

PSYCHOANALYTIC CONCEPTS AND PRINCIPLES
DISCERNIBLE IN PROJECTIVE
PERSONALITY TESTS

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6. THE PREDICTIVE SIGNIFICANCE OF FANTASY

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IN THE winter of 1940-41 the first writer¹ was privileged to study forty adolescent boys and girls by means of a variant of the thematic apperception method using a special set of pictures designed to tap adolescent fantasy.² This early study threw light on the nature of adolescence from data based on fantasy that had not previously been used in studying adolescents. It also provided data on the thematic apperception method, and helped to orient clinical workers toward more correct ways of thinking about this important clinical test. Even at the time of the study there was speculation as to the predictive value of the Picture-Story Test. How would an adolescent who told wild stories of adventure, mystery, excitement, or crime turn out in later life? What would be the aftercareer of a boy or girl who told stories with themes of ambition, striving, conflict, or dependency? Would differences be noted in later life between adolescents who told short repressed stories or long expansive stories; stories with distinct plots as contrasted with stories that were mainly descriptive; stories that were highly realistic as contrasted with stories that were bizarre and fantastic?

Suggestions for such a follow-up study came with increasing urgency from the Council for Research in the Social Sciences of Columbia University, and plans for such a follow-up study were drawn up and the data were collected during the academic year 1953-54.

A preliminary survey indicated that between 20 and 25 of the individual cases still lived in, or in the neighborhood of, the city in which the original study was conducted. This seemed promising enough to warrant undertaking a follow-up study.

The first step in the study was to locate the subjects. After an interval of 13 years one might expect that many of the subjects would have moved away

¹ Ably assisted by Dr. Sylvia Silverman and Dr. Milton Wexler.

² A selection of twenty of these pictures is now available known as the Symonds Picture-Story Test, published by the Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University. The report of this study has been published under the title *Adolescent Fantasy* by the Columbia University Press, 1949.

so that they could not be reached or would not be located at all. Actually, of the original 40, 32 were located and contact was made with them. Of these, 28 participated in the study (27 took both of the tests and fulfilled the interview schedule; one was unwilling to continue after the first session so that for this person all that is available is the Rorschach, 10 stories and a rather limited interview).

After contact had been made and the cooperation of the subjects secured, it was planned to attempt to see each subject twice. First in importance was to repeat the Picture-Story Test. This time instead of using all 42 of the pictures included in the original study, it was believed that it would be sufficient to use the 20 pictures now included in the Symonds Picture-Story Test. Since each subject was to be seen twice, it was planned to secure stories from Series A on the first sitting and Series B in the second sitting. This time the stories were mechanically recorded on a Gray Audograph and the stories were later transcribed to typescript from these discs. This, of course, gave a more faithful reproduction of the stories than when they were recorded in handwriting in 1941. Those taking down the stories in the original study did their best to produce a verbatim report of the stories, but frequently when the storyteller was fluent, about the most that could be done was to record the ideas expressed so as to preserve the sequence of the story without necessarily getting every word. The typescript from the mechanically recorded stories came closer to being a complete reproduction, and consequently comparisons of the stories in terms of their word length would not be meaningful.

Interviews were held with each subject which had the twofold purpose of securing a record of the experiences over the intervening 13 years and serving as the basis for a direct personality study.

COMPARISON OF FANTASY OVER A THIRTEEN-YEAR INTERVAL

The first obvious step in analyzing the data for the purpose of comparing the 20 stories told by each subject in 1940-41 with those told in 1953-54 was to make a count of the themes contained in the stories. Modern statistics are designed to demonstrate differences, not similarities. The outstanding feature of the comparison of the 1953 stories with the 1940 stories is the large number of themes that retain the same frequency, both in the total group and by individual. These data demonstrate the persistence of fantasy over a 13-year period.

Only 16 themes showed significant changes in frequency from 1940 to 1953, and of these only 2 showed an increased frequency, namely, *depression* and *wishful thinking*.

The increase in themes of depression was a marked characteristic in the

1953 stories. There were undisguised expressions of disappointment, discouragement and dejection. Apparently adolescence is a time for vague but exaggerated hopeful fantasies. The adolescent fantasies for himself riches, prosperity, fame, success, a beautiful wife, a virile but sympathetic husband, a good education, a good position, friends, a home of his own. But life has not granted all of these easily and thirteen years later is a period of disillusionment.

Themes of depression also probably indicate aggression turned inward. In adolescence, aggression is outgoing and the stories are full of violence and crime. Later the youth attempts to translate his aggressive fantasies into action by his striving in college and at work. But this striving has to be highly channelized in socially accessible ways. So the young man or woman tends to convert some of his aggression into self-recrimination and feelings of inferiority, discouragement and hopelessness.

The 14 themes that showed a decrease are the ones that characterized the fantasies of early adolescence, and this tabulation makes still more clear the essential characteristics of adolescent fantasy. Among the themes that showed a decreased frequency are *crime against property, death, accidental death, hostility, being aggressed against, punishment*, all dealing with violent aggression or punishment for aggression. Guilt over these fantasies in the adolescent period may be indicated by the theme of *reform*. Early adolescence is a time when impulses are heightened and they break through the repressive forces that hold them in check in the latency period. These impulses find an outlet in fantasy particularly in those instances where the adolescent is kept in close check by a dominating parent or parents.

Another group of themes including *mystery*, and *trick* or *magic* also show decreases. It is probable that these are symbolic references to sexual fantasy. Still other themes connected with the adolescent's fantasies with reference to parental relationships and control that decreased are *escape, giving-receiving* and *orality*.

It may be noted that there is a decrease in the number of stories with favorable or happy endings. In part this may be coupled with the increase in *depression* themes, and in part with the decrease in the adolescent's defense against guilt by magically turning catastrophe into a happy ending.

A less pronounced tendency toward a decrease in *masculine identification* with a corresponding nonsignificant increase toward feminine identification has no obvious explanation. It may represent a general decrease by both sexes of masculine striving. It may be part of the deepening of repression and protection against self-revelation on the part of the men. Or it may be a decrease of defense against homosexual fantasies on the part of the men in the study.

These trends were evident in the original report on *Adolescent Fantasy* in comparing the older and younger groups. In the original report it was said:

The only characteristic in which the young exceeded the old is in being *happy*. The older group, on the other hand, produced more themes of *discouragement* and *disappointment*, of *anxiety* and *worry*, of *fear*, *dread* and *alarm*. This paints the picture of early adolescence as a care-free period, characterized by more violent expression and a minimum atmosphere of guilt. Adolescents over fifteen, on the other hand, face stronger conflicts with family, social standards, and the expectations of society. Stories given by the younger group express crude hopes and longings set in a world of primitive passion. Those given by the older group show some disillusionment, disappointment over the past and present, and anxiety concerning the future. These anxieties are evident in the greater number of themes relating to *job*, *work*, and *school* (p. 92).

Today one would modify this statement somewhat. Anxiety and guilt were present in the younger adolescent, but they were not necessarily expressed as such in so many words. But on the whole the present study substantiates these trends revealed in the original study and shows that they tend to become more pronounced as young men and women go into the twenties.

COMPARISONS OF INDIVIDUAL STORIES

The most convincing demonstration of the way in which there is similarity or change in fantasy over a period of years is to reproduce pairs of stories told by the same individual 13 years apart. The stories themselves help to make more concrete and vivid the trends which are apparent when one scrutinizes the statistical tables of the study.

Subject 40, Story B-1, 1940. Boy just had fight with father. They live in factory district of town and he's like average boy—gets into a little mischief, and while father is no prize package, he's very strict and picks slightest occasion to beat son. Although boy is well able to defend himself it would never occur to him to defend self against father. Has severe argument with father, walks out in rage, father says never to come back and boy is determined not to. He soon cools off and comes back. Father more or less forgot argument. This keeps up, happens over and over again. Seems as if father and son can't get along. Boy finally gets job so he can shift for himself. Moves into place where he can live by self. He doesn't leave town. Still on fairly good terms with father but don't have much to do with each other, but many times son regrets he left. Often thinks of going back but always changes his mind after thinking it all out.

In 1953 this same picture was the stimulus for the following story:

Subject 40, Story B-1, 1953. In this one I get the impression of a young boy with a very angry expression on his face. He seems to be scowling at the whole house. There must have been an argument. He must have had a fight with someone at home and the expression is one of intense anger, I think, especially since his hands are clenched. When I said home I meant his home, not visiting somebody or anything. Probably just a family affair. The first impression I got of a home, not just a house. What the argument is about

I wouldn't guess. Whatever it was, it was something that was against his wishes, as if he wanted to do something very much that was forbidden. Apparently he lost out. He couldn't get away with it. Parental authority was final and in an angry, frustrated mood, he's running out of the house.

One will note the same anger, quarrel, argument with the father. In 1940 he said "father" quite openly in the story; in 1953 it is "a family affair" and "parental authority." In both stories he is leaving home in anger. Albert also tells the following story to card A-6 in 1940:

Subject 40, Story A-6, 1940. Boy has gone to party with mother's permission and is returning sort of late. Mother left light burning and something to eat in case he is hungry. She has gone to bed. But somehow she couldn't sleep and was just waiting to hear door open, and came down as soon as she heard him coming. Boy didn't like the idea of her waiting up. Thought he was old enough to take care of himself and he didn't see his mother's point of view. Thought she was babying and watching over him. He grew very angry. Mother was deeply hurt by his actions. That's all.

In 1953 this picture elicits the following story:

Subject 40, Story A-6, 1953. Number 6 seems to be the husband coming home at two o'clock in the morning with the night light on. Seems to be walking very stealthily so as not to wake anyone up. Looking at the apple on the table I imagine it is like a high school kid. His mother left an apple on the table to have before he went to bed, but the hat I don't associate with young boys and the stealthy approach he seems to be taking is that he was out a little later than he should have been and didn't want to wake up the people in the house, either the wife or the mother, and is trying to come in as quietly as possible.

Here the theme is the same except that in 1940 he tries to creep in late past his mother and in 1953 it is a husband creeping in without disturbing his wife. He himself makes the association with a boy and his mother in 1953. In 1953 he does not express his anger or the mother's "feeling hurt."

Or again Albert tells this story to picture B-5 in 1940:

Subject 40, Story B-5, 1940. Girl just received news from mother that father was killed in an auto accident. Girl had never really loved her father because he wasn't a success in life. But when she heard news of death she realized how much she did care for him. It was a great shock to her and changed the entire course of her life. She was forced to leave school to seek employment and grew very bitter, for she felt she was being deprived of the pleasure of youth. She married rather young but really didn't love her husband. Did it to give up job and have home life. Life turned out rather uneventful. Got along with husband fairly well but was always complaining.

This story told to the same picture in 1953 becomes:

Subject 40, Story B-5, 1953. There are two women talking and one of them looks startled, aghast at the news that she has just heard. She looks unbelievably at the horrible news that she has just heard. She just can't believe it. She holds her hand up and her mouth open and staring in disbelief. We're going to have a mother and daughter relationship because one's younger—her hardo—and the other's a little bit older. It's probably a personal family problem and the idea of death of the father. That's what she's

just been told by her mother. Something horrible has just happened to her father, something in the family. (Any idea what this could be?) Well, as I said, it's probably a death in the family. Some sad news of that nature anyway. First I thought there were two women of the same age talking, both married, but looking closer one takes on the appearance of a younger girl who is horrified and the other woman seems a little more mature, a little more solid in understanding. (Is it her mother?) Yeah, I would say it would be her mother. (To make the story complete, who died?) Well, I'm making it the father.

It is more than a coincidence that the death of the father is the theme in both stories, told 13 years apart. Indeed, the picture itself does not even portray a male figure. The idea of the father is completely determined by Albert. In 1940 Albert makes it a death in an auto accident. In 1953 it is called "horrible news" without specifying the nature of the accident.

It will be noted that in each of these three illustrations Albert becomes less detailed and specific in 1953; he is unable to spell things out with the same concreteness.

In the case of Dorothy (subject 30) the repetition of themes occurs, but in stories to *different* pictures. This is even more convincing evidence that there is a persistence of psychodynamic trends in an individual. In response to picture B-8, in 1940 Dorothy told the following story:

Subject 30, Story B-8, 1940. Mary and father live alone because mother is dead. She is to be married in a week. Asks father if he will miss her. Says she hates to leave him, wants him to come to live with her. Says he will be all right. Cares only about her happiness. They talk a while about old times when she was a little girl and about her mother. Gets late. Goes to bed. Feels relieved because she was worried about father.

In 1953, she told the following story to card B-7:

Subject 30, Story B-7, 1953. It's twenty-five after three and Mary Jane has just come home from school. Since her mother died, Mary Jane has taken care of the whole house and taken care of her father and kept everything nice for him and made his meal at night ever since she's been a young girl. After school most of her friends go out to the sweet shop and have sodas and refreshments and things, but Mary Jane knows that her father works nights and he'll have to get to work so she will have to get home to make his dinner for him. She would like to go now with her friends too, but she has a sense of responsibility to her father. Right now she's entering her house and she's going up the stairs, and it looks like the shadow of her father waiting for her to come home from school. She doesn't have any other brothers or sisters and her father is a very lonesome man. He sort of waits around all day even when he works nights. When he gets up he waits around for Mary Jane to come home so that they can talk a little while, and he gets a great kick out of her. I think that Mary Jane will always be a very considerate, conscientious daughter, and also when she grows up she will probably be a very conscientious wife. She thinks in her mind that if possible she will take her father in to live with her when she gets married and she'll take just as good care of him as she does now.

Here we have the theme of a girl whose mother is dead who feels that her father is lonesome. In both stories she plans to have her father come to live

with her after she is married. This is an excellent example of an oedipal theme persisting over the 13-year interval.

Although the persistence of themes pervades the fantasy material in this follow-up study, it seems easier to provide illustrations of the *shift* in thematic content and emphasis.

Ralph (subject 2) told the following story to picture B-6 in 1940:

Subject 2, Story B-6, 1940. Man is a train engineer. A bachelor. Drove train for twenty-five years. One day some crooks want to sell him insurance. Fifty per cent of pay. He refuses. They press tracks together. Train falls over hill. He wasn't hurt but he is bleeding bad. The boss fires him. He tries to explain it was an accident. Boss says, "O.K., but if it happens once more you're fired." Crooks come again. Still no insurance. Next time they fix wheels. Smash, many people are killed. Lady is injured but train does not fall. Engineer sits here worried about his job. Tells boss what happened. Boss puts cops in coal car. Crooks threaten. Crooks try to wreck train. They are arrested. Man keeps job in peace.

In 1953 he told the following story to this same picture:

Subject 2, Story B-6, 1953. All of these pictures seem to have a sad outlook. I don't know. (They're gloomy?) They *are* gloomy. My gosh! This picture reminds me of a fellow who's had a setback. Things haven't been going his way and he's sort of sitting down and moping over it, trying to find out what went wrong, what happened. Maybe his girl friend's left him or one of his friends walked out on him or something like that. He's sitting there thinking about it and he'll probably go on like this for a while and then he'll—He looks rather young. He probably feels it pretty much and he'll probably walk around like this for a while and then he'll suddenly forget it and he'll be happy-go-lucky like he should be. But right now he looks pretty depressed.

This is a typical shift to depression. In 1940 this 13-year-old boy told a story full of wild excitement with danger, threats, violence, accidents, but ending, "Man keeps job in peace." But in 1953 this 26-year-old man is impressed with the gloominess of the picture at the very beginning and ends by saying, "Right now he looks pretty depressed."

MATCHING STORIES

One way of estimating the stability of personality is to attempt to match the stories of subjects told 13 years apart.

The problem of matching or of identifying an individual apparently has not received attention from psychologists. One might ask how one recognizes a friend in a crowd or how one recognizes the burglar of the night before in the police lineup the next morning. This is done *most surely* by noting stigmata—unusual scars, blemishes, unusual features, etc.—that could be possessed by one person in a million. It is not possible to identify an individual by those characteristics which everyone possesses. The possession of a mouth, eyes, hair, a chin, ears is not sufficient for purposes of identification because these are features that are common to everyone.

In the usual case we recognize our friends not by stigmata, although such distinguishing characteristics make the recognition most certain, but by patterns of characteristics that deviate perhaps only slightly from the normal. We recognize one friend because he has red hair, a broad forehead and a sharp chin. That man is not the person whom we are seeking even though the hair is red and the forehead broad, because the chin is not sharp. Criminals know these facts and attempt to disguise themselves by shaving the mustache, growing a beard, dyeing the hair or even undergoing plastic surgery.

One identifies a person, in addition to the foregoing methods, by a more detailed examination of any given characteristic. A man's complexion may be smooth or rough, his hair may have a slight wave in it. The mouth, which may be like the mouth of hundreds of other men, may wear a habitual expression of contempt or the trace of a smile. In identifying our friends we become sensitive to these very fine differences.

One matches the stories of one person with another not only by noting how they are similar to each other, but at the same time noting how a given story is unlike the stories told to the same picture by other individuals. To return to the problem of identifying a friend, one would eliminate one person after another who does not have the same pattern of characteristics of the friend we are looking for. He is not my friend, because his nose is too big, or he has sandy hair, or because he wears a bow tie or rimless glasses. In other words, in comparing stories told to the same picture one can frequently find characteristics in stories that are quite unlikely to be those of the story with which one is trying to match.

The 1940 and 1953 Series B stories of six subjects taken at random (subjects 1, 9, 17, 22, 31, 39) were given to three assistants to be matched. For each subject there were ten stories (Series B) from the 1940 series stapled together, and the same ten stories from the 1953 series. The six sets of 1940 stories were shuffled and the same was done for the 1953 stories. Perfect matching was accomplished by one assistant. The other two assistants made one error in the matching, indicating that the total personality as shown by the stories retained very high individual identity.

One must conclude that there is a remarkable persistence in both the formal and thematic factors over the 13-year interval so that it is possible to identify the person's stories at the later date from stories that he told at the earlier date. This is to be put over against the experimental evidence, that stories change their thematic emphasis whenever the individual has a new experience such as becoming hungry, afraid or angry. Apparently these changes are made within limits for a given individual, and never stray very far from the individual's typical pattern. These findings ought to put to rest the popular notion that stories merely reflect some recent experience,

such as the television program one witnessed the night before, or that the themes shift with every change of mood.

CORRESPONDENCES BETWEEN ADOLESCENT FANTASY AND SUBSEQUENT EXPERIENCE AND PERSONALITY

One aim of the study was to compare adolescent fantasy with subsequent life experiences and personality. The complete report of the study discusses these correspondencies under five headings: *dependency*, *eroticism*, *aggression*, *self-striving* and *anxiety with its defenses*. Only an excerpt dealing with aggression can be included in this paper.

In *Adolescent Fantasy* it was reported that aggression was a universal characteristic of adolescence. It was also reported that in a number of cases the aggression that appeared in the stories did not have a counterpart in real life, and in a number of instances the subjects who told stories with the most aggression were themselves meek and mild individuals. It will be of interest, therefore, to find how the aggression as displayed in the stories revealed itself in later life.

In four of the subjects (2, 8, 9, and 11, all male) who told stories with much aggression it appears that aggressiveness is one of their characteristics in later life. Ralph (subject 2) apparently directed his aggressiveness into hard work and the struggle to succeed. Roger (subject 8) showed sibling rivalry and hostility toward mother figures (B-4 and B-6) in adolescent fantasy. Roger's aggressiveness in real life appears in sporadic outbursts. His hostile impulses get out of hand "especially at salesmen who try to be engineers and go over his head in making decisions." He has a severe temper, is highly competitive with other men and has a fear of failure and a sense of inferiority. Sam (subject 9) also transferred his adolescent fantasy aggressiveness into energetic ambition and determination to succeed in his work. Aggressiveness is a problem with which he has to contend. Most of the time he can keep himself under firm control, but occasionally when he gets pushed too far he will "really blow his top." Karl (subject 11) with less ego control gets angry more easily under slight provocation.

In six of the subjects—12, 13, 14, 21, 24, and 29—the adolescent fantasy depicted strong hostility toward mother figures. It is undoubtedly more than a coincidence that these were all girls. In the case of three (subjects 13, 14 and 29), marriage was over the vehement protest of the mother. Laura (subject 13), although described as "sweet," overly polite, prim and submissive, married a Catholic in spite of her mother's energetic protests. The mother will have nothing to do with Laura's husband and has all but disowned Laura herself. She claims that this was the first time she ever felt like defying her mother. Previously she had always done whatever her mother wanted and she seemed never to have any desires of her own. The mother

said, "I will give you three days to decide whether you love me or———
[her future husband] more."

Viola (subject 14) reacted in a similar fashion to a dominating mother. She eloped with a man and lived for a while in California. When she returned East her mother "came and took her home" and forced her to separate from her husband. But she again "eloped" with her husband, this time to live in Chicago, where her two children were born. In her adolescent stories there are themes of rebellion against mother figures. In one story the heroine marries and the aunt that opposed the marriage dies, foreshadowing the actual events that later took place in Viola's life.

Pansy (subject 29), reared a Protestant, has married twice—the first time a Catholic, and the second time a Negro who was also a devout Catholic. As a result of these marriages her parents have completely disowned her and she is out of communication with them. Her adolescent stories depict mother figures as scolding, domineering and critical, and one story (A-10) fantasizes her desire and intention to become independent of her parents. Although she tends to be masochistic as a person, her marriages reveal in dramatic fashion her desire to be independent of her parents and to hurt them in so doing.

In the case of the other three (subjects 12, 21 and 24), mother hostility expresses itself differently. Catherine (subject 12) as an adolescent girl was unable to express any hostility toward her parents—"They are the best parents in the world." It was not until she had undergone psychotherapy that she became able to criticize her mother and to say, "There is not one thing I like her for." However, this hostility was expressed in her adolescent stories when she depicted mother figures as bad and punitive. These themes in the adolescent stories were quite mystifying as they corresponded to nothing in the girl herself. The meaning of the adolescent fantasy was not revealed until years later through psychotherapy.

Margaret, too (subject 24), was unable to express hostility to her mother in real life—neither as a girl nor at present as a woman. However, her adolescent fantasies contained oedipal themes with competition and struggle with a mother figure. In the case of Margaret this hostility has expressed itself openly in her attitude toward her mother-in-law. Everywhere the feelings are reversed projectively and she accuses her mother-in-law of being bitter about the marriage and causing her (Margaret) a great deal of heartache.

In the case of Natalie (subject 21), the hostility clearly expressed in adolescent fantasy (story B-4) takes another form in real life. Natalie is somewhat depressed, is unable to yield to pleasure and complains that life is dull, tiresome, boring, and she impressed the interviewer as being dull and colorless.

This illustrates very well the point that any dynamic trend may have any of a number of vicissitudes. This makes it difficult if not impossible to predict

from fantasy material alone. These cases also seem to indicate that the direction of hostility adopted in adolescence persists into adult life. But in the case of the marriages, there were instances where the instigation piled up and eventually hostility broke through into active expression which had not been possible before.

In two of the subjects dominance by the mother still persists. Celia (subject 28) describes a dominating mother figure in her 1940 stories (B-1). Celia is still unmarried and lives at home, apparently quite satisfied to continue the relationship in which her mother has a ruling hand.

Sam (subject 9), who told stories including mother figures who were controlling and dominating, now describes his wife in these same terms, "A very nice girl, very attractive and very strong willed."

In two of the cases—a girl and a boy, subjects 22 and 40—the hostility is directed toward the father in fantasy. Mabel (subject 22) told a story about a boy who becomes angry when he is told by his father that he cannot go out. In real life Mabel gets angry when her husband complains that she spends too much for a dress or a hat, or something like that. In other words, the fantasied feelings of hostility toward fathers in adolescence are now directed toward her husband in reality in later years.

Albert (subject 40) is an excellent example of hostility expressed in fantasy toward father figures in adolescence being expressed toward bosses in actuality in later life. In all, Albert has had ten different jobs since leaving school, and in most of them he left after a few months following a quarrel or disagreement with the boss. Here father hostility was worked out in real life. Albert is now in psychoanalysis and there is an indication that his father hostility may be modified, which may result in a change in his attitude toward work. "He claims that he is always fighting with his analyst and always trying to bring the analyst down to the level of himself." Incidentally, Albert is critical of Eisenhower and MacArthur.

Aggression also shows itself in sibling rivalry. Sibling rivalry is prominent in the stories of Edith (subject 17, A-5 and A-8). In her case this rivalry shows itself in real life most clearly by a reaction formation of a feeling of altruism and responsibility for the members of her family. She spoke in the interviews affectionately and admiringly of her sisters and her mother and father. In her adolescence she fantasies death to a member of her family (B-5). The death of her infant son was a tragic event in her life. There is a possibility that it is an acting out of the sibling hostility of old which is all but stifled in her actual relations to her own family.

Stella is another subject who reacted to sibling rivalry by reaction formation. Both in actual life and in fantasy as an adolescent, Stella (subject 19) displayed sibling rivalry (story A-8). When a child, Stella associated with an older set and resented having her younger sister go places with her. But in

later years she attended college with her younger sister, and they had a double wedding, indicating that there was warm, positive feeling underlying the hostility and competition.

Celia (subject 28) tells a story (A-9) of a chambermaid who is envious and wishes "she could meet someone she could marry who would give her the things she wants." Celia has two sisters who have married. She stated in the interview that "she has always admired her sister greatly and wishes she could be more like her." But about her other sister she says, "After seeing what happened to her sister who became divorced, she claims that she is going to think twice before she marries." On the other hand, she wonders at times if something is lacking in her that she isn't married since all of her girl friends are married.

To summarize this section on aggression, the expression of aggression has many vicissitudes. In the case of some of the boys, aggression in the stories obviously expressed itself in later life through hard work, striving and efforts to get ahead. It may appear in an aggressive personality, or be acted out only sporadically in an otherwise passive person.

There was hostility toward the mother in adolescent fantasy in six of the girls. In three of these the girl was described as quiet, demure, submissive, but rebellion showed itself in marriage against the mother's wishes. But in other instances the girl expressed hostility differently, one by direct verbal expression after psychotherapy, one by displacement to a mother-in-law, and one by a more masochistic type of adjustment.

There is also father hostility in adolescent fantasy. In both instances aggressiveness is later displaced in real life, in the case of a woman onto her husband, and in the case of a man onto his bosses.

Sibling rivalry was frequently expressed in fantasy but there was reaction formation against it in real life. But in any case repressed hostility may arouse guilt which finds expression in sundry ways.

SUMMARY

There is a strong tendency for fantasy to persist over a 13-year interval. Both in the group as a whole and in individuals fantasy themes tend to maintain the same relative frequency of occurrence. Shifts in fantasy do occur but they tend to be small in amount. In general, changes in fantasy take place as a result of changes in living such as leaving home for college, work or military service and in particular, for marriage.

Evidence has been presented to indicate that adolescent fantasy which has no counterpart in overt adolescent personality may find expression in later life in overt behavior and attitudes. But because a given fantasy may have so many possible vicissitudes in actual expression it is impossible to predict the precise form that its expression will take.