objects may be very much present even when one is withdrawing. Especially when the withdrawal is a defensive undertaking, object cathexis is present, albeit anxiety provoking. Not only is increased libidinal investment of the self not necessarily accompanied by a decreased cathexis of objects, but in addition, hypocathexis of objects in the environment does not mean lack of relationships with objects since there may be an overt withdrawal with varying intensity of underlying attachments.

Frequently, narcissism in terms of object relations is related to the quality of relations. A mature object relationship is said to exist when objects are perceived and reacted to as separate individuals with their own needs, desires, and reactions. A mode of relating to

objects in which such true object relationships are impaired are often called narcissistic, as when others are related as discarded or needed extensions or enhancers of one's self. For example, when others are used to distance or to correct a perceived gap or defect in one's self. (In these relationships objects are used to serve functions that have not been internalized or felt to be lacking.) There can nowever still exist intense cathexes to these objects, as for example in the clinging dependent or orally incorporative person with an underlying focus on the self in an overt attachment to another.

In recent times, most of the concentration in terms of narcissism and object relationships reflects thinking in terms of the mode of relating to others. A firm sense of cohesion in an adult has come to be seen as a major prerequisite for the development of mature object relations. This firm sense of cohesion is seen to result from optimal instinctual -libidinal- and object relational development. In terms of the libidinal considerations, adequate and appropriate gratifications during each of the psychosexual stages are seen as leading to positive self and other representations. In terms of object relational development internalizations of loved others are seen as leading to the wish to be like them which in turn lays the groundwork for future psychic separation. Narcissistic object relationships are seen as consisting of negative self and other representations leading to expenditure of psychic energy in defensive manoeuvres designed to protect one from these negative self and other representations. That is, taking cognizance of the structural theory and defenses, narcissistic relationships are viewed as defenses against an unstable or primarily negative experience of the self. A stable, enduring, and positive sense of self can tolerate

and accept others as separate entities. A prominent spokesman of this view is Kernberg who stated that narcissistic activity may function as a defence in order to ward off instinctual object related conflicts. Kernberg talked about the "cold contemptuous attitudes of the narcissistic personality as representing a defensive retreat from dreaded object relationships characterized by intense dependency, oral envy and primitive oral sadism, and the resulting guilt and fears of retaliation" (1970, p. 320).

It is worth noting here Kohut's view of object relationships in his Self Psychology since it has been the subject of much controversy. Kohut viewed an attachment to self or another as narcissistic if the purpose is self aggrandizement or idealization. According to Kohut, many narcissistic individuals will form intense desperate attachments to others out of a need to have these others stabilize a fragmented sense of self due to a failure or defect in structural and functional development, exclusive of instinctual defensive considerations.

Narcissism and the Ego Ideal

In addition to the drive concept, developmental considerations, and object relational issues as these pertain to narcissism, the concept of the ego ideal has been associated with narcissism ever since Freud's 1914 paper on the subject.

In understanding the nature of the relationship between ego ideal and narcissism, it is important to clarify the concepts of self representations and ego ideal: These concepts are intimately associated with structural theory and have been explored by theorists such as Hartmann and Loewenstein (1962) and Jacobson (1964).

The ego ideal is considered as part or a function of the superego structure. Self representation refers to the relatively accurate perception of one's self as one is, rather than the fantasized self, evolving out of a reasonably accurate perception and integration of past and present experiences. The ego ideal, on the other hand, is based on the wish for potential self, that is, self as one would like it to be. The ego ideal is seen as that psychic entity within the superego structure by which the ego measures itself and towards which it strives. Both the self representation and ego ideal are seen as having conscious, unconscious and preconscious aspects. To the extent that the ego ideal serves the function of holding up to the ego an idealized version of the self representation to be striven for, we can see a relationship between eqo ideal and narcissism in that even if we hold to a definition of narcissism as the libidinal investment of the self, this libidinal investment is bound to be affected by the quality of the ideal self held up by the ego ideal.

In addition, there is a relationship between narcissism and ego ideal, the latter being the heir to the former. As we said earlier, primary narcissism is seen as having qualities of omnipotence and grandiosity experienced by an infant before he can differentiate self and the other. With gradual structuralization, through relationships and internalizations, the gradual acceptance of limitations in both self and others come about. If this gradual process is interfered with by massive ill-timed disappointments, either due to excessive indulgence or excessive frustration, then the timing and integration of grandiose self representations and archaically idealized parent images cannot take place. In other words, following the integration of the grandiose

self and grandiose other representations, when the parent with whom the child is identifying is seen in a glorified infantile way, a primitive ego ideal is established. If there are disturbances in object relations and ego development, these grandiose ego ideals are not modified over time but persist, contributing to problematic ego ideal functioning.

Kohut suggested that people with narcissistic disorders whose early primitive forms of self and parent idealizations are not being integrated into their personalities, thereby affecting their sense of self, ego ideal, and ego structures, use objects to serve the psychic functions that are usually carried by the ego ideal.

Narcissism and Self Esteem

Dictionary definition of self esteem is in terms of a nigh opinion of oneself and respect for oneself. The concept of narcissism has always been intimately tied with that of self esteem even in lay usage which understands narcissism to be synonymous with self love, self aggrandizement and self complacency. The ego, the ego ideal, and the superego all become relevant in this relationship. According to Jacobson (1964), superego comes into being as a reaction to a child's oedipal strivings. This structure is seen as regulating narcissism, defined as the libidinal -- and as we have seen also aggressive according to some -- investment of the self vis a vis its relationship to the ego ideal, seen as that part of the superego endowed with the vicissitudes of early narcissistic strivings. Both the ego and the superego are involved in that self perception is an ego function, and self evaluation therefore involves both the ego and the superego. According to Jacobson regulation of self esteem is dependent on the maturation,

development, and optimal working and interaction of several id, ego, and superego functions. In other words, nealthy self esteem would entail an interaction where libidinal and aggressive catnexes of self representations are evaluated in a comparison with the ego ideal in an emotionally and cognitively positive way. This brings us back to the idea that any factor that would contribute to a disturbance in self esteem would also have an impact in the libidinal investment of the self; that is, disturbance in narcissism. In the words of Teicholz (1978):

If the self representations are split or fragmented, if they are unstable, or if they are unrealistically grandiose or worthless, if the perceptual faculties or the judgment capacity of the ego is faulty, if the ego ideal retains too much of the primitive idealizations of self and object, if the critical powers of the superego are too harsh and unmitigated by a mature ego and if the superego is unable to regulate the libidinal and aggressive investment of the self, if the aggressive or the libidinal drives are insufficiently neutralized or if they are inadequately fused - if any one or combination of these is the case, there is a potential for the disturbance of narcissism. Furthermore, the anxiety or depressive affect resulting from the disturbances may call forth defensive measures which may produce symptoms or may stabilize into enduring character pathology. (p. 348)

Another way of viewing marcissism and self esteem is by viewing self esteem as the expression of nearness or distance from the infantile feelings of omnipotence. In the course of growing up we learn to evaluate our potentialities and accept our limitations. Facing inner and outer realities we learn to give up hopes for impossibilities. As the ego and superego develop, ways of measuring and values against which the self are measured change with reality inputs. Self esteem would thus depend on the nature of the inner image against which we

measure our own self, as well as on the ways and means at our disposal to live up to it. Self esteem then is seen as the expression of discrepancy or narmony between self representation and 'the wishful concept of the self.

According to Kohut, a fragile and precarious sense of self representation and self esteem leads to seeking of objects that will regulate self esteem and ward off the threat of fragmentation and structural disintegration.

It should be clear that there is a complex relationship between narcissism and self esteem with contributions from multiple factors. It is also apparent that high self esteem should be possible as a realistic nondefensive phenomenon rather than self centeredness and an apparent high regard for one's self utilized as a defense, or implying structural defects. Unfortunately, however, in much of the literature on narcissism the term is used descriptively to designate self esteem without making the distinction between its healthy and pathological aspects, because the above mentioned determinants are not explored and made explicit, causing thereby much confusion.

Current Trends

Presently the concept of narcissism is discussed within three broad perspectives. One view has to do with the role of narcissism in normal development -instinctual and object relational- as having valuable adaptive aspects. A related second trend deals with the disruptions in such a development leading to narcissistic personalities and defenses. The third is the view of the Self Psychology of Kohutians who postulate a narcissistic developmental line separate from the

instimuctual one with both normal and pathological aspects.

Increasingly, the concept of narcissistic development is seen as describing not a pathological stage of ego libidinal functioning, due to the recognition that without an adequate investment of libido, the personality will not operate optimally, therefore making narcissism an essential ingredient for nealthy mental life. In the words of Mayman (1981):

...without an ample supply of 'self love,' a person is condemned to a life of self hate, that a deficient supply of narcissism is far more devastating than an oversupply of that commodity, and far more disastrous both to the individual and his society. (p. 5)

It is postulated that there is a narcissistic line of development, along libidinal and object relational lines, influencing ego and superego development, throughout all the developmental phases of life. One feels narcissistically injured with frustrations and narcissistically confirmed with gratifications. Early traumas affecting self and object representations with excessive frustrations or gratifications lead to narcissistic conflicts. Adults, as well as children, are constantly faced with specific needs, which when not satisfactorily resolved are experienced as narcissistic insults. Depending on how one adopts to the intensity of the needs, to their partial or total lack of satisfaction—narcissistic indignities—self esteem regulation and object relationsnips are affected, making narcissistic adjustment eitner mature or pathological.

It can thus be said that the narcissistic line of development has the potential for being pathological but is not inherently so. According to Mayman (1981):

...successful mastery must have inherent in it its own reward if the person is to persist in

his struggle to achieve whatever he is bent on. There is quite normal, healthy pleasure in selfrealization, a primary narcissistic joy in just being...Narcissism theory needs to take account of the fact that the single indispensable component of a normal life, without which life would at best be bland and empty, at worst intolerable, is one's narcissism. The pleasure one draws from the whole gamut of activities of everyday life is surely narcissistic, and yet certainly is in no way incompatible with mature, normal object relationships. Such pleasure feelings are, I believe, the hallmarks of a normal narcissism. They provide the backdrop of one's daily activities and serve to enliven and enrich even the mundane pursuits of one's life. (p. 7-8)

Narcissism becomes pathological when it is employed with defensive aims: when self feelings are exaggerated because objects have been disappointing; when self and other are not discriminated for protective . reasons; when sexual deviations imply a defensively determined narcissistic object choice. Annie Reich (1953, 1960), in two groundbreaking papers has shown how narcissistic patterns such as grandiose self inflation, seeking of attention, and the like, may represent attempts to repair early traumatic narcissistic injuries to self representations, and attempts to restore and stabilize self esteem. addition to Reich (1953, 1960), Arlow & Brenner (1964), Kernberg (1970, 1977), Murray (1964), among others, have noted that grandiose fantasies of magic omnipotence and unlimited entitlement may be attempts to repair various injuries and degradations to self representations and to ward off the threat of its dissolution. Kernberg further has suggested that those who use narcissistic defenses primarily function at a borderline level of ego development defending narcissistically against oral sadistic rages resulting from undue early frustrations or constitutionally excessive aggression.

The third modern view represented by Kohut (1971, 1977) and his followers of the Self Psychology school postulate entirely separate lines of development for narcissism and instincts. Here, pathologically narcissistic behaviour is not symptomatic of instinctual conflict but a flaw causing certain symptoms. According to Self Psychology, in an optimal relationship between an infant and the mothering figure there is an empathic oneness that does not allow tensions to become intolerable for the infant while also allowing for the infant's grandiose and . : exhibitionistic trends to be expressed and mirrored by the mother. The above relationship is thought of as one aspect of the marcissistic nutriment called mirroring." Through "transmuting internalizations" the infant internalizes the functions of the mothering object as well as forming a stable sense of self and self esteem. In addition to the . mirroring function of the mother that is important in the development of healthy narcissism, a somewhat later second nutrimen \boldsymbol{t} of narcissism entails the idealizing self-object relationship where the child's gratifications comes from the investment in this idealized object -mother or father- whose failures and lack of perfection are tolerable, and which leads to transmuting internalizations in this area as well, contributing to the eventual sense of self and narcissism. Narcissistic pathology ensues if the mother fails to provide an empathic mirror and if either parent do not allow themselves to be used as an idealized parent by the child. This pathology manifests itself in a fragmented, empty, depressed sense of self of the narcissistic character.

Concluding Remarks

In conclusion, we see that the concept of narcissism has a long

and somewhat confusing history in psychoanalytic literature. The most fruitful recent conceptualizations of it on which the present study is based view it as an instinctual and object relational ingredient of development. This is based on the theory that depending on how one deals with frustrations and gratifications, which inevitably accompany instinctual wish-defense constellations and object relationships throughout development, one feels narcissistically confirmed or narcissistically injured. 'In other words, narcissistic pleasures and pains are an indispensable accompaniment in life, which in turn act as powerful forces affecting self and other representations, interactions and kinds of activities undertaken, representative of ego functions, quality of the superego, and self esteem. If the gratifications and the frustrations that make up the essence of narcissistic experiences are dealt with optimally, there ensues healthy narcissism; if not, pathological narcissism expressed either in its injured form or through the defensive mode.

Consequently, in this study Healthy Narcissism is defined as a state of well being and gratification with corollary attributes such as those of trust, security, pleasure, meaningful interactions and activities. Injured Narcissism is defined as a state of malaise, nongratification, and deprivation with interactions and activities expressive of such. Defensive Narcissism is the use of narcissism in an exaggerated way to cover up Injured Narcissism, with feelings, interactions and activities that are marked with grandiosity, devaluation of others, and the like. (Appendix B expands these definitions.)

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this study is to demonstrate the validity of Early Memories as an assessment device; in other words, to demonstrate the methodological feasibility of the systematic use of Early Memories for diagnostic purposes in the present. To accomplish our purpose it will be necessary to show that Early Memories (designated as EMs hereafter) can be reliably differentiated along a diagnostic dimension of our choosing. To this end we chose the diagnostic criterion of narcissism. We also decided to show that they could be reliably differentiated as reflecting a particular psychosexual stage. Once these differentiations could be made, correlations could be obtained with results obtained from stories based on the Thematic Apperception Test (hereafter referred to as TAT) in the present, and with results from Self, Self-Ideal Discrepancy scales to test the following hypotheses:

Statement of Hypotheses

As stated earlier Early Memories function as screen memories and have been used as projective devices in personality assessment as expressions of long range themes of what is most constant in one's prototypical dilemmas and life strategies. The same interpretive approach is also true for TAT productions. It follows that what is manifested in Early Memories should also be manifested in TAT productions. Viewing narcissism and psychosexual stage constellations as being important manifestations of intrapsychic reality, the following hypotheses were tested in the present study:

I. Narcissism scores obtained from Early Memories will correspond

with narcissism scores obtained from TATs.

II. Psychosexual scores obtained from Early Memories will correspond with psychosexual scores obtained from TAT stories.

As has been stated earlier, the developmental view of narcissism considers narcissism as following a normal course of development, almost as an epiphenomenon. Thus no one stage is seen as being indicative of a specific quality of narcissism. As a result, the following hypothesis was formulated.

III. No one psychosexual stage will be associated with a particular kind of narcissism.

Psychosexual stages refer to an instinctual and object relational concept implying that all levels of development, to varying extents, are retained in adult personality. Traditionally, the view holds that the dominance of certain phase related instinctual wish-defense constellations and modes of relating imply a fixation, whereas the integration of all of these in the adult is indicative of a healthy adaptive character constellation. This would mean that fixations in psychosexual stages, or rigidity in any one, would also reflect negative narcissistic patterns. As a result it is expected that subjects who manifest Healthy, Defensive, or Injured Narcissism will differ with statistical significance in the number of psychosexual stages they will exhibit, those who have Healthy Narcissism will show the greatest number of psychosexual stages by virtue of their being the least fixated and therefore exhibiting the flexibility that comes from having access to a wide range of activities. Therefore:

IV. Those subjects who manifest Healthy Narcissism will be the least fixated, expressing the greatest number of psychosexual stage representations in their productions.

The concept of self versus self-ideal discrepancy has been associated with narcissism from its very beginnings in the nistory of psychology. The discrepancy or harmony between view of self and ideal self is considered an indicator of disturbed or healthy narcissism. Those individuals who are defensive deny the discrepancy the most; those who are injured express it the most; and those who are healthy are aware of the discrepancies between self versus self ideal and are able to express it without having to exaggerate or deny. The following hypotheses are based on these concepts:

- V. Those subjects with a Defensive Narcissism score as obtained from their Early Memories will score lowest on self, self-ideal discrepancy scale.
- VI. Those subjects with an Injured Narcissism score as obtained from their Early Memories will score highest on their self, self-ideal discrepancy scale.
- VII. Those subjects with a Healthy Narcissism score as obtained from their Early Memories will score at an intermediate level on their self, self-ideal discrepancy scale.

CHAPTER II

METHOD

Subjects

The subjects used in this study were undergraduate students at the University of Windsor, and were recruited from those enrolled in psychology classes. They agreed to volunteer in this research project and received class credit for participating. They were asked to specify their native language which indicated that they came from a varied background of nationalities. Roughly one-third (21 subjects) in the main sample of 60 subjects were Orientals, and the rest were Westerners. In the pilot group, o subjects out of a total of 19 subjects were Orientals. In the main sample, 40 females and 20 males participated. In the pilot group there were 10 females and 9 males. For the main sample, the ages ranged from 17 to 72, with a median age of 22.

Measures

This chapter will describe the development of measures used in this study. Measures for narcissism and the psychosexual stages in Early Memories and in TAT stories, and the measure used for self and self-ideal discrepancy will be presented and discussed.

The Early Memories Narcissism Scale. In starting the search for measures, the investigator started with a premise that was an outgrowth of the literature review, and explicitly stated by Bibring (1953). Namely, that the ego possesses various narcissistic aspirations that include the wish to be loved, to feel worthy, not to feel inferior; the wish to be strong, to feel important; and the wish to be loving, to be

good, to not be hateful or destructive. A scale of Healthy, Injured, or Defensive narcissism would reflect the ability or inability to live up to these aspirations.

Specifically to test the hypothesis that Early Memories can be 🕣 classified as exhibiting Healthy, Injured, or Defensive Narcissism, a reliable and valid measure was needed. None was available that had been statistically validated, and therefore the investigator developed a scale based on Mayman's "Quality of Object Relationships in Early Memories Scale" (1970). Mayman's scale measures the quality of object relationships of a person through analyzing his early memories and categorizing them along four major classifications of psychoticborderline, narcissistic, neurotic, and normal. This scale has been used with reliability in a number of studies, as mentioned previously (Krohn, 1972; Greenwald, 1977; Rule & McKenzie, 1977; Filter, 1978). In Filter's work, which is the latest one among those mentioned above, coder agreements in terms of scoring early memories along five scales were 0.77; 0.88; 0.70; 0.73, and 0.66. These five scales were: selfother differentiation; object's attitude toward self; affect intensity; gratification potential; and Mayman's Quality of Relationship Scale.

To construct our scale a picture of the typical behavioral and emotional characteristics associated with narcissistic styles was formulated based on writings and studies dealing with narcissism that have been reported earlier. In other words, the rationale for the scoring criteria came from general theoretical assumptions about narcissism and character formation, and upon prior experience with early memories clinically. This formulation is stated as follows:

Healthy Narcissism is defined as a state of well being and

gratification with attributes of trust, security, pleasure, belongingness, mastery, competence, satisfaction, approval, joy, and the like.

Expressions of any of the above kinds of feelings as well as the following themes would be considered as being prototypical of Healthy Narcissism: Experience of self as having strengths and abilities; a favorable image of self; vitality; being an object of importance to others; feeling accepted and belonging to a community of distinct individuals; interactions that are cognizant and respectful of varying thoughts, feelings, and perspectives; experience of the world as a promising or fulfilling place where one can depend on and relate to others without harm ensuing to either party.

Injured Narcissism is defined as a state of malaise and nongratification with attributes of deprivation; loneliness; pain; injury; humiliation; mortification; disgrace; dishonor; disapproval; embarrassment; shame. Expressions of any of these feelings as well as the following themes would be considered as being prototypical of Injured Narcissism: Experience of self as being beset by destructive forces with no control over them; being victimized; helplessness; being out of place; negative self evaluation; unfavorable image of self; inferiority feelings; lack of mastery; being the object of disgust, ridicule, scorn; feeling childish; sélf absorption. Experience of the world is as being evil, malevolent, punitive, harmful. In this category, others, when present, are portrayed as destructive, incidental, detached, unresponsive, unsupportive, impersonal, vague. Exaggerated Defensive Narcissism is the usage of narcissism for defensive purposes to cover up IN. Defensive Narcissism is characterized by feelings of aloof grandiosity; primitive rage and envy; fusion with idealized objects;

inflated self esteem; pronounced clinging to positive self representations; perceiving self in a more powerful or favorable light than accords with reality; devaluing others or comparing them unfavorably with one's own relative standing; viewing others as being interchangeable, or significant only in terms of one's needs.

The Early Memories Test can be used as a clinical diagnostic instrument to assess individual personality dynamics or to discriminate groups along various dimensions. In this study, the test was put to both uses. In the Early Memories Narcissism Scale a scoring system was developed for narcissism based on the descriptive narcissistic dimensions given earlier. Questions from the Early Memories Test used in this study is reproduced in Appendix A. The Early Memories Narcissism Scale and the scoring information is reproduced in Appendix B. Appendix I reproduces the scoring of a sample subject.

Early Memories Psychosexual Stages Scale. Since early levels of development are retained in personality, an awareness of mental development in terms of psychosexual stages as sequences of maturation in terms of instinct development as well as object relational development has a long history in psychology. In terms of id psychology the view holds, that fixation or regression to pregenital stages and the related instinctual wish-defense conflicts are indicative of specific kinds of psychopathology and character style (Freud, 1905; Abraham, 1913). Ego psychology has expanded the above conceptualization emphasizing that psychosexual stages are, in effect, ego states with distinctive affects, ego ideals, self images, object representations, hierarchically organized relational patterns between self and others, and sublimations (Hartmann, 1964; Kris, 1956; Blanck & Blanck, 1974).

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Even further it has been stated that these developmental stages can fluctuate continually, merging and separating without this being an indication of psychopathology (Mayman, 1963). These expanded ways of viewing development and fixations point toward the possibility that narcissism is a state of the ego which in its normal course of development can be understood as evolving through developmental phases having either valuable adaptive aspects or pathological and defensive ones. In other words, that individuals can be viewed in terms of their narcissistic configurations as these pertain to the psychosexual stages without necessarily being conflicted about any one of these phases; that each stage could be reflective of positive or negative narcissistic patterns for any one individual depending on the frustrations or gratifications encountered. (These thoughts are a natural outgrowth of what has been reviewed earlier about the current status of narcissism in psychology today.)

To test the hypothesis that Early Memories can be classified as belonging to a specific psychosexual stage, Mayman's "Early Memories Test" was used, which derives both from Frued's and Erikson's theories (Mayman & Faris, 1960; Mayman, 1968, 1977). This test is also referred to as "Self-Other Relationship Representations in EMS"; "Prototypical Interpersonal Themes in Early Memories"; and as "Developmental Relationship Paradigms." The reliability and validity of this scale has been established in a number of studies (Ryan, 1970; Harder, 1975; Binder, 1970). Binder, for example used two types of reliability check. One was in terms of percentage of agreement between two judges which was 67 percent. A second method of checking reliability was in terms of running a chi square. Reliability was significant in the predicted directionsat p < 0.01.

In this scale each psychosexual stage defines a multiplicity of different ego states, organized around affects, needs, self representations, object relationships, conflicts, defenses, and competencies.

The oral theme is seen in memories that refer to very early attachments. The oral stage with its intense, massive, and undifferentiated needs is seen as the time of internalizing a sense of worth, well being and trust. The ego's narcissistic aspirations in this stage of development include needs to gain affection, to be cared for, or defensively to be prematurely, self-supporting, if made to feel helpless in attempting to meet these aspirations. If a child repeatedly encounters pain, disruptions to his sense of positive well being, a sense of foreboding, and a fear of disintegration is likely to occur.

In the anal period there is a different set of challenges to the ego in terms of differentiation of self and other, and conflicts concern the drawing of the boundaries between self and other and mastery over one's body and objects in the environment. Symbolized and expressed in the struggle over sphincter control, giving and taking, being benevolent or destructive; autonomy, covetousness are the kinds of conflicts expressed which can precipitate defiance and aggression, as well as measures to deal with these. Memories in these categories are differentiated from the next -the phallic- stage in that within anal configurations possessions have value in their own right, whereas phallic coveting is for the purpose of enhanting one's status or displaying one's power.

During the phallic phase clearer differentiation of sex role behaviour takes place. The use of one's body for conquest and adventure

with the ultimate purpose of winning one's love objects is a primary aim, sometimes displaced to mastery over tools, vehicles, etc. Ego aspirations involve the need to be admired, to be respected. A primary characteristic of memories pertaining to this stage is that of making a self assertive, intrusive or exhibitionistic impact on the world so that one can be admired, feared, respected for one's size, power and effectiveness. There is a strong aggressive connotation to this phase with an undifferentiated sexual excitement underneath.

The phallic quality of pleasure and interpersonal relationships is replaced in the next stage with more of a heterosexual component where sex role differentiation is much clearer and aspirations to be victorious emerge. The oedipal themes deal with the oedipal triangle, namely genital impulses in trying to win the favors of the parent of the opposite sex that involve conflict with the parent of the same sex. In the inverse oedipal configuration the memories would represent the inverse of the above; namely, for a man love for the father and conflict with the mother, for a woman love for the mother and conflict with the father.

In latency, interests and activities go beyond the family. Peer relationships with aspirations and conflicts about peer approval, belongingness, achievement come into the foreground.

This scale and the scoring information is reproduced in Appendix C. Appendix D reproduces memories that are used as examples of this scale collected and used by Mayman. Appendix I reproduces the scoring of a sample subject.

<u>TAT Scales</u>. On the assumption that narcissism implies a characteristic structured mode of perceiving, experiencing, and

responding to the world based on experiences of frustrations and gratifications resulting in a specific state of discrepancy of self versus ideal, it was expected that this style would be reflected in a person's fantasy productions of the present, as well as in his early memories - which by virtue of being screen memories were also seen as reflections of the present. Thematic Apperception Test elicits in fantasy a subject's self images, his characteristic representations of others, the relational patterns he expects and creates for himself, his aspirations, as well as other indicators of character structure. It was developed by H. A. Murray, and is generally known by its initials, "TAT". The test asks the subject to make up a story around a picture visually presented to him, requires that the story express the feelings and thoughts of those involved, and incorporate into the story the past, present, and future. The entire set contains thirty-one cards. Some are appropriate for all subjects, others are administered depending on the age and sex of the subject. TAT has had a preeminent position among projective instruments of assessment, used in many scientific and clinical investigations of personality through productions of fantasized stories. Research on the TAT and with the TAT has included criterion research especially soon after its inception, psychometric studies, and personalitytheoretical research\where the test was assessed and used as a diagnostic and predictive device. This is not the place for a survey of these voluminous studies. Zubin, Eron, and Schumer (1965), and Murstein (1963) are recommended for such an overview. Rapaport discussed the TAT as an instrument specifically suited to the assessment of ideational content, as distinct from conceptual, intellectual, and formal assets and liabilities of thought. Secondly, he stated that "the rationale

basic to interpreting the TAT (is): figures described, attitudes attributed, actions related in stories one makes up are drawn from memory - that is, from past experience; therefore, ...they directly represent the real or fantasized figures of personalities, the attitudes, feelings, and actions which loom large in the subject's world" (p. 429).

TAT was chosen as the projective test to tap into a subject's fantasy productions about the "present" expressive of his character, specifically in terms of narcissism and psychosexual stage designations. While the TAT is not as unstructured as Early Memories, since the subject is given a stimulus and told how to respond, it still was chosen for the purposes of this study, coming closest to the kind of projective test needed that was available. It follows then that these fantasy productions expressive of character could be differentiated along narcissistic dimensions and psychosexual stages. The cards used in the study were those numbered 1, 2, 10, 14, and 16 in the standard TAT series. These specific cards were chosen because the examiner felt that they would be most revealing in a mixed adult subject population. The TAT instructions given to the subjects are reproduced in Appendix E.

The scales used on Early Memories in differentiating psychosexual stages and categories of narcissism were used as measures in coding the TAT stories. Appendices F and G review the scales, the procedures for scoring, and the scoring sheets used. Appendix I can be reviewed for the scoring sample subject.

himself mable to achieve his aspirations, he experiences this as a defect or injury and there occurs a marked discrepancy between his experienced and ideal self; in other words, a decline in self esteem.

Loss of self esteem is an inseparable component of pathological narcissism. The individual may defend against this in desperate efforts which may include a pathological denial, projection, and reversal where exaggerated self esteem becomes a cover-up. In an individual with Healthy Narcissism, the ego has the resources to enable the individual to have the confidence that ultimately he is able to achieve his narcissistic aspirations.

Studies that involve the self esteem variable (also referred to as self regard or self acceptance in the literature) often conceptualized it as a unidimensional trait. Quantitative differences reported by subjects have been viewed as reflecting real, stable differences in experienced self esteem. In most cases the techniques utilized have been to describe self and ideal self (Rogers & Dymond, 1954) or sets of continua, along which subjects mark their self and ideal self (Fontana, 1965). There have been questions about these methods along methodological lines about the equivalence of the variables used due to usage of diverse items, varying administrative formats, and changing scoring procedures. In addition, the ways of interpreting the meaning of the results are often criticized as not being always objective. A review of literature shows factors such as social desirability and an associated need for approval; psychological adjustment; and defensive styles can affect reported self ideal discrepancy scores. These variables may contribute to tendencies to give consciously false self reports or to deny the "true" self esteem (Harder, 1971). The investigator reviewed the pertinent literature to find a measure that would tap into a generalized disposition to accentuate or hide self/ideal discrepancies in a sophisticated manner. Mayman (1953) in his study on the sense of self

has developed such a measure which assesses a basic attitudinal disposition to perceive a certain distance, or lack of it, between self and ideal, regardless of the specific content area about which the distance is being judged. Mayman's inventory rests upon the following major postulates about self structure: "(1) that the self is embedded in behavior and behavior dispositions, (2) that, as such, it can't be fully grasped by the person himself, and (3) that it may have a dual aspect — an outer aspect in the manifest behavior of the person, and an inward aspect in his own inner-psychological processes" (p. 6). In this scale certain central behavior dispositions of which the person is not fully aware are assessed.

Experience from the "Q-Technique" research on self structure was utilized in developing Mayman's scale. Assessment is not based on the content statements elicited, but more on the indirect information generated about the subject through "formal characteristics" of his responses:

Implicit in this approach is the assumption that answers on each item are not entirely specific on that one item; they are dictated in part by certain underlying and rather pre-potent attitudes. Thus, if a person suffers from a deep sense of inadequacy, he will tend to answer questions in such a way as to reflect a sharp divergence of self from ideal regardless of the specific content of the question. (Mayman, 1953, p. 21)

Mayman reported that with subjects who had at least average I.Q. the scale performed with high reliability where split-half reliabilities were performed. By checking the frequency distribution of various possible responses to the inventory, resistance to chance fluctuations over two different age groups was shown. (Those who were 25 and older versus those younger than 25 were the two age groups.)

'Mayman asserted that the scale's validity would be demonstrated if: (1) it discriminated meaningfully between relatively homogeneous clinical groups, and (2) it discriminated meaningfully and reliably between individuals. His results showed significant differences between normal groups and various clinical groups who were diagnosed as neurotic, borderline, chronic schizophrenic, and mixed schizophrenic. These differences were on the order of .05 - .001. In addition, these differences had clear interpretable clinical meaning. Mayman then went on to attempt individual differential diagnoses using only the scoring profiles from the inventory. His diagnoses, scored along a seven point scale indicative of degree of pathology, were compared with the clinical diagnostic ratings of patients' doctors. (Normals were automatically assigned a "normal". rating.) In two separate groups of cases the relationship between diagnoses were significant in the predicted direction (p < .001). In other words, the inventory passed both of Mayman's a priori tests of validity.

The Sense of Self Inventory assesses four self, non-self axes. In the present study only the self, self-ideal axis was used. This axis provides a measurement of tolerance for self to self-ideal discrepancy. Subjects were asked to rate themselves on a series of 55 descriptive items, like the following:

- 1. I try at all times to be nice to people.
- 2. I have not lived the right kind of life.
- 3. I like to play with children.

The ratings are on a 5 point scale from "+2" if the subject thinks the description is definitely true of him/her, to "-2" if the subject is sure that it is not true of him/her. The subjects also rate the same

items for their "ideal person." Systematic comparisons by Mayman of a subject's ratings on all items for "self" and "ideal person" yielded two scores purported to assess self versus self-ideal discrepancy. These scores are the "Commonality" and the "Divergence Percent" scores. Commonality is computed by adding up the total number of items which are answered similarly on the "self" and "ideal person" forms. Divergence percent is the converse of Commonality. It measures the amount of dissimilarity in answering the items on the two forms. In addition, divergence score takes into account, as commonality does not, the number of items on which comparison is not possible. This is accomplished by making Divergence percent a ratio of the number of dissimilarly answered items to the total number of unambiguously answered items, computed as follows:

D% = 100 x Number of deviant responses
55 minus the number of "?" responses

Harder (1975) has used the Self, Self-Ideal Discrepancy Scale in a study where relative proneness to shame or guilt are related to the discrepancies. He found that in women, being guilt-prone is related to low self, self-ideal discrepancy, and shame-proneness is related to high self, self-ideal discrepancy. (Computed in terms of divergence % scores, significant at p < .001.) In addition, there was a positive relationship between tolerance of self, self-ideal discrepancy and the direction of attention deployment: Low self, self-ideal discrepancy was related to external attention deployment; and high self, self-ideal discrepancy was

A subject has the option to indicate when he or she is not sure if a given item does or does not fit his or her "ideal" by circling "?". An item rated in this way on one form is consequently not comparable with the same item when it is rated unambiguously on the other form.

related to internal attention deployment (p < .05).

Schafer (1968) has stated that it is possible to distinguish two types of self representation. "The ideal self representation", reflecting what one would like to be; and the "experienced self representation" reflecting how one sees himself at the present. The "experienced self" is prone to distortions in one of two directions: away from a consensually valid view of oneself and away from the ideal self; or away from a consensually valid view of oneself and toward the ideal self.

Individuals with Defensive Narcissism attempt to protect themselves from experiencing a discrepancy and the accompanying tension. It is hypothesized that these individuals will defensively idealize their experienced selves toward the ideal and will show the least amount of self versus self ideal discrepancy.

It is further hypothesized that individuals with Injured
Narcissism will deprecate the experienced self and move away from the
ideal self showing the greatest amount of discrepancy.

This scale along with the instructions and introductory comments given to subjects is reproduced in Appendix H.

Procedure

Initially a pilot study was performed on twenty subjects which had a twofold purpose: First, it was important to see if a revision of the scoring systems was necessary to adequately operationalize the theoretical and clinical assumptions that underlied them. Second, the reliability of the scoring measures could thus be assessed by getting the inter-rater reliability between the judges. Following the pilot



scoring, minor clarifying revisions were done on the scales.

In the main sample, as well as in the pilot study, each subject came to one testing session. All the tests were group administered. The administration lasted approximately 3 hours with a break in the middle. The subjects worked at their own pace during the Self, Self-Ideal Inventories. Approximately 10 minutes were given for each EM and TAT response, however subjects were free to go back and complete what they had not finished. For counterbalancing purposes there were four orders of presentations, i.e., four different groups. The sequences were Self Inventory, TAT, EM, Ideal; Ideal, TAT, EM, Self Inventory, Self Inventory, EM, TAT, Ideal; and Ideal, EM, TAT, and Self Inventory. Altogether 60 subjects participated in the main study.

All the participants were seen at the University of Windsor. The subjects knew that they were participating in a psychological experiment; they were told that the study was a research project on the nature of "memories, creativity, and personality", and they were thanked for their willingness to participate. Individual subject anonymity was stressed, an identification method was devised which consisted of a code made up by each subject, making it possible for all of a subject's tests to be identified as the tests of one person, without revealing that person's identity.

The Sense of Self Inventory was presented as a personal assessment of one's self, as well as one's view of an "admired" other. The subjects were asked to rate each item in the inventory made up of 55 questions on a discontinuous five point scale ranging from "definitely true" to "don't know whether true or not" to "definitely not true", for the self and for an imagined "ideal person" on the same set of behavior traits. The

instructions and the final form of the questionnaire are reproduced in Appendix H along with the general introductory statement made to the group before this testing was administered.

The Early Memories Test was presented as an open ended recall of subjective memories. Each subject filled out a written form asking him to relate the memories, and after each memory further written questions were asked about it (Appendix A).

Each memory obtained from the Early Memories Test was to be coded as expressing Healthy Narcissism (designated as HN), or belonging to the Injured Narcissism classification (designated as IN), or as being exaggerated and therefore belonging to Defensive Narcissism category (DN designation). The Early Memories Narcissism Scale and the scoring instructions are reproduced in Appendix B.

The Early Memories Psychosexual Stages Scale based on Mayman's "Developmental Relationship Paradigms" was used to designate each memory as belonging to Oral, Anal, Phallic, Oedipal, or Latency stages (designated as O, A, P, Od, L respectively). Configurations of each stage is explicitly stated in the scale. The scale with the scoring procedures for each memory, and for each subject based on all of his memories are given in Appendix C.

The TAT test includes the cards numbered 1, 2, 10, 14, and 16 in the standard TAT cards. The examiner chose these 5 pictures because in her opinion they were likely to evoke the most expressive associations in a group of adult males and females. The subjects were told this was a study of their imagination and creativity. They were given the standard TAT questions, and a slide of each card was projected on a screen (Appendix E).

The TAT results were scored as belonging to a particular Narcissistic category and to a Psychosexual stage by using the same scales and procedures as were used with Early Memories (Appendices F & G).

In coding both the Early Memories and the TAT stories along narcissistic and psychosexual dimensions, each story was viewed as a metaphorical molar unit that is listened to intuitively and analytically. Not only the content thema as identified in the scales, but the subject's psychological investment in the content was assessed, keeping in mind the predominant theme within a multiplicity of cues. The feeling tone, the characteristic self representations, and relational paradigms were considered empathically in order to arrive at a judgment. Upon the completion of the testing, all of the materials were checked to make sure they were coded. Subsequently each judge randomly scored each EM and TAT. In an effort to eliminate experimenter bias, there was no specific order of scoring the EMs, or TATs, or the specific tests in the total battery taken by any one subject. Pearson Product Moment Correlations, chi squares, and t tests were utilized in statistical analyses.

Judge<u>s</u>

The judges who participated in the main study were the examiner and a colleague who had a Ph.D. in Clinical Psychology for five years. Both were active as psychotherapists. The third judge who participated during the pilot study was a master level clinical psychologist. All three judges had a psychoanalytic theoretical orientation.

CHAPTER III

RESULTS

Each of the two judges in the study rated each EM and TAT in terms of Narcissism and Psychosexual Stages in accordance with the scales provided. The scores for Narcissism were 1 for DN, 2 for IN, and 3 for The scores for the five psychosexual stages, starting with the Oral stage ranged from 1 to 5. For each subject an Average Narcissism score and an Average Psychosexual Stage score was calculated for their EMs and TATs, based on each judge's ratings. In other words, each subject had 2 Average Narcissism and 2 Average Psychosexual Stage scores, for both their EMs and TATs. The average was obtained by taking the arithmetic mean of the scores for the 5 TATs and 5 EMs given by each judge. In addition a Composite Average Narcissism score per subject for their EMs, and a Composite Average Narcissism score per subject for their TATs were obtained by averaging the scores given by both judges. The same procedure applied in obtaining a Composite Average Psychosexual score per subject for their EMs and TATs. Finally one Total Composite Average Narcissism score for each subject was calculated based on averaging their Composite Average TAT and EM Narcissism scores.

Ten subjects did not put down responses for all of the 5 EMs, giving reasons such as "I don't remember", "My father died before I was born" and the like. Four subjects did not complete all of the 5 TAT stories. In addition 16 times a response could not be scored by a judge either for Narcissism or Psychosexual designation because of the brevity of the material provided by the subject which accounts for the differing numbers

reported in the various calculations done.

Table 1 is expressive of the demographic data on participating subjects.

Table 2 shows the frequency distribution of the ages reported for the EMs by the subjects and the Psychosexual designations they received from Judge 1. In order to assure that the judges would not be influenced by the ages the subjects themselves assigned to their EMs, they were kept unaware of these designations. Occasionally a subject did not give a specific age for a memory but put down for age comments such as "All my childhood", "At the point when I was getting too big for the high chair", "Probably pretty young if I could bathe in the kitchen sink", and the like. These memories could not be assigned an age which is the reason why Figure 1 is based on 276 memories which is the number of memories for which subjects assigned a specific age. Figure 1 shows the frequency distribution of the ages reported. Judge 1 could assign a psychosexual designation to 271 memories which is the N for Table 2.

An examination of Table 2 shows that the age a subject attributes to the memory and the Psychosexual designation it receives are not related.

Reliability

In this study, before testing of any hypotheses could be undertaken, establishing the reliability of the measures was crucial. To this end a pilot study was first conducted. Early Memories and TATs were scored for Narcissism and Psychosexual stages by three judges. Tables 3 and 4 present the results of the Pearson correlations obtained. Of the 12

²The statistical text used was by G. Ferguson (1971). <u>Statistical</u> Analysis in <u>Psychology and Education</u>. New York: McGraw-Hill Inc.

Table 1

Demographic Data on Participating Subjects

	Pilot N = 19	Main Sample N = 60
Native Language	English 9	English 27
	Chinese 6	Chinese 21
	Canish 1	French 4
	Korean 1	Portuguese 2
	Polish l	Gaelic l
	Spanish l	Greek l
		Italian l
		Tamil 1
		Ukranian l
·		Urdu 1
Sex	Female 10	Female 40
	Male 9 `	Male 20
Age	Range: 17-55	Range: 17-72
•	Median: 24	Median: 22
	Mean: 25	Mean: 24.12

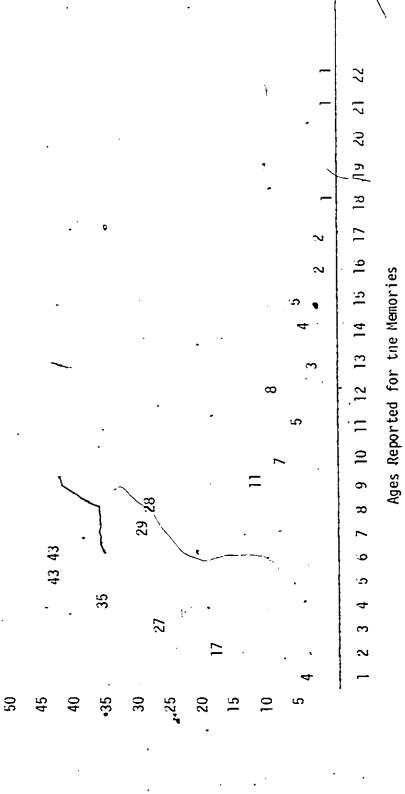
Table 2

Frequency Distribution of the Ages Reported for the EMs by the Subjects and the Psychosexual Designations They Received From Judge 1*

ពូ

?? 2 <u>)</u> <u>5</u> Ages Oedipa] Phallic Latency Anal Oral

*27] Early Memories were scored for Psychosexual Designations by Judge l



Frequencies

Figure 1. Frequencies of the Ages Reported for the EMs*

*276 Early Memories were reported with a specific age.

Table 3 EM and TAT Narcissism Scale Correlations Between Judges 1, 2, and 3

	EM	s , ·	TAT	s
	J	J ₂ _	J	J ₂
J		.63***		.68***
3	.65***	.7]***	.54**	.37*
	•••	•		

*p < .05

All significance tests were one tailed.

Ta			-
1 -	—	\sim	4
10	111	_	

	٥, ٥	•)			
EM	and	TAT	Psychosexual	Stages	Correlations	Betweer	Judges	1, 2, and 3	
_		۵.				_			_
				(Pilot	Sample $N = 20$	0)			
	•		EMs		•		TATs		
		J		J ₂		J _l		J ₂	
J			•	.42**		•	,	.40**	
J ₃		.13		.37 *		.23		.37*	•

^{**}p < .025 *p < .05

correlations done, all but 2 were significant. It was then decided to conduct the main study with two judges. Correlation coefficients were nigher for two of the judges, and these two were the ones retained. These two judges met and discussed the pilot protocols on which they had differed substantially. Subsequently these pilot protocols were rescored and a second set of correlations between the two judges were obtained for the pilot sample. As Table 5 indicates, the interjudge reliability scores were markedly improved, showing all significances at .0005 level and indicating that the judges were now scoring according to a common set of guidelines. The examiner then went on to show interjudge reliability on the main sample itself (Table o). The data is presented in terms of the '4 different orders of presentations that were done. As this table indicates grouping subjects in terms of order of presentations appears to have had no major effect on the correlations, and that with successive replications a high degree of consistency was apparent. Table 7 shows the interjudge reliability scores for the whole main sample with reliabilities of .79 to .89 (p < .0005).

Relationship Between Narcissism Scores Obtained From Els and TATs; and Between Psychosexual Stages Scores Obtained From Els and TATs

Having established the reliability of the measures, the first two hypotheses that posit a relationship between Early Memory results and TAT results could be tested (Table 8). For Judge 1 the correlation between EMs and TATs on the Narcissism scale was .30, and for the Psychosexual stages scale .42, with significances at the .01 and .0005 levels respectively for a one-tailed test. Judge 2 obtained correlations of .23 and -.09 respectively, the former being significant at the .05

Table 5

EM and TAT Narcissism and Psychosexual Stages Correlations Between

Judges 1 and 2

	(Revised Pilot Sa	ample $N = 20$)
	Narcissism Scale	Psychosexual Stages Scale
₹Ms	. 96	. ೪6
TATs	.90	.90

<u>p</u> < .0005

Table 6

EM and TAT Narcissism and Psychosexual Stages Correlations Between

Judges 1 and 2, for the 4 Orders of Presentations in the Main Sample

	Narcissism Scale	Psychosexual Stages Scale
Order I	E4s .89***	E4s .87***
N = 18	TATs .90***	TATs .87***
Order II	EMs .90***	EMs .85***
N = 17	TATs .73***	TATs .89***
Order III	EMs .85***	EMs .74***
N = 19	TATs .77***	TATs .41*
Order IV	EMs .95***	EMs .94**
N = 6	TAT's .62	TATS .97.***
		· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·

^{***&}lt;u>p</u> < .0005 **<u>p</u> < .005 *<u>p</u> < .05

Table 7

EM and TAT Narcissism and Psychosexual Stages Correlations Between

Judges 1 and 2, for the Total Main Sample

(N = 60)

	Narcissism Scale	Psychosexual Stages Scale
EM's	.89	.79
TATs	.80	.მა

<u>p</u> < .0005

Table 8

Correlations Between E4s and TATs for Narcissism and Psychosexual Stages

for Judge 1 and Judge 2

	Narcissis	m Scale	Psychosexua	l Stages Scale
`\	Jı	J ₂	J ₁	J ₂
•:	EM_s	TATS	E1s	TATs
Ms ·		.23*		09
TATs	.30**	- .	.42***	

^{***}p < .0005 **p < .01 *p < .05

level. In other words, the hypothesized relationship between Em and TAT results for the Narcissism scale was supported by both judges; however the relationship between EM and TAT results for Psychosexual Stages was found by Judge 1, but this result was not replicated by Judge 2.

Relationship Between the Narcissism Scores and Psychosexual Stage Representations

Hypothesis III was a result of the conceptualization that no one stage would be seen as being associated with a specific kind of Narcissism. The results were confirmatory. Tables 9 and 10 show that no one Psychosexual stage was associated with specific narcissism scores either for EMs or TATs. Specifically, the correlations were done in the following manner: The combined frequencies given by Judges 1 and 2 for oral responses for each subject who had at least one oral score were correlated with the Average Narcissism score they each received from both judges combined; that is, their Composite Average Narcissism score, first for EMs (Table 9), and then for TATs (Table 10). For EMs orality was! scored for 46 subjects. The total number of times orality was scored was 193. (Theoretically a subject could have anywhere from one to ten scores in a specific psychosexual category, having 5 EMs scored by 2 judges.) The r value obtained was .15. For TATs, brality was scored for 43 subjects, and the total number of times it was scored was 133. The r value obtained was -.12. Next, the combined frequencies given by Judges 1 and 2 for anal responses for each subject who had at least one anal score were correlated with the Average Narcissism score they each received from both judges combined; that is, their Composite Average Narcissism score, first for EMs (Table 9), and then for TATs (Table 10).

Table 9

Relationships Between Composite Average EMs Narcissism Scores and Psychosexual Stage Representations

	Number of subjects having at least one response in each of the following psychosexual stages for EMs	Total number of times each stage is scored by Judges 1 and 2, for EMs	Correlations between the EM narcissism scores and frequency of responses in each psychosexual stage
Oral	46	193	.15 N.S.
Anal	25	40	.11 N.S.
Phallic	. 46	163	.04 N.S.
Oedipal	33	71	.18 N.S.
Latency	13	_ 26	.40 N.S.

Table 10

Relationships Between Composite Average TAT Narcissism Scores and

Psychosexual Stage Representations

				
	Number of subjects having at least one response in each of the following psychosexual stages for TATs	Total number of times each stage is scored by Judges 1 and 2, for TATs	Correlation between the narcissism and frequen of response each psychostage	TAT scores cy s in
Oral	43	133	12	N.S.
Ana l	36	70	.02	N.S.
Phallic	. 34	78	31	N.S.
(Oedipal	36	101	-:30	N.S.
Latency	38	110	.26	N.S.
		•	•	•

For EMs anality was scored for 25 subjects, 40 times, and the r value obtained was 0.11. For TATs anality was scored for 35 subjects, 70 times, and the r value obtained from correlating the frequencies per subject with their Average Narcissism scores was .02. Tables 9 and 10 give the data and the correlation results for all the psychosexual stages.

Tables 9 and 10 indicate widely differing correlation coefficients. In order to determine whether the differences between the correlations could be significant and therefore possibly indicative of a trend, the two groups with the widest difference in their correlation scores in each table were chosen, and t tests were performed. Table 9 indicates that Phallic and Latency groups had the largest difference between their correlation scores. Two t tests were performed between these groups, first, between the frequency of Ed Narcissism Scores for the Phallic stage and frequency of EM Narcissism Scores for the Latency stage; and second, between the Ei Composite Average Narcissism Scores for Phallic Stage and EM Composite Average Narcissism Scores for Latency Stage. Neither of the t tests were sign ficant, with scores of 2.26 and 1.84 respectively. Table 10 indicates that the groups with the widest difference between their correlation coefficients are the Oedipal and Latency groups. Two t tests were performed between these two groups, first, in terms of the frequency of TAT Narcissism Scores, and second in terms of their Composite Average Narcissism Scores. The results of 1.07 and 1.63 were not significant. These findings lent further confirmation to our finding that there was no trend indicative of a relationship between Narcissism Scores and specific Psychosexual Stage representations.

Another way of checking Hypothesis III was to see if the Composite Average Narcissism scores correlated with Composite Average Psychosexual Stage scores for EMs and TATs. With this calculation, we had the advantage of having an N of 60. The hypothesis would be confirmed if we did not get significant results. The Scores of .12 for EMs and .17 for TATs were obtained, which are not significant, indicating confirmation for the hypothesis.

A third calculation performed in testing Hypothesis III were chi squares. These were based on the frequency distribution of all the psychosexual stages for the three narcissism categories, for EMs and TATs. Nonsignificant results would be further confirmation, indicating once again that no one stage is associated with a specific kind of Narcissism. Tables 11 and 12 show that the results obtained were not statistically significant, therefore in the direction predicted by the hypothesis.

The prediction that Healthy Narcissism would be associated with a broader spectrum of psychosexual stage representations, as stated in Hypothesis IV, was not supported. The chi squares were not significant (Tables 13 and 14). Table 13 shows a total number of 49 subjects. This was due to the fact that for 11 subjects an average Narcissism score for their EMs couldn't be calculated either because one judge or the other was not able to score all of the 5 EMs or because a subject did not complete all 5 EMs. For the same reasons, the number of subjects on whom a Composite Average Narcissism Score for their TATs could be computed was 50.

Hypothesis IV was further tested in terms of the correlations gone between the subjects in Healthy and Unhealthy Narcissism groups and the number of Psychosexual Stages represented. The Unhealthy Narcissism group was made up of the IN and DN subjects. (The rationale for this

Frequency Distribution of the Psychosexual Stages for EMs for the Three Narcissism Groups Table 11

	· 0ra]	Anal	Phallic	Oedipal	Latency	z
On	15	9	10	g ·	7	
N=4	(E=14,80)	(E=3,19)	(E=12,46)	(E=5,53)	(E=2,02)	38
(range 5 to 8.0)					,	•
IN	66	22	βŷ	38		
N=25	(E=99,67)	(E=21,51)	(E=83,93)	(E=37,25)	(E=13.04)	ეი2
(range 8.1 to 12)	•			-		
NH.	9/	14	. 64	27	13	
N=20 (range 12.1 to 15)	(E=75,53)	(E=16.30)	(E=63,61)	(E=28.23)	(E=10,34)	194
W	190	41,	160	7.1	26	463
		•	•		`	•

Frequency Distribution of the Psychosexual Stages for TATs for the Three Narcissism Groups Table 12

	Oral '	Anal	Phallic	Oedipal	Latency	24 -
NO	15	.01	=	8	14	
N=6	(E=15,63)	(E=8.22)	(E=9,38)	(E=11.92)	(E=12.85)	89
(range 5 to 8.0)	~					
NI	. 78	38	45	55	48	
N=26	(E=71,14)	(E=37,41)	(E=42,68)	(E=54.28)	(E=58,49)	264
(range 8.1 to 12)			•			•
NH	42	23	25	, 40	49	
K=18	(E=48,23)	(E=25,37)	(E=28,94)	(E=36.8)	(E=39.66)	179
(range 12.1 to 15)					-	
M	135	11	81	103	111.	501
1	•					

Table 13

Composite Average Narcissism Scores on EM Scale and the Frequency of the Number of Psychosexual Stages Represented

(N=49)

Average Narcissism Scores on EMs	Number of Psychosexual Stages Represented						
	1	2	3	4	5	N	
Healthy Narcissism 12.1-15	0 (E=0)	4 (E=2.45)	9 (E≃9.38)	7 (E=6.93)	0 (E=1.22)	20	
Unhealthy Narcissism 5-12	0 (E=0)	2 (E=3.55)]4 (E=13.62)	10 (E=10.06)	3 (E=1.78)	29	
Σ	0 .	6	23	17	3	49	

 $x^2 = 3.58$ df = 3 p < .5

Table 14

Composite Average Narcissism Scores on TATs and the Frequency of the
Number of Psychosexual Stages Represented

(N=50)

Number of Psychosexual Stages Represented					
1	2	3	4	5	N
U	0 (E=1.18)	4 (E=5.4)	12 (E=9.36)	2 (E=2.16)	18
0	3 (E=1.92)	11 (E=9.6)	14 (E=16.64)	4 (E=3.84)	32
0	3 .	15	26	6	50
	0	0 3 (E=1.92)	0 0 4 (E=1.18) (E=5.4) 0 3 11 (E=1.92) (E=9.6)	0	0

x² = 2.36 df = 3 p < .5

will be explained below under the "Narcissism Groups".) As Table 15 indicates, neither group showed significant results, confirming the results obtained earlier through chi square calculations (Tables 13 and 14), and not supporting the hypothesis that Healthy Narcissism would be associated with a broader spectrum of psychosexual stage representations.

The Narcissism Groups

For the calculations done in checkup Hypothesis IV, the subjects were treated statistically as Healthy versus Unhealthy in terms of their narcissism because the three groups of Healthy, Injured, and Defensive were not obtained in sufficient numbers. Theoretically, a subject could have a score anywhere between 5 to 15 as his Average Narcissism or as his Composite Average Narcissism score based on both judges' ratings, either for his EMs or TATs. Only one subject had a Composite Average Narcissism score of 5, 2 had scores of 5.5, 2 had scores of 6.5, 1 a score of 6.85, 1 a score of 7, and 3 had scores of 8, either for their EMs or TATs. That is, out of the 99 times when a Composite Average Narcissism score for the EMs and TATs were obtained (the "N" on Tables 13 and 14), only 10 had scores of 8 or less. Consequently, it was decided that for statistical purposes all the subjects with a score between 5 to 12 would be considered Unhealthy, and those with a score between 12.1 to 15 Healthy. There were 20 subjects within the Healthy Narcissism category for EMs, and 18 for TATs. There were 29 subjects within the Unhealthy Narcissism category for EMs, and 32 for TATs (Tables 13 and 14).

Narcissism and Self, Self-Ideal Discrepancy Relationship

Hypotheses V, VI, and VII predicted that the 3 narcissism groups would score significantly differently in their Self. Self-Ideal

Table 15

Correlations Between Healthy and Unhealthy Narcissism Groups on EMs and

TATs and the Number of Psychosexual Stages Represented

,	EM	TAT .	
HN -	22	13	N.S.
UN	21	3	N.S.

discrepancies. Based on their total Composite Average Narcissism Scores, there were 8 subjects in the DN group which had a range of 5 to 0. There were 30 subjects in the IN group with a range of 5 to 8, and 20 subjects in the HN category which had a range of 12.1 to 15. In order to see if. these three groups differed significantly t tests were performed. The difference between the DN and IN groups was 1.12, which is not significant. The difference between DN and HN groups, and the difference between IN and HN groups were 4.66 and 4.18 respectively, both significant at 0.01 level. Consequently in order to test the above hypotheses, a pearson correlation was computed, first on all the subjects, and second on all the subjects excluding those who were Defensively Narcissistic. The purpose was to test these hypotheses by checking to see whether the Total Composite Average Narcissism Score per subject, obtained by getting the average of all the Narcissism scores given that subject for all of their productions, by both judges, and the divergence score in the Self, Self-Ideal discrepancy correlated. Significant negative correlations would have supported the hypotheses, indicating the higher the Narcissism score, the lower the divergence. The results lent support to the hypotheses: The pearson value for the 58 subjects who had-correctly completed the Self, Self-Ideal scales was -.43, with a significance at .005 level. The r value for the 50 subjects who were in the HN and IN groups was -.48, also significant at .005 level.

In addition, for the three Narcissism groups, their mean scores, in terms of their Self, Self-Ideal discrepancies were calculated. These were 20.5 for the HN group, 22.4 for the IN group, and 20.2 for the DN group. That is, the IN group had the largest discrepancy, the DN the least, and the HN fell in between. This pattern is also supportive of

the hypotheses V, VI, and VII, with results in the predicted direction.

DISCUSSION

A Review of the Results and Theoretical Implications

The primary purpose of this study was to validate the Early

Memories. To this end, the study was designed to determine whether Eds

could reliably be scored on scales of Narcissism and Psychosexual Stages,

and whether these scores would be validated by corresponding scores

obtained from TATs. The question arose from the theoretical base which

postulated that EMs are screen memories and thus can be treated as

projective devices expressive of an individual's prototypical dilemmas

and character traits.

This study did demonstrate the methodological feasibility of the systematic use of EMs for assessment purposes by showing that they could be reliably used to differentiate a quality of narcissism and a particular psychosexual stage. As noted earlier the interjudge reliability scores were very high, and thus it can be said that EMs can be used as reliable assessment devices, at least along the two dimensions stated above. This finding lends support to Freud's theory that seemingly indifferent childhood memories are indeed screens for much more (Freud, 1899). It will be remembered that what Freud primarily had in mind was that EMs were expressive of drives. This study did not specifically examine the EMs for drive derivatives—except very indirectly in that psychosexual stages include in them certain drive manifestations. The form of the examination of EMs was based more on the theories of ego psychologists who have postulated that all productions, including EMs,

could also be useful sources of information about ego capacities and object relationships (Mayman, 1963; 1968). While the examiner believes in the importance of researching both the classical Freudian and neo-freudian concepts, the former would have required a more intensive search for latent meanings and a methodology that this study was not designed for. In other words, without further associations from subjects about their memories, and without the possibility of assessing these in a contextual framework, as would be the case for example when they arise in a therapy hour with other associations, assessment of latent meanings for id derivatives is possible to only a very limited extent. It was decided therefore that the EM productions would be examined as sources of information for narcissism and psychosexual stages, drawing inferences from manifest content in a disciplined manner. Thus, experienced clinicians were used as judges who made use of their clinical skills in the use of the narcissism and psychosexual stages scales.

Having established the interjudge reliability on EMs, there were a number of specific hypotheses generated from the original question of construct validation of EMs. The first one of these proposed that Narcissism scores obtained from EMs would correspond with scores obtained from TATs, and the second that Psychosexual scores obtained from EMs would correspond with Psychosexual scores obtained from TATs.

These hypotheses were based on theoretical conceptualizations that EMs are falsifications arising from a point of contact between the present and the past, and not real events as such--although probably based on actual happenings--created according to psychic needs that are expressive of enduring personality traits (Freud, 1910; Freud, 1914; Freud, 1909; Fenichel, 1917; Bartlett, 1932, Greenacre, 1949). And,

furthermore that early gratifications in life make it possible for one to experience greater gratifications in the present. (A theoretical postulate that instinct theorists, and conflict free ego theorists, and self psychologists would agree on, though for different reasons.)

(Freud, 1901; Kennedy, 1950; Hartmann, 1964; Kohut, 1971, 1979; Kernberg, 1975; Mayman, 1981.)

The results were confirmatory for both judges for Narcissism; that is, subjects showed significantly similar narcissistic qualities whether they thought they were being expressive of their past (EMs) or the present (TAT). The relationship between the past and the present did hold for Psychosexual stages for one of the judges, but did not replicate for the other.

It was empirically noted that both judges gave higher scores for TATs than they did for EMs on psychosexual stages. For Judge 2 the discrepancy on these scores appeared to be greater, which if statistically significant, would have had explanatory value as to why the results were not replicated for both of the judges. However, a t test performed between the difference of EM and TAT psychosexual stage scores for Judge 1 and Judge 2 did not show the differences to be significant (score of 1.22).

This failure to replicate the findings with psychosexual stage scale results could be due to the fact that the Narcissism scale was a less complex scale than the Psychosexual scale, thus easier to understand and score. (I will review the two scales and the questions that arose as a result, as I assess methodology later in this discussion.) It is also possible that Narcissism, by virtue of accompanying all stages as an essential ingredient of mental life is ever present, and thus easier to discern than the presence of a specific stage. Furthermore, it is rare

for any one person not to exhibit characteristics of more than one psychosexual stage, which also makes a designation of <u>one</u> score more difficult. (This was especially the case when a subject's productions showed evidence of the presence of conflicts indicative of one psychosexual stage as well as tendencies to regress and exhibit characteristics of an earlier stage. So, too, when earlier conflicts were handled with later developed defenses.)

Further confirmation about EMs being reconstructions came from the fact that, while all the childhood ages were reported by the subjects, no specific ages, in terms of when the subjects thought the memories took place, were associated with a particular psychosexual stage designation given by the judges. For example, a memory scored as being expressive of latency could be "remembered" as having taken place at the age of 1. Since the psychosexual stages are developmentally age related, this finding lends further support to the theoretical speculation that these are not simply memories remembered from a particular time in our past but are at least in part reconstructions based on present personality.

Hypothesis III.was generated based on the recent views of Narcissism as following a course of development that could be either normal or pathological, dependent on the gratifications and frustrations experienced and integrated into the personality (Mayman, 1981). This meant that no one stage could be associated with either normal or pathological narcissism, and further that Healthy Narcissism would most likely be associated with a multiplicity of psychosexual stages implying flexibility; that is, Hypothesis IV. Hypothesis III but not IV was confirmed in this study. It seems to be the case that expression of any one psychosexual stage in one's personality is not an indication of the kind of Narcissism

an individual has; that one could have Oral, Anal, Phallic, Oedipal, and Latency dynamics, and still be narcissistically mature. Considering now pregenital designations have historically carried an implication of pathology, the finding above is significant. One implication is that optimal psychic functioning may not be as related to how "advanced" one is in terms of psychosexual stage development, but to the quality of the accompanying narcissism. For example, narcissistically healthy oral functioning may thus be indicative of more "mature" functioning than a narcissistically pathological oedipal functioning, Teven though one has potentially more ego capacities and a further advanced super-ego with the later stages. However it is possible that those with HN narcissism in an earlier stage differ in terms of their ego capacities and super-ego functioning from those with HN in a more advanced stage. This study was not designed for such an examination.

It also seems to be the case that Healthy Narcissism does not imply access to or expression of a multiplicity of psychosexual stages; that is, one could be primarily manifesting one or two psychosexual stage dynamics and still be healthy narcissistically. While it is true that later stages are based on earlier ones and all adults have to have had some experience with all the stages, ready access to more than one or two stages does not seem to be an accompaniment of Healthy Narcissism. This would require a reconsideration of theories on fixation, giving rise to the apparently contradictory question of whether there can be a healthy fixation, at least as defined in terms of narcissism. In other words, it may not be an "excessive satisfactions as well as excessive frustrations" that underlie a given fixation (Fenichel, 1945).

However, it is also possible that too constructed a way of interpreting

the theories of development--and fixation--as well as the methodology used may be responsible for the finding that Hypothesis IV was not supported. In this study, each EM and TAT was scored for its predominant psychosexual stage representation, even though it was sometimes the case that other stages were secondarily present. It was expected that those individuals with HN would show a variety of psychosexual stages, each one represented in a different EM or TAT production. It is conceivable however that while all individuals, regardless of the quality of their narcissism, may primarily exhibit one or two psychosexual stage characteristics, those with HN would exhibit a greater number of secondary psychosexual stage representations in any one production. Stated alternately, this means that those individuals with DN or IN would be more rigid, with hardly any other stage than the predominant one apparent in any one unit. It follows that if each unit in the study was scored not only for its predominant psychosexual stage representation, but also for other psychosexual stage representations secondarily present, we may have found that those with HN indeed showed a greater access to multiple stages.

The theories that associate narcissism with self representations, ego ideal, and self esteem have been reviewed in detail earlier. If self representations are imbued with a Healthy Narcissism; if there is an ideal differentiated/from self that is not viewed with archaic attributes; and if the libidinal and aggressive cathexes of the self representations are evaluated in comparison with the ego ideal in an emotionally and cognitively positive manner, we can expect a well regulated self esteem (Freud, 1914; Reich, 1953, 1960; Mayman, 1953; Arlow & Brenner, 1964; Jacobson, 1964; Kernberg, 1970, 1977). On the basis of these theories

the hypotheses were generated proposing that for those with Healthy Narcissism the discrepancy between what one perceives one's self to be and one's ideal would have to be neither minimal nor maximal. Minimal would accompany defensive grandiosity and lack of differentiation, and maximal narcissistic injury. Since the examiner did not obtain the three distinct narcissistic groups in this study, the above theoretical views were tested in terms of Healthy versus Unhealthy Narcissism, confirming that narcissism and self, self-ideal discrepancy are indeed related in the direction theory predicts; that is, the more injured the narcissism, the higher the discrepancy between self perception and ideal self.

This project was designed primarily as a construct validation study of Early Memories. The construct validity of a test is the extent to which the test measures a theoretical construct or trait. It requires that information accrue from a number of sources. Any data that pertains to the nature of the construct that is being considered as well as on the conditions that affect it are relevant to the establishment of construct validity. With construct validation there is an emphasis on the role of psychological theory and the heed to formulate hypotheses that can be proven or disproven. The findings of this study indicate strong support for construct validation of EMs where the pattern of the findings cohere with the theoretical hypotheses. It was demonstrated that the results obtained from EMs correlate with results obtained from TATs for Narcissism. Furthermore, the results are corroborated by the pattern of the discrepancies observed between self and self-ideal. The discrepancy scores of the three narcissism groups rank order in accord with the prediction that Defensive Narcissism would correspond with least self,

self-ideal discrepancy, Healthy Narcissism would correspond with an intermediate discrepancy, and Injured Narcissism would correspond with the greatest discrepancy. Also Narcissism scores correlate positively and strongly with self, self-ideal scores. The results are also indicative of construct validation of Narcissism, where two different ways of assessing Narcissism correlate. That is, not only Narcissism results from EMs and TATs are correlated, but so are the two different ways of assessing Narcissism: The assessment of objects relations scale developed for this study, and the Self, Self-Ideal Discrepancy Scale which are the two theoretically related but distinct ways of assessing Narcissism correlate in a statistically significant way. Furthermore, all of our correlations were in a range indicating strong support for these concepts rather than implying needless duplication of existing measures.

These findings argue strongly that EMs are pertinant to current fantasies and that they are useful sources of information, clearly about one's Narcissism. Thus, it is feasible to utilize them as diagnostic instruments in assessment, prediction, or finding relationships.

It was disappointing that we were unable to demonstrate positive .

findings for psychosexual stages. It is hypothesized that this might have been due to our methodology which scored for one dominant stage . representation at one point in time, as well as due to the complexity of these concepts. •

Assessment of Methodology and Limitations

A question that one is left with following this study is why the three narcissistic groups of Healthy, Defensive, and Injured did not λ

appear in the data. Rather, subjects on the basis of their EM and TAT productions obtained primarily either Healthy or Injured Narcissism designations, with very few receiving Defensive Narcissism scores. This calls for a review and assessment of the Narcissism Scale itself. Narcissism Scale was developed based on the current theoretical ideas about narcissism, namely that adequate libidinal investment in self and other is an essential ingredient for healthy mental life and that narcissism is a developmental concept which can be either healthy or pathological, and finally that it both affects and can be discerned through object relationships and self esteem. The Scale took into account the quality of object relationships, keeping in mind that a personal internalized set of object representations, as well as representations of the relations between those internalized objects and the self are important in psychic experience and functioning, and relate to the libidinal narcissistic investment shown in both. Specifically, when self and objects are perceived and reacted to as separate stable individuals with human strengths and weaknesses integrated within a context reflective of acceptance, respect, and love, Healthy Narcissism was scored. -Defensive Narcissism, on the other hand, was to be scored when self or objects were viewed in exaggerated compensatory ways needed for self-enhancement, to make up perceived self deficits. Injured Narcissism was to be scored when object relationships manifested negative feelings in self and other, with associated negative interactions, and activities that were injurious to both.

Since the Scale seems to be adequate to make the three narcissistic differentiations, a number of possible reasons can be identified to explain why only two forms of narcissism appeared in the data. There

may be far fewer individuals who are Defensively Narcissistic than in the other two groups. Thus, a larger or different sample may be necessary for adequate representation. Clinical experience as well as theory warrants the three designations. However, in my clinical experience it has been the case that those who would be designated as Defensively Narcissistic are in fact a small minority even among clinical groups. Another possibility is that Defensive Narcissism is defended more stringently and therefore harder to assess in the manner in which the data was collected and interpreted; that is, without room for detailed associations and clarifications. This may especially be the case with a college student population.

Unlike the Narcissism Scale which was developed for the purposes of this study, the Psychosexual Stages Scale was based on scales with established validity and reliability, and all the psychosexual stages had adequate representation. As it was expressed earlier, it may have been better to use this scale to score for psychosexual stage representations expressed both primarily and secondarily. It was not a function of the scale that this was not done.

It was important for the judges to be experienced clinically and knowledgeable theoretically, and thus be able to follow the directions given in the procedure for scoring; namely, that each unit be classified "not just by the specific content elements of the memory but also through intuitive-analytic listening to the memory as a metaphor." It became apparent during the pilot review meeting of the judges that this was especially important while scoring 3 of the TAT cards for psychosexual stage representations because these had a tendency to evoke issues related to specific psychosexual stages. Specifically, it was easy for Card 1 to

evoke anal responses; for Cards 2 and 4 to evoke oedipal responses.

Therefore, it was particularly important while scoring the associations in response to these cards that the judges not be influenced by the most overt themes but rather be able to discern the predominant psychosexual stage characteristics that may have been couched in oral or oedipal terms.

A discussion of methodology and limitations of one's findings always brings up the issue of generalizability. Like any other study, this one too was conducted with a sample that necessarily nad certain attributes: college students from an urban university who were volunteers with an interest in psychology since they were recruited from psychology classes. It is always possible that these characteristics as well as others may have impacted the results and may limit generalization. Aside from this truism however, a number of observations are worth noting. While it was not specifically designed in such a manner, the subject pool consisted of individuals from widely varying national backgrounds. There were a high number of Orientals. No one had difficulty in understanding what was meant by EMs - with the exception of one indivudal whose responses even to the TATs were all biographical, highly charged events expressed in a loose disorganized manner. During the testing sessions it appeared as if the OrientaTs asked more questions pertaining to requirements, which may have been due to language related difficulties or due to the fact that they were likely to represent academic disciplines that are oriented toward "exactness." ilo one narcissistic designation or psychosexual stage designation seemed to be particularly associated with either Westerners or Orientals.

One methodological difficulty encountered was that since data gathering was done in groups and in written form, some protocols ded to be

discarded since there was no way of expanding data too minimal to score. Another difficulty consisted in not being able to assign ages for the memories when subjects did not put down a specific age. The method of scoring was also very time consuming. Scoring of each subject's 10 response sets, plus the self, self-ideal discrepancy tests meant that hours were spent on one subject. However there was no other way of assessing the data. The nature of statistics used in this study were correlations, chi squares, and t tests. With a larger sample and 3 distinct narcissistic groups further statistical analyses could be done which were not possible in this study.

Implications for Future Research

Considering the complexity involved in studying character styles and the difficulties involved in delineating character traits, that EMs do function as projective devices and can be useful tools of assessment is an important finding. Further follow up studies that utilize EMs to test for other characteristics besides those of Narcissism or Psychosexual stages would be important in validation of EMs. In addition, further research that makes use of EMs as they arise in a therapy context and thus allow for utilization of detailed associations are likely to show that EMs can be helpful in assessing the deeper levels of unconscious dynamics. Such research aiming at empirically relating the more obvious manifest and the latent contents of EMs would enrich the clinical and theoretical understanding of personality.

This study has supported the idea that the more frequent the attainment of narcissistically valued goals, the higher one's self esteem. This finding has implications for further research in terms of correlating

narcissism with other psychological concepts and diagnostic findings, in order to expand its construct validity. It would be helpful too, if further research could be done that would differentiate the three narcissistic groups, and check for correlations of each with other measures.

APPENDIX A

QUESTIONS FROM THE EARLY MEMORIES TEST USED IN THIS STUDY

This questionnaire is concerned with past experiences, specifically with memories you have from early childhood. Do not consider this as a test, but, rather as a period of time for reminiscing. Relax and try to recall the early events in your life, particularly in terms of the questions asked. Don't restrict your answers to the space provided; use the back of the page if you need more space. If you use the back of the page, be sure to identify the question you are answering. Please write legibly.

Native Language

<u>Ag e</u>

<u>Şex</u>

Code

1. What is the earliest memory you have? Describe what happened in the memory in as much detail as you recall it. (Please note that this should be a specific incident that happened and that you remember.)

a. What do you actually see as you remember the images of this memory?

b. What stands out most clearly? What do you recall most vividly?

c. What are the feelings associated with the memory? Describe them.

d. Do you experience any feelings as you recall the memory now? Describe them. e. Are there any additional details you now recall about this memory?

f. How old were you when this happened? (If you are not sure of the exact age, how old do you think you were?)

What is the second earliest memory you have? Describe what happened in the memory in as much detail as you recall it. (A specific incident that happened and that you remember.) a. What do you actually see as you remember the images of this memory?

b. What stands out most clearly? What do you recall most vividly?

c. What are the feelings associated with the memory? Describe them.

d. Do you experience any feelings as you recall the memory now?

Describe them.

e. Are there any additional details you now recall about this memory?

f. How old were you when this happened? (If you are not sure of the exact age, how old do you think you were?)

3. What is your most memorable, significant, memory from early childhood? Describe what happened in the memory in as much detail as you recall it. (If you have already written down this memory for #1 or 2, note which one it was and think of another memorable, significant memory.)

a. What do you actually see as you remember the images of this memory?

b. What stands out most clearly? What do you recall most vividly?

c. What are the feelings associated with the memory? Describe them.

d. Do you experience any feelings as you recall the memory now? Describe them. e. Are there any additional details you now recall about this memory?

f. How old were you when this happened? (If you are not sure of the exact age, how old do you think you were?) 4. What is your earliest memory of your mother? Describe the memory in as much detail as you recall it. (If you have already written down this memory in response to recollections asked for above, think of another early memory of your mother.)

a. What do you actually see as you remember the images of this memory?

b. What stands out most clearly? What do you recall most vividly?

c. What are the feelings associated with the memory? Describe them.

d. Do you experience any feelings as you recall the memory now? Describe them. e. Are there any additional details you now recall about this memory?

f. How old were you when this happened? (If you are not sure of the exact age, how old do you think you were?)

5. What is your earliest memory of your father? Describe the memory in as much detail as you recall it. (If you have already written down this memory in response to recollections asked for above, think of another early memory of your father.)

- a. What do you actually see as you remember the images of this memory?
 - P74

b. What stands out most clearly? What do you recall most vividly?

c. What are the feelings associated with the memory? Describe them.

~·<u>----</u>.

d. Do you experience any feelings as you recall the memory now?
Describe them.

e. Are there any additional details you now recall about this memory?

f. How old were you when this happened? (If you are not sure of the exact age, how old do you think you were?)

APPENDIX B

FARLY MEMORIES NARCISSISM SCALE

The purpose of this scale is to assess the presence or absence of a narcissistic style by which a subject characteristically experiences and responds to the world through an analysis of his early memories. This analysis is based on the assumption that "clinicians stand to learn about an informant's character structure and psychopathology if they treat his early memories not as historical truths (or half truths) but as thematic representations of prototypical dilemmas, life strategies, and role paradigms around which he defines his relationship to himself and to his personal world" (Mayman, 1968).

This scale is divided into three major categories of Healthy Narcissism, Injured Narcissism, and Defensive Narcissism.

The criteria that define these are on the following pages.

Continued...

Injured, Defensive and Healthy Narcissism Criteria

in Terms of 5 Dimensions

NH	.v Well Being				•			•			Invincibility			ality to Fun			•					.	
NO .	Grandiosity	Вапр	Covetous	Uniqueness	Entitlemen	. Awesomenes	Self Right	Sungness	/ Unlimited	Messianic	Invincibil	Superiorit	Brilliance	. "as if" quality to	feelings						•	••	1
NI .	Malaise	Helplessness	Mistrust	Nongratification	Deprivation	Loneliness	Yearning	Pain	Exile	Injury	Humiliation	Mortification	Ufsgrace	Dishonor	Disapproval	Embarrassment	Shame	Sadness	Remorse)	Guilt	Resentment	Confusion	Insecurity
	of																						

NH		rriendly
ŊŨ	Inflated self evaluation Grandiose sense of self importance clinging to positive self-representations Unrealistic perception of power in self Being irresistable Dazzling others with one's attributes. Being the object of jealousy Experiencing self as an authority Aristocratic Powerful Devalued Inferior to self Unimportant Weak Non deserving Ignorant Object of ridicule, disgust, scorm Incidental	Jealous
. NI	Beset by destructive forces Having no control over outside forces Being victimized Helpless Childish Being out of place Negative self evaluation Unfavorable image of self Inferior Unable to master (Object of disgust, ridicule, scorn Valued in terms of possessions Stupid Ugly Deformed Left-out Fragile or precarious sense of self Absent Distant Anonymous Evil Malevolent Punitive Harmful Destructive Detached	Unresponsive
	Quality of Self Experience Other Experience	

Continued...

	NI	DN	HN
Quality of Other Experience cont'd.	Unsupportive Impersonal Vague	Insubstantial Interchangeable The other an accessory Rival	Empathic Giving Independent of self Respectful Willing to share Having a sense of humour Accepting
Quality of Interactions	No tangible relationships Self absorption Overidealization of the other Merging with idealized objects Relationships beset by comparisons where one falls short Relationships defined in terms of neediness Mechanical responsiveness Destructive intent by the other At odds with one another Having to give in Overpowered	Cognizant of others without recognition of their individuality or needs Using others for self enhancement Indifference to or exclusion of others if they cannot be used Requiring constant attention or admiration Expectations of special favors without assuming reciprocal responsibilities Revengeful if others are not forthcoming with wanted provisions Devaluing others Excessive self absorption Excessive self centeredness Acknowledgement of others only in relation to self	Interactions where attention, warmth, love, affection, playfulness Mutual trust, acceptance, regard A sense of belongingness with another Interactions that are cognizant of and respectful of varying individual thoughts, feeling, and perspectives Quality of a give and take that is mutually enhancing A quality of a awareness and responsiveness

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Preoccupied with themes of unlimited success, power, Self enhancing or designed Centered around self Egocentric Engaged in solely for self interests to be so Negative outcome Bleak Frustrating Restrictive Making impossible demands Nonfulfilling

Unreal

Quality of Activities

Positive outcome Fulfilling Fortuitous Real and Valid Relevant to "humanity" Interesting Promising

Continued...

	IN	DN .	HN
	•	•	
uality of	Not promising	brilliance, beauty, or	Personal needs and
Activities	Pessimistic	idealized love	wishes
Cont'd.	Hopeless	Exaggera ted	acknowledged
	Destructive	Monumental	Persistant in
	Bland	Sinister	pursuing needs,
	Demanding .	Secretive	wishes, and
	Exclusionary	Catastrophic	values
		Perverse	
-		Proselytizing	
		Bigger than life	
		Exaggerated	
	•	Unreal	

Procedure for Scoring

Each memory is to be thought of in terms of its following dimensions:

- a. feeling content
- b. quality of self-experience
- c. quality of other-experience
- d. quality of interaction
- e. quality of activities

The score assigned to each memory is 1 if it is reflective of DN; 2 if it is reflective of IN; or 3 if it is reflective of HN. In other words, the Narcissism Score for an Individual Memory is anywhere between 1 and

3. The following scoring sheet could be utilized as a checklist in assessing a score. However each memory is given only <u>one</u> score. In obtaining a <u>Composite Narcissism Score</u> for each subject, the score for each of the 5 memories are added and divided by 5.

		Narcissism	Scoring S	neet for	Each EM
		אט	IN		HN
Feeling Cor	ntent				
Quality of	Self Experience			u	
Quality of	Other Experience				
Quality of	Interaction				
Quality of	Activities				
Narcissism	Score				
					

APPENDIX C

EARLY MEMORIES PSYCHOSEXUAL STAGES SCALE

After a main Narcissism code has been assigned to each memory, each memory is then to be assigned a psychosexual stage code in terms of its being representative of a psychosexual stage. The scale is divided into Oral, Anal, Phallic, Oedipal, and Latency categories. The following tables are based on Mayman's scale which follows it.

ORAL STAGE

Typical Themes

Basic trust vs. mistrust Dangers of extinction Death Deprivation Loss Aloneness Food related issues Illness Intensity to needs Being unfulfilled Greedy hunger Malicious treatment and/or resentment of younger sibs Spitting Snatching away Biting Separation anxiety Annihilation anxiety Loss of object Depression Being given things, e.g., food education, love, help, etc. Nurturance Succorance Playfulness Whimsicalness Depression Hypomanic Getting reunited Protection from danger Reincarnation; rebirth Oneness with nature Themes having to do with God, e.g., as a creator, helper, provider

Typical Defenses

Denial Withdrawal Substitution Projection Introjection

Typical Feelings of

Rage Being overwhelmed Loneliness Despair Greed Suspiciousness Resentment Overflowing with feelings Anquish Giving up Symbiosis Pessimism Optimism | Tenderness Being understood, satisfied etc. Warmth Security Pleasures in sleep, breast, food or physical contact Trust Comfort Well being Desertion ... Hopefulness:

ANAL STAGE

Typical Themes

Retentiveness Expulsiveness Swearing Verbal Outpourings Collecting or hoarding Manipulation Money Cleanliness vs. dirt related Negativism Concern with possessions Lack of flexibility Vilification and/or demeaning Willful defiance Passive-aggressive behavior Withholding Pitting of self in opposition to others Loss of object's love Planning Objectivity Reflectiveness Rumination Constraints Contrasts Concentration with details Conflict with authority figures Antagonism Loss of spontaneity Accomplishment of work Being self-willed Submission to authority Submission to moral principles Interest in mechanical/electrical things "Should" themes Productions Rewards and punishments

Typical Defenses

Splitting
Reaction Formation
Undoing
Rationalization
Isolation

Typical Feelings of

Stubbornness Defiance Non-compliance Compliance Covetousness Ridicule Scorn Stinginess Bartering Tenseness Rigidity Purposefulness Guardedness Suspiciousness Obstinacy Disgust Control Cooperation Satisfaction Accomplishment Benevolence

PHALLIC STAGE

Typical Themes

Assault Exhibitionism Voyeurism Preoccupation with phallic objects Fears of phallic objects Bodily concerns Movement Travel Urethral themes Penis Envy Castration Anxiety Exploration "one-up vs. One-down" themes Interest in appearances Public attention/acclaim Sex play Sex display Sexually colored curiosity/play/ exhibitionism Preoccupation with large/awesome/ admired objects Quality themes Comparisons Fantasies of being beaten/overcome Bodily injury Being given shots/having operations, Fear of dangerous creatures Themes of threats Emergency themes Being mobilized-alert Phallic Assertiveness Phallic mastery Thrusting Activities Display of power or effectiveness Enhancing one's status Initiative Adventure Admiration of phallic objects Valuing phallic objects Self actualization (improvement) Showing independence Taki**n**g trips Use of phallic-locomotor vehicles Taking over Being tossed about playfully by adults Courage Danger themes Danger to the body Boisterous/vigorous play

themes cont'd.

Competitive plays
Asserting dominance
Squirting water
Real or symbolic urethral
activities, e.g., setting fires,
floods, bed wetting
Horse and rider play

<u>Typical Defenses</u>

Turning passive into active Identification with the aggressor Negation (e.g., with lying/exaggerating)

Typical Feelings of

Shyness Timidity Inhibitions Limitations Deficiencies. Feeling flushed Shame Embarrassment Being cheated Feeling impotent Env y Taunting Ridicule Poking fun/teasing Self inflation Braggardness Haughtiness . Arrogance Boldness . Curiosity Vitality Boisterousness Enthusiasm Eagerness Risk Taking Confidence **Prowess** Admiration Thrill/elation Strong enthusiasm "Riding high" Excitement

Condescension

OEDIPAL.

Typical Themes

Triangular relationships Divorce Marriage Competition to win favors of a love object Rivalries Jealousy over a third party Taking sides Interest in an adult's sexual activities Identification with an adult in sexual behavior or as a role model Failure to win over the admired object Prostitution Loss of self love Wish for the forbidden object Being approved by parents Conflict with parents Having a loved object Interest in childbearing/pregnancy Standards to meet in relationship terms Physical activities with partner of opposite sex Activities with or thoughts of a partner of opposite sex Relatedness to another individual Wish for a child Romantic themes

Typical Feelings of

Jealousy
Resentment
Inadequacy
Blame
Guilt
Betrayal
Resignation
Possessiveness
Victory
Adequacy
Being lured
Remorse
Coyness
Seductiveness

Typical Defenses

Repression
Identification
Turning against self
Dissociation
Displacement

LATENCY

Typical Themes

Leaving home Social concerns, themes/roles Group activities Common endeavors Mastering of skills Hobbies Peer relationships Productivity Future orientation Social activities Family concerns Sacrifice Impulse control/delay Ability to accept discomfort in the present for a better future Fitting in Reasoning out in abstract as well as in personalized ways

Typical Defenses

Sublimation
Intellectualization
Identification
Externalization

Typical Feelings of

Not fitting in
Awkwardness
Not having talents
Inabilities
Isolation
Banishment
Ostracism
Industriousness
Self-esteem
Approval
Belongingness
Creativity

Self-Other Relationship Representations in Early Memories:

<u>Maym</u>an

- I. "Oral" Relationship Patterns.
- A. Oral Deprivation and Rage.
 - Primal themes of basic mistrust.
 - a. Danger of personal extinction by abandonment, starvation, suffocation, being swallowed, being torn apart; sense of engulfing evil or impending doom.
 - b. Themes of being overwhelmed, helpless, impotent to cope with overpowering forces.
 - c. Themes of losing one's way and reacting with panicky sense of lostness.
 - 2. Primal themes of aloneness.
 - a. Bleak, empty aloneness; being sent away from home more or less permanently; death of parents; themes of traumatic separation; depression verging on despair.
 - -b. Being sick, feeling miserable, but left alone with no nurturant figure available to step in to help or comfort or cure.
 - c. Insulation and/or withdrawal to replenish narcissistic supplies or consolidate injured ego boundaries; relief comes from self-insulation, self-comforting, or self-sufficiency.
 - Deprivation or insufficient supplies of attention, food, or love; dissatisfaction, bitter resentment, sense of unfulfillment (rather than of despair as in I-2).
 - 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; children left out of some adult activities; a poignant sense of not belonging.
 - b. Other themes of deprivation: insufficient supplies of comfort, reassurance, Tove, attention, care, or food; dissatisfied with one's lot; loss of some object to which one had a strong attachment.
 - Aggressive reactions to deprivation or frustration: demanding or grasping needed supplies rather than merely yearning for them as in I-3.
 - Suffused with impotent rage.

- b. Greedy hunger for what one does not have: taking and holding onto, snatching away, grasping, or biting.
- c. Resentment and/or malicious treatment of younger siblings.
- d. Spitting as an oral aggressive act.
- e. Manipulative extortion of oral supplies or of nurturant response from neglectful parents or parent figures.
- p. Meets with punishment, criticism, or accidental injury as a direct consequence of oral-aggressive behavior.
- B. Oral Nurturance.
 - 5. Primary oral pleasures: warmth and swallowing, etc.
 - a. Snug pleasures of sleep, bed, breast, bath, food, or physical closeness; being held, carried, with the feeling of snug, secure passivity.
 - Primal orality, but consonant with object-relatedness: eating, drinking, etc., in a pleasure-filled atmosphere; being fed by others, experienced as a pleasure-filled relationship.
 - p. Punishment, injury or narcissistic insult as a result of activities like I-5 a and b.
 - 6. Gratification themes: sense of snugness, security, basic trust, expectation of fulfillment; trust in the availability of external comforts and supports.
 - a. Comfort and care during illness.
 - b. Close, comforting, attentive presence of mother or a mother surrogate (grandmother, a neighbor, father, etc.)
 - c. Receiving gifts as proof of love, with sense of warmth, belonging and fulfillment; exclusive attention and love from nurturing adults.
 - insuring the availability of nurturant care by becoming aggressively active rather than receptively passive. Oral supplies achieved by a reversal of roles.
 - 3. Taking the nurturing parent role toward a younger sib, pet, friend or parent; becoming the giver rather than the one in need of nurturing care.
 - 2. Doing one's own mothering of oneself; being helped by an adult to learn to look after oneself; being taught one's

name and address, how to tie one's shoes, etc.

II. "Anal" Behavior Patterns.

- 1. Retentiveness, willful stubbornness, defiance, passive-aggressive non-compliance.
 - a. Withholding from adults.
 - b. Defiance by refusal to comply with adults' requests, including food fads, refusal to eat, refusal to go to bed.
 - c. Willful pitting of self in opposition to others, perhaps in the form of autonomy issues. Marked by a quality of stubbornness, oppositionalism, negativism; being told not to do something, but persisting, or challenging the request.
 - d. Passive-aggressive "inability" to produce what is asked for or expected by adults.
 - e. Meets with punishment, ridicule, or attack upon one's selfesteem by retaliatory figure in response 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. Defiance by vilification, spitting, demeaning others, throwing things (especially rocks, dirt, and mud); treating others like dirt; extruding others by pushing them away or keeping them at a distance.
 - c. Being the object of vilification; being treated by others like shit.
 - p. Meets with punishment, ridicule, or other injury to one's self-esteem for activities like those in II-2 a and b.
- Sublimations or reaction formations.
 - a. Doing what one is supposed to do, avoiding conflict with coercive parents.
 - b. Attention to cleanliness, cleaning up, being clean.
 - c. Preoccupation with one's own or another's possession with emphasis on quantity, orderliness, and ownership; collecting stones, pennies, etc.

- d. Playing in mud, making mud pies, building sand castles; pleasure in being dirty, making a mess.
- p. Meets with punishment, ridicule, or other injury to one's self-esteem for activities like those in II-3 d.
- III. "Phallic" Patterns of Self-Actualization: Phallic-assertive thrust; phallic-assertive mastery; phallic-urethral excitement; phallic-exhibitionism/voyeurism.
 - A. Phallic-Initiative and/or Thrust.
 - Phallic-assertive thrust, active.
 - a. Showing initiative and independence; going off on one's own pursuit of one's own special interests; going on a trip on one's own initiative and under one's own power.
 - b. Active use of phallic-locomotor vehicles which carry one to adventures and new places; riding a bicycle, riding a horse.
 - p. Any of these activities causing injury, punishment or narcissistic insult.
 - 2. Phallic-locomotor thrust, passive.
 - a. Shy, timid, disinclined to take the initiative.
 - b. Being taken for a ride by an adult.
 - c. Being tossed about playfully by an adult or carried by father in horse-and-rider play.
 - d. Feeling impotent, unable to participate actively because of one's own inhibitions, limitations or deficiencies.
 - B. Phallic Prowess, Competition, and/or Mastery.
 - Phallic-assertive mastery, active: narcissistic pleasure in one's prowess, strength, vitality.
 - a. Active use of one's body or symbolically phallic tools, with pleasure in the feeling of vitality, competence, mastery, triumph; boisterous play, usually with peers; vigorous striped-muscle play.
 - b. Competitive games; enjoyment of competition; pleasure in conquest.
 - c. Insistence on asserting one's dominance over people or over impersonal obstacles; proving one is not inferior, that one is as good as or better than his peers.

- p. Any of these activities causing injury, punishment or narcissistic insult.
- Phallic-assertive prowess, passive.
 - a. Admiring father's tools or what he can do with them; admiring or envying someone's phallic object or phallic prowess, symbolic or real.
 - b. Receiving a symbolic phallic gift, i.e., an object which is admired for its size, beauty or other remarkable properties.
 - c. Watching large vehicles, buildings, or other awesome objects.
 - d. Envy of other's phallic object, symbolic or real; watching the feats of others but more in envy than admiration.
 - e. Disappointment at unfavorable comparisons with one's own phallic object or prowess.
- 5. Being oneself the object of phallic-aggressive assault.
 - a. Being the object of a phallic-aggressive assault; being knocked down and overpowered by brute strength; fantasy of being whipped or beaten.
 - Fear of dangerous, brutish creatures (animals, cars, ghosts, bogey-men).
 - c. A stronger figure (brother, father, dog) is needed to help stave off physical assaults on the self.
 - d. Themes of actual injury to the genitals; tonsilectomy or other surgical procedure; other symbolic castration themes.
 - e. Given shots by a doctor.
- C. Phallic-Urethral Excitement.
 - 6. Phallic-urethral themes, active.
 - Squirting water from a hose; urinating with pride in one's skill, prowess, masterfulness.
 - b. Setting fires and enjoying the ensuing excitement.
 - Brimming over or gushing with feelings or with enthusiasm.
 - Any of these activities causing injury, punishment or narcissistic insult.

- 7. Phallic-urethral themes, passive.
 - a. Watching fires, firemen, boys at urethral play.
 - b. Watching others at real or symbolic urethral activities.
 - Being the awed spectator of a flood.
 - d. Feeling actual urethral tension.
 - e. Feeling flushed.
 - f. Shame at being a bed-wetter.
- D. Phallic-Exhibitionistic Excitement.

3

- 8. Phallic-exhibitionistic/voyeuristic themes, active. (Generally experienced with exhibitionistic or voyeuristic affect.)
 - a. Playful, sexually-colored curiosity or exhibitionism; sex play or secretive, sexually-tinged play with peers; interested examination of the sex organs of others; "doctor" games or other voyeuristic/exhibitionistic games, with disrobing.
 - b. Eager curiosity; exploring one's surroundings; discovering things in nature or in one's world.
 - c. Proud or excited self-display, usually sublimated in dancing, singing, or performing in some other manner before an audience of potential admirers.
 - d. Taunting, ridiculing, poking fun at someone's flaws or weaknesses, to gain the one-up position.
 - e. Shame or embarrassment rather than pleasure in active self-display or curiosity.
 - p. Any of these activities leading to physical injury, narcissistic insult, or physical punishment.
- 9. Phallic-exhibitionistic/voyeuristic themes, passive.
 - a. Being fetchingly coy, seductive, trying to make oneself attractive and endearing; teasing others in a sexually provocative manner.
 - b. Pleasure in one's appearance; attention to pretty clothes, attractive grooming; pleasure in being looked at, noticed, admired or photographed; playing dress-up. (The emphasis here is on standing by expecting to be noticed or admired with approval or pleasure.)

- c. Standing-by passively envying others' success in winning public attention or acclaim.
- d. Shame or embarrassment rather than pleasure in passive self-display.
- p. Any of these activities leading to physical injury, narcissistic insult, or physical punishment.
- IV. "Oedipal" Configurations: Competitive striving to win favor with a love object.
- A. Male Sex-Role Patterns.
 - Competitive.
 - a. Jealousy or rivalry with a father or a father-surrogate for the affection of mother or a mother surrogate.
 - b. Resentment or fear of the father or father substitute as an overt or tacit rival for mother's love.
 - C. Conflict between parents in which the child sides with the mother and rejects the father; anger at father for hurting mother.
 - d. Failure to win mother's love, perhaps accompanied by selfblame for one's personal inadequacy.
 - p. Any of the above leading to injury or punishment.
 - 2. Non-competitive: absence of rival.
 - a. Boy doing things with mother which are pleasureful and exciting, with father tacitly excluded.
 - b. Pleasure in bringing mother a phallic gift; interest in mother's pregnancy or childbearing.
 - 3. Non-competitive: Identification with rival.
 - a. Interest in, and identification with, father's sexual behavior.
 - b. Interest in mother's relationship with a potential rival for her favor.
 - Identified with father in his male role model.
 - d. Denial of Oedipal conflict by stressing the warm, harmonious non-competitive aspects of one's relationship with the same sex parent in the family triangle.

- p. Any of the above leading to injury or punishment.
- B. Female Sex-Role Patterns.
 - 4. Competitive.
 - a. Jealousy or rivalry with a mother or a mother-surrogate for the affection of a father or a father surrogate.
 - b. Resentment or fear of the mother or mother substitute as an overt or tacit rival for father's love.
 - C. Conflict between parents in which the child sides with the father and rejects the mother; anger at mother for hurting father.
 - d. Failure to win father's love, perhaps accompanied by self-blame for one's personal inadequacy.
 - p. Any of the above leading to injury or punishment.
 - 5. Non-competitive: absence of rival.
 - a. Girl doing things with father which are pleasureful and exciting with mother tacitly excluded.
 - b. Interest in having a baby as mother did, or receiving some symbolically equivalent gift from father. .
 - Non-competitive: identification with rival.
 - a. Interest in, and identification with, mother's sexual behavior.
 - b. Interest in father's relationship with a potential rival for his favor.
 - c. Identified with mother in her female role model; playing house, playing with dolls, dressing up in mother's clothes or in some other way doing as mother does.
 - d. Denial of Oedipal conflict by stressing the warm, harmonious non-competitive aspects of one's relationship with same sex parent in the family triangle.
 - p. Any of the above leading to injury or punishment.
- V. "Latency" Age Configurations: More sublimated peer group activities.
 - 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 endeavor.
- c. Turning manipulative skills to creative accomplishment.

2. Inferiority.

a. Withdrawal from one's peer group, isolation from them or rejection by them.

Procedure for scoring:

Keep in mind the defining criteria for each of the 5 psychosexual stages, and classify each memory as belonging to one psychosexual stage. Each memory should be classified not just by the specific content elements of the memory but also through intuitive-analytic listening to the memory as a metaphor. Try to empathize, as well as think your way to a main code for each of the Early Memories. Pay attention to

- 1. The themes expressed
- 2. The feelings expressed
- 3. The quality of self experience
- 4. The quality of other experience
- 5. The quality of interactions between self and other.

 Rate each memory as either 0 (Oral), A (Anal), P (Phallic), Od. (Oedipal),

 or L (Latency). Oral memories are given a score of 1; Anal a score of 2;

 Phallic a score of 3; Oedipal 4; and Latency 5.

In obtaining a <u>Composite Psychosexual Stage Score</u> for each subject based on his 5 EMs the scores for all 5 memories are added and then divided by 5. Appendix D gives examples of EMs with their designated psychosexual codes to enable you to familiarize yourself with the task.

Score Sheet for 5 EMs for Psychosexual Stages

Psychosexual Stages

Memories	<u>Oral</u>	Anal	Phallic_	0edipal	Latency
1					
2					
3					
4					
5					

APPENDIX D

DEVELOPMENTAL RELATIONSHIP PARADIGMS:

ILLUSTRATIVE MEMORIES FOR EARLY MEMORIES TEST

Mayman

I. Oral Configurations

1. Themes of basic mistrust; danger of extinction

- I la My mother's second husband wrapped me up in a blanket and wouldn't let me out. It seemed as though he kept me in there for hours though I'm sure it wasn't. It scared the hell out of me. Now I'm afraid to go under things or to have my head held. If anyone gets me around the head I panic. It traces back to that. I've got to have freedom. (Age?) Same age 3-5. (Details?) No. I think he was doing it as a joke.
- I la I had a dream--I used to wake up and see rats walking around the edges of the room--a line of them--that kept coming closer to my bed--kept coming closer and closer to my bed and I would wake up screaming. (?) Usually some-body would come in--the old lady usually--she would laugh at it and walk out and tell me to go back to sleep. (Age?) Around--well between 3 and 5.
- I la Another one I remember. I was very upset and I was telling my mother that I got blamed for everything that happened around there. And I couldn't get my breath. She spanked me with a lathe. (?) A thick, rough yardstick with slivers on it. And I remember getting so mad that I couldn't breathe. And I wondered if I were going to die.

Themes of bleak aloneness

I 2a I remember when I was taken from my real home and placed in a foster home after both my parents had died. I recall how I cried for long periods of time whenever my foster parents allowed me to go out into the yard and play. I was about four years old at that time.

3. Themes of deprivation

I 3a Standing on the lawn and thinking. I was 3 years old. It was the backyard of our house--tall trees--and must have been summertime. I remember lots of rushing around at our home and I found out my baby brother was there. My mother had just had the baby and had just returned from the hospital. People rushing around setting things up. Didn't pay much attention to me. Just put me off

saying the new baby was there.

- I 3a Then I was sent to the orphans' home. While there, I can remember my brother and I were both there. I remember looking toward the building where I knew he was. Realizing that he was not far away. (Feeling?) Just that I would like to be with him like I always had been.
- When she was suckling my brother--breast feeding my brother. I remember I wanted to get in on the act too but she said no deal. I must have been 4 because my brother is 4 years younger than myself. I felt kind of rejected. It was the old story of when the new baby comes no one paid any attention to me. The second father--he had no interest in me--I was just somebody to support that came along with the deal.
- I 3b I remember a dish of different colored candies sitting on the kitchen table. I wanted one so badly, but couldn't have one. Mother told me when I asked her about it many years later that she had made them for special company. The table seemed very high, but of course was only average height. I was 2 or 3. The emotion was one of desiring something I couldn't have.
- I 3b Well I know it quite well because I've thought about it. They say I was 2-1/2 at the time and we were beside a lake someplace in the States and I was playing with this ball and while I was playing with it it rolled into the lake. Did I say I was with my mother and sisters? And the current carried it away. My mother told me it was going to flow into the ocean and never come back. And I was fairly astounded by this. I just stood there and watched sort of dramatically. (?) I think it was sort of dramatic. (Else?) It's quite often true of things that happen in life; you can't bring them back. (Feeling?) Well you could say it represents a sort of fatalistic philosophy and you can't change it or do anything about it, just resign yourself to it. I remember I didn't cry; I was just very surprised.

4. Aggressive reactions to deprivation

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- I 4c I recall opening the door and letting my little brother out on the porch. My mother was not in the house and when she returned I was scolded. There were muddy overshoes on the porch and I still remember how my brother looked. I also remember that my brother was crying. That was the reason I opened the door.
- I 4c I will perhaps have to work back with some conscious help. I have said that I have very little memory of anything before I was five years of age. Given time I could dredge

up some of these things. I have a memory of about age 4 of being in a bed beside my younger brother who is in a crib with bars so that he must have been slightly less than 2 years of age. And I can remember teasing him into throwing everything in his crib onto the floor to produce some profound expressions of disapproval from the adults.

I 4d, Age 5. Being wrongly punished while in the first year of p school, for supposedly spitting in another boy's lunch. The particular boy was a playmate of mine. (Feeling tone?) Skeptical of being too closely associated with students.

5. Primary oral pleasures *

- I 5a I remember nursing. I did this--I wasn't--almost up until (I 3b) the time my brother was born, I did . . . I remember ner taking me to town and either carrying me or pulling me in a little wagon. I remember that she always gave me everything I wanted (Feeling?) I can remember sitting in my mother's lap and pressing her breast and how the milk tasted kind of sweet. (2) Pleasure, except I felt guilty about it after I got so big, and people criticized me for it and criticized my mother for letting me. (Thoughts about it now?) I remember it as being pleasant and I remember the guilt feelings most strongly. (Age?) Oh . . . I did it practically till my brother was born. And after he was born, when he nursed, I'd want to too, and when we were alone, sometimes she'd let me. But with others around, she'd tell me I was too big.
 - I 5b, Another thing that goes back. One Sunday we had a house p full of company. I didn't feel good; don't know if I had lunch that disagreed with me. So I crawled into a closet and went to sleep. They hunted all over for me and couldn't find me. Finally I awakened and crawled back out. (Remember?) Yes I do. I don't know exactly. I would say around 7 or 8 maybe.

6. Other gratification_themes

- I 6a Hard to place them in time. I remember sitting in a kitchen with a large black stove and . . . I was sick or something because I was wrapped up in a blanket. That may have been the time I fell in a fishpond. Never been sure. And the kitchen was full of friendly people. I don't remember who they are. Chiefly I remember the blanket and the stove. (Feeling tone?) Of comfort and of people paying attention to me and being taken care of.
- L 6a I can think of numerous instances of association with my mother but . . (Earliest?) That's what I was attempting to do but it's for some reason very difficult. I can

remember a period when I was about 4 years old when I'd nurt my leg and she would come in and rub it till I would go to sleep. I'm sure there must be something well before that. (Feeling tone?) Pleasure, affection. As I say, the whole thing of her providing love and comfort and discipline over the years.

- Well I have several but in point of time I can't recall which might have been first. One that is vivid in my mind--I must have been 2 or 3. I had been terribly ill having come down with first measles, then whooping cough, then pneumonia which I had all about the same time. One thing sticks out in my memory. I was recuperating evidently and I had received a present of chocolate candies, rabbits, soldiers and the like, which had been sent to me by my grandfather, and I relished the candies and the situation and its surrounding pleasantries very much.
- I 6b My great aunt telling the children of the family stories. We would gather around her rocking chair and she would rock and tell us stories. I cannot remember any of the stories. I enjoyed this very much. Age 4.

7. Themes of nurturing others

- I 7a We had a kitten I loved very much. I used to play with it but I remember how I would watch it drink milk from its dish and would remind mother to fill up the dish again.
- I 7b The second memory I can remember is my parents telling memy name and address. They were trying to teach them to me.

II. Anal Configurations

Retentiveness

- II lb At the age of about 5 or 6 I didn't like pills. However, my parents thought that I should take a laxative pill about the size of a BB. When I wouldn't swallow it my father took me to the basement and scolded me ₹rying to make me swallow it. His ride for work came and as a result I never took the pill. I was pretty upset.
- II ld I can remember my mother trying to get me to eat hot cereal and I hated it and she would practically force feed me. And I would sit at the table and practically regurgitate till I was sick actually.
- II ld, This happened during my first year of school. The memory p is of fear of a music teacher who stood by the pupils and pulled up on their hair to make the musical tones higher.

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- This isn't very pleasant, I'm afraid. I hadn't gone to the tathroom when I should have and I made a mistake and no mather told me to go in there and take care of it by note of and I didn't know what to do. The next thing I are remember is playing the piano. (?) No, my next namely is that of playing—nothing to do with the bathroom. Seeling tone?) Unpleasant is all. (Age?) Very note probably was just training me—I don't remember. Before 4. (Other details?) Just except that the told me to-take care of myself. I was bewildered.
- item to recall running around the side of the house with solder liabers or something. I-don't know whether I wore fiaters or not but something like that—and receiving kind of an irritated welcome by whoever it was I went around to. I think it was my mother. Around age 3.
 - I remember my mother was always afraid to go outside and hard on the clothes and leave me alone in the house because every time the did I cut my hair. I can remember that—how that i was when she came in the house—the minute she will take in I would tell her not to look behind the store and I would stand there afraid and she would always have termed the store and there would be a big pile of my fair. I remember standing over by the door and watching here has termed the store.
 - Frommore the time: had whooping cough. I must have been kneed time on the front porch and the kids are sitting in the nations of the house next door. They were throwing time at me. Gods. that is, 4(?) No. other than I winted they wouldn't throw dirt at me I guess.

Wallimations and reaction formations

The Age of Case of this a memory experience or what someone told.

what you yourse's remember. On . . . I was . . . seems—

is me as of Camera waiting for goodnight kisses—that's

about it—that's the earliest. I would go to bed and if

They particle were in town, and if she (mother) was in

town and Camera a good pint: would be rewarded with a

positionist for the case a bad girl I would be punished

as mutigetting of.

in the same and the function of the same and my interpolation was neighbored be same and the sam

- II 3c My brother and I used to go to church and then we'd walk home through the back alleys and stuff. (?) We used to go through-~just go through junk piles in the alley--picking up little knick-knacks and bring them home. (Feelings?) Just a memory. (Other details?) Yeah. I remember one in particular. We found a bunch of cancelled checks and we thought maybe they were worth something. (Age?) Probably 6 or 7.
- II 3c, There's a man named Jiggs had an old dingy office downb town. This little town where we used to live. I'd go in to see him and he'd take me back in the shops and I'd always find a brand new penny on the greasy floor.
- II 3c My second memorable experience occurred when I spent an afternoon inspecting an old neighbor's collection of bottles in his home. My parents did not know where I was and when I finally returned home, I received quite a reprimand. I was unaware that I was causing anxiety as I was so absorbed in observing this enormous collection of bottles and felt dismayed and angry when I was scolded. I think I was about 4-1/2 years old.

III. Phallic-Libidinal Themes

1. Phallic-assertive thrust, active

- III la When I changed school in second grade. We went to another town. I walked into the school, found the second grade room, told the teacher I was in the second grade and had been first in my class, and where was the first chair in this room? I just took over.
- When I got this bicycle was the most happy time probably (III la) because that gave me wheels and I started getting around. In later years, there were happy times--but that was in adolescence. We had happy times at Christmas but I don't remember any specific incident. (Bicycle?) You know. I'm not even sure that was a bicycle--some kind of gift I got at that time that pleased me very much--I had a bike--wasn't a new bike. I thoroughly enjoyed it--gave me wheels to get around and see what was going on. ("Gave me wheels"?) I don't know. My buddy had a bike. The two of us together could travel. We'd take trips around the neighborhood--city park. I felt freer--get around, see people. It freed me. That's the feeling. Used to ride it hard and long--still enjoy it. ("Wheels"?) You mean association? Well that comes to mind--gave me the opportunity to get out from the family. My buddy would come over and knock at my window. I was still asleep, and he would say come on, and we'd take off. Those were real pleasurable times.

III lb, Approximately 3 years old. My father, brother and I were on a trip in a Model A Ford. We were on a detour. When my father topped a hill, he had to apply the brakes suddenly because of a sharp corner. I was thrown into the front glass and knocked cuckoo. I was hurt.

2. Phallic-locomotor thrust, passive

- III 2a, When I was in second or third grade, I was supposed to deliver an envelope to another school room. I went upstairs to the room but was afraid to deliver the envelope so I hid it. When I went back to my room, the teacher asked me if I delivered it and I said yes. She found out later that I hadn't so she asked me which room I took it to. I showed her, but of course I was punished for lying. Feelings of fear and then lying to make up for my fear.
- III 2c I don't know how they fit in chronologically of course. I can remember--seem to be trips--Colorado. My father carrying me on his back, up a lot of steps. I believe Helen Hunt Jackson's grave up by that way. (?) Don't know. Some old character more or less enshrined. (?) Pleasant.

3. Phallic-assertive mastery, active

- Another very pleasant memory I have of that period--In back of the nursery school they had these Jungle Gyms (he explains). I used to climb the small one till I got up the courage to climb the large one. I remember the the tremendous thrill when I got on the large one--my first venture onto it. (Other details?) Yeah, a very pleasant feeling tone. I still recall how I felt--elation-climbing on this big one. And after that I never climbed on the small one again. (?) No, I don't think there was anyone else around then. I think I tried it especially at a time when there was no one else around.
- III 3a, My first earliest memory was when I jumped up on my older p sister's back and threw her off her balance and she broke her arm. I was terribly frightened and upset because it was my first experience with broken parts of the body and everyone around her was excited and I was also wondering what it was all about.
- III 3c Dad tells about the first fish I caught in the High Sierras. He heard me hollering. I hooked him and started running. I pulled him right up over the bank and kept on running. I sure didn't let him get away.

4. Phallic-assertive prowess, passive

- III 4a When he took me out in the backyard one day and he had a (III 3a) rifle. He kneeled down and put the rifle across his knee and let me shoot it up into the trees. (Feeling?) That was just fun. (Age?) Around 4.
- III 4a I remember going with him to the nouse they had bought and watching the workmen do some work on it--carpenters, plumbers, and so on. I remember well going into the front door and watching work being done on the hall fireplace. And that terminates that memory. My father was with me all through it. (Remember thoughts and feelings?) I would say principally one of wonderment and much interest. (Age?) I believe I was 3 then. (?) He took me over. I remember him explaining to me what the men were doing.
- One comes to mind when I was about 3. My dad bought an old Atwater-Kent radio. I seem to remember the way the old receiver looked so much like a casket. The horn was up on top--the speaker--and I think that I can remember people.coming from all around to have radio parties-- especially on Saturday night to listen to the radio. It was very poor quality and nothing but static most of the time.
- III 4a I have a very hard time . . . separating what I remember and what I've been told or shown that eventually seems to substitute for memory. So, one of the first things I remember—that I feel confident this has never been told to me—the very tall pine tree that stood in the yard where we first lived. And my older brother by 8 years climbing clear to the top of it. And I know I wished I could. (?) I don't know. I'd say under 3. 'Cause I think I was climbing it at the time I was 5. (To the top?) Yeah! Well, I'm not sure it was clear to the top—at least in the branches.
- III 4a Drilling holes to put screws in around the front platform of the church where the sanctuary was located. The only person I remember here (sigh) was my father. I think it was a rather enjoyable experience. He was doing the work-but I can't remember more--it was the drill that fascinated me more than anything else. (Age?) 3 or 4.
- III 4c My earliest memory concerns my sitting on a second story front porch of an apartment house where I once lived: age approximately 2, 2-1/2 years. I watched a German zepplin fly overhead. Others were on the porch with me. The only emotion I may have felt was one of curiosity or interest.

5. Oneself as object of phallic-aggressive assault

- III 5a At about the same time I rectal—I mean recollect a large (I la) short-haired white dog that the police had shot in the head with some blood and scattered brains coming out of the head that was quite gruesome. This was my first contact with death also and it seemed to make an impression.
- III 5a I remember one boy--one in particular. A big fellow-(III 5c) bully, and a couple of his cohorts. This big fellow had me down on ground and my arms pinned down with his knees. Had me sort of helpless. I remember the tears streaming down my cheeks. And someone came along and pulled him .off me.
- III 5a The first instance I can remember is when I first started school; this big dog would run out and jump at me and sometimes even knock me down. I liked the dog but still kept my distance from him. Age 6.
- When my father got in a rather bad mood, he had a whip and I remember on one occasion he was chasing me with it around the dining room table. As far as I can remember I managed to evade him, I guess. (Feeling tone?) Fear, obviously—I was intensely scared. My father was given to extreme temperamental moods once in a while—anger. (Your age at the time?) About 4 or so. (Other details?) That's the only thing I can remember about it. I don't remember what caused it.
- III 5b Oh I guess when we still lived on the farm. Dad had gone to town and was late getting back. It was dark. Mother was there with us and us kids were making a lot of noise. Mother told us to be quiet so she could hear, a tramp might come along. So we immediately became quiet. This frightened me terrifically for fear a tramp might come along. They had been having some trouble in the country with tramps—or whatever you want to call them. (Old?) Oh . . . I don't know. I imagine around 5 or 6.
- III 5d I also recall that even in being taken out to buy shoes (I 3b) or clothes I would have a sick-to-tne-stomach feeling for fear even of the shoe salesman who was trying on my shoes. I was given the feeling you have to be careful that they are not going to cheat you in the goods. I still have a queasy feeling about going shopping for my own clothes and things. I still have the feeling you have to do a lot of shopping to get a bargain. I have a block, a lot of hesitancy about just going out and buying things. It's the fear of being cheated or taken, so that I . . . one . . . I even have the feeling of hesitation about buying at all for fear I'm going to be taken.

- III 5d Also in Woodstock, Martha, next door neighbor, and I were at her house. Both of us were standing on the staircase looking into the dining room. Her mother was giving a luncheon. One of the men, Martha said, took his teeth out (Martha had seen it before and told Lee to watch) and it scared the shit out of me. I remember getting pretty hysterical and my grandmother came over and took me home. (?) All I can remember is watching him take his teeth out and dipped them in a glass of water. We started out laughing and before long we were crying our heads off.
- III 5d I think I was about 3 years old. There are a couple--one was going to a doctor's office for an examination preliminary to being circumcised. I remember standing in front of the doctor while the doctor poked around at my penis. And then later I remember being held down on the kitchen table by my father while the doctor gave me ether to perform the operation. I remember afterwards feeling that something serious had been done to my penis.
- III 5d I was . . . uh . . . been up in a doctor's office when I was here in Topeka. I'd fallen on the front porch and rammed a sliver up my leg--in the skin here (gestures to show) and I remember the doctor's office and just laying down and I saw a sterilizer thing and a blue flame--gas under it. And I didn't know whether he was heating the needle to jab me or what. He was cutting away, so my parents tell me, but all I remember is the sterilizer and the blue flame.

6. Phallic-urethral themes, active

- Another one-this is all about the same time--early childhood. . . . My brother and other kids built a fire under an old bridge. I was afraid they were going to burn the bridge. It was a huge fire it seemed like. And it was out in the country. So I ran--didn't run--left them and hid in this old barn someplace in town. I knew they'd come home so I watched for them. (Other details?) I remember they piled the log brush up underneath this bridge. And started it with paper and it flamed up so fast and so big that I got scared and left. I remember I told them they shouldn't do it, but they wouldn't listen to me so I went ahead and left. (Hid?) I think I was waiting for them. I was going to hide in the barn and jump out as they walked by. I believe that's probably what /I had in mind. (Age at this time?) 5 or 6.
- III 6b, I think the time we set fire to the creek bed behind the p house. I was about 5 years old. No one has talked about that much. I stole those matches out of the kitchen.

 Another kid kept striking the matches and touching them

where the grass looked the brownest. We got quite a good spanking about that. (Details?) I got a good spanking, a <u>real</u> good one. (Feeling tone?) I was real sorry I had done it. Even before I got the whipping. (Thought of before?) Oh yes. Once in a while. It's kind of a family joke.

8. Phallic-exhibitionistic/voyeuristic themes, active

- III 8a Well I took this little girl when I was six years old up to a bedroom and with a flashlight and checked over what she had. Said I was a doctor. Didn't touch her. Didn't mean anything emotionally to me. It was exciting because it was an adventure. (Old?) 4 or 5. (Where?) Bedroom, my parents. Took her into the closet, didn't want anybody to catch us. Mother was somewhere around in the house.
- III 8a And I have another vague memory where my sister and I have come across condoms in the dresser drawer, and we think they're a balloon, and we're laughing and my mother and father are laughing also, but I sense even then that there's something secretive about their laughter, and that it's different from ours, and that there's more to those balloons than I realize.
- III 8a, Also I remember that was the first day anyone ever told me where a baby came from. These boys told me and I just couldn't believe it. Though I remember I confronted my mother with it afterwards and she just laughed and said oh they're just kids talking and don't know what they are talking about. I recall not too long after that dad and mother and my brothers and I were riding along and we stopped for some reason by the side of the road and a bull and a cow were out in the field not too far from the car. The bull was up on the cow and I remember my father looking around at mother and laughing and mother's face turned as red as a beet.
- III 8a, Between the ages of 3-1/2 to 4-1/2 I ran away from home p terrified because an adult scolded a group of children for sex play.—Several hours later when I was found and returned home neither mother or policeman helped the situation.
- III 8b We had moved from this house on I believe it was 6th Street out to the west end of town and I recall these two children. I think there was a boy and a girl. Their names I'ye long since forgotten but we played that day and either from front or side able to sneak in under house—don't guess we had to sneak in—just went in under the front of the house and it was dark and dusty, of course. Must have played make believe of some sort—but I can recall the children and I going in under there on

some occasion in our day of play and that was prior to kindergarten, possibly 4, 4-1/2.

- III 8c Another in that same house--I used to be able to recite poetry and they would stand me up on a little stool and everyone would listen to me do it. Until I became embarrassed. (Feeling tone?) I loved it until they drove the thing into the ground. (Age at the time?) I don't know--very, very young because we didn't live in that one house very long--I suppose 3 or 4 or maybe younger. (Other details?) I started playing recitals when I was 4 and my mother was always very busy with her music so I would go over to the neighbor's house who would teach me these things and when they discovered I could memorize, they would stand me on a stool. Sort of showing off, I guess.
- III 8c, Coming home from school one time I came to my father's p place of business—a garage. And there were always men hanging around. And I didn't say anything to them, but he came out and said he felt I was acting too bold and brazen for a little girl. I remember being hurt because I knew he was reprimanding me but I didn't know about what. I was really hurt. This was when I was in the first grade—about 6 years old.

9. Phallic-exhibitionistic/voyeuristic themes, passive

- III 9b It's a dress that I had—a plain yellow sunsuit with a gingerbread man on the bib. Brown ginger. It's my favorite piece of clothing. I have a picture of it and so I don't know if I really remember it. (?) Brown and yellow are still my favorite colors. (?) Nothing else. (Age?) I guess it was before kindergarten. I just know I was awfully young. (Feeling?) I just know I loved that dress.
- III 9b I was standing on the sidewalk in front of my house on a sunny early morning playing make believe. I was wearing a colorful striped sundress, and as I stood there, I slipped one of the straps off my shoulder. Just as I did this, the milk truck drove up and the milkman got off, flashing a big grin at me. This is all I remember, but my feeling was (and still is) embarrassment and wondering if the milkman wondered what I was doing with my sundress slipped off my shoulder.

IV. <u>Oedipal Configurations</u>

Competitive (male)

IV la, Probably that bit when I went to summer camp and came b back and found my mother had divorced my stepfather. I

was interested in tropical fish at the time. When I got back she had bought me a big fish bowl and sand as a bribe so I would accept what she did. My mother is a number one first class prostitute on a big scale. She was living with this present husband months before she married him. He just moved in and I found myself taking orders from someone who wasn't legally married to my old lady.

IV lc I remember on one occasion when I was in first or second grade she was thinking of divorcing Daddy and she asked my feeling about it. She said that she wasn't going to do it against my will. (?) I remember that she talked about his drinking and she said we might be better off if we made arrangements to live apart from him. (Feel?) It put me between a rock and a hard place. I felt sorry for her. I wanted to cooperate with her. I first told her if that is what she wanted I would go along with it but before I got home I had changed my mind and asked her at least to reconsider.

4. Competitive (female)

- And I remember at this time there was a widow lady my grandfather used to go see and sometimes we would go visit her. And I remember he asked me what I would do if he got married again—if he would marry her. And I got real mad. This upset me and I'd cry about it and my grandfather laughed at me. (Other details?) He was teasing, he laughed about it but I always felt awful bad because I didn't want her to have my grandfather and I didn't want him to care about her either. And I remember I'd ask him if he were going to leave us. (?) I can only remember my grandfather laughing. (?) I can almost feel—when I think about something that happened a long time ago—I do feel the same way I felt then about it. (Age?) About 3.
- IV 4d Riding around in a little cart with my father--two-wheel (III 2b) cart pulled by a horse. I would rather not bring them up but if you want them you can have them. He had had a quarrel with my mother and he took me out with him--it was at night. (Feeling tone?) Very unhappy. (Age?) Not so old--very small--between 2 and 4. (Other details?) Just that.

6. Non-competitive: identification with rival (female)

'IV 6a, And before my brother was born I remember going with my p mother to this old man's house and she had intercourse with him and he gave her money. And while they did this he gave me nuts to eat. And at this time I knew this was where babies came from because I wondered why my

mother didn't have a baby. At first I wasn't interested in what they did in this room and I . . . While I wasn't interested, I still knew what they were doing and that my grandfather wouldn't like this and it was a secret and it wasn't bad but it was a good way to get money. And one time they didn't close the door and I was eating my nuts and got real curious about this and I looked in and saw my mother laying on this bed with her eyes closed. This man was on top of her, moving. I felt dirty. I hated him. I felt this was something awful. Before this when I wanted something and Mommy didn't have any money to buy it why I'd say let's go to the old man's house and we'd go. And after that I didn't ask her anymore and I didn't want to go. And after that I'd say I wanted to have a little brother and she'd ask why and I said because boys are more fun than girls. (Feelings?) I felt dirty. I felt my mother was . . . I don't know. \bot I felt betra $\rlap{/}\!\!\!/\!\!\!\!/$ ed in a way. I hated that man and I almost hated my mother too. And I felt guilty at the same time because I had looked. (?) I can see myself opening the door and looking in. I can remember how the room looked. I can remember seeing my mother's pants on the floor. It was an unpleasant experience. I don't feel as guilty about it now. I don't feel it was as dirty as I did then. It's unpleasant. It's not a nice memory. (Told by a woman.)

IV 6d I remember sleeping in this extra large iron baby bed in my mother and father's room and they had an awful time getting me to sleep in one of the twin beds in my sister's room. I don't know how old I was when they finally got me to sleep on my right side so I wouldn't crowd my heart. In more recent years I've thought if she didn't tell me that so I would be facing away from them. I would have my back to them then. (Told by a woman.)

V. <u>Latency Configurations</u>

1. Productivity and positive self-esteem

- V la, I recall going to camp. This was a periodic thing, not one instance. The memory stands out to me because I enjoyed it so much. (?) The association with the group of boys at the camp. I went to a camp 60-70 miles away from home. The swims, the athletic events, the lore, the crafts. This was a bit different from my daily routine.
- V lb I remember a bunch of kids we played with and they had a playhouse outside. I remember one time the older girl who was about 4 years older than I was--we made clover chains in front of her house with her.

APPENDIX E

TAT INSTRUCTIONS GIVEN TO SUBJECTS

This is a study of your imagination and creativity. You will be shown five pictures on the screen. I want you to make up a story about each of these. In making up the story imagine some kind of situation and then bring it to life in your mind so that you can imagine

- a. what might be going on in this situation
- b. what the people are conterned with, what they are doing, feeling, and thinking
- c. what led up to the present situation
- d. what may happen next and in the future

Instructions for the blank card:

Imagine a scene on the screen. Describe it in detail. Then write down a story about it. Mention what is happening now, what led up to it, what the outcome will be, as well as the feelings, thoughts, and concerns of the people involved.

g

APPENDIX F

TAT NARCISSISM SCALE

Coding for the TAT Narcissism scale is the same as the coding on the analogous EM scale. Each TAT story is viewed as a metaphorical molar unit that is listened to intuitively and analytically. Not only the content thema, but the subject's psychological investment in the content must be assessed, keeping in mind the mode represented by the story as a whole.

As with the EM Narcissism scale, this scale is divided into three major categories of HN, IN, and DN. The criteria that define these categories are given in Appendix B.

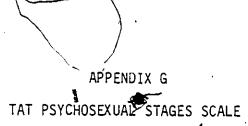
The following dimensions are scored for each memory, with a value of 1 for DN, 2 for IN, and 3 for HN assigned to each:

- 1. feeling tone expressed
- the quality of the self experience
- 3. the quality of other experience
- 4. the quality of interactions between self and other
- 5. the quality of activities

In obtaining a composite Narcissism score for each subject based on the 5 TAT stories, the same procedure that was used with the 5 EMs is used, which is reproduced in Appendix B.

Narcissism Scoring Sheet for Each TAT $\dot{\cdot}$

	DN	IN	
Feeling Content			
Quality of Self Experience	ŕ		
Quality of Interaction			
Quality of Activities	·		
Narcissism Score	•		,



The same psychosexual stages scale used for rating EMs is also used in rating the TAT stories. This scale and the procedures used in scoring are reproduced in Appendix C and are to be applied to the TATs.

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APPENDIX H SELF VERSUS SELF IDEAL DISCREPANCY SCALE

When the self portion of the inventory was to be scored first, the following introductory comments and instructions were given to the subjects:

It isn't often these days that a person has a chance to stop and take stock of himself, to reflect on the sort of person ne is, how he is getting on with people and how he is getting on with himself. That's what I would like you to do now. In this questionnaire, I would like you to indicate how you feel and think about things, some of the things you do, and the way you are inclined to do them.

You are to judge how well each of the following statements fits you. If after reading a statement, you can say about it, "This is definitely true of me," then put a circle around the "+2" alongside the statement. If you feel it is definitely not a statement which you would make about yourself, then circle "-2". Or you may feel less definite one way or the other, in which case you would circle "+1" or "-1". If you don't know whether a statement is true of you or not, then put a circle around the puestion mark. To repeat:

Circle: Tall alongside the statement of you can say about it.

"This is seny three of me."

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ter comment fig. Eine Ger vermicht nicht innig zweich auf zieben benten Masten unt beziehn. Die der aussehn ausschen Geschleiter beschleiben gin der beschleiben beschlieben. Earlier you told us something about yourself and the sort of person you are. Now I would like to find out your point of view about other people. One way to do this by having you tell us what you think an ideal person would be like.

Þ

Think of some imaginary person whom you would consider an ideal person in every way. By this I do not necessarily mean that he is "good" and does what he "should do". Rather, he has all the traits you really admire in a person.

I say you are to theink of an imaginary person because there is probably no one you know who fits this ideal in every respect. Stop now and try to imagine what such a person would be like...

Assume that you know this person very well--so well that you would have no trouble telling us how he behaves and how he feels about things. Which of the following statements would be true of him and which would not?

Keep thinking of this ideal person as you consider now well each of the statements fits him.

Circle: "+2" if you can say about this ideal person, "This is very true of him/her".

Tell of you can say. This is somewhat true of him/hert.

*** of you can say. I don't know if this is on is not true of him/hert.

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When the self ideal was to be scored first, the following introductory comments and instructions were given to the subjects:

With the following questionnaire I would like to find out your point of view about people. One way to do this is by having you tell us what you think an ideal person would be like.

Think of some imaginary person whom you would consider an ideal person in every way. By this I do not necessarily mean that he is "good" and does what he "should do". Rather, he has all the traits you really admire in a person.

I say you are to think of an imaginary person because there is probably no one you know who fits this ideal in every respect. Stop now and try to imagine what such a person would be like...

Assume that you know this person very well--so well that you would have no trouble telling us how he behaves and how he feels about things. Which of the following statements would be true of him and which would not?

Keep thinking of this ideal person as you consider how well each of the statements fits him.

Circle: "+2" if you can say about this ideal person, "This is very true of him/her".

"+1" if you can say, "This is somewhat true of him/her".

"?" if you can say, I don't know if this is or is not true of him/her".

"-i" if you can say, "I believe this is not true of him/her".

"-2" if you can say, "I am sure this is not true of tim/her".

On not think long about any one item. Make up your mind on each statement before going on to the next.

It isn't often these days that a person has a chance to stop and take stock of himself, to reflect on the sort of person he is, how he is getting on with people and how he is getting on with himself. That's what I would like you to do now. Earlier you told us about your views concerning other people. I would like you now to indicate how you feel and think about things, some of the things you do, and the way you are inclined to do them.

You are to judge how well each of the following statements fits you. If after reading a statement, you can say about it, "This is definitely true of me," then put a circle around the "+2" alongside the statement. If you feel it is definitely not a statement which you would make about yourself, then circle "-2". Or you may feel less definite one way or the other, in which case you would circle "+1" or "-1". If you don't know whether a statement is true of you or not, then put a circle around the question mark. To repeat:

Circle: "+2" alongside the statement if you can say about it, "This is very true of me."

"+1" if you can say, "This is somewhat true of me."

"?" if you can say, "I don't know if this is or is not true of me."

"-1" if you can say, "I believe this is not true of me.".

"-2" if you can say, "I am <u>sure</u> this is not true of me."

Answer quickly. Do not think long over any one item. Make up your mind about each statement before going on to the next.

;		TRUE	true	?	not true	NOT TRUE
1.	I drive myself to be successful in most things I do.	+2	+1	?	-1	- 2
2.	I usually try to hide my real self from people.	+2	+1	?	-1	- 2
3.	I like myself.	+2	+1	?	-1	-2
4.	I find it hard to stick up for my rights.	+2	+1	?	-1	-2
5.	I enjoy having bold, sweeping ideas and thinking forcefully.	+2	+14 :	?	-1	-2
6.	I would rather stick to my present way of life than gamble on a new and untried venture which looks more promising.	+2	+1	? .	-1	- 2
7.	The better I like someone, the harder it is to tell him so.	+2	+1	? ~	1	-2
8.	I am very careful about the way I dress.	+2	+1	?	-1	-2
9.	I feel younger than my age.	+2	+1	?	-1	-2
10.	I tend to be devoted to one woman/man €at a time.	+2	+1	?	-1	-2
11.	I would rather not go to a sexy show if I can avoid it.	+2	+1	?	-1	-2
12.	My friends seem to have a better time than I do.	+2	+1	?	-1	-2
13.	While I am working on some job, I think about what others will say about my work when I am through.	+2	+1	?	-1	-2
14.	I try at all times to be nice to people.	+2	+1	?	-1	-2
15.	When I do something, I do it because it will benefit me, not other people.	+2	+1	?	-1-	- 2

		TRUE	true	?	not true	NOT TRUE
16.	I like to play with children.	+2	+1	?	-1	-4 :
17.	I seem to be unable to reach or hold on to the things I strive for.	+2	+1	?	-1	-2
18.	I have an explosive temper.	+2	+1	?	-1	-2
19.	I have not lived the right kind of life.	+2	+1	?	-1	•2
20.	Given the opportunity, I could do great things.	+2	€ 9+1	?	-1-	· -2
21.	I am really a lone wolf.	+2	+1	?	-1	-2
22.	I am a likeable person.	+2	. +1	?	·-1	-2
23.	I tend to worry about my aches and pains and secretly fear that there might be something seriously wrong.	+2	+1	?	; -1	-2
24.	What others think of me does not bother me.	+2	. +1	- ? ·	-1	-2
25.	I usually find it hard to hold up my end of a conversation.	+2	+1	?	." -1	· -&-
26.	I could organize and successfully run an enterprise even if there were-as many as a hundred people working for me.	+2	+1	?	-1	-2
27.	I like horseback riding.	+2	+1	?	-1	-2
28.	People can pretty easily influence me even though I thought my mind was already made up on a subject.	+2	+1	?	-1	-2
29.	I,am a domineering person.	+2	+1	? {	-1	-2
30.	I sometimes tease people. just for the fun of it.	+2	+1	?	-1	-2
31.	I am just not facing things.	+2-	+1	?	-1	-2
32.	My control over my sexual impulses is too weak.	- +2	<i>+</i> 1	?	-1	-2

•					not	NOT
		TRUE	true	?	true	TRUE
33.	I have a gloomy nature.	+2	+1	?	-]	-2
34.	I have been disappointed in love.	+2	+1 +	?	-1	-2
35.	I am inclined to think about how I look and what impression I am making on others.	+2	+1	?	-1	-2
36.	I feel physically weak or inferior.	+2	+1	?	-1	-2
37.	I have sex appeal.	+2	+1	?	-1	-2
38.	I generally hold a grudge for a long time when my feelings are hurt.	+2	+1	?	-1	-2
	I am likely to get discouraged if I do not get sympathy and support from others.	+2	+1	?	-1	-2
40.	I sometimes feel that in life's competitions I am usually left behind.	+2	+1	?	-1	-2
41.	I avoid people who are likely to be course or vulgar.	+2	+1	?	-1	-2
42.	I like to wear expensive clothes.	+2	+1.	?	-1	-2
43.	I enjoy myself at parties and large gatherings.	+2	+1	?.,	-1	- 2
44.	I would never get angry if I could help it.	+2	+1	?	· -1	-2
45.	My way of doing things is apt to be misunderstood by others.	+2	+1	?.	-1	- 2
46.	It makes me angry if people interrupt me when I am working on something important.	+2	+1	?	- 1	-2
47.	My childhood seems to be a very far off and unfamiliar time; it feels as if not <u>I</u> took part in it, but rather some child who	•	•			
	happens to have been me.	+2	+1	?	-1	-2

		TRUE	true	?	not true	NOT TRUE
48.	It makes me feel like a failure when I hear of the success of someone I know well.	+2	+1	?	-1	-2
49.	I am systematic and orderly in my daily life.	+2	+]	? .	-1	-2
50.	I am a gentle, considerate person.	+2	+1	?	-1	-2
51.	I have a tendency to do what people ask of me, even things which I don't feel much like doing.	+2	+1	?	-1	-2
52.	There are many people who are better than me even at activitie which are supposed to be my strong points.	es +2 ·	+1 .	· ?	-1	-2
53.	It does not hurt me particularly to see animals suffer.	+2	+1	?	-1	-2
54.	I enjoy doing things that are - a little dangerous.	+2	+1	?	-1	-2
55.	I live according to the motto: "Here today, gone tomorrow."	+2	+1	?	-1	-2

APPENDIX I

SAMPLE MEMORIES AND TAT STORIES

WITH THEIR SCORING

CODE - SB, Feb. 16

AGE: 14

SEX: Female

What is the earliest memory you have? Describe what happened in the memory in as much detail as you recall it. (Please note that this should be a specific <u>incident</u> that happened and that you remember.)

I was about 3/3-1/2 and I had put some fake mice in the toilet and yelled for my mother. My mother by the way hates mice. I can remember her sigh of relief when she saw what it actually was and then the stern look she gave me. I can remember laughing to myself the entire time.

a. What do you actually see as you remember the images of this memory?

I actually see the bathroom. The plastic mice floating around in the toilet. I can also remember my mother's facial expressions.

- b. What stands out most clearly? What do you recall most vividly?

 Most vividly what stands out would be the colors of the mice.

 They were all different. One was red, one was grey, another was blue, and one was yellow. I can see the grey one had flipped on the back when it hit the water and I can first see them floating around while I got enough nerve to call my mom.
 - c. What are the feelings associated with the memory? Describe them.

I felt kind of wicked because it was a mean joke to play on someone but I can also remember feeling happy because during the entire thing I was laughing. Maybe I was getting back at my mother for something she did to me but I can't be sure.

d. Do you experience any feelings as you recall the memory now? Describe them.

The feelings I have now are pleasant. I think back and say how could I have been so cruel but I'm not mad or sorry at myself. I'm just thinking how my mother reacted and it brings a slight smile to my lips. I just think I must have been some little ham growing up.

e. Are there any additional details you now recall about this memory?

I remember it was a spur of the moment thing. I didn't plan it out ahead of time. I also think I was a little hesitant before screaming, "Mommy there's mice in the toilet."

f. How old were you when this happened? (If you are not sure of the exact age, how old do you think you were?)

I'm not really sure how old I was but I think about 3/3-1/2.

Score Sheet for Memory #1, for Narcissism for Subject with Code: S.B. 2-16

		DN	•	•	IN .	HN
Feeling Content						
Quality of Self Experience		•			1	ari.
Quality of Other Experience	· -					•
Quality of Interactions	• ,			•	~	V.
Quality of Activities		٠			9	

Narcissism Score: 3

- 2. I was arguing with my sister because it was her birthday and she got a new gift I wanted to play with and she said no. She had to be the first one to use the new toy.
 - a. I see the room we were in and the carpet. I can see my system reaching out for the jack-in-the-box, trying to take it away from me.
 - b. Actually the toy, a jack-in-the-box stands out most clearly. It was orange with different nursery rhyme characters on it. I especially remember little Miss Muffet.
 - c. The feeling associated with the memory is a feeling of being cheated. I wanted to use that toy and she wasn't playing with it so my sister was just being selfish so I would feel bad.
 - d. I feel a little resentment looking back now, but I can also understand why she wanted to play first.
 - e. I can't really think of anything else that happened. My mother did come in and tell me I was being unfair or something and that's how it ended.
 - f. I can guess and say I was about 5 1/2 when this happened but I am not sure.
- 3. My sister and I had some lipgloss. It was very important to us because of the way we had to beg for it. I had it in my room one night and by mistake I broke it. For some reason I thought that it was the end of my life. That I would die in my sleep. I put some of the lipgloss that was on the floor and put it on my lips so I would die pretty.
 - a. I see myself looking out the window at my next door neighbor's trees. I also remember the smell and looks of the broken lipgloss.

- b. The thing that stands out most clearly is when I tried to stop the lipgloss from rolling off the windowsill and the crashing sound it made. It was in a glass tube.
- c. The feeling's associated with the memory are fear and sadness.

 Hoping my sister wouldn't be too mad when she found out.
- d. Now, when I think back on the memory I feel tired. Nothing else just tired.
- e. I remember getting into bed after it broke and then getting up to put the lipgloss on my lips.
- f. I was probably 6-7 years old.
- 4. Another early memory of my mother is of her scolding me for stealing a pack of gum from a grocery store. Teaching that it was wrong.
 - a. I remember sitting in the back seat of a car with my sister and my mom in the front.
 - b. The kind of gum is what stands out most clearly. Can't remember the name but it had stripes, and a zebra on it.
 - c. I was mad at my sister for giving me away. Mad at my mom for not buying the gum for me in the first place. I probably also felt a little guilty.
 - d. I feel kind of stupid and ashamed now. Like I should have known better in the first place.
 - e. I remember my mom telling me if I ever did anything like that again she would take me to the manager of the store.
 - f. I must have been about 4-5 yrs.
- 5. The earliest memory of my father is of him tickling me. I was trying to get loose but I couldn't. My sister was in on the game and was trying to pull me away while looking out not to get caught.

- I was laughing and screaming "let me go." He would start singing the song "Let me go lover, let me go."
- a. I feel the memory more than see it. I remember the room and the couch we were on.
- b. My father's arms and hands stand out most clearly because that's what I was trying to get away from.
- c. I felt happy and excited. I was enjoying myself having a funtime. Almost winning the game by getting away just to be caught again. It was fun.
- d. . I just feel like "those were the good old days."
- e. There are not any additional memories but my sister starts to fade out.
- f. It could have been any age because this happened a lot. About 4-5 yrs. old

Score Sheet for 5 Memories, for Narcissism for Sample Subject, Code 5.8. 2-16

•	Memo	Memory #1 N IN HN	Memory #2 DR IN HR	#2 HN	Memory #3 DN IN HN	#3 HR	Memory #4 DM IN HN	#4 HIN	Memory #5 DN IR HR	3° ₹
Feeling Content										3
Quality of Self Experience		:					,			~
Quality of Other Experience										~
Quality of Interactions										\sim
Quality of Activities										3
Designations for each memory	HN(3)		IN(2)		IN(2)		[N(2)		. HN(3)	

[7]NI IN(2) IN(2) HN(3)

Composite Score for Narcissism for all of the 5 Memories: $\frac{3+2+2+3}{5} = 2.4$

Score Sheet for 5 Memories, for Psychosexual Stages
Sample Subject

		Psychosexual Stages
Memories	0ra1	Anal Phallic Oedipal Latency
1		3
2		3
3	1	
4		3
* 5		
1emory #1:	Phallic 3	Based on themes of assertiveness, boldness, risk taking, and voyeuristic aspects in the memory.
Memory #2:	Phallic 3	Based on themes and feelings of being cheated, valuing of phallic objects and competing for the being first.
Memory #3:	Oral 1 .	Based on themes of death, loss, loneliness.
Memory #4:	Phallic 3	Based on the theme of being an object of shame from having taken a risk with coveting a phallic object. Feeling stupid (deficiency).
Memory #5:	Oedipal 4	Relationship with father with sublimated sexual components.

Response to Card #1:

It's the boy's 9th birthday and he has been looking forward to it for a long time. He was hoping for a new train set and instead he got a violin. He realizes that his parents are now going to want him to take lessons. He's very disappointed and is afraid that practicing will take up all of his time and he won't be able to play with his friends after school anymore. He realizes he should have expected this sooner or later considering that his grandfather was a great violinist. He knows his parents are hoping that their fine boy will have some talent. He will probably start lessons soon and resent it. If his parents continue to give him lessons he probably will thank them much later when he is about 22-23. But right now he'd rather have a train set.

Response to Card #2:

The girl is feeling guilty and knows she shouldn't but can't help it. Her family lives on a farm and they need all the help they can get plowing the field, milking the cows, etc. Her mother is 8 months pregnant so that's one less person working and she's going to the local school so she can't help out 24 hrs. a day. It's close to sundown and her father, brothers, and sisters are still working. She knows if she was there they might have been finished earlier. You'll never guess how one person makes all the difference. Especially with her mother out too she really is needed. Her family knows how important school is to her so they are not going to say anything. She feels bad but all she really has to do is remind herself how proud her parents will be when she is the first person in their family to graduate! Then she'll be able to go to the city and find a high paying job and send lots of money home. Now she feels better.

Response to Card #3:

The wife's mother just died, they have been expecting it for some time but it's still a sad shock. The pain on her face is evident. She is really sad and heart broken. Her and her mother were always very close. She needs to find comfort so she goes to her husband. She needs to feel that people she loves are still there. She stands in the doorway and he senses what she's going through, walks over and puts his arms around her and tells her it's ok. Everything will be all right and gives her a kiss on the forehead to comfort her. They stay that way for a long time, until she feels a little better then they go to bed. She realizes how lucky she is to have someone who cares so much about her.

Response to Card #4:

This man is very depressed. His girlfriend has just left him, he lost his job and his car was just totaled. He decides to kill himself feeling that he has nothing to live for. He opens the window of his late girlfriend's apartment, puts his foot on the ledge, and is about to jump when he looks outside and notices the beautiful sky. With the moon and stars he thinks to himself pity I should die on such a beautiful night. He then thinks maybe jumping out the window isn't such a great idea. Life can't be all that bad if there is such beauty in the world. (That's why outside is light in the picture, it symbolizes hope for the future.) He decides to get down and go on living. He knows he can always find a new job, there are millions of cars, and even if it might be painful at first he will eventually forget about his girlfriend. He smiles and says life is worth living!

Response to Card =10:

The scene on this card is of a medieval carnival. There are people everywhere. In the center is a bunch of people, 20-30 of them holding hands dancing in a circle laughing and having a great time. There are many booths lined up. One man is selling crystal and glass. Another man is selling beautiful and colorful clothes. Still, yet another is selling good food and drinks. It is a festival of life, couples are walking arm in arm talking. Little children are running around, playing tag. Everyone is having a wonderful time without a worry in the world. There was no specific reason for everyone to gather together. They just did. The only concerns of the people are to have a good time and enjoy themselves. In a few days the party will end and people will go back to wandering around, and trying to protect their family from others, wondering where their next meal will come from, but now, however, they are simply loving each other.

			•										•		
Subject Code: SB,2-16 (Sample Subject)		٥,	score	Sheet	for	TAT St	ories	for N	Score Sheet for TAT Stories for Narcissism	i Sin		•		1	7
					Sa	Sample Subject	ubject			•					
	Stor	Story #1		Š	Story #2	#2	S	Story #3	#3	St	Story #4	4	St	Story #5	
	I NO	<u>.</u>	NH	NO	N.	¥	NO	N	N.	NO	NH NI	¥	NO	Z	H
Feeling Content										•					
Quality of Self Experience			_								-	*			
Quality of Other : Experience	•			`	,				ı						
Quality of Interaction				•							:				
Quality of . Activities **	,										•				
			!					.			'				
	IN(2)			HN(3)	_		HN(3)	_	A	HN(3)			HN(3)		

Composite score for Narcissism for all of the TAT. Stories: $\frac{2+3+3+3+3}{5} = \frac{2.8}{5}$

Score Sheet for TAT Stories for Psychosexual Stages Sample Subject

Psychosexual Stages

TAT Stories	Ora 1	Ana 1	Phallic	Oedipal	Latency
1 -					5
2			,		. 5
3	1	• • •	•	• •	
4	. 1				
5				•	5

Story #1: Latency 5: Based on themes of wanting to be with friends, intellectualizing, talent and identification concerns.

Story. #2: Latency 5: Common endeavors with a future orientation and sacrifices. Industriousness, approval, belonging.

Story #8: Oral 1: Themes of loss and mourning with some oedipal features.

Story #4: Oral 1: Themes of loss, turning against self, turning to optimism and sense of security.

Story #5: Latency 5: Togetherness, social setting, common endeavors.

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