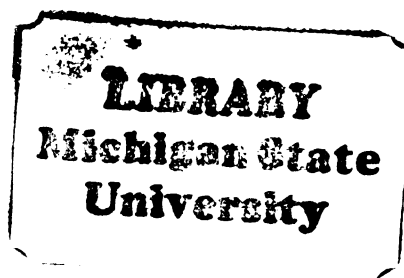




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EARLY MEMORIES AND PERSONALITY

By

Wendy June Sabbath

A THESIS

Submitted to  
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ABSTRACT  
EARLY MEMORIES AND PERSONALITY

By  
Wendy June Sabbath

Individuals' memories of childhood have been theorized to be the construction of ego processes, revealing both character formation and level of object representation. Two hypotheses were investigated: first, that a relationship exists between early memories and personality functioning, and second, that oral and written reports were equally effective in reflecting such factors. Twenty-four students had Rorschachs administered, completed the Jackson Personality Inventory, and presented both oral and written early memories in a counterbalanced design. Eight of twenty-one exploratory predictions of correlations between memories and personality variables were found to be significant ( $P < .05$ ). The oral method of obtaining early memories was found to be more sensitive as it elicited memories which were psychologically richer than those obtained in the written format.

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## INTRODUCTION

"So history might be fantasy of memory, rather than memory of fantasy"  
Neu, 1973, p.392.

The concept that there exists an interaction between memory and personality factors has a long and rich history in psychology. McAdams (1982) considered this concept to be "common psychological lore" (p. 292). Kihlstrom and Harackiewicz (1982) united this general concept of memory/personality interaction to the specific case of adults' memories of early childhood, urging renewed investigation into thematic continuities between current personality and memories of the past.

Interest in early memories (EMs) as an object of study predates the establishment of the major theoretical schools which were later to offer hypothetical explanations for them. In 1900, Titchener's note in the American Journal of Psychology (Dudycha & Dudycha, 1941) encouraged psychologists to carefully consider the applicability of early memories to genetic formulations of psychology, as based on the previous work by Hall (1899). Contributions to the understanding of EMs also came from the area of experimental psychology. McAdams (1982) cited Bartlett's (1932) statement that attitude, including motives, emotions and interest patterns, was an important factor guiding reconstructions of past experiences. Dudycha and Dudycha's review of the literature to date on EMs concluded that further research was sorely needed on the relationship between EMs and personality, and particularly in

experimental work from a psychoanalytic perspective. Purcell (1952) suggested work along the lines of Murray (1938) in order to explicitly delineate the relationships between qualitative and quantitative memory features and personality. Weiland and Steisal (1958) discussed the fact that the EMs elicited in the course of their study uniformly dated back to a time roughly corresponding to the Oedipal period. They suggested that, by stressing the importance of this time, these results supported psychoanalytic theories of the importance of these years for personality development, and also confirmed the appropriateness of assigning psychodynamic meaning to individuals' EMs. In another experimental study, Langs (1965b) simply stated that research to date had conclusively demonstrated that EMs were predictive of both personality and reaction to stress, and were consonant with psychological assessment and clinical psychiatric evaluation.

Although a number of studies have speculated as to the theoretical intraphysic or interpersonal factors involved in the EMs produced by a given individual, the majority provided no quantifiable basis for these considerations. In a frequently cited 1956 paper, Saul, Snyder, and Sheppard asserted that EMs were absolutely distinctive for each individual, clearly revealing the individual's most salient motivations, form of neurosis, dynamic processes, and emotional problems, but gave no empirical support for these statements. Waldfogel (1948) concluded that there seemed to be factors beyond repression which determined both extent and content of EMs, but failed to specify these factors.

Bruhn and Last (1982) summarized the literature on the etiology and function of EMs, classifying these studies as generally falling into one of four general categories: (a) Freudian; (b) Adlerian; (c) ego psychology; and (d) memory theory perspective.

Historically, the Freudian orientation to EMs predates the other interpretations and is generally considered to have its roots in his 1899 paper on screen memories. Screen memories were hypothesized to be the result of compromises between unconscious wishes and defenses against these wishes, resulting in a memory which reflects both wish and defenses. Through the process of repression, as well as condensation and displacement, conflictual thoughts and feelings were hypothesized to be shifted conscious representation into the form of screen memories. Bruhn and Last cite Anna Freud (1951), Kennedy (1971), and Kris (1956) as maintaining that the early memories might be largely the product of the process of condensation, with perhaps an entire developmental period expressed in a single memory. On the whole, the Freudian approach tended toward considering the EM to be an example of manifest content that concealed the latent content of the memory's actual significance. Although the EM was seen as psychodynamically important and useful, its real role was as a topic for analytic interpretation.

Alfred Adler (1937) considered the discovery of the significance of early recollections, his term for early memories, to be one of individual psychology's most important contributions. Early recollections were believed to illuminate the origins of the individual's life style, those basic attitudes which have continued to guide his or her life up to the present day. The first article on early recollections from this perspective was written by Schrecker (1913/1973) in which he likened the recollection to a psychological construction, quoting Ernest Renan, "What one says about oneself is always poetry". The meaning of this construction was to indicate that the individual attributes to the memory a particular importance in his development.

Eisenstein and Ryerson (1951) hypothesized that early recollections reveal much of what the individual was unaware, as a condensed statement or highly determined construction of the individual's inner orientation. They also suggested that these recollections might contain the earliest and clearest derivations of infantile conflicts. Brodsky (1952) added that the individual reveals in early recollections his or her true concept of the environment and particularly of human relationships. Brodsky's view that "the fact that he has selected a particular recollection as real proves that, for some reason it must have impressed itself upon his mind" (p. 484) is a statement about EMs which remains equally valid of the interpreter's preferred conceptual framework.

Purcell (1952) described Adler's approach as stressing memory's adaptive and selective functions, wherein those memories are recalled which are in accord with current attitudes, tendencies, or frames of reference. Ansbacher's (1953) rejoinder to Purcell illuminated one reason why the Freudian and Adlerian approaches to early memories have differed. Ansbacher explained that Adler failed to recognize an essential theoretical discrepancy between either dream or waking thoughts, forgotten or remembered incidents, or even the very earliest - as opposed to later - recollections. Ansbacher maintained that Adler felt the primary advantage of earliest recollections to be that they were both much clearer and more descriptive than later recollections, but were otherwise similar.

The discrepancy between Freudian and Adlerian views is generally summarized by stating that whereas the Freudian approach regards early memories as concealing relevant material about the personality and as

a springboard for free association, Adlerians consider such memories to reveal the salient characteristics of the individual. While the Freudian paradigm considers EMs to be another interesting piece of clinical data, the Adlerian approach considers EMs to be of particular importance. Verger and Camp (1970) described the progression of early memory theory between these schools, with Freud having laid the foundation by emphasizing the selective nature of memory. Adler was seen as having elaborated the means in which this selective process both reinforced and reflected the individual's present attitudes.

Perhaps due to the special relevance of EMs to individual psychology, a high proportion of the older literature reflects that perspective. More recently, there appears to have been a shift toward a growing interest in conceptualizing EMs from what Bruhn and Last (1982) termed an "ego psychology" view. This format has served to synthesize many of the Freudian and Adlerian concepts. The ego psychology approach has considered EMs to be vehicles for the expression of drives, impulses, fantasies, and conflicts. In this system, the EM has been thought to be indicative of the individual's ability and characteristic style of handling the conflicts which give rise to the manifest content of the memory. As Langs (1965a) explained:

The earliest memory is a compromise similar to a symptom. It therefore, speaking structurally, reflects contributions from id, ego, and superego; speaking dynamically, it is a compromise between drive and defense...the manifest content is a derivative of the latent content, not an unrelated mask...there remains for exploration a highly condensed precipitate which extensively reflects personality at all levels of organization. (p. 390)

One early representative of this perspective was Kahana, Weiland, Snyder, and Rosenbaum's (1953) article in which they attributed EMs

with the capacity to reflect patients' principle unconscious conflicts, traumatic childhood experiences, predominant ego defenses, and transference trends in psychotherapy. Kris (1956a) described the autobiographical self-image as being heir to, and preserving, significant early fantasies. Kris explained the relationship between present memory and past experience as both dynamic and telescopic, "Not only does the present experience rest on the past, but the present supplies the initiative for the viewing of the past; the present selects, colors, and modifies" (Kris, 1956b, p. 56). McAdams (1982) came to a similar conclusion from a different perspective, surmising that "most probably, there exists a dialectic between the two in which the motive shapes and is shaped by behavior, experience, and the reconstruction of past behavior and experience" (p. 300). Murray (1938) had detailed the means by which the interaction between present experience and reconstruction of the past takes place.

Repetitions and consistencies are due in part to the fact that impression of situations leave enduring 'traces' on the organism, which may be reactivated by the appearance of situations that resemble them; and because of the connections of these evoked traces with particular reaction systems, the organism is apt to respond to new situations as it did to former ones. Some of the past is always alive in the present...The experiences of early life not only constitute in themselves a significant temporal segment of the creature's history, but they may exercise a marked effect upon the course of development. In some measure they explain succeeding events ('the child is father to the man'). (p. 43-44)

In a footnote, Kris (1956a) attributed the origin of these ideas to Freud (1899, 1901), and traced their development through Fenichel (1927), Glover (1929), Katan (1939), Reider (1953), and Greenacre (1949). More recent empirical studies (Langs, Rothenberg, Fishman, and Reiser, 1960) have described EMs as "highly selected, precisely constructed,

overdetermined dynamic mental productions" (p. 525) reflecting ego adaptive and defensive operations. Levy and Grigg (1962) considered EMs to be the "product of preconscious ego processes, manifesting the synthetic function of the ego in its attempts to weave underlying emotional states pushing for an expression into an early recollection" (p. 58). Langs (1965b) further specified EMs to be highly condensed precipitates of the total personality, including facets of character formation and function, nuclear conflicts, and the individual's attempts to deal with these conflicts. In speaking of the relationship between early memories and character structure, Mayman (1968) described EMs as potentially providing information on defenses and adaptations made by the ego in attempts to cope with internal and external demands.

A contribution of the two psychology perspective has been to underscore the importance of fantasy in the construction of mental life, and particularly in the case of EMs. The specific ways in which fantasy and reality aspects intertwine in the creation of mental productions such as EMs creates an interesting theoretical problem, often resulting in confusion as to the precise relationship between actual events, individual perception, and memories. Discussing this relationship, Neu (1973) speculated that actual childhood events may be of special importance because although reconstruction through fantasy alone occurs, it was unlikely that these particular fantasies would have been constructed without any such experiences. Sachs (1967) has also been concerned with what he considered an overconcern with fantasy in determining etiological significance of memories presented in psychoanalysis, warning that in actual therapeutic work it is often necessary to distinguish between traumatic events and similar

unconscious fantasies. Arlow (1969) amended Freud's 1899 statement on screen memories to read that "the recognition of how the ego operates in the service of defense tends to diminish the distinction between memory and fantasy" (p. 38), quoting Freud's statement:

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 only as they were but as they appeared at the later periods when the memories were aroused. In those periods of arousal... memories did not...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 the memories themselves. (Arlow, 1969, p. 39)

Arlow concluded:

What we think was real, or what we think really happened, is a combination or intermingling of fantasy with perception of reality. When memory and perception offer material which is in consonance with fantasy thinking, the data are selectively recalled and used as material to serve as a vehicle for the unconscious fantasy...the fantasy contains the kernel of what really happened at the very moment of experience a complex intermingling of perception and fantasy. This complex intermingling is what 'really' happened as far as the individual is concerned. (p. 39)

A recent study offers some quantitative support for the relative contribution of current fantasy to actual events in the construction of EMs. Finlay-Jones, Scott, Duncan-Jones, Byrne, and Henderson (1981) included questions about separations experienced early in life in their survey of 244 Australian subjects, attempting to assess the reliability of such reports. Reliability was measured by the subject reporting the separation similarly both on initial testing and on a follow-up survey eight months later. Only the death of a parent or breakup of the parents' marriage were actual childhood events reported



with high reliability. This leads to the conclusion that EMs concerned with other childhood events are at least partly the construction of fantasy around an actual occurrence.

The experimental contributions to early memory theory have also stressed the constructive, rather than reproductive or eidetic, aspects of memory. Referring to Bartlett's (1932) concept of schemata, Bruhn and Last (1982) restated his view that memory consists of schemata and attitudes about the world rather than simple images of it. Kihlstrom and Harackiewicz (1982) reported another attempt to integrate Bartlett's work with early memory theory. Describing Schachtel's (1947) study as an "eclectic combination of Freud and Bartlett" (p. 135), they restated his conclusion that EMs were encoded in terms of pre-Oedipal schemata, incompatible with that used by adults.

Whitten and Leonard (1981) mentioned that the bulk of non-clinical studies of autobiographical memory date from 1970 or later. They reported five studies using an associative technique in which subjects were asked to respond with the first memory that came to mind. Findings included the expected recency effects (a greater number of reports from more recent time periods), checkmark-shaped functions of recencies of recalled events for persons aged 53-102, and that affect stimulus words elicited a greater number of recent memories, but these were reported more slowly than object or activity stimulus words.

As adherents of Freudian, Adlerian, and ego psychology approaches all maintain that EMs have significant links to personality, albeit in different ways, many studies have attempted to delineate these linkages. From the standpoint of both Adlerians and ego psychology theorists, current life style, defenses, and character structure is

expected to be illustrated in the early memories produced by a given individual. Causality is a tricky issue: i.e., whether because a particular personality feature is correlated with an early memory feature, one may therefore conclude that the events of the memory caused the personality to develop in a particular way. As the preceding discussion of theory suggests, all perspectives concur that current personality processes may significantly distort recollections of the past and no causal determinations of that sort may be made. Correlational analysis, however, seems to be valid, and may allow for predictions of personality features based on EM content (Langs, 1965a).

One of the first studies to investigate relationships between personality and EMs was carried out by Crook and Hardin (1931). To test the hypothesis that repression of childhood memories was associated with neuroticism, Pressey X-0 scores were correlated with the total number of EMs reported. Results were contrary to their hypothesis, with neuroticism being significantly ( $p < .01$ ) correlated with total number of memories prior to age six. Dudycha and Dudycha (1933) found sex differences in the affective content of EMs reported by college students. Women remembered joyful and angering experiences far more often than men, who in turn remembered fearful experiences far more frequently than women. In addition, shame and guilt appeared three times as frequently in women's reports as in those of men.

Pattie and Cornett (1951) examined environmental variables in boys' EMs, again finding that current influences on the subjects' lives were reflected in the EMs reported. Subjects in the two poverty, neglect, and violence environments reported twice as many

memories falling into the unpleasant category as those in the more favorable environment. Purcell's (1952) study, one of the first to begin detailing relationships between personality and memory functions, demonstrated a relationship between security feelings as measured by the Maslow Security-Insecurity Test and affective characteristics of memories. He also indicated that childhood memories were formed by the same kinds of omissions and distortions as adult memories. Karon (1952) investigated the relationship between early memories and two personality measures: psychological masculinity and femininity on the Gough scale, and values as indicated on the Allport-Vernon-Lindzey Study of Values. Eight significant relationships were found between EMs and the personality measures. Idiographic predictions based on EMs were found to be more valid than nomothetic predictions based on the memories.

Chance (1957) studied the relationship between EMs and Welsh A and R MMPI scores. She found subjects reporting EMs including pleasant affect to have R (denial and repression) scores higher than their A (maladjustment, anxiety, and dysphoria) scores ( $p < .01$ ), with the converse true of unpleasant EM reporters. Grigg (1960) analyzed the autobiographies and adjective checklists of two males, finding that EMs were significantly ( $p = .025$ ) better predictors of current self-impressions than the subjects' narratives of their present lives.

An exhaustive study by Langs (1965a) compared 60 EM variables to 76 personality variables drawn from a clinical interview, Rorschach, TAT, and Weschler-Bellevue, concluding that a significant ( $p < .05$ ) relationship between personality and EMs had been clearly established. Levy (1965) compared "modes", characteristic means of coping with

emotional situations described in EMs, with Rorschach, TAT, and DAP data on 40 psychiatric patients. He found characteristic coping mechanisms to be depicted similarly throughout both EMs and projective tests, and concluded that these modes might be viewed as secondary and tertiary sets of defenses. Tolor and Fazzone (1966), following Levy's concept of modes of ego adaptation, attempted to determine the relationship between each of these types of memories and college academic achievement, which they termed as assessment of ego functioning. Not surprisingly, neither the ego nor the affect factors of memory mode were correlated with grade-point average. Warren (1976) correlated EMs and scores on his Self-Activity Inventory, which measured neurotic tendencies on dimensions of obsessive-compulsiveness, hysteria, paranoia, and impulsiveness. All four personality profiles correlated with EMs at the  $p < .001$  level.

A doctoral dissertation by Alexander (1976) found differences in EM correlations with the Mini-Mult, a short form of the MMPI, between a nontherapy and a psychotherapy-receiving population. The groups failed to differ on EM variables, but the therapy group yielded only one ( $p < .05$ ) correlation, while the nontherapy group yielded 17 significant correlations (14 at  $p < .05$  and three at  $p < .01$ ). Altman and Rule (1980) found five scores of social interest derived from EMs to correlate at the  $p < .05$  level with their measure of empathy. Barrett (1980) found EM ratings of anxiety and locus of control to correlate at the  $p < .01$  level with the Manifest Anxiety Scale and Adult Norwiki-Strickland Internal-External Scales respectively for all subjects, and that an EM-based need for approval correlated

significantly ( $p < .05$ ) with Marlowe-Crowne Social Desirability Scale ratings for males along.

Most recently, Bruhn and Schiffman (1982) found a strong connection ( $p < .0005$ ) between EM prediction and Rotter internal v. external locus of control stance. Rule and Traver (1982) found subjects with positive-active EMs to both rate higher on a social interest scale ( $p < .001$ ) and select more activities related to ego recognition ( $p < .05$ ). Kihlstrom and Harackiewicz (1982) found four significant ( $p < .05$ ) correlations between EM content categories and scores on Jackson's PRF. Finally, Bruhn's (1981) study established that even in children, EMs seem to be a statement of major intra- and inter-personal dynamics which become more clinically useful as the child gains in cognitive complexity and is better able to communicate ideas.

Further evidence that EMs relate to qualitative aspects of personality is afforded by studies investigating the relationship between intelligence and EMs. The correlations are not significant, except in the case where thematic material from EMs is used to predict those persons who, regardless of native intelligence, experience more difficulties in learning. Dudycha and Dudycha (1933) had suggested that intellectual ability may limit the range of experience an individual is capable of having, which would then be reflected in their early memories. In fact, however, their study obtained a correlation coefficient of  $-.02$  between ability to recall EMs and intelligence. As mentioned above, Tolor and Fazzone (1966) also found no relationship between types of EMs and SAT scores or grade point average. Wagenheim (1960), however, found significant ( $p < .01$ ) differences in the frequency of accidents and aggression

reported in EMs between better and poorer readers in fifth and sixth grade boys. While for girls these memories were distributed equally among all quartiles in both intelligence and reading achievement, EMs of those boys in the lowest quartile for either accounted for 66% of all accident or aggression memories. Of the 17 accident memories among the lowest quartile boys on reading, 12 represented accidents occurring to the self without an identified aggressor, possibly reflecting the boys' feelings about themselves and their difficulties.

As EMS have been theorized to be formed through intrapsychic processes such as repression, condensation, and displacement, and have been found to relate to underlying levels of personality, they have often been compared to dreams in both process and function. Both Kahana et al. (1953) and Saul et al. (1956), referring to Rapaport's (1942) statements that the mechanisms of forgetting were identical to that encountered in dream work, suggested that EMs could theoretically be interpreted like dreams. Pointing out that ego control is stronger in EMs than dreams due to their production in a conscious state, Kahana et al. concluded that perhaps EMs revealed slightly different material than did dreams. Saul et al. expanded on this statement to say that the very significance of EMs was that, like dreams, they are formed, selected, and distorted, by the "major motivational forces of the personality" (pp. 229-230) to express the individual's "nuclear emotional constellation" (p. 230). EMs were hypothesized to be less influenced by daily effects than dreams, and so to express more purely the characteristic qualities of the individual's personality. Binder and Smokler (1980) concurred that EMs were like dreams in that they were also derivatives of unconscious

conflicts. Barrett (1980) mentioned that Adler, too, found EMs to be less affected by present events, and hence more useful, than dreams.

Following the evidence for EMs to be expressions of personality and psychodynamics, there have been several published accounts of their use in psychotherapy. Kahana et al. (1953) found EMs useful during the diagnostic phase in beginning a psychodynamic formulation of the individual, particularly in terms of unconscious conflicts, childhood traumas, defenses against anxiety, and transference reactions. Pfeffer (1980) found memories of early positive experiences to have significance for the effectiveness of interpretations in resolving conflicts. He suggested that patients' acceptance of transference interpretations was facilitated by such memories, which both resonated with and were re-experienced in the transference. Pfeffer also related an example of the use of a hostile memory to serve the purpose of separation, again in regard to a situation acted out in the transference. In an approach to Adlerian therapy, Papanek (1972) described how she used EMs in psychotherapy to focus on the patient's issues, misconceptions, and world view, and considered them to indicate the patient's past movements toward self-assessed goals as well as what obstacles had been encountered in the process. Mosak (1965) wrote that use of EMs in psychotherapy was particularly relevant for Adlerians, since he felt that what were frequently termed transference attitudes were no more than expressions of the patient's life style, well established as being revealed in EMs. In another investigation from an Adlerian perspective, Grant (1976) concluded that therapists' conceptualizations of psychotherapy patients' views of self, others and life converged with EM content.

In a psychodynamically oriented brief psychotherapy model, Binder and Smokler (1980) found EMs particularly useful in illustrating the ways in which affective themes could distort present interpersonal relationships and the transference on predictable ways. EMs were elicited during history-taking and utilized to define a diagnostic picture of capacity for and psychosexual level of object relationships likely to be encountered in psychotherapy. Levy (1965; Levy & Grigg, 1962) used EMs similarly, primarily as an avenue for understanding of the patient and his or her presenting complaints. Crandall (1971) used EMS in conjoint marital therapy to illustrate regressive elements and patterns of conflicts in marriages, as well as to demonstrate continuity between past and present experiences. Barrett (1980) also reviewed three additional studies which suggested that EMs could be of further usefulness in vocational and school guidance counseling situations.

In the same article, Barrett cited six studies demonstrating the efficacy of EMs as a diagnostic tool. As diagnosis and assessment have commonly been considered vital to therapy, demonstrating the usefulness of EMs in these stages has been considered a persuasive argument for their further study and usage. The studies Barrett described had attempted to find EM differences between patients falling into the following diagnostic categories: (a) neurosis and psychosis; (b) psychosomatic disorders, anxiety hysteria, conversion hysteria, depression, homosexuality, schizoid disorder, and schizophrenia; (c) anxiety reaction, depression, obsessive-compulsive, and psychosomatic disorders; (d) schizophrenia and psychotic depression; (e) psychoneurosis and adjustment reaction in children; and



(f) male homosexuality. Clifford and Brantley (1977) investigated normal adolescents and those with physical anomalies, finding four factors in impaired adolescents' recollections of parental reactions to their birth. These factors both correlated positively with self-concept and were significantly lower ( $p < .05$ ) in adolescents with congenital anomalies than in those with acquired or no impairment. As it is generally accepted that actual memories of one's birth are impossible, these recollections may be understood as fantasies about, and descriptions of, these adolescents' relationships with their parents. Frank and Paris (1981) found differences between groups of controls, neurotics, personality disorders, and borderlines on early recollections of parental approval, disinterest and criticism. Most strikingly, fathers of borderline patients were recalled as having been significantly less approving and more disinterested than fathers of patients in either of the other groups. Langs et al. (1960) offered characteristics of the EMs of hospitalized persons with severe hysterical character disorder and women with paranoid schizophrenic reactions.

Hafner, Fakouri, Ollendick, and Corotto (1979) reported results consistent with those of Langs et al. (1960), finding that normals reported significantly ( $p < .05$ ) more illness, injury and attention-getting themes in EMs than paranoid schizophrenics. Among subclassifications of schizophrenics, Hafner, Corotto, and Fakouri (1980) found significant ( $p < .05$ ) differences between EM themes, but not characters, details or affect. Monahan (1983) described significant differences in EMs between hospitalized children who had threatened suicide, those who had actually made suicide attempts, and controls.

Attempters more often offered EMs of interactions with others, and threateners reported more memories of care from fathers. Martin (1959) reported three cases of patients fear psychotic loss of self-control and whose earliest memories concerned being frightened while being held over water by the father while the mother was rebuking him. Lieberman (1957) discovered more memories of sex and punishment in female psychotics, but more memories of food, play, and illness in nonpsychotic female patients. Barrett (1981) described EMs of three anorexics (two females and one male) which all included depiction of a malevolent mother, feelings of inferiority, frustration of autonomy, and negative attitudes toward food or weight.

Another application of EMs has been in their use as a projective technique. Adler's solicitation of EMs was one of the first applications of projective techniques, using Murray's (1938) definition. Rabin (1981) established three essential criteria for a projective technique, each of which is a function of EMs: the nature of the stimulus is characterized by ambiguity and not overly limited to conventional form; the response itself involves quantity, variety, and richness with little awareness of the purpose to which the material may be put; and the examiner attributes to the responses a multi-dimensionality necessary for analysis. Verger and Camp (1970) pointed out that EMs were unique among projective techniques in being completely unstructured, concurring with Mosak (1958) who likened EMs to free drawings and fingerpainting in regards to stimulus value. Reviewing the literature, Taylor (1975) concluded that EMs might serve as a "quick and dirty" method of obtaining the kind of information usually available only through a comprehensive projective test battery.

Both Lieberman (1957) and Mayman and Faris (1960) found EMs to be clinically related to information revealed on a standard battery of projective tests. Lieberman found content similarities between EMs and information gleaned from the Weschler-Bellevue, Rorschach, Bender-Gestalt, and House-Tree-Person drawings. Mayman and Faris found confirmation for hypotheses raised by EM analysis in the patient's Sentence Completion Test, Rorschach, and Thematic Apperception Test (TAT) results. Correlating EMs with the Picture Arrangement Test (PAT) McCarter, Tomkins, and Schiffman (1961) found EMs to significantly predict seven PAT scales having two factors in common: degree of activity and social interest. An investigation by McAdams (1982) revealed highly significant correlations between TAT motive scores for intimacy and power and levels of intimacy and power content in autobiographical memories in two studies. Harder (1979) constructed scales to measure ambitious-narcissistic characteristic character style on the Rorschach, the TAT, and in EMs. While the tests intercorrelated well and significantly differentiated ( $p < .005$ ) target from nontarget subjects, each test was seen to tap a particular configuration of the elements of this character style.

Several studies have suggested similarities between material elicited in EMs and on the Rorschach. Bolgar (1954) compared the Rorschach to a dream, concluding that there was demonstrable consistency between the two in the distribution and symbolic expression of affect. She stressed, however, that the variability and range of affect in well-integrated individuals made prediction difficult. The similarities between EMs and dreams have been discussed. If Rorschach material is then seen as also being similar to dream material, it

suggests that there are parallels between Rorschachs and EMs. A study that partially addressed this point was carried out by Langs (1965b), who found similarities between the Rorschach and EMs when both were administered as part of a projective test battery, as these measures discriminated between women in four diagnostic categories of neuroses.

In 1974, Krohn and Mayman wrote that the previous ten years had witnessed the beginnings of integration of traditional projective test psychology with the psychoanalytic study of object relations. Mayman had earlier proposed (1968) that "A person's adult character structure is organized around object-relational themes which intrude projectively into the structure and content of his early memories, just as they occur repetitively in his relations with significant persons in his life" (p. 304). He felt that EMs should optimally be treated "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" (p. 316). Following this line of thought, Krohn and Mayman suggested that level of object representation was "a valid, internally consistent, enduring dimension of the ego and should, therefore, emerge across a diverse set of the ego's productions" (p. 448). They consequently correlated object representation scores for dreams, Rorschachs, and EMs, and found high intercorrelations which were interpreted as providing validation support for this operationalization of the concept of object representations and also as supporting the theory that EMs can be considered a projective technique, revealing layers of personality structure. These scores also correlated significantly ( $p < .05$ ) with therapist-supervisor

judgment of psychotherapy patients' level of object representation. A key finding of this study was that EMs could be interpreted to reflect more about fundamental levels of object representations than general level of psychopathology.

Levy and Grigg (1962) had also concluded that thematic-configurational analysis of EMs yielded indications of the individual's level of object relations and that these indications corresponded with therapists' formulations. The potency of these internal object representations has also been indicated by demonstrating their effect on present-day relationships. Rosen (1963) examined the relationships of child-care workers to children in a residential treatment center for emotionally disturbed children. She found that strong positive or negative feelings toward a particular child were clearly associated with that worker's perception of the child as being similar or dissimilar to him or herself in childhood. Wolman (1970) demonstrated that current representations of significant others were linked to EMs in delinquent adolescents. He found less developmentally advanced EMs concerning succorance, need-fulfillingness, self-abasement, and abnegation were related to impaired perception of significant others, particularly parents. More advanced EMs, containing independent activity and confrontation, were correlated with more objective and "mature" perception of others. A recent study by Monahan (1983) found substantial differences in object relationships between suicide attempters, threateners, and nonsuicidal inpatients. In this study, threateners were found to depict their object relationships as less damaged than either of the other groups.

Blatt, Brenneis, Schimek, and Glick (1976) compared their work on object representation on the Rorschach to that of Mayman and his colleagues (Krohn & Mayman, 1974; Mayman, 1967; Urist, 1977), considering this group the source of the idea that object representations in projective techniques such as dreams, EMs, TATs, and the Rorschach revealed much about the quality of interpersonal relationships the individual experiences. Pointing out that the Rorschach system focused on structural aspects of representation, while Mayman's (Krohn & Mayman, 1974) emphasized content dimensions, Blatt et al. urged further work toward integrating both content and structural aspects. Such an integration would be comprehensive analysis of object representations which might yield a fuller understanding of the development of object representation and such impairments in psychopathology. The Blatt et al. system is derived from concepts of developmental psychology and measures differentiation, articulation, and integration of the concept of the object.

Following Blatt et al.'s (1976) suggestion, Spear and Lapidus (1981) used the Krohn and Mayman Object representation scale for dreams (1974) and the Blatt et al. Rorschach object relations scale with three severely disturbed subject groups. Their results strongly supported the validity of these techniques as a means of assessing object relations, and the effectiveness of using both thematic and structural object representation scales to gain a comprehensive view of the individual's personality organization. Such findings strongly support the potential of both the Rorschach and EMs to identify the individual's level of object relationships. Urist (1977)

demonstrated that a consistency exists across the Rorschach, patients' memories as revealed in an autobiography, and staff ratings, reflecting an enduring and measurable aspect of the patient's capacity for relationships.

A recurring problem in studies of EMs has been the lack of uniformity in methods of obtaining the memories, as well as in systems of scoring and interpretation. Past studies have involved the use of mailed questionnaires, written accounts, and oral interviews in both individual and group contexts. Only two studies (Bruhn & Schiffman, 1982a; Winthrop, 1958) have dealt explicitly with the question of methodology in early memory research. Furthermore, the necessity of studying EMs in nonpsychiatric populations (Levy, 1965) and for a systematic method of obtaining and scoring EMs has been documented (Levy & Grigg, 1962).

## METHOD

A modified version of Mayman's (1968) procedure was used to elicit the early memories. This format was chosen because it encompassed not only the earliest memories but specifically elicited representations of others while maintaining a degree of ambiguity and freedom for the respondent. To aid in the recall of memories, this procedure was preceded by a short exercise designed to facilitate recall similar to that used by Wilson (1976) (see Appendix A). The existence of significant correlations between standard personality measures and early memories was considered to support the first hypothesis, namely, that a relationship exists between early memories and present personality functioning. Both thematic (Jackson Personality Inventory) and structural (Rorschach) measures of personality were employed. The Jackson Personality Inventory (JPI), a written questionnaire of 320 items comprising 16 subscales and 20 true/false statements, was chosen. Jackson (1976) claimed that this measure was superior to the classic MMPI due to its concern with a broader range of personality functions, decreased redundancy, stronger external support for the validity of self-ratings, and shorter format. The JPI was designed to provide "a set of measures of personality reflecting a variety of interpersonal, cognitive and value orientations likely to have important implications for a person's functioning"



(Jackson, 1976, p. 9). Another advantage to the JPI was that it is designed for populations of average or better ability, and was originally standardized on a college population. In this study, personality variables from the Rorschach and JPI subscale scores were correlated with EM content scores.

Based on previous literature, 21 specific exploratory predictions were made. Exploratory predictions 1-9 were derived from the JPI manual (Jackson, 1976) in which correlations of the JPI subscales with standard personality measures were listed. The predictions were also made on the basis of those personality characteristics which Jackson claimed the subscales were actually measuring. Exploratory predictions 13-17 were based on a previous study by Langs (1965a) and were intended to both confirm and expand on those findings. Prediction 18 was based along the lines of Kihlstrom and Harackiewicz (1982). The remaining exploratory predictions (10-12, 19-21) were based on consideration of what Exner (1974) had defined Rorschach scores as measuring, along with what EM scores might be hypothesized to be produced by the same process.

Measures (Levy & Grigg, 1962) of object representations in early memories were correlated with those on the Rorschach (Blatt et al., 1976). The existence of similar levels of object representations on both measures was hypothesized to document the usefulness of EMs for describing such representations.

The second hypothesis was that the written format for obtaining EMs was as useful in eliciting psychologically rich material as the more time-consuming and difficult oral method. To establish whether EMs reported orally included more complete and psychologically rich material than written EMs, this study compared the two methods in a

nonpsychiatric population. All the significant ( $p < .05$ ) correlations found between either oral or written EM scores and JPI or Rorschach variables were examined to see to what extent the written format was as revealing as the orally administered form of the test and hence, the degree to which the written form may be useful in future research.

### Subjects

Twenty-four subjects enrolled in an introductory psychology class (12 men and 12 women) served as subjects. Each subject volunteered through a sign-up sheet in the class, and the first twelve students of each sex who indicated willingness to participate during a follow-up phone call were chosen. A counterbalanced design was used in regard to the order in which the experimental conditions, that is, oral and written administrations of the Early Memory Questionnaire (EMQ) were received. All subjects received both experimental conditions but were randomly assigned to the order in which these were given.

### Apparatus

A standard cassette tape recorder and cassette tapes were used to record the memories in the oral condition. The ten Rorschach inkblot test cards and complete JPI forms were administered.

### Specific Procedures

Each subject was individually contacted by a same-sex experimenter and an initial appointment was made for the first of two testing sessions. In the first session, the subject met with the experimenter in a small therapy room. He or she was told that this was a test of memories, that participation would involve two meetings, and asked to sign a consent form. For the Oral condition, the experimenter then gave the instructions, proceeded through the warm-up exercise, turned

on the tape recorder, and administered the EMQ. When this had been completed, the tape recorder was turned off and the JPI was given.

The Written condition proceeded similarly, with the warm-up exercises being read to the subject and the EMQ presented in the form of a packet, with each question appearing at the top of a separate sheet of paper. The instructions for the EMQ reminded the subject not to spend too much time pondering the best response, but to respond as completely as possible with the first memory from ages two to eight that came to mind. Upon completion of the written EMQ these subjects were then asked to complete the JPI. In both experimental conditions, once the JPI had been finished a second appointment was made with the subject and the session concluded.

In the second session, the subject met in the same room with the same experimenter. Following the procedures outlined above, early memories were elicited under the other experimental condition. At this point, the experimenter was brought in and administered a Rorschach to the subject. When the Rorschach was finished, subjects completed a brief feedback form in which they were asked how they had felt about the study and what they thought the study had been designed to investigate.

### Scoring

The taped early memories were transcribed by undergraduate research assistants, and all EMs were scored by the experimenter using the Hafner et al. (1979) modification of the Manaster-Perryman Manifest Content Scale (1979). The score for each EM content category was totaled separately for Oral and Written administrations. To account for differences among subjects in productivity (see Table 1), each

Table 1

Distribution of Total Number of Early Memories Reported

Number of Memories	Males (N=12)		Females (N=12)		Total
	Oral	Written	Oral	Written	
Missing Data	2	0	1	0	3
7	0	0	1	0	1
8	2	0	0	1	3
9	3	2	0	1	6
10	5	6	3	6	20
11	0	1	1	0	2
12	0	2	3	1	6
13	0	0	0	0	0
14	0	0	2	1	3
15	0	1	0	1	2
16	0	0	0	1	1
17	0	0	0	0	0
18	0	0	0	0	0
19	0	0	1	0	1

Mean = 10.36

total content category score was then converted into a percentage score reflecting how frequently that item had occurred in the Oral EMs and in Written EMs. Each Em also received a score for the highest level of sexuality, aggression, and dependence illustrated in terms of the Levy and Grigg (1962) object relations scale. The author scored each Rorschach according to Exner's (1974) guidelines. All responses with human content were typed separately and scored in conjunction with a research assistant according to Blatt et al.'s (1976) system for object representation. The experimenter also scored Rorschach responses for hostile content according to the Elizur system (Aronow & Reznikoff, 1976; Elizur, 1949). Mean scores were obtained for both Rorschach and early memory object relations.

Several methodological problems were encountered at this phase of the study. The first was that the tapes of the Oral EMs were of sufficiently poor quality that there were three subjects for whom no Oral EMs could be transcribed at all. In the remaining cases, at least part of each subject's memories were lost because the tape was too difficult to understand, i.e., the subject spoke too softly, mumbled, or background noises obscured what was being said. Furthermore, trained transcriptionists proved unobtainable and undergraduate research assistants did the transcriptions. Periodic checking suggested that an adequate job of recording the memories was done, but a good deal of data was lost.

The second major difficulty was that, despite training in the use of the scoring systems, the research assistants were unable to score the memories with acceptable accuracy. Examination of the memory scoring indicated that those scoring systems, particularly EM object relations scoring, were far more ambiguous than had previously been

believed. The author disposed of the research assistants' efforts and rescored each EM for both content and object relations. As all memories were therefore scored by a single individual, no index of reliability was obtained.

## RESULTS

Two major hypotheses were tested. The first hypothesis was that EMs would correlate with personality variables according to twenty-one exploratory predictions based on a review of the literature. Eight of these predictions were found to be supported at levels at  $p < .05$  or below. A comparison between mean JPI subscale scores obtained in this study and Jackson's normative (1976) study is given in Table 2. Table 3 gives the intercorrelations between JPI subscale scores for the present study. Table 4 indicates the intercorrelations found between Rorschach scores in this study. Table 5 illustrates the intercorrelations between these JPI subscale scores and Rorschach scores. The second hypothesis was that the written and oral forms of the EMQ were equally sensitive, correlating equally well with personality variables. This hypothesis was not supported by the data.

### Early Memories and Personality Variables

No support ( $p > .05$ ) was found for the following predictions of correlations:

1. JPI Energy Level and EM Active activity percentage
2. JPI Interpersonal Affect and EM object relations scores
3. JPI Interpersonal Affect and EM Givingness or Mutuality
4. JPI Innovation and EM themes of new or unfamiliar situation causing excitement. The results of this prediction approached significance ( $r = .37$ ,  $p = .08$ ) for the written format and the JPI.

Table 2

## Means of JPI Subscale Scores

	Present Study			Jackson (1976)		
	Males (N=12)	Females (N=12)		Males (N=2000)	Females (N=2000)	
	Mean	Standard Deviation	Mean	Standard Deviation	Mean	Standard Deviation
Anxiety	11.80	3.95	15.40	2.59	10.38	4.43
Breadth of Interest	10.50	4.38	10.00	3.85	11.41	4.29
Complexity	8.91	3.25	9.58	3.42	11.15	3.39
Conformity	10.60	4.14	12.80	3.48	8.30	4.36
Energy Level	10.75	3.87	13.75	3.44	12.04	3.83
Innovation	11.33	5.92	11.41	3.36	13.09	4.48
Interpersonal Affect	11.91	4.15	14.91	2.95	10.97	4.35
Organization	10.83	3.10	12.16	4.15	10.72	4.21
Responsibility	10.25	4.24	13.08	2.78	11.32	3.56
Risk Taking	10.75	6.16	7.91	3.40	10.39	4.78
Self-Esteem	13.50	3.17	12.91	4.40	11.57	4.42
Social Adroitness	9.50	3.70	11.25	4.04	10.47	3.26
Social Participation	11.41	4.00	14.58	3.12	9.18	4.69
Tolerance	11.25	4.22	11.58	3.81	12.29	3.31
Value Orthodoxy	8.08	3.01	10.91	3.09	6.39	3.97



Table 3  
JPI Intercorrelations

	Anx	Bdi	Cpx	Cny	Enl	Inv	Iaf	Org	Rsy	Rky	Ses	Sca	Spt	To1	V1o
Anx	-	-.29	-.23	.39	.29	-.20	.13	.23	.22	-.13	-.07	-.14	.41*	-.07	.10
Bdi			.72***	-.33	.44*	.57**	-.17	-.19	.19	.30	.33	.07	-.53**	.24	-.22
Cpx				-.43*	.19	.61**	-.05	-.15	.27	.15	.47*	.31	-.42*	.41*	-.45
Cny					.05	-.21	.25	.02	.20	-.11	-.42*	.10	.28	-.41*	.50*
Enl						.25	.10	.11	.28	.04	.07	-.23	.08	.20	.28
Inv							.00	-.21	.14	.61***	.53**	.50*	-.33	-.04	-.12
Iaf								-.09	.39	-.31	.20	.00	.70	.00	.50*
Org									.04	.01	-.01	.05	-.08	-.02	.00
Rsy										-.45*	-.04	-.09	.25	.24	.27
Rky											.49*	.31	-.45*	-.21	-.29
Ses												.26	-.04	.27	-.36**
Sca													-.21	-.18	-.16
Spt														.03	.47*
To1															-.32
V1o															-

\*p ≤ .05

\*\*p ≤ .01

\*\*\*p ≤ .001

Table 4  
Rorschach Intercorrelations

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	
VS		-.86***	-.29	-.36	.21	.16	.44*	-.44*																			
DS			-.07	.14	-.24	-.20	-.24	.27	-.32	-.04	-.29	-.39	.41*	-.26	-.12	-.55**	.42*	.53**	-.40	.44*	.11	.18	-.22	-.00	-.03		
DdS				.29	-.07	-.16	-.43*	.34	-.05	.25	-.24	-.25	.08	.16	-.39	-.25	-.52**	.09	-.27	-.13	.36	.10	-.04	-.16			
SS					-.23	.10	-.10	.08	.08	.06	-.05	-.08	.29	-.02	-.13	-.10	-.37	.22	-.08	-.28**	.14	.27	-.00	.05			
P						.18	.30	-.02	-.09	-.13	.00	-.03	-.17	.30	-.07	-.03	-.23	.13	-.01	.52*	-.20	-.35	-.02	.09			
FD							.13	.00	-.19	.11	-.30	-.29	.35	.06	-.15	-.30	-.27	.01	-.28	.23	.09	-.00	-.14	.19			
M/C								-.38	-.05	-.37	.15	.10	-.31	.17	.44	.11	.07	-.08	.15	.32	-.39	.06	-.08	.48*			
M									-.27	.23	-.26	-.22	-.27	.26	-.42**	-.21	-.28	.06	-.24	.30	-.17	.05	.21	.12			
(eS - pS)										.44	.89***	.89***	.12	-.10	.71	.89***	.52*	-.41*	.89***	.14	.22	-.03	.03	-.07			
aS											.15	.26	.38	.17	.16	.26	-.10	-.17	.24	-.05	.40	.11	-.22	.04			
pS												-.13	.73	.98***	.73	.98***	.64***	.43	.98	.06	-.15	-.07	.17	.08			
FC/(CF + C)													-.09	-.10	.75***	.99***	.68***	.44*	.99***	.00	-.04	-.06	.18	.04			
Afr															-.21	-.10	-.11	-.19	.07	-.10	-.23	.53	.15	-.23	-.00		
/																-.23	-.10	-.18	-.02	-.10	.41*	.11	-.11	.11	.29		
(r + (2))/R																	.74***	.61**	.21	.77***	-.13	-.05	.07	-.10	.09		
N/A																			.69***	.49*	.99***	.04	-.06	-.07	.19	.06	
(H + A)/(Hd + Ad)																				-.37		.69***	.14	.00	-.07	.27	-.11
AS																				-.44*	-.47*	-.03	.02	.05	-.38		
EB																					.02	-.05	-.06	.18	.06		
EA																						-.49*	-.25	.04	.59*		
M/M																						-.09	-.12	-.45*			
T/R																											
V/R																											

\*p < .05  
\*\*p < .01  
\*\*\*p < .001

Table 5  
Intercorrelations between the Rorschach and the JPI

	Anx	BdI	Cpx	Cny	EnI	Inv	Iaf	Org	Rsy	Rky	Ses	Sca	Spt	ToI	Vlo
W%	-.03	.02	.02	.12	-.11	.16	.00	-.02	.02	.03	.10	.26	.03	-.22	.23
D%	-.08	.04	.10	-.12	.09	-.19	.02	.04	-.00	-.03	.04	-.19	-.07	.31	-.35
Dd%	.18	.03	-.07	-.07	.10	-.04	-.24	-.16	.16	-.07	-.12	-.32	-.03	.07	.10
S%	.05	-.37	-.41*	.13	.06	-.25	.29	.14	-.12	-.06	-.08	-.35	.30	.14	.39
P	.22	.16	.12	.24	.19	.17	.32	-.40	.40	-.19	-.25	-.21	.33	-.08	.22
L	.03	-.06	-.08	.09	.29	-.19	-.11	.04	-.15	.08	.03	-.20	.02	.37	-.10
FD	-.08	-.13	-.15	-.24	-.13	.14	.06	-.05	-.13	.05	.07	.08	.23	-.08	.11
M/C	.32	.02	.13	-.02	.13	-.02	.19	.21	-.02	.14	.30	-.11	.24	.18	-.07
M	-.12	.08	.21	-.20	.25	.29	-.19	.03	-.02	.10	-.19	.06	-.31	.00	.04
(a%-p%)	-.14	-.35	-.00	-.03	-.18	-.07	.31	-.13	.14	-.35	.08	.06	.31	.01	.09
a%	.02	-.51*	-.16	-.05	-.21	-.21	-.04	.03	.18	-.45*	-.28	.11	.22	.26	-.06
p%	.01	-.35	-.02	.16	-.10	-.02	.34	-.05	.06	-.17	.05	.16	.31	-.29	.12
FC/CDF+C)	-.04	-.37	-.02	.12	-.12	-.02	.31	-.03	.07	-.21	.04	.19	.27	-.23	.10
Afr	.14	-.35	-.40	-.12	-.23	-.27	.08	-.04	-.03	-.26	-.05	-.26	.27	.04	-.04
V	.09	.22	.33	.06	.29	.31	.32	.05	.50*	.00	.26	.03	.08	.26	-.05
(r+2)/R	.15	-.40	.04	-.00	-.23	-.19	.26	.04	-.06	-.23	.23	.17	.31	.08	-.06
H/A	-.04	-.34	.01	.11	-.10	.02	.29	-.00	.08	-.19	.05	.21	.25	.22	.09
(H+A)/(Hd+Ad)	-.15	-.02	.12	.10	-.07	.19	.08	.09	-.04	.03	.26	.47*	-.15	-.29	-.02
A%	.09	-.12	-.16	.14	-.28	-.45*	.16	-.19	-.14	-.31	-.25	-.24	.11	.06	.05
EB	-.12	-.37	-.01	.12	-.11	-.02	.32	-.01	.08	-.21	.06	.18	.29	-.22	.10
EA	.17	.27	.34	-.02	.33	.56**	.10	.07	.24	.32	.07	-.15	-.04	-.11	-.06
M/M	-.11	-.12	-.22	-.04	-.14	-.16	-.09	.02	.19	-.35	-.07	-.17	.07	.12	.28
T%	.31	-.26	.33	-.10	.30	-.42*	-.35	.36	-.42*	-.03	-.09	-.35	-.00	.13	-.21
Y%	-.29	.12	.25	-.09	-.32	.30	-.03	.16	-.02	.17	.06	.29	-.40	-.33	-.15
M	.44*	-.10	-.02	-.05	.44*	.08	-.04	.34	-.16	.26	.13	-.13	.10	.05	-.22

\*p &lt; .05

\*\*p &lt; .01

5. JPI Anxiety and EM themes of Fear, anxiety-provoking or threatening situations.
6. JPI Risk-taking and EM themes of Mastery, Misdeeds and Punishment. The correlation with Risk-taking and Oral EMs approached significance ( $\underline{r} = .34$ ,  $\underline{p} = .10$ ).
7. JPI Social Participation with EM Positive affective percentage, EM themes of Mastery or Mutuality and EM Dependence in object relations. Although falling short of significance, there was a tendency for JPI scores to correlate negatively with Mastery ( $\underline{r} = -.137$  Oral,  $\underline{r} = -.31$  Written) and Dependence ( $\underline{r} = -.10$  Oral,  $\underline{r} = -.10$  Written).
8. JPI Tolerance and EM Positive affective percentage.
9. Rorschach active and passive movement percentages and EM Active and Passive activity percentages.
10. Rorschach Y scores and EM themes of illness/injury; death/separation/loss; Fear, anxiety-provoking or threatening situations or Misdeeds committed by subject. Rorschach Y was negatively correlated with Illness/injury ( $\underline{r} = -.16$  Oral,  $\underline{r} = -.08$  Written) but it showed a trend with anxiety situations (Oral  $\underline{r} = .34$ ,  $\underline{p} = .10$ , Written  $\underline{r} = .37$ ,  $\underline{p} = .06$ ).
11. Rorschach M and EM settings of Nature.
12. JPI Social Adroitness and EM Active activity percentage.
13. JPI Anxiety and EM object relations. Anxiety is negatively correlated with aggression ( $\underline{r} = -.21$  Oral,  $\underline{r} = -.14$  Written) and with dependence ( $\underline{r} = -.08$  Oral,  $\underline{r} = -.10$  Written).

The following exploratory predictions were supported:

1. JPI Self-Esteem and EM themes of Attention-getting by subject and Mastery. Attempts at mastery correlated with the Oral form ( $\underline{r} = .52$ ,  $\underline{p} = .01$ ).
2. Rorschach T and EM themes of Givingness toward others or Mutuality. Mutuality correlated at  $\underline{r} = .45$  ( $\underline{p} = .03$ ) for the Oral form and  $\underline{r} = .48$  ( $\underline{p} = .02$ ) for Written.
3. Rorschach hostility content with EM themes of Illness/injury; Anxiety provoking situations; Overt hostility; Neutral affective percentage; Negative affective percentage; and object relations Aggression. Rorschach hostility correlated with Aggression at  $\underline{r} = .40$  ( $\underline{p} = .05$ ) in the Oral form. The correlation of Rorschach hostility with anxiety situations was  $\underline{r} = .43$  ( $\underline{p} = .04$ ) for Oral memories. Negative affective percentage also correlated in the Oral condition with Rorschach hostility ( $\underline{r} = .50$ ,  $\underline{p} = .01$ ).
4. EM settings of traveling with Rorschach V and FD and JPI Social Participation. EM traveling correlated with Rorschach V ( $\underline{r} = .40$ ,  $\underline{p} = .05$ ) in the Written condition.
5. EM themes of Death/separation/loss with Rorschach hostility content, Y, T, m, V, r, and FD. Correlations of the separation theme and Rorschach hostility showed a trend ( $\underline{r} = .36$ ,  $\underline{p} = .08$ ) toward significance in the Oral format. The correlation with Rorschach measured by  $(3r + 2)/R$  was significant ( $\underline{r} = .45$ ,  $\underline{p} = .03$ ) in the Oral condition.

6. EM themes of Punishment, Misdeeds, Anxiety situation, Hostility and Negative affective percentage with Rorschach measures of affective control {M/C, FC/(CF + C), R(VIII - X)/R(I - VII), EB}. Punishment correlated ( $\underline{r} = .46$ ,  $\underline{p} = .02$ ) in the Oral form with M/C. Misdeeds correlated ( $\underline{r} = .48$ ,  $\underline{p} = .02$ ) with FC/(CF + C) and EB ( $\underline{r} = .47$ ,  $\underline{p} = .02$ ) in the Oral form. There was a suggestive trend for EM Anxiety situations to correlated with FC/(CF + C) ( $\underline{r} = .37$ ,  $\underline{p} = .07$ ) and EB ( $\underline{r} = .38$ ,  $\underline{p} = .07$ ) in Oral memories. Overt hostility themes correlated ( $\underline{r} = .53$ ,  $\underline{p} = .01$ ) with Rorschach M/C in the Oral form. Finally, Negative percentage in Oral memories correlated ( $\underline{r} = .45$ ,  $\underline{p} = .03$ ;  $\underline{r} = .51$ ,  $\underline{p} = .01$ ;  $\underline{r} = .53$ ,  $\underline{p} = .01$ ) with Rorschach M/C, FC/(CF + C) and EB, respectively.
7. EM object relations and JPI Self-Esteem. The correlation with Sexuality in the Oral format was  $\underline{r} = .43$  ( $\underline{p} = .03$ ) and the Written format yielded results also approaching significance ( $\underline{r} = .38$ ,  $\underline{p} = .06$ ). Dependence in the Oral method was also correlated ( $\underline{r} = .44$ ,  $\underline{p} = .03$ ) with the JPI score.
8. EM Sexuality object relations score with Rorschach hostility content. Sexuality in the Written format correlated negatively ( $\underline{r} = -.51$ ,  $\underline{p} = .01$ ) with the Rorschach score.

A listing of correlations obtained for each exploratory prediction is provided in Table 6.

#### Differences between Oral and Written Early Memories

The second hypothesis was that there was no appreciable difference between the ability of the Oral and Written formats to reveal underlying personality trends. In order to ascertain whether such a difference

Table 6

Correlations Obtained for the 21 Exploratory Predictions

Exploratory Prediction	Oral		Written	
	r	p	r	p
1. EM Active with JPI Energy Level	.12	.57	-.23	.28
2a. EM Sexuality	.05	.81	.06	.80
b. EM Aggression with JPI Interpersonal Affect	-.02	.92	.06	.79
c. EM Dependence with JPI Interpersonal Affect	.01	.98	-.12	.58
3a. EM Givingness with JPI Interpersonal Affect	.22	.30	.03	.88
b. EM Mutuality with JPI Interpersonal Affect	.16	.47	-.14	.51
4. EM Anxiety situation with JPI Anxiety	.14	.51	-.05	.82
5. EM Excitement situation with JPI Innovation	.37	.08	.27	.21
6a. EM Mastery with JPI Risk Taking	.34	.10	.22	.31
b. EM Misdeeds with JPI Risk Taking	.21	.32	.11	.62
c. EM Punishment with JPI Risk Taking	.02	.94	.17	.42
7a. EM Attention-getting with JPI Self-Esteem	.07	.73	.21	.32
b. EM Mastery with JPI Self-Esteem	.52	.01**	.31	.14
8a. EM Mastery with JPI Social Participation	-.14	.52	-.31	.14
b. EM Mutuality with JPI Social Participation	.13	.54	.13	.54
c. EM Positive with JPI Social Participation	.22	.30	-.11	.60
d. EM Dependence with JPI Social Participation	-.10	.65	-.10	.63
9. EM Positive with JPI Tolerance	.15	.49	.24	.26
10a. EM Active with Rorschach a%	.04	.85	-.03	.91

Table 6 (cont'd)

b.	EM Active with Rorschach p%	-.09	.67	-.23	.27
c.	EM Passive with Rorschach a%	-.09	.68	-.01	.97
d.	EM Passive with Rorschach p%	.10	.65	.23	.29
11a.	EM Separation with Rorschach Y	.05	.81	-.19	.37
b.	EM Illness with Rorschach Y	-.16	.45	-.08	.70
c.	EM Misdeeds with Rorschach Y	.23	.28	-.07	.75
d.	EM Anxiety with Rorschach Y	.34	.10	.38	.07
12a.	EM Givingness with Rorschach T	-.12	.58	-.12	.57
b.	EM Mutuality with Rorschach T	.45	.03*	.48	.02*
13a.	EM Illness with Rorschach Hostility	.22	.29	.08	.71
b.	EM Anxiety with Rorschach Hostility	.43	.04*	.09	.67
c.	EM Hostility with Rorschach Hostility	.23	.27	-.18	.39
d.	EM Negative with Rorschach Hostility	.50	.01	.30	.16
e.	EM Neutral with Rorschach Hostility	.28	.19	-.20	.36
f.	EM Aggression with Rorschach Hostility	.40	.06	.25	.23
14a.	EM Traveling with Rorschach V	.36	.09	.40	.05*
b.	EM Traveling with Rorschach FD	-.04	.86	.09	.66
c.	EM Traveling with JPI Social Participation	-.06	.77	.02	.94
15a.	EM Separation with Rorschach Hostility	.36	.09	-.19	.38
b.	EM Separation with Rorschach Y	.05	.81	-.19	.37
c.	EM Separation with Rorschach T	.27	.20	.15	.47
d.	EM Separation with Rorschach m	-.17	.43	-.05	.83
e.	EM Separation with Rorschach v	-.03	.90	-.20	.34



Table 6 (cont'd)

f.	EM Separation with Rorschach (3r + 2)/R	.45	.03*	.15	.49
g.	EM Separation with Rorschach FD	.19	.37	.33	.12
16.	EM Nature with Rorschach M	.22	.31	.06	.78
17.	EM Active with JPI Social Adroitness	.16	.45	.21	.32
18a.1	EM Punishment with Rorschach M/C	.46	.02*	.31	.14
2	EM Punishment with Rorschach FC/(CF + C)	.29	.18	.24	.25
3	EM Punishment with Rorschach Afr	-.27	.20	-.34	.11
4	EM Punishment with Rorschach EB	.30	.15	.25	.25
b.1	EM Misdeeds with Rorschach M/C	.20	.40	.22	.30
2	EM Misdeeds with Rorschach FC/(CF + C)	.48	.02	.23	.27
3	EM Misdeeds with Rorschach Afr	-.13	.55	-.16	.45
4	EM Misdeeds with Rorschach EB	.48	.02*	.23	.27
c.1	EM Anxiety with Rorschach M/C	.15	.49	.09	.66
2	EM Anxiety with Rorschach FC/(CF + C)	.37	.08	.27	.25
3	EM Anxiety with Rorschach Afr	.09	.69	.02	.92
4	EM Anxiety with Rorschach EB	.38	.07	.24	.26
d.1	EM Hostility with Rorschach M/C	.53	.01**	-.01	.95
2	EM Hostility with Rorschach FC/(CF + C)	.14	.51	-.21	.33
3	EM Hostility with Rorschach Afr	.13	.154	.17	.43
4	EM Hostility with Rorschach EB	.17	.43	-.22	.30
e.1	EM Negative with Rorschach M/C	.45	.03*	.31	.15
2	EM Negative with Rorschach FC/(CF + C)	.51	.01**	.11	.61
3	EM Negative with Rorschach Afr	.03	.90	-.16	.46

Table 6 (cont'd)

4 EM Negative with Rorschach EB	.54	.01**	.13	.56
19a. EM Sexuality with JPI Self-Esteem	.43	.04*	.39	.06
b. EM Aggression with JPI Self-Esteem	.30	.16	.12	.57
c. EM Dependence with JPI Self-Esteem	.44	.03*	.16	.47
20. EM Sexuality with Rorschach Hostility	.25	.24	-.51	.01**
21a. EM Sexuality with JPI Anxiety	-.06	.79	.26	.22
b. EM Aggression with JPI Anxiety	-.21	.31	-.14	.51
c. EM Dependence with JPI Anxiety	-.08	.70	-.10	.64

\*p &lt; .05

\*\*p &lt; .01

existed, a  $t$ -test (Walker & Lev, 1953, pp. 256-257) was carried out between the Oral and Written correlations with each personality variable which had correlated significantly ( $p < .05$ ) with one or both scores. There were 41 significant correlations between Oral scores and Rorschach variables, and 43 such correlations between Oral scores and JPI variables. Written EMs correlated significantly with 25 Rorschach and 13 JPI variables. In six cases, Rorschach scores correlated significantly with both Oral and Written scores. A total of 128  $t$ -tests were performed.

Four  $t$ -tests made in cases where the Oral scores had correlated with Rorschach scores yielded in which the difference between Oral and Written formats were significant at the  $p < .05$  level. In one case where the Written score had correlated with a Rorschach score, the difference between formats was significant. Five  $t$ -tests performed between Oral and Written scores where Oral scores had correlated with JPI variables found significant differences between the two methods. Three  $t$ -tests performed where the Written scores had correlated with JPI scores obtained significant differences between Oral and Written scores. In one case, a  $t$ -test found a  $p < .01$  difference between format scores where the Oral score had originally correlated with a JPI variable. The differences between Oral and Written scores were significant at the  $p < .001$  level for one JPI and one Rorschach correlation with Oral EM scores (see Table 7).

A second attempt was made to measure the difference between Oral and Written scores. In this case, the differences between corresponding Oral and Written scores in correlations with criterion Rorschach or JPI variables were obtained and one-tailed  $t$ -test was carried out between

Table 7

Correlations between Oral and Winter EMs and Personality Variables in Which  
a Significant Difference Existed between Correlations in the Two Methods

EM Variable	Oral Correlations Greater than Written Correlations		
	Personality Variable	Oral Written	Significance Level
Negative affective percentage	Rorschach D%	-.48 .07	p < .05
Overt hostility themes	Rorschach M/C	.53 -.01	p < .05
Separation/loss themes	Rorschach Activity Percentage Difference	.50 -.05	p < .05
Visual stimuli	Rorschach M	.42 -.16	p < .05
Passive affective percentage	JPI Complexity	.41 -.21	p < .05
External control	JPI Conformity	-.40 .25	p < .05
Visual stimuli	JPI Energy Level	.47 -.08	p < .05
Nonfamily members	JPI Innovation	.55 -.03	p < .05
Misdeeds themes	JPI Interpersonal Affect	.50 -.02	p < .05
Passive activity percentage	JPI Innovation	.50 -.26	p < .01
Doctor/professional settings	Rorschach T/R	.69 -.14	p < .001
External control	JPI Self-esteem	.62 -.07	p < .001
Written Correlations Stronger than Oral Correlations			
Doctor/professional settings	Rorschach Activity Percentage Difference	.02 .55	p < .05
Other (extended) family members	JPI Conformity	-.11 -.52	p < .05
Groups of persons	JPI Energy Level	.07 -.46	p < .05
Father	JPI Interpersonal Affect	.90 -.49	p < .02

these correlations. There were twenty cases in which the Oral method was more strongly correlated with personality variables, and thirteen cases in which the Written method correlated more highly. The result of this test was that the mean difference between Oral and Written methods was found to be significant at the  $p < .025$  level.

## DISCUSSION

Over a third (eight of 21) of the original exploratory predictions made between EM and personality variables were supported, strongly confirming the first hypothesis, that there indeed exists a link between the EMs an individual rememebers and his or her present personality characteristics. The 21 predictions were based on an examination of both manifest and latent content. Unsupported predictions 1-8 all originated from considerations of manifest content analysis of EMs. Lack of support for these hypotheses undermines the Adlerian concept that the manifest content of EMs reveals much about the individual's personality. When the predictions which were supported were examined, differences were found between the proportion of Rorschach - EM predictions confirmed and the proportion of JPI - EM predictions supported. Only two of twelve, or 16%, of the JPI - EM exploratory predictions were confirmed, while six of nine, or 66%, of the predicted Rorschach - EM correlations were found to be significant.

The JPI is a written, self-report questionnaire and appears to measure a kind of secondary process in personality. The Rorschach, on the other hand, is a projective test designed to reveal primary process functions of personality, and to tap deeper levels of functioning than the JPI. The differences in the proportions of significant correlations with EMs between the two personality measures may be considered as further confirmation that EMs, like Rorschach responses, are the primary process functions as well as constructions of preconscious ego mechanisms.

A scrutinization of the supported exploratory predictions yielded some speculations, influenced by the ego psychology approach, as to what the personality elements pinpointed by these predictions might be. For example, self-esteem was found to correlate with the level of Oedipal resolution and independence attained. Depending on how well the Oedipal stage has been negotiated, the individual may have more confidence in his or her capabilities for mastery, with this attribution expressed in the EMs produced.

Memories describing mutual positive interaction were correlated with affective need. Like dreams, the EM may be serving as a medium for wish-fulfillment, in which the individual may be able to attain at least in fantasy what he or she feels is lacking in reality. Another interpretation might be that the memory illustrates the person's current behavior of reaching out to others motivated by this sense of affective need. Alternatively, it may depict a defense against this sense of need, in which the individual offers to others what he or she wishes for him or herself.

Hostility, anxiety, and/or negative experience in EM content was correlated with hostile content on the Rorschach, confirming that what was revealed in the EMs were underlying feelings of anger and anxiety. Such expression of negative affect in EMs correlated highly, however, with measures of control of affect on the Rorschach. The conclusion seems to be that persons with more negative EMs seem to have more controlled handling of their feelings. One way of conceptualizing this linkage is to view the aggression in EMs as that which is still under ego control, and can therefore be maintained fairly close to consciousness. This might suggest that persons who tended to produce

pleasant EMs might be massively defending against their underlying negative affects. Another way to look at the relationship might be to conceptualize persons with high aggression and high control as individuals who are unconsciously aware of a superfluity of aggression and other negative affects. These persons might then maintain a high degree of control over their affect in order to continue to function adequately and protect others from these underlying feelings. The negative correlation between hostility on the Rorschach and Oedipal resolution in EMs suggests that the difficulties and frustrations implicit in struggles over Oedipal issues engenders much internal anger and distress, which is carefully controlled by the ego, but depicted in the person's EMs.

EMs with themes of travel correlated with a quality of introspection. One hypothesis might be that these persons feel less connected to others and to places, being habitually turned inward, and describe themselves as being continually in a state of transition. Another way traveling may symbolize such persons' inner experience is by depicting their characteristic sense of distance from others.

Similarly, EMs of death, separation, or loss correlated with possible anger and self-focus. The individual may be portraying his or her sense of being isolated, thrown on his or her own resources, and the anger engendered by this deprivation illustrated by the object in the memories being dead or lost.

Other factors may account for the lack of support of some predictions. The concurrence between measures of object relations on the Rorschach and in EMs was proposed to document the existence of object representations in EMs. Instead, minimal (see Table 8)



Table 8

Correlations between Object Relations in  
EMs and on the Rorschach

		Rorschach Object Relations (Blatt et al.)	
EM Object Relations (Levy & Grigg)	Sexuality	r = .16	p = .44
	Oral: Aggression	.03	.88
	Dependence	.15	.49
	Sexuality	.12	.56
	Written: Aggression	-.16	.47
	Dependence	-.19	.38

correlations were found between the two object relations measures. Upon close examination, the two scoring systems for object relations reveal profound theoretical differences. The Blatt et al. (1976) Rorschach system is built upon a concept of differentiation, a developmental concept of object relationship. While Levy and Grigg (1962) neglected to state the theoretical underpinnings for their EM system, one seems to emerge nevertheless. The Sexuality subscale (see Appendix E) measured memories as being most regressive when they depicted avoidance or withdrawal of sexuality, through Oedipal victory (less progressive) to Oedipal failure (more progressive) to an active struggle to win a (nonparental) heterosexual love-object. It appeared that this scale measured level of Oedipal resolution, itself a useful concept, but not identical with differentiation.

Similar problems existed with the Levy and Grigg (1962) Aggression and Dependence subscales. The Aggression scale considered helplessness and being attacked to be the most destructive and compliance to be the most constructive of behaviors. Two levels were mentioned beyond compliance, but were assumed to be theoretical, and neither Levy and Grigg nor the present study found any such memories. It is questionable both whether compliance is the highest form of dealing with aggression, and in what way this directly relates to underlying object relations. The Dependence scale considered deep frustration of dependency needs to be most regressive, and attempts at mastery, initiative, and independence to be most progressive. One weakness of this system was that it left open the potential for denial or rejection of dependency needs to be considered more progressive than the recognition and fulfillment of them. Another problem was that, although it was intended

to measure object relations, the scale considered moving away from the object (independence) to be the most progressive and subsequently raised issues in assessing the relationship with the object at that level. Given the considerable theoretical gap between these purported measures of object relations, the lack of unanimity between Rorschach and EM object relations is understandable in terms of differences in theoretical conceptualizations of object relations.

The Oral method of collecting EMs has serious drawbacks - it is vulnerable to technological or stenographic shortcomings, and the memories then need to be transcribed after they are recorded, adding another potential opportunity for distortion. Even so, they seem to be somewhat more effective than written methods. The advantage of the Written format is that it is a more versatile and error-proof means of gathering EMs. Although this study found evidence for the validity of EMs gathered by either method, the Oral method appeared consistently more sensitive to underlying personality factors. Of the eight exploratory predictions supported, fourteen of the correlations were between criterion variables and Oral scores. Only one variable correlated with both formats, and a single personality variable correlated only with the Written form.

A review of the literature showed that, of the studies cited in the introduction to this study, seventeen specified having used the Written format. Ten studies utilized an alternative to written and oral methods such as a checklist, or were unclear about what method they used to gather the EMs. Of the twelve oral method studies, only one elicited the memories in an experimental, as opposed to therapeutic or diagnostic, setting. This leads to the conclusion that the common

methodological flaw of not gathering material orally might underlie past difficulties of studies to more conclusively link EMs with other psychological productions.

A clear direction for future early memory research is implied. EMs seem to be formed by primary process function of the personality, in much the same way that dreams, or projective test responses, are constructed. Early memories seem to be best obtained through the time-honored means of gathering such productions, that is, by oral report in a relatively unstructured situation. Interpretation may be made from manifest content but seems most effective when it includes consideration of defenses and object representations illustrated in the memories. As constructions of unconscious processes, early memories hold an intrinsic fascination for the individual interested in further unveiling the workings of the unconscious. Review of the literature also suggests that early memories may be of practical use as tools for psychological assessment, diagnosis, and in psychotherapy.

## APPENDICES

APPENDIX A  
EARLY MEMORY WARM-UP EXERCISE

## APPENDIX A

## EARLY MEMORY WARM-UP EXERCISE

In this study we are concerned with your personal memories, what you can remember of your life until you were about eight years old. We will be asking you to remember back to when you were a child. To help you do this, I would like you first to begin thinking about things that happened last year. Take a minute and think about last year. (WAIT 15 SECONDS). Next, think about high school, giving yourself a minute to think about all the things that happened during those years. (WAIT 20 SECONDS). As you begin to think back, you may find that it becomes easier to remember. Now, think back to junior high or middle school. (WAIT 15 SECONDS). As you begin thinking about your early experiences, you may find that each memory leads to another one, and you find yourself thinking about things you haven't thought of in a long time. Now think back to elementary school. You may even have some memories earlier than that. (WAIT 20 SECONDS).

Written condition: "Please open the booklet to the first page and begin answering the questions. Do not spend too much time on any one question, but respond with the first memory that comes to mind."

Oral condition: "I am now going to ask you a series of questions. Please answer with the first memory that comes to mind."

APPENDIX B  
EXPLORATORY PREDICTIONS



## APPENDIX B

## EXPLORATORY PREDICTIONS

The following are the 21 exploratory predictions made of correlations between early memories and personality variables.

1. EM Active activity percentage and JPI Energy Level.
2. EM object relations with JPI Interpersonal Affect.
3. EM themes of Givingness and Mutuality with JPI Interpersonal Affect.
4. EM theme of Fear, anxiety-provoking or threatened situation and JPI Anxiety.
5. EM theme of New or unfamiliar situation causing excitement and JPI Innovation.
6. EM themes of Attempts at mastery, Misdeeds committed by subject, and Punishment with JPI Risk-taking.
7. EM themes of Attention-getting by subject and Attempts at mastery with JPI Self-esteem.
8. EM themes of Attempts at mastery and Mutuality, Positive affective percentage, and Dependence in object relations with JPI Social Participation.
9. EM Positive affective percentage with JPI Tolerance.
10. EM Active and Passive activity percentages with Rorschach a% and p%.
11. EM themes of Death/separation-loss, Illness/injury, Misdeeds and Anxiety situations with Rorschach Y.
12. EM themes of Givingness toward others and Mutuality with Rorschach T.

13. EM themes of Illness/injury, Anxiety-provoking situations, Overt hostility, Negative and Neutral affective percentages and Aggression in object relations with Rorschach hostile content.
14. EM setting of traveling with Rorschach V and FD and JPI Social Participation.
15. EM theme of Death/separation-loss with Rorschach hostile content, Rorschach Y, T, m, V, r, and FD.
16. EM setting of Nature with Rorschach M.
17. EM Active activity percentage with JPI Social Participation.
18. EM themes of Punishment, Misdeeds committed by subject, Anxiety-provoking situation, Overt hostility and Negative affective percentage with Rorschach measures of affective control: M/C, FC/ (CF + C), R (VIII - X)/ R (I - VII) and EB.
19. EM object relations and JPI Self-esteem.
20. EM Sexuality object relations with Rorschach hostile content.
21. EM object relations and JPI Anxiety.

APPENDIX C  
EARLY MEMORIES QUESTIONNAIRE

## APPENDIX C

## EARLY MEMORIES QUESTIONNAIRE

1. What is your earliest memory?
2. What is your next earliest memory?
3. What is your earliest memory of your mother?
4. What is your next earliest memory of your mother?
5. What is your earliest memory of your father?
6. What is your next earliest memory of your father?
7. What is a happy early memory of yours?
8. What is an unhappy early memory of yours?
9. What are some other memories that come to mind?
10. What is your most striking early memory, the one in which you felt most fully yourself?

APPENDIX D

MANASTER-PERRYMAN EARLY RECOLLECTION MANIFEST SCORING

## APPENDIX D

## MANASTER-PERRYMAN EARLY RECOLLECTION MANIFEST SCORING

For each category: 1 = present, 0 = absent

Characters:

1. Mother
2. Father
3. Siblings
4. Other family members
5. Nonfamily members
6. Group experiences
7. Animal
8. Absence of others

Themes:

9. Sibling birth
10. Death/separation-loss
11. Illness/injury
12. Punishment
13. Misdeeds committed by subject
14. Givingness toward others
15. Attempts at mastery
16. Mutuality
17. Attention-getting by subject
18. New or unfamiliar situation causing excitement
19. Fear, anxiety-provoking or threatening situation
20. Overt hostility

Stimuli:

23. Visual (description of visual qualities of stimulus)
24. Auditory (description of something heard)
25. Motor (describing vigorous physical movement)

Setting:

- 26. School
- 27. Doctor's office/hospital
- 28. Inside family/relative's home
- 29. Outside in subject's neighborhood
- 30. Traveling
- 31. Inside nonfamily home
- 32. Outside, away from neighborhood
- 33. Nature

Activity:

- 36. Active (subject initiates action)
- 37. Passive (subject initiates no action or is acted upon)

Control:

- 38. Internal  
Subject accepts responsibility for events of memory
- 39. External  
Subject dissociates self from consequences of events of memory

Affect:

- 40. Positive
- 41. Negative
- 42. Neutral

APPENDIX E  
EARLY MEMORIES OBJECT RELATIONS SCORING



## APPENDIX E

## EARLY MEMORIES OBJECT RELATIONS SCORING

Dependence

Proceeding from most regressive to most progressive:

1. Feelings of deep-seated frustration of dependency needs, complete abandonment, sense of being lost, feelings of complete worthlessness, being overwhelmed by undue tension.
2. Feelings of temporary abandonment, transient frustration of dependency needs, separation from parents, insufficient affection and love, birth of sibling, grief reaction.
3. Aggressive reactions to feelings of being deprived, demanding and taking needed supplies, greedy hunger for what one does not have, suffused with impotent rage, sense of being deprived by siblings or treating them badly.
4. Giver rather than receiver of nurturant care.
5. Gratification of dependency needs, feelings of being given to, acceptance of dependency needs, comforting care, being cared for by others.
6. Watching independent activities of others, envying others, yearning to do as well as one's role-model.
7. Pseudoindependence, pseudomascularity, showing off, activity more suitable to adults.
8. Acting on one's own attempts at mastery, exploration, initiative, displaying one's strength, peer activity.
9. Acting independently with some appropriate help, being taught or helped to look after oneself.

Sexuality

Proceeding from most regressive to most progressive:

1. Avoidance and/or withdrawal from sexuality, feelings of helplessness in coping with it and running away in fright.
2. Display of one's genitalia, using sexuality to scare others off.
3. Observance of sexuality.
4. Homosexual pleasure, narcissistic pleasure in one's appearance.
5. Playful sexual activities, curiosity about sexual organs, self-display in performing before admirers.
6. Making a sexual approach by being seductive or sexually provocative, trying to make oneself attractive or endearing, pleasure in being looked at, drawing attention to appearance, grooming.
7. Castration, anxiety about possible, or real injury to genitalia.
8. Denial of Oedipal conflict by insistence on positive relationship with both or only same-sexed parent.
9. Sense of Oedipal victory, pleasurable, exciting activities with opposite-sex parent excluding same-sexed parent.
10. Sense of Oedipal failure, failure to win love opposite-sexed parent, often with self-blame for inadequacy, fears due to hostile competition with rival.
11. Struggle to win heterosexual love-object, jealousy with same-sexed parent, seeking out the loved object.

Aggression

Proceeding from most destructive to most constructive:

1. Being the object of severe attack with feelings of helplessness, being beaten by adult or dangerous others.
2. Self-aggression, hurting oneself.
3. Observance of aggression, observing fires, observing others fighting.
4. Physical or verbal aggression directed outward, unrestrained aggression, throwing temper tantrums, throwing things, soiling, sadistic behavior toward animals, stealing.
5. Feelings of being ridiculed, humiliated, scolded, mildly attacked.
6. Ridiculing, humiliating, scolding, mildly attacking others, bragging about one's successes.
7. Stubbornness, passive aggressiveness, refusal to comply with requests, sulking.
8. Being attacked but escaping or retaliating, not helpless.
9. Compliant behavior, doing what one is supposed to do, avoiding conflicts, attention to cleanliness, preoccupation with possessions.
10. Obstinacy in order to attempt one's own different and better solution.
11. Attacking and analyzing a problem and arriving at a solution.

APPENDIX F  
RORSCHACH OBJECT RELATIONS SCORING

## APPENDIX F

## RORSCHACH OBJECT RELATIONS SCORING

Differentiation	Quasihuman detail	(Hd)	1
	Human detail	Hd	2
	Full quasihuman	(H)	3
	Full human	H	4

Articulation: 1 = present, 0 = absent

Perceptual = size, physical structure

clothing, hairstyle

posture

Functional = sex

age

role

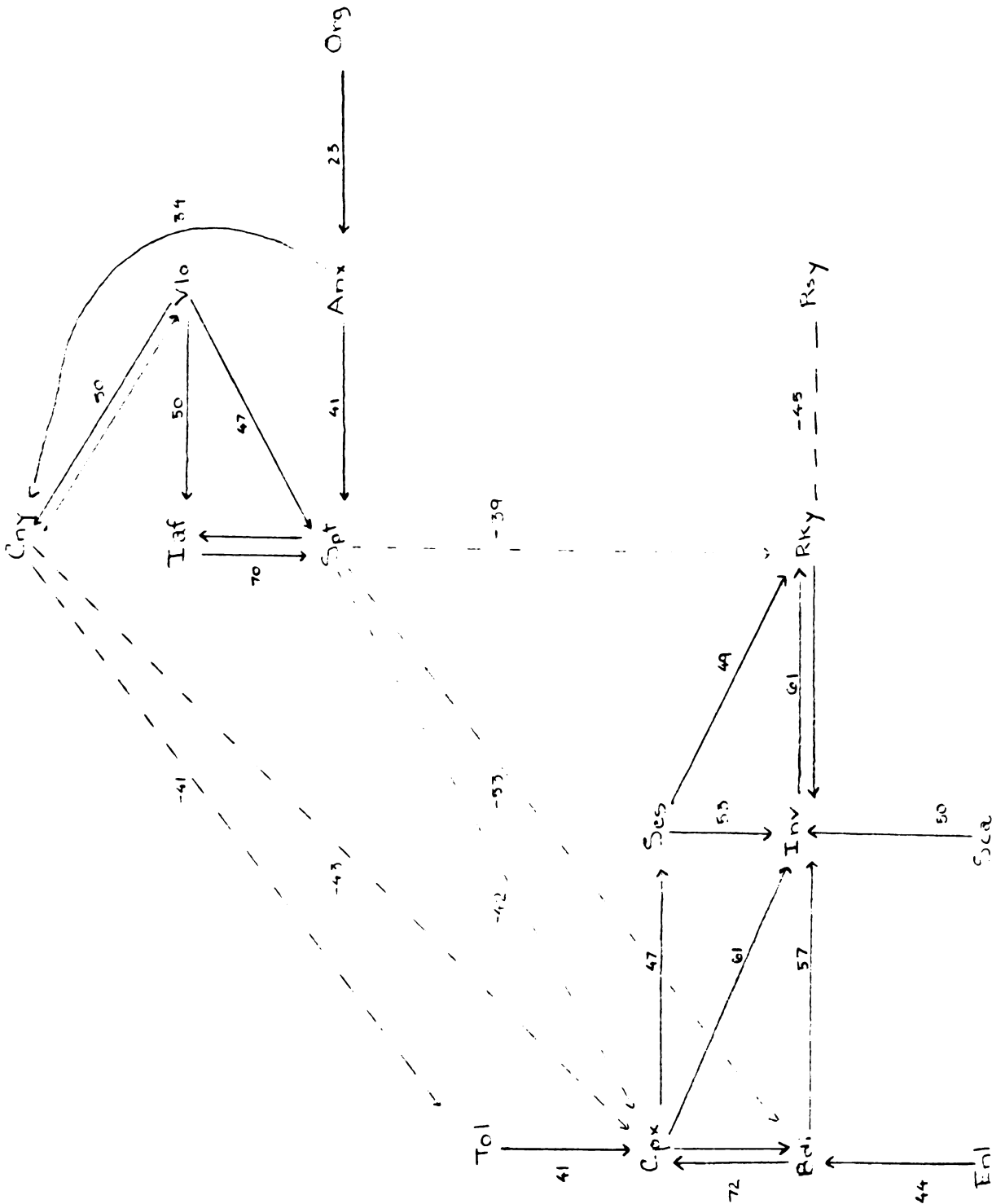
specific identity

Integration:

nature of action	no action	0
	unmotivated action	1
	reactive action	2
	intentional action	3
object-action integration	fused	1
	incongruent	2
	nonspecific	3
	congruent	4
nature of interaction	active-passive	1
	active-reactive	2
	active-active	3
content of interaction	malevolent	1
	benevolent	2

APPENDIX G  
CLUSTER ANALYSIS OF JPI  
SUBSCALE INTERCORRELATIONS

## APPENDIX G

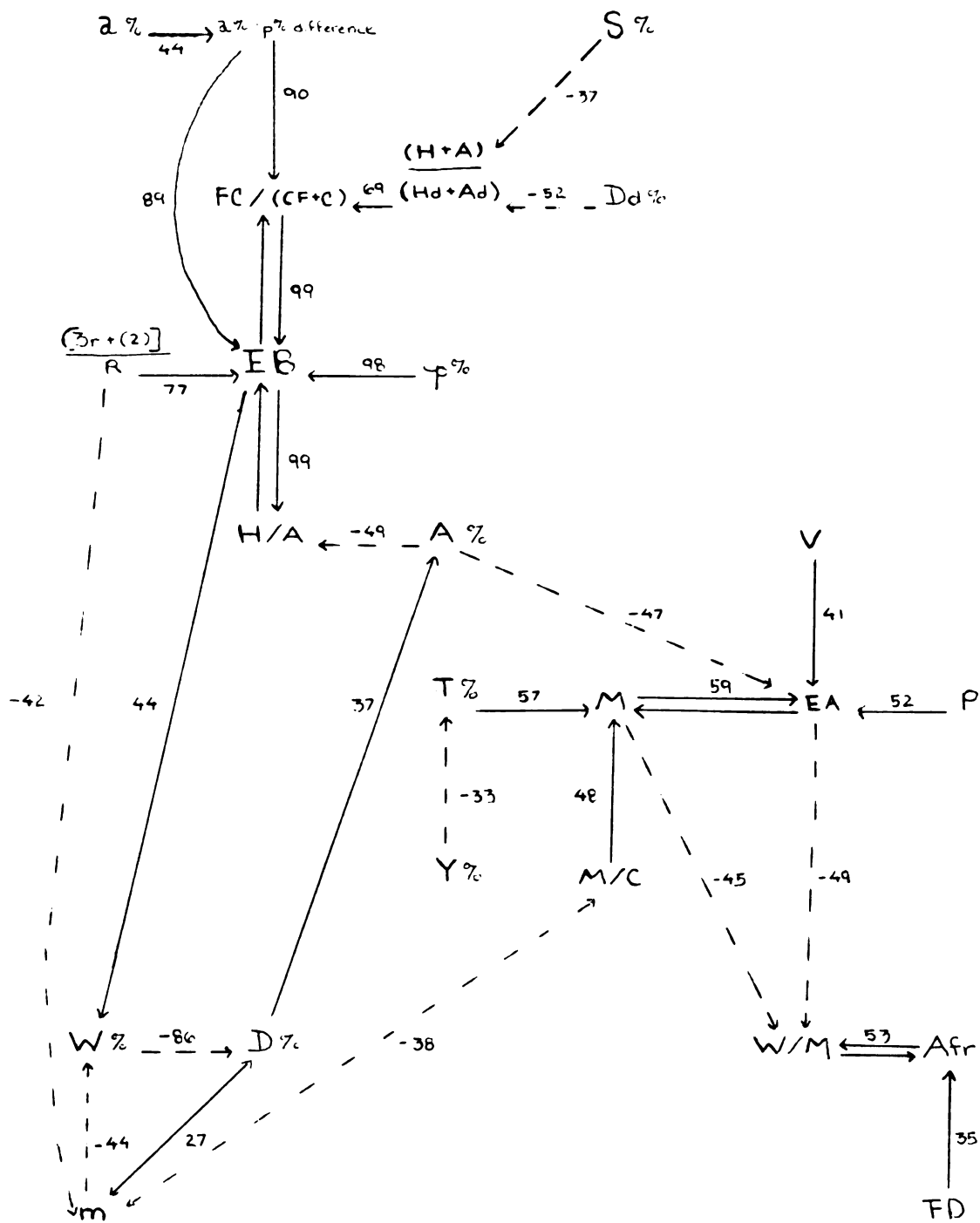


APPENDIX H  
CLUSTER ANALYSIS OF RORSCHACH SCORE INTERCORRELATIONS



## APPENDIX H

## CLUSTER ANALYSIS OF RORSCHACH SCORE INTERCORRELATIONS



## REFERENCES

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