THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN SELF ACCEPTANCE AND FEAR OF DEATH

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tapping different aspects of the broad phenomena of "death anxiety." It was, therefore, suggested that "death anxiety" should be more narrowly defined in future research. Both measures (size of drawings and word latency) independently seemed to reflect anxiety in regard to death. The findings for the male and female Ss were similar, and both groups of Ss manifested death anxiety on the two tasks.

An interview and stories about the dead person were used to explore variables which had previously been reported in the literature as bearing an important relationship to psychological responses to death. These qualitative findings suggested that the Ss consciously denied a fear of death as well as projecting their own deaths far into the "distant future." The "dead person," in the drawings, was primarily depicted as being male by both male and female Ss. The stories about the dead person suggested that death is often perceived as occurring through violence. These stories further suggested death wishes toward parents. It was speculated that what is most highly valued in life, will be related to what is most feared in death. This hypothesis would include the idea of death as castration, which would be the most frightening aspect of death to those Ss who valued libidinal pleasures in life. Possibilities for future research were also suggested.

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THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN SELF ACCEPTANCE AND FEAR OF DEATH

By

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INTRODUCTION

Rationale for Investigating the Relationship Between Fear of Death and Self Acceptance

The main purpose of this investigation was to discover whether there was a relationship between self acceptance and fear of death and if so, the nature of this relationship. A review of the literature concerning death discloses that although this topic has been discussed in detail from a philosophical and subjective point of view, few authors have attempted to empirically ascertain the relationship between psychological variables such as "self acceptance" and fear of death.

Importance of Studying Fear of Death

The literature on psychopathology and death suggested that death anxiety was closely related to the symptomatology and even possible etiology of neurotic and psychotic disorders. It, therefore, seemed that "death anxiety" was an important variable to study in clinical research.

According to Choron (1964) the most radical position in assigning death a role in the etiology of psychopathology has been taken by a Swiss analyst, Edgar Herzog, who viewed the neurosis as ". . . either a not attempted or not successful coming to terms with the basic elements of the human

situation of which death is most important." (p. 168) The schizophrenic and other psychopathological groups were characterized by Zilboorg (1943) and Feifel (1955) as being preoccupied with thoughts of death. Zilboorg stated in this regard:

> That this fear is prominant in a number of psychopathological conditions every psychiatrist knows. The anxiety neurosis, the phobic states, even a considerable number of depressive suicidal patients and many schizophrenics amply demonstrate that the ever present fear of death becomes woven into the major conflicts of a given psychopathological condition. (p. 465)

Others such as Bellak (1928) have described the primary symptom of psychosis to be ". . . the fear of disintegration and annihilation." (p. 624) Karon (1963) relates the infantile terror behind the schizophrenic's symptoms to a fear of abandonment and death, while Wahl (1955) views many types of psychopathology as essentially representing attempts to bind death anxiety. Searles (1961) even regards schizophrenia, itself, as representing a defense against death. He relates the schizophrenic's intense fear of death to his inability to live fully. Searles (1961) states: "A person cannot bear to face the prospect of inevitable death until he has had the experience of fully living and the schizophrenic has not yet fully lived." (p. 633)

Relationship of Self Acceptance to Fear of Death

Kaufmann (1959) criticized the existentialists as not fully grasping what he considered to be the most important

variable in facing death, namely self satisfaction. He quotes Nietzche as stating it:

> For one thing is needful, that a human being attain his satisfaction with himself. Whether it be by this way or by that, poetry and art; only then is a human being at all tolerable to behold. . . . or as Holderlin says: 'The soul that living did not attain its divine Right cannot repose in the neither world.' But he that has made something of his life can face death without anxiety. 'Once I lived like the Gods and more is not needed.' (p. 62)

Choron (1964) cited cases of famous people who were apparently comfortable in facing their own death because of "self-satisfaction." Maurer (1964) also maintained, "Genuine enjoyment of life seems to be one of the most effective defenses against death anxiety"; (p. 81) thereby also implying the importance of self satisfaction. This theme was also reiterated in a book by Norman O. Brown (1959) who suggested that death can be seen as "friendly" to man if he leads a full life.

Choron (1964) also noted, "It would seem then that it is not so much the fact of having to die in itself as the regret of not having 'lived' ones life or having made a mess of it, that is the main cause of mortal distress." (p. 164)

On the other hand, an alternative hypothesis was formulated by Diggory and Rothman (1961) in their investigation of what about death was feared. These authors suggested that ". . . a person who values himself highly should be more afraid of death than one whose self esteem is low,

because death is the limiting case of loss or destruction of the self." (p. 205) Therefore, the present study was undertaken to discover whether a relationship did, in fact, exist between death anxiety and self acceptance and if so, the nature of this assumed relationship.

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Early Conceptions of Death (Personification of Death and Death Wishes Toward Significant Others)

Piaget (1959) maintained that "child thought starts with an ideal of universal life as its primary assumption." (p. 208) To the young child everything is alive that is active, or initially life is defined in terms of activity or function. Later, it is classified according to motion, and then this is differentiated into spontaneous motion and that caused by an external agent. The precausal confusion between movement and life has been described by Piaget (1959) as follows:

> . . . for the child, every activity is comparable to that of life. Henceforth, to appeal to a motive cause is at the same time to appeal to a living cause, i.e., to one mentally based on a mode endowed with spontaneity if not with intentions. We can now understand how a return shock will give rise to curiousity about death, since the fact of death is an obstacle to these habits of thought; and to curiousity about the causes of life . . . since the course of life can be disturbed by death. (p. 211)

When the child's conceptions of death involve causality, the "cause" is often anthromorphic and finalistic. This is similar to the "personification of death" noted by Nagy (1948).

Wahl (1955), in considering the fear of death in children, concludes that the child's conception of death is a composite of many "mutually contradictory paradoxes." (p. 25)

In elaborating upon this he says, "First death is not conceived of as a possibility in relationship to the self, but conversely, if strong adults die, how can the weaker child survive? Secondly, death is never conceived of as resulting from chance or natural happening." (p. 25) This is similar to Piaget's description of the child's early conception of death. Wahl (1955) also contends that the child's interest in causality intensifies his fear of death. Wahl (1955), like Nagy (1948), notes that causation is personified and ". . . the child feels guilt subsequent to a death as though he were the secret player. Yet, paradoxically, he simultaneously experiences rage toward the decedent, as though he had been deliberately abandoned by that person. Consciously these . . . would be mutually exclusive, but . . . in the unconscious these types of paradoxes can endure in juxtoposition without contradiction." (p. 25)

Wahl (1955) points out that the young child's death wishes are seldom frightening to him since he views death as reversible. However, with the development of the time sense ". . . the child begins to learn that death is neither casual nor reversible and he then becomes frightened and concerned about his death wishes toward his ambivalently loved, significant persons." (p. 24) Wahl (1955) describes the obsessive symptoms that reflect the child's attempt to undo his death wishes:

> . . . the most ancient and popular of children's prayers . . . contains a plea against the fear of death 'If I should die before I wake.' And one

> of the earliest symptoms manifested by the thanatophobic child is his obsessive blessing of persons at the end of his prayer. He will often clearly show his fear that these persons would surely die if he forgot to mention their names in benison or failed to repeat this blessing the proper number of times. (p. 24)

Affective Responses Toward Death

In one of the early studies of the fear of death, Bromberg and Schilder (1933) demonstrated that "normal subjects" had little conscious concern about death. Means (1935) in a study of one thousand college women, found that death was among the top fears cited by her Ss, however, fear of death was specified in terms of the death of others. Middleton (1938) investigated the attitudes of college students toward death and found that 62% of the Ss reported "indifference" as their attitude toward death. In part, a response to Middleton's (1938) findings, Alexander, Colley and Adlerstein (1957) undertook a study, Is Death A Matter of Indifference, suggesting that a questionnaire, such as used by Middleton (1938) taps conscious attitudes toward death. Alexander, Colley and Adlerstein (1957) predicted that at a less conscious level, there would be affective responses to death. These authors used 31 male Princeton undergraduates and administered a word association task which included affect words (sex, school, death) and basal words. Death words were found to be "affective" on both measures, reaction time and response on PGR, which suggested that at a less conscious level, death was a matter of concern to their Ss.

Fear of Death

Heidegger (1954) sees death (or nothingness) as always being present for man and as providing a background upon which time and existence can become meaningful. Life becomes meaningful because of mans' inevitable death, and time is perceived as a result of being faced with death. Heidegger (1954) further contends that accepting ones' death must be accompanied by anxiety and because of this, man often tries to escape from the fact of death. Heidegger (1954) says in this regard, "Even thinking of death is publically considered fear. . . . The One does not allow the courage for anxiety of death to arise." (p. 266) Kaufmann (1956, 1959) sees Heidegger as essentially paraphrasing Freud, but doing so in an ineloquent manner. In contrast, Alexander, Colley and Adlerstein (1957) view Heidegger as being in opposition to Freud, pointing out that Heidegger sees death anxiety as always being present in man and not a derivative fear as has been postulated by Freud.

Freud (1955) described the fear of death as a derivative of castration anxiety, occurring in response to an unresolved oedipal conflict. Freud (1955) states that since we have never experienced death but have, in a general way, experienced castration ". . . through the daily experience of parting with the contents of the bowel and through the loss of the mother's breast which is experienced in weaning . . . ," it is castration rather than death which is feared. (p. 55)

> I therefore, maintain that the fear of death is to be regarded as an analogue of the fear of castration and that the situation to which the ego reacts is the state of being forsaken or deserted by the protecting superego which puts an end to security against every danger. (p. 55)

Fenichel (1948) generally supports Freud's position, but also sees death anxiety as representing ". . . a fear of punishment for death wishes against other persons or a fear of one's own excitement." (p. 208) Bromberg and Schilder (1933) also agree with Freud that fear of death is connected with castration anxiety and see death anxiety as "the fear of loss of something positive. . . ." (p. 3)

In opposition to Freud, Stekel (Choron, 1964) sees all fear as the fear of death. "Anxiety is in the last resort anxiety of the annihilation of the ego . . . one can assume that annihilation of the ego does not mean anything else but death." (p. 130) This controversy seems to involve whether fear is over the loss of the superego (castration anxiety) or whether it is over the loss of the ego itself (death anxiety). Stekel (Choron, 1964) also sees death anxiety as being the prototype of the fear of the unknown. Choron (1964), however, protests saying that death is a "known terminator of life." (p. 131)

Personal Denial of Death

Bromberg and Schilder (1936) found that most of the Ss in their study considered their own deaths to be "improbable." Man's belief in his own immortality was first postulated by

Freud (1915) in Thoughts for Times on War and Death who stated his position regarding mans' belief in immortality as follows:

> Our own death is indeed unimaginable and whenever we make the attempt to imagine it we can perceive that we really survive as spectators. Hence the psychoanalytic school could venture on the same thing in another way, in the unconscious everyone of us is convinced of his own immortality. (Pp 276-277)

Zilboorg (1938, 1943) supported Freud by suggesting that one of the main mechanisms man uses to cope with death anxiety is to deny death and believe in ones' "corporeal immortality."

> We flee from the reality of our eventual death with such purpose and persistence and we employ so patently magical and regressive defenses that these would be so ludricously obvious to us if we should employ them to this degree in any other area of human conflict. (p. 178)

Zilboorg (1943) further points out that "our way of life" fosters this belief:

> Life itself, its truths and fantasies supports and feeds this state of mind. For each funeral announced or attended, there are hundreds of moving picture signs and theatre marquees. (Pp 470-471)

Loeser and Bry (1963) suggest that much of our activity is spent in maintaining a belief in immortality:

> Why . . . are nearly all religions concerned with immortality? Why in our ambitions are we so passionately anxious for something of ourselves, a work of art, a scientific contribution, a business, or just a good name to survive? Why in short do we strive for immortality, at least immortality by proxy. (p. 243)

Mollenhoff (1939) also discusses how man has maintained his "proud edifice of immortality." (p. 154) Choron (1964)

wonders if man's quest for immortality has been increased as a result of the ". . . very real possibility of self annihilation of the human race through the use of atomic weapons. . . ." (p. 18) Choron (1964) predicts:

> The search for certainity and for uncontrovertible proof of survival upon death will continue, for it has proved to be one of the most potent remedies against the fear of death and the haunting sense of the futility of life. (p. 47)

The developmental studies of the young child also support this contention by demonstrating that the child accepts the death of others but denies his own death. Schilder and Wechsler (1934) studied 76 children between the ages of 5-15 and found that children often view death as deprivation and ". . . to the very young child, death seems to be a reversible fact." (p. 421) This latter finding has also been noted by others (Mollenhoff, 1939; Cousinet, 1940; Nagy, 1948; Wahl, 1955). According to Schilder and Wechsler (1934), death is not seen as final because the "child's own deprivations are usually not of a permanent or lasting kind." (p. 428) Although children deny their own death, they can believe in the death of others. A similar observation has been made by Cousinet (1940), Nagy (1948) and Wahl (1955). Schilder and Wechsler (1934) note that the child seems to project his own death ". . . into a future which is so remote that it has very little reality." (p. 428)

Kastenbaum (1955) was interested in whether an adolescent's attitude toward death was ". . . part of the

structuring principle dominant at this point of his life or whether it belonged to a second, discrete psychic organization." (p. 100) In studying the adolescent's conception of time and death, Kastenbaum (1955) reported that the adolescent focuses on the present and tends to keep the past and the future at a distance. The distant future is particularly given negative implications. On the basis of his Ss responses to a group of words (death, good, real, life, bright, myself), Kastenbaum (1955) concluded that death was a discrete psychic organization and that Ss tended to put as much time as possible between themselves and death.

Studies of the aged (Feidel, 1956) suggest that man maintains his belief throughout his life span. Feifel (1956) in a study of physically ill patients, with a mean age of 67, found that these Ss also projected their death into a "distant future."

Sex Differences in the Perception of Death

Although Freud (1955) suggested that death anxiety is a derivative of castration anxiety, few studies have considered the sex of the subject as an important variable in regard to his responses to death. McClelland (1964), however, suggested that the meaning of death may be different for women than men, postulating a Harlequin complex for women which was described as follows: ". . . death is seen as a lover . . . a mysterious dark figure who comes and takes a woman away to her death, a theme which with all its variations we call the Harlequin complex." (p. 199)

McClelland (1964) suggested that the Harlequin complex accounts for the positive meaning death often has for women. He (McClelland, 1964) cited a study by Greenberger (1961) who collected the fantasies of women dying from cancer and compared them with those of women who were hospitalized for a minor illness. Greenberger (1961) found that women who were fatally ill thought ". . . almost twice as often about punishment and illicit sex as the women who were about to go home from the hospital after a minor illness." (p. 199) The Ss responses did not suggest that the "illicit love partner" was the father, so Greenberger (1961) referred to him as Harlequin ". . . the unknown seducer about whom women who are about to die dream more often than those who are hospitalized for a minor illness." (p. 220) McClelland (1964) notes that a somewhat comparable figure for men, La belle dame sans merci, is a castrating figure and generally quite different from Harlequin.

In McClelland's (1964) investigation of the Harlequin complex, he used 40 male and 38 female college students who ranked the following descriptive metaphors of death: "An understanding doctor, a gay seducer, a grinning butcher, a last adventure, a threatening father, a misty abyss, the end of a song." (p. 201) The only significant difference in the rankings was for the women to rank the Harlequin image "a gay seducer," more often then men. However, the Harlequin image ". . . was not particularly popular with

either sex, but significantly more women (66%) than men (40%) ranked it in the upper half of the distribution of ranks." (p. 201) There was also a trend for men to rank "a grinning butcher," more often than women.

McClelland (1964) suggested extending his findings to schizophrenic women who he considers having a heightened concern with death, pointing out that key elements in the Harlequin complex, "A concern with punishment and illicit sexuality" also characterize schizophrenic women. McClelland (1964) says in this regard:

> For death stands for the demon lover--the symbol of a woman's own life urges which is expressed paradoxically in the thought of yielding or dying. He appears in many guises. We have called him Harlequin. . . . But whatever he is called, he has seduced many Columbines, both on stage and on real life; he comes to comfort middle-aged women who tire of their husbands and to thrill older women nearing death when no mortal lover can take his place; and he has trapped many a wretched woman into a terrifying death while she is yet alive, a state which modern science has labeled schizophrenia. (p. 212)

Bromberg and Schilder (1936) have likewise noted that death represents for certain individuals ". . . an equivalent for the final sexual union with the ideal mate. . . ." McClelland's (1964) findings further suggest the developmental study by Nagy (1948) of the child's conceptions of death. Nagy (1948) described an early stage where death is personified by the child and depicted as either "the reaper idea" or the "death man."

Death is also personified in Freud's (1913) essay, The Theme of Three Caskets, a story of a man who has to

choose among three women. According to Freud's (1913) interpretation of this folklore, the third woman, the one chosen symbolizes death.

Death Depicted as Occurring by Violent Means

Because the child denies his own death, Schilder and Wechsler (1934) concluded that he has little fear of death. Death is viewed by the child as punishment for wrong doing and results from the hostility of others. "It, therefore, does not fear to die, but does have a fear of being murdered." (p. 449) As a result of his own aggressivity, the child sees death as taking place through violence. Others (Bromberg and Schilder, 1933; Mollenhoff, 1939; Bender, 1953) have also observed that children associate aggression and punishment with death.

Mollenhoff (1939) found that the child's attitudes toward death were fluctuating and inconsistent, although she concluded that children generally tend to deny the finality of death and to connect death with thoughts of violence, killing, aggression and mutilization. Death wishes toward parents were also frequently found in the responses of her Ss.

STATEMENT OF PROBLEM

Major Questions

The main purpose of this investigation was to discover whether there was a relationship between self acceptance and fear of death and if so, the nature of this relationship. The specific questions asked were:

1. Is death anxiety (as measured by the difference in size between the draw a person task and the draw a dead person task) related to self satisfaction (as measured by the ideal-true self Q sort)?
2. Is death anxiety (as measured by the difference in latency of response time between death words and basal words) related to self satisfaction (as measured by the ideal-true self Q sort)?

The following questions were asked in regard to the above two measures of death anxiety: (the word association task and the drawing task)

1. Will Ss manifest death anxiety by drawing a smaller figure for the "draw a dead person" than for the "draw a person?"
    a. Will male Ss differ from female Ss on this measure of death anxiety?
2. Will Ss manifest death anxiety by having a longer reaction time to death words than to basal words?

a. Will male Ss differ from female Ss on this measure of death anxiety?

3. Do the drawing task (draw a person minus draw a dead person) and the word association task (death words minus basal words) both measure the same construct: death anxiety?

Minor Questions

The investigation also included a general exploration of some of the variables which had been previously suggested in the literature as being relevant to an individual's attitude toward death. The specific questions asked were:

1. Do Ss draw the dead person as male or female?
2. Are the drawings of dead persons, as described in stories about them, identified as real people the Ss know?
   a. If this is so, is there evidence of death wishes toward the "significant others" in the Ss life?
3. Do Ss project their own death far into the distant future?
4. Do Ss deny a fear of death?
5. Is death depicted as occurring by violent means?

METHOD

Sample

Twenty male and twenty female college undergraduates enrolled in introductory courses in psychology at Michigan State University were used as Ss. The mean age for male Ss was 19 and the mean age for the female Ss was 18.8. The mean and range of ages for Ss in the present sample are shown in Table 1 below.

Table 1. The Mean and Range of Ages of Male and Female Subjects

	Range	Mean
Male	18-22	19
Female	17-21	18.8

Procedure

A counterbalanced design was used with 20 Ss (10 males, 10 females) participating in Procedure One and 20 Ss (10 males, 10 females) following Procedure Two. Since the draw a dead person and word association tasks were assumed to be anxiety provoking, and it was unknown what effect the Q sort and draw a person would have on the Ss, it seemed

important to control for possible order effects by counterbalancing these tasks. Procedure One and Procedure Two are shown below.

Procedure One

1. Word Association task.
2. Q sort.
   a. true sort
   b. ideal sort
3. Draw a Person.
4. Draw a Dead Person.
5. Story about first drawing. Specific questions about drawing, if not previously indicated in story.
6. Story about second drawing. Specific questions about drawing, if not previously indicated in story.
7. Interview.

Procedure Two

1. Q sort.
   a. true sort
   b. ideal sort
2. Word Association task.
3. Draw a Dead Person.
4. Draw a Person.
5. Story about first drawing. Specific questions about drawing, if not previously indicated in story.
6. Story about second drawing. Specific questions about drawing, if not previously indicated in story.
7. Interview.

All Ss were initially told: "The purpose of this experiment will be discussed after the session." When the word association task was presented first (Procedure One), the S was brought into the experimental room and seated in front of the E with his back to the E. The instructions for the word association task were:

> Your first task will be to respond to a list of words. I am going to say a word and I want you to say the first word that comes to mind. There is no right or wrong answer, just say the first word that occurs to you.

The words were presented aloud by the E to the S, with the E recording the Ss responses and reaction time.

When the Q sort was presented first (Procedure Two), the S was seated across the table from the E. The instructions for the "true" Q sort were the following:

> Now you will be presented with a group of 100 statements. You are to sort these cards to describe yourself as you see yourself today, from those that are least like you to those that are most like you.

The S was then handed written instructions and was told:

> Here are more detailed instructions. Please place your initials and today's date in the upper right hand corner. When you have finished sorting the statements, please let me know.

When the S indicated that he had completed the task ("true" Q sort), he changed seats with the E who recorded the Ss responses while the S sorted the cards for the "ideal" sort. The following instructions were given for the "ideal" Q sort:

> Now sort these cards to describe your ideal person, the person you would most like within yourself to be. Here again are written instructions, please let me know when you have finished sorting these statements.

The S was handed written instructions for the "ideal" Q sort.

After completing the Q sort, the Ss were handed two 9" x 9" blank papers and were told: "This is the last task." In Procedure One, the Ss did the Draw a Person task first, in Procedure Two, the Ss first drew a dead person. The instructions for Draw a Person were: "Please draw a person." The instructions for Draw a Dead Person were: "Please draw a dead person." After both drawings were

finished, the Ss first drawing was presented and the S was instructed: "Tell a story about this person." The E recorded the Ss story and then presented the second drawing and asked the S: "Now tell a story about this person."

After the S had completed each story, the following information was obtained by direct questioning if it had not been included in the story:

Draw a Person

1. Age and sex of person in drawing.
2. What person in drawing is like.
3. Does person like him (or) herself. Why (or) why not? What does he (or) she like most . . . least about him (or) herself.
4. If this person could have three wishes, what would they be.

Draw a Dead Person

1. Age and sex of person in drawing.
2. What person in drawing is like.
3. How did person die.
4. How did others feel about his death.
5. Was this person afraid of dying.
6. Did he (or) she know it was going to happen . . . would he (or) she have liked to have known . . . why (or) why not.
7. What is death like.
8. Is this the same person as in the other drawing.

After the drawing task the Ss were told: "Now I would like to get some background information about you." The following information was obtained from each S during the interview:

Interview

1. Ss age.
2. Year in school.
3. Major in school.
4. Occupation of parents and amount of education.

5. Religious affiliation, and how religious the S considered himself to be.
6. Whether anyone close to the S had died, if so when and who this was, and the Ss reaction to this.
7. The Ss own feelings about death, whether he is afraid of it, whether he thinks about it, and if so, how often he thinks about it, and how he pictures his own death.

The purpose of the experiment was then explained to the S.

Q-Sort Rationale

Rogers (1954), in describing the use of the Q-sort technique to measure changes in self-concept resulting from client-centered therapy, asserted that self-perceptions can be ordered along a continuum from "like me" to "unlike me." He further stated: "The discrepancy between the placements of a given characteristic on the self scale and ideal scale would yield an indication of self-esteem. It would indicate operationally not only the way in which the individual perceived himself as possessing this given characteristic but the degree to which he values this state." (p. 56) Following this line of reasoning, the present author utilized the relationship between "ideal" and "true" self sorts as an indication of self-acceptance.

Q-Sort

The Q-sort universe of 100 self referent statements and the written instructions presented to the Ss were described by Rogers (1954) (see Appendix I for Q sort universe). The written instructions for the "true" sort were:

> Your task is to sort these 100 statements so as to yield a picture of yourself as you perceive yourself today. Those statements placed at Pile No. 8 should be most like (characteristic or significant of you)--those at Pile No. 0 should be those least like you. Those placed at the middle (No. 4) are just not important for one reason or another.
>
> When you are finished please count to see that you have the required number of cards in each pile. Those numbers are indicated on each of the Pile No. cards.

The written instructions for the "ideal" sort were:

> Sort these cards in terms of the 'person you would like to be.' When you have finished, please be sure you have the required number of cards in each pile.

A product moment correlation coefficient was computed between the "ideal self" and "true self" for each S. This correlation coefficient was used throughout as the measure of the relationship between the "true" and "ideal" self, and is referred to as the "true self - ideal self" Q sort.

Word Association Rationale

Bromberg and Schilder (1933) observed that "normal" Ss had little conscious concern about death. However, Alexander, Colley and Adlerstein (1957) demonstrated that affective involvement in the concept of death could be tapped using less conscious measures of the response. Alexander, Colley and Adlerstein found that Princeton undergraduates responded to death words with strong affect as measured by word latency and PGR. These investigators found that both PGR and reaction time were sensitive to the emotional response of the subject. It was, therefore, decided to use the difference in word latency between death

words and basal words as a measure of death anxiety. (The basal words were used as a type of "base rate" measure of the Ss general response time to words that were assumed to be relatively "neutral" or, at least, not "anxiety provoking.")

Word Association Task

The words in the present study are the same as those used by Alexander, Colley and Adlerstein (1957). The words were chosen from the Thorndike Lorge Teachers Book of 30,000 Words, and were matched for length, word frequency and number of syllables. The list included 27 words and 5 preliminary words (see Appendix 2 for the list of words). There were four groups of words: 3 death words, 3 sex words, 3 school words, and 8 basal words. The affective words (sex and school) have previously been shown by the above authors to have affective meaning to college undergraduates. The words were randomized with the exception that two death words did not immediately follow each other on a list. The mean difference in reaction time between death and basal words were tabulated for each S.

Drawing Rationale

Leonard Handler (1964) studied the relationship between GSR and anxiety indices in projective drawings and concluded that the symbolic material of the drawings brings about varying degrees of anxiety in the S depending upon the

specific symbolic nature of their content. He found that anxiety was associated with a number of characteristics of figure drawings, among these "small size" yielded a significant measure of anxiety.

It was, therefore, decided to use figure drawings of the "dead person" and "draw a person" and compare their respective measured areas as another means of assessing death anxiety.

Drawings*

The drawings were measured as to total size by using a transparent grid which had been divided into square mm. The size of drawing of the "dead person" was compared with the size of the drawing of the "person" to see if the "dead person" was significantly smaller than the drawing of the "person."

The two drawings for each S (Draw a Person, Draw a Dead Person) were also compared as to size, with the difference in size between the two drawings being used as an index of anxiety.

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*Dr. Paul Bakan originally suggested using drawings of a "dead person" as a technique for investigating death anxiety.

RESULTS

Males

A Spearman rank order correlation was computed between the difference in latency between death words and basal words (death words minus basal words) and the true - ideal Q sort. When the S misunderstood a word, so that word was repeated, the reaction time to that word was omitted. When this procedure was used, the resulting Spearman rank order correlation between the difference in latency and the Q sort correlation coefficient was .09, with 19 df, which was not significant. When all words were included in the word list, even though they had been repeated, the resulting rank order correlation between the difference in latency, between the death words and the basal words, and the Q sort yielded a rank order correlation coefficient of -.23, with 19 df, which was not significant.

A Spearman rank order correlation was also computed between the difference in drawing size, as measured in square m.m., between the two drawings for each S (draw a person minus draw a dead person) and the Q sort. The resulting rank order correlation coefficient equaled .31, with 19 df, which was not significant.

A Spearman rank order correlation was also computed between the two measures of death anxiety, the drawings and

the word association task (omitting repeated words). The rank order correlation equaled .17, with 19 df, which was not significant.

Table 2 (below) summarizes the above findings for the Male Ss.

Table 2. The Findings Between Major Variables for Male Ss Using the Spearman Rank Order Correlation

Variables	rho	df	Significance Level
1. Difference between response time for death words and basal words (repeated words omitted), and Q sort.	.09	19	$p > .05$ (n.s.)
2. Difference between response time for death words and basal words (all words included), and Q sort.	-.23	19	$p > .05$ (n.s.)
3. Difference in drawing size between draw a dead person and draw a person, and Q sort.	.31	19	$p > .05$ (n.s.)
4. Difference between response time for death words and basal words (repeated words omitted), and difference in drawing size between draw a dead person and draw a person.	.17	19	$p > .05$ (n.s.)

n.s. = not significant

The size of the two drawings (draw a dead person and draw a person) were compared, with the size being measured

in square m.m. The drawings of the dead person were significantly smaller than the drawings of a person with t equal to 3.61, 19 df, p less than .005.

A t was also computed between the reaction time to death words and basal words. All words were included. The death words had a significantly longer reaction time than the basal words with t = 1.93, df = 38, p less than .05 (one-sided). Table 3 (below) shows the mean reaction time for the male Ss to the words in the word association task.

Table 3. The Mean Reaction Time to Basal, Sex, School, and Death Words for Male Ss

	Basal	Sex	School	Death
Males	1.98	2.51	1.95	2.41

Females

A Spearman rank order correlation was computed between the difference in reaction time to death words and basal words (death words minus basal words) and the true - ideal Q sort. When the repeated words were omitted, the rank order correlation between the difference in latency between death words and basal words and the Q sort yielded a rank order correlation of .13, with 19 df, which was not significant. When all the words were used, the resulting rank order correlation between the difference in latency time

between death words and basal words, and the Q sort yielded a rank order correlation of .09, with 19 df, which was not significant.

A Spearman rank order correlation was also computed between the difference in drawing size as measured in square m.m. between the two drawings for each S (draw a person minus draw a dead person) and the Q sort. The computed rank order correlation of .44, with 19 df, was significant with p less than .05 (two-sided). (It should be noted that this finding indicates that the lower one's self-esteem, the lower one's death anxiety.)

A Spearman rank order correlation computed between the two measures of death anxiety, drawings and the word association task (omitting repeated words), yielded a rank order correlation of .13, with 19 df, which was not significant.

Table 4 (on the following page) summarizes the above findings for the Female Ss.

The difference in size as measured in square m.m., between the drawings of the dead person and the draw a person resulted in a t equal to 4.34, 19 df, with p less than .005 (one-sided). The drawings of the dead person were significantly smaller than the drawings of the person.

A t was computed between the reaction time to death words and the reaction time to basal words. All words were included. The death words had a significantly longer reaction time, with t equal to 2.35, df = 38, p less than .025

Table 4. The Findings Between Major Variables for Female Ss Using the Spearman Rank Order Correlation

Variables	rho	df	Significance Level
1. Difference between response time for death words and basal words (repeated words omitted), and Q sort.	.13	19	$p > .95$ (n.s.)
2. Difference between response time for death words and basal words (all words included), and the Q sort.	.09	19	$p > .05$ (n.s.)
3. Difference in drawing size between draw a dead person and draw a person, and the Q sort.	.44	19	$p < .05$
4. Difference between response time for death words and basal words (repeated words omitted), and difference in drawing size between draw a dead person and draw a person.	.13	19	$p > .05$ (n.s.)

n.s. = not significant

(one-sided). Table 5 (below) shows the mean reaction time for the female Ss to the words in the word association task.

Table 5. The mean Reaction Time to Basal, Sex, School, and Death Words for Female Ss.

	Basal	Sex	School	Death
Females	2.08	2.84	2.25	2.58

Males and Females (Combined)

Inasmuch as there was a significant correlation (.44) between self acceptance, as measured by the Q sort, and death anxiety, as measured by drawings, for the female Ss, while the male Ss showed a similar, but not significant correlation (.31) between these two measures, it seemed reasonable to ask whether the findings for the two groups were significantly different. The rank order correlations were transferred to Fisher's Z transformation. This difference between the two Z's yielded a normal deviate of .44 which is clearly not significant. Therefore, the findings do not seem to be different for the two sexes. The two independent findings were combined to assess the combined significance by adding the two Z transformations and testing against the hypothesis of zero correlation. This yields a normal deviate of 2.311 which reaches the .02 level of significance (two-sided).

A t was computed between the sexes as to the difference in reaction time (death words minus basal words, all words included). This t between males and females equaled .221, with df = 38, which was not significant.

A t was also computed between the sexes as to the difference in drawing size (draw a person minus draw a dead person) as measured in square m.m. The mean difference in drawing size for the males was 21.75 square m.m., while the mean difference in size of drawing for the females was 19.50. The computed t between the size of male and female drawings

yielded a t equal to .301, with df = 38, which was not significant. (Thus, there does not seem to be a significant difference between males and females on these measures of death anxiety.)

For both sexes the percentage of male figures were greater in the draw a dead person than on the draw a person task. Table 6 (below) shows the number of male and the number of female figures drawn by male and female Ss in the draw a person and draw a dead person tasks.

Table 6. The Number of Males and Females Drawn in the Draw a Person and Draw a Dead Person by the Male and Female Ss

		Male Ss: Draw a Dead Person M	Male Ss: Draw a Dead Person F			Female Ss: Draw a Dead Person M	Female Ss: Draw a Dead Person F	
Draw a Person	M	17	0	17	M	7	1	8
	F	3	0	3	F	7	5	12
		20	0	20		14	6	20

The computed p for the change of sex in the "dead persons" for the male Ss, using McNemar's test of repeated measures, yielded a p equal to .25 (two-sided) which was not significant because of the small n. However, all of the male Ss drew a male dead person. The p for the change of sex in the "dead persons" for the female Ss, using McNemar's test,

equaled .07 (two-sided) which was just short of significance. Since both findings were in the same direction, and not significantly different from each other, it seemed reasonable to combine the two samples (male and female Ss), which resulted in a p equal to .012 (two-sided) which was clearly significant. The Ss (males and females) drew more male than female dead persons than would be expected by chance.

Qualitative Findings

Identification of Dead Persons in Drawings - Death Wishes Toward Significant Others

The drawings of the dead person and stories about these drawings were examined. Many of the Ss drew people that they knew, often parents or relatives who were still living, suggesting possible death wishes toward these individuals.

Several Ss actually specified that the "dead person" was a parent who was still living. For example, a male S, one of three children, who's father was a farmer (presently living) told the following story in regard to his male dead person: "This person was in an automobile accident. He was coming home one night and ran into another car, the other person that was driving was intoxicated. He had three children and a wife that he left behind. His estate, which was a farm, will now have to be divided with the children all getting an equal share." When asked if he could identify the person in this drawing, the S replied, "It could be my father."

A female S who described, during the interview, feeling somewhat "confined" at home--related the following story as to why this person had died: ". . . I think people die for a lot of reasons, maybe if your father dies, maybe he was so domineering when he died maybe you have a chance to be more independent and you can think for yourself or if mother dies and you've been under her wing, but then you're free and can become a great person, if loved one dies of cancer, you become a great crusader for cancer . . . is it almost time?" (The S appeared most anxious).

Anticipated Age of Death

Both male and female Ss described the dead person as being relatively young. For the male Ss, the mean age for 65% of the "dead persons" was 33.2 (range 25-45). (15% had a mean age of 62, range 54-67, and 20% had a mean age of 75, range 72-85.) Table 7 (below) indicates the age of death for the figures in the draw a dead person (for the male Ss).

Table 7. The Age of the Dead Person on the Draw a Dead Person Task for Male Ss

	Mean Age	Range	Percent of "dead persons" in Specified Age Categories
Draw a Dead Person	33.2	25-45	67%
	62	54-67	15%
	76	72-85	20%

For the female Ss, the mean age of 75% of the "dead persons" was 36.6 (range 17-50). (15% had a mean age of 66.7, range 51-70, 5% had an age of 96, and 5% did not respond.) Table 8 (below) indicates the age of death for the figures in the draw a dead person (for the female Ss).

Table 8. The Age of the Dead Person on the Draw a Dead Person Task for Female Ss

	Mean Age	Range	Percent of "dead persons" in Specified Age Categories
Draw a Dead Person	36.6	17-50	75%
	66.7	51-70	15%
	96	96	5%
		no response	5%

The ages for the "dead person," however, are different from those expected by the S in regard to the age of his own death. Table 9 (below) indicates the age at which the male Ss said they expect to die.

Table 9. The Age at Which Male Ss Said They Expected to Die

70 years or over	67%
Younger than 70	8%
No response	25%

Sixty-seven percent of the male Ss felt they would be 70 years or older when they die, 8% saw themselves dying before the age of 70, and 25% refused to answer this question.

Table 10 (below) indicates the expected age of death for the female Ss.

Table 10. The Age at Which Female Ss Said They Expected to Die

70 years or over	10%
Younger than 70	40%
No response	50%

Ten percent of the female Ss felt they would be 70 years or older when they die, 40% saw themselves dying before the age of 70, and 50% refused to answer this question.

Fear of Death

When the Ss were asked if they were afraid of death, 30% of the males and 25% of the females said they were afraid of dying. Table 11 (below) indicates the percentage of Ss who said they were afraid of death.

Table 11. Percentage of Male and Female Ss who Stated They Were Afraid of Death

	Afraid of Death	Not Afraid of Death
Males	30%	70%
Females	25%	75%

The Occurrence of Death by Violent Means

Table 12 (below) shows the type of death described by the male Ss in regard to the "draw a dead person." These responses have been classified as natural or passive vs. violent or sudden.

Table 12. The Type of Death Described by the Male Ss in Regard to the Draw a Dead Person

Natural or Passive Death		Violent or Sudden Death	
Working	1	Auto accident	4
Heart condition	2	Hanging	1
Laughing	1 (?)	Fell off trapeeze	1
Old age	3	Alcoholism	1
	7	Fell off ladder	1
		Shot	2
		Crushed by coal	1
		Beaten up	1
		Knifed	1
			13

65% of the male responses have been classified as violent or sudden, 35% as natural or passive.

The female Ss' descriptions of the type of death that occurred to the "dead person" have been summarized in Table 13 (on the following page). These have, likewise, been classified as natural or passive vs. violent or sudden.

Table 13. The Type of Death Described by the Female Ss in Regard to the Draw a Dead Person

Natural or Passive Death		Violent or Sudden Death	
Sleeping	3	Auto accident	5
Blood clot	1	Gun shot	1
Heart condition	4	Concussion	1
	8	Pain from disease	1
		Blunt instrument	1
		Freak accident	1
		Fell off building	1
		Starved to death	1
			12

60% of the female responses have been classified as violent or sudden, and 40% as natural or passive.

DISCUSSION

The main purpose of this investigation was to discover whether there was a relationship between self acceptance and fear of death and if so, the nature of this relationship. Kaufmann (1959), Brown (1959), Choron (1964), and Maurer (1964) have suggested that "leading a full life," and being satisfied with oneself were "effective defenses" against death anxiety. However, Diggory and Rothman (1961) speculated that Ss who valued themselves highly would be more afraid of death than Ss with low self esteem, since death involved destruction of the self. The present study measured the relationship between self acceptance (using the Q sort) and fear of death using two different measures of "death anxiety": drawings (the difference in size between the "draw a person" and the "draw a dead person") and a word association task (the difference in latency of response time between death words and basal words).

For both male and female Ss no significant relationship was found between the Q sort (between true and ideal self) and the word association task, both when repeated words were omitted and when all words were included. However, a significant (positive) relationship was found between death anxiety (as measured by the drawings) and the Q sort for

the female Ss. The results for the male and female Ss were combined (since they were not significantly different from one another) and again a significant (positive) relationship was found to exist between self satisfaction and death anxiety (as measured by these drawings). This finding that Ss who are relatively satisfied with themselves have more death anxiety than Ss who manifested less self acceptance, lends support to the position of Diggory and Rothman (1961). These authors suggested that death would be most frightening to Ss with relatively high self esteem, since death involved destruction of the self.

The question was raised, in the initial part of this paper, whether the drawing task and the word association task were related, e.g., whether they both seemed to measure the same construct, death anxiety. This question was explored by computing a Spearman rank order correlation between the reaction time on the word association task (death words minus basal words) and the size of drawings (draw a person minus draw a dead person). The findings (a non-significant correlation) suggested that these two measures were not related. Nevertheless, when the drawings and the word association task were independently examined for both sexes, both instruments seemed to measure anxiety in regard to death. The drawings of the dead person were significantly smaller (for both sexes) than the draw a dead person (p less than .005). (It was previously noted that Handler (1964) found

that "small size" was an index of anxiety in figure drawings.) On the word association task, the other measure of death anxiety, the death words were more "affective" than the basal words, for both males and females, as measured by reaction time. There was a significantly longer reaction time for the death words than the basal words. The findings in this case, however, did not reach as high a level of significance (.05) for the males and (.025) for females, as did the figure drawings (.005).

Since both the drawings and the word association task seemed to measure anxiety in regard to death, yet there were discrepant findings with the two measures of death anxiety and the Q sort, it is possible that these instruments are measuring different "aspects" of death anxiety. Furthermore, that aspect of death anxiety which was measured in the drawings is, somehow, related to the way the subject feels about himself, while there was no similar relationship between the responses on the word association task and the Ss self acceptance. Although these responses to death (as measured by both the word association task and the drawings) may be "affective" and "negative" in connotation, neither instrument seems to be refined enough to indicate what specific aspect of the broad spectrum "death anxiety" has been measured.

Freud (1915) implied that there would be a difference between males and females in their response to death by suggesting that death anxiety was a derivative of castration

anxiety. McClelland (1964) also observed that death had a different meaning for males and females, noting a "Harlequin complex" where death is attractive to certain females. The present study, therefore, examined the differences between the sexes in regard to both the word association task and the drawings to see if there was a significant difference between the two sexes on these measures of death anxiety. However, on both the word association task (death words minus basal words) and the drawings (draw a person minus draw a dead person) there was no significant difference between males and females. It, therefore, seemed reasonable to conclude that although death may have a different meaning for males and females, death is generally frightening to both sexes (particularly those Ss who are relatively satisfied with themselves).

Another question raised in this study was: "Are the 'dead persons' drawn as male or female?" In the combined male and female Ss' drawings, there were significantly more males than females drawn as dead persons. This may reflect, in part, our present culture where death seems to occur (wars, cowboy movies, etc.) more often to men than women. However, this finding could also be related to the fact that death is often depicted as occurring through violence and aggression, which is more often associated with males than females. The prevalence of male figures as "dead persons" could further reflect the reluctance in our present

society to condemn women to death (e.g., capital punishment). Perhaps, it is more frightening to conceptualize death as taking place to a woman because symbolically a woman represents life by the fact of her bearing children and, therefore, the death of a woman may suggest, in a general sense, the end of the species.

According to Choron (1964), the ancient Greeks differentiated between Thanatos, a natural death and Ker, a death of violence, madness or disease. It seems that historically there has been a change from primarily picturing death as slow and natural (more like Thanatos), to perceiving it as more like Ker. This seems relevant to the qualitative findings in the present study where most (65% of the males and 60% of the females) depicted death (in regard to the "dead persons") as primarily occurring by violent means. Schilder and Wechsler (1934) suggested that the child sees death as taking place through violence because of his own aggression. It is, therefore, possible that the drawings of the "dead person," in some way, were projections of the S's own aggression. This was further suggested by the qualitative findings that many of the Ss drew people that they knew, often parents or relatives who were still living, suggesting possible death wishes toward these individuals. The death anxiety manifested in the relatively small drawings of the "dead person" may, in part, have reflected the Ss anxiety regarding death wishes toward these "significant

others," or anxiety regarding his own aggression. Nagy (1948) and Wahl (1959) have suggested that when the child reaches the developmental stage where the finality of death is recognized, his death wishes become frightening and there are attempts to magically undo them. There are also fears of retaliation which are conceptualized as occurring through violent means.

Although the general behavior of the Ss during the interview about death, as well as the Ss responses on the two measures of death anxiety suggested that they were indeed afraid of death, over half of the male and female Ss denied this fear. Others (Bromberg and Schilder, 1933; Middleton, 1938) have also found that at a conscious level Ss deny a fear of death. Alexander, Colley and Adlerstein (1957), therefore, concluded that less conscious measures were needed to get at the phenomena of death anxiety.

Man's belief in his own immortality was first postulated by Freud (1915), but has since been reiterated by others (Bromberg and Schilder, 1936; Zilboorg, 1938, 1943; Mollenhoff, 1939; Feifel, 1956; Loeser and Bry, 1963). The qualitative findings in the present study suggest that the Ss (particularly male Ss) deny their own deaths by extending it far into the distant future. As one male S commented, ". . . I think I'll be 85 or 90, I'd like to be 101." In fact, 25% of the male Ss and 50% of the female Ss refused to answer this question as to their expected age

of death. It almost appeared that, in a magical way, stating an age of these Ss represented a type of committment to death itself. It seems likely that one reason man can "acclaim" his own death in statements such as "Better dead than Red," or in advocating nuclear war, is that each person is convinced, at some level, that he will not die. In considering the psychological consequences of this personal denial of death, Wahl (1959) maintains that the repression of death is psychologically harmful because of the considerable psychic energy which must be expended in binding this fact. Feifel (1963), however, points out that man needs "to face death" as well as "to face away from it," citing the case of WW II pilots who were able to maintain themselves psychologically during extreme danger by believing in their own immortality.

Limitations of Present Study and Suggestions for Future Research

One could speculate that what is most highly valued by the subject in life will be related to what is most frightening about death. This could be inferred from the position of Diggory and Rothman (1961) who suggested that Ss who valued themselves highly (had high self esteem) would fear death because it involved loss of self. It would also be possible to include castration anxiety in this context, e.g. to those Ss who valued "libidinal pleasures" most in life, death would symbolize a type of castration, and castration would

be feared. This hypothesis that what is most important to the individual in life is related to what is feared in death also seems relevant to the finding of Rosenthal (1961) who suggested that the individual who is "possessive" in life is disturbed by death because he ". . . cannot let go in life . . . and cannot let go of life. Letting go to these individuals represents defeat. The fear of death becomes unconsciously equated with the fear of defeat." (Pp 626-627)

The present study can be criticized in regard to the breadth of the two variables, particularly in regard to "death anxiety." It would have been more useful if different aspects of death anxiety had been delineated, or if the term had been more narrowly defined. Choron (1964) has criticized much of the research on death anxiety on this basis. Choron (1964) contends that what is meant by "fear" is not clearly specified and he states in this regard: ". . . so many authors, when using this term 'fear of death' obviously mean it in a broader sense, including aversion, strong dislike, uneasiness and so forth, it is obvious that it would contribute to the clarification of the phenomena of death fear if one were to differentiate between the broader meaning of the term and the instances where it is intended to designate actual fear." (p. 71) He (Choron, 1964) further suggests that it would be useful to distinguish between situations where there is an actual possibility of

death and those where there are anticipations of death, also differentiating between the object or contents of the death fear, e.g., "Is it fear of what happens after death, fear of the process of dying or fear of the end of one's existence?" (p. 72)

In attempting to more specifically relate certain personality characteristics to different aspects of death anxiety, Grotjahn (Choron, 1964) has speculated in regard to the relationship between certain psychosexual stages and specific fears of death. For example, Grotjahn (Choron, 1964) related death anxiety at the oral stage to a fear of annihilation while at the anal stage, fear of death was associated with "loss of feces." It would be possible to empirically ascertain what specific fears of death adults "fixated" at different psychosexual stages had in regard to death. It has also been postulated that psychopathological groups differ in what they fear about death. For example, it has been suggested (Bromberg and Schilder, 1936) that the hysteric most often fears separation in regard to death. Others (Bellak, 1928; Bettleheim, 1955; Burton, 1960) have referred to the schizophrenic's fear of "destruction."

The present investigation can also be criticized for using a college population to test the hypothesis that self satisfaction is related to fear of death. It seems likely that this group of Ss have not "lived fully," nor attained their goals by way of their being in college. This contention

was expressed by one male S who said, "Well, I'm afraid of death only in the respect I want to accomplish something." It may have been more appropriate to have tested this hypothesis using a group of geriatric Ss; a group who were satisfied with their lives, felt as though they had accomplished their goals and a group who were dissatisfied with their lives. It would be possible to compare these groups in regard to death anxiety and also acceptance of their own death.

One of the difficulties with the word association task in the present study was how to handle "repeated words" or words that were misunderstood by the S. It may be useful in future research to shift the task from an auditory to a visual presentation. It would be possible to present words tachistoscopically and note the recognition threshold for the words. One could, for example, predict higher recognition thresholds for death words than basal words. It is also possible that the words used in the present study (death, burial, funeral) were relatively "mild" death words, particularly in regard to the finding of association between violence and death. More death words representing different aspects of "death anxiety" could be used and compared in future research. The most valuable instrument in the present study was the drawing task (draw a dead person) and the stories told in regard to these drawings. It proved to be a fruitful source for gathering information and exploring the psychological phenomena of death.

SUMMARY

Twenty male and twenty female college undergraduates at Michigan State University were used in a study to investigate the relationship between self acceptance and fear of death. Self acceptance was measured by the relationship between true self and ideal self on the Q sort. Two measures of death anxiety were utilized: Reaction time on a word association task (death words minus basal words), and the difference in drawing size as measured in square m.m., between the "draw a person," and "draw a dead person" task.

A significant relationship was found to exist between the measure of self satisfaction, the Q sort, and death anxiety, as measured by the difference in drawing size (draw a person minus draw a dead person). The Ss who were most satisfied with themselves were also most anxious about death. However, there was no significant relationship between the Q sort and the other measure of death anxiety, reaction time on the word association task. It was hypothesized that these two measures of death anxiety (size of drawing and word latency on the word association task) were tapping different aspects of the broad phenomena of "death anxiety." It was, therefore, suggested that "death anxiety" should be more narrowly defined in future research. Both measures (size of

drawings and word latency) independently seemed to reflect anxiety in regard to death. The findings for the male and female Ss were similar, and both groups of Ss manifested death anxiety on the two tasks.

An interview and stories about the dead person were used to explore variables which had previously been reported in the literature as bearing an important relationship to psychological responses to death. These qualitative findings suggested that the Ss consciously denied a fear of death as well as projecting their own deaths far into the "distant future." The "dead person," in the drawings, was primarily depicted as being male by both male and female Ss. The stories about the dead person suggested that death is often perceived as occurring through violence. These stories further suggested death wishes toward parents. It was speculated that what is most highly valued in life, will be related to what is most feared in death. This hypothesis would include the idea of death as castration, which would be the most frightening aspect of death to those Ss who valued libidinal pleasures in life. Possibilities for future research were also suggested.

APPENDICES

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

I. Theoretical

- A. Psychoanalytic
  - 1. Death Instinct
  - 2. Death Anxiety
  - 3. Belief in Immortality
- B. Existentialism

II. Empirical

- A. Genetic Studies
  - 1. The Child and Death - Developmental Studies
  - 2. The Adolescent and Death
  - 3. The Aged and Death
- B. Psychopathology and the Fear of Death
- C. The Meaning of Death
- D. Responses to Death

THEORETICAL

PSYCHOANALYTIC

In considering psychoanalytic theory, attention will be focused upon Freud's three main tenets regarding death. These may be conceptualized as follows: 1. The existence of a death instinct. 2. Fear of death as a derivative of castration anxiety. 3. Man's belief in his own immortality. Each of these three positions will be considered separately along with the (theoretical) literature which has evolved in response to them.

Death Instinct

Freud (1920), in Beyond the Pleasure Principle, presented the view that a death instinct exists in all organisms. He arrived at this position by first separating the aggressive drives from the sexual drives. This was followed by noting a "repetition compulsion" (a compulsion to repeat painful and traumatic experiences) which seemed to be contrary to the pleasure principle. Freud (1920) postulated an instinct which reflected the tendency for organic matter to return to an earlier state. This death instinct was characterized by Freud (1920) as: ". . . the aim of all life is death . . . and inanimate things existed before living ones." (Pp 70-71) He described his position as dualistic and stated:

". . . we describe the opposition not being between ego instincts and sexual instincts but between life instincts and death instincts." (p. 93) Freud (1939), in Civilization and its Discontents, again pointed to the importance of the conflict between Eros and the Death Instinct by saying, "This struggle . . . is what all life essentially consists of and so the evolution of civilization may be simply described as the struggle of the human species for existence." (p. 103)

There is considerable literature in opposition to Freud's postulation of a death instinct. However, it is generally known that even those analysts who support Freud's other tenets do not hold to this proposition. Jones (1957) noted that few analysts even employ the term "death instinct" and the ones who do seem to use it in a way which is different from Freud's original intention. Jones (1957) concludes that since so little empirical support exists for a death instinct, factors in Freud's own personality are the main source of its inception, pointing out that "As far back as we know anything of his life he seems to have been prepossessed by thoughts about death. . . ." (p. 279)

Although a secondary position has been given to the death instinct in psychoanalytic thought, recently Norman C. Brown (1959) has written a book in which he again calls attention to the death instinct, suggesting that death can be seen as "friendly" to man if he leads a full life.

Death Anxiety

Choron (1964) summarized Freud's position regarding the relationship between the death instinct and death anxiety as follows: ". . . it would then seem correct to say that although he does recognize death as the 'ultimate' danger, paradoxically, the fear of death is not a 'basic fear' or as he terms it, not the 'primal anxiety.'" (p. 137) Freud (1955) described the fear of death as a derivative of castration anxiety, occurring in response to an unresolved oedipal conflict. Freud (1955) states that since we have never experienced death but have, in a general way, experienced castration ". . . through the daily experience of parting with the contents of the bowel and through the loss of the mother's breast which is experienced in weaning . . . ," it is castration rather than death which is feared. (p. 55)

> I therefore, maintain that the fear of death is to be regarded as an analogue of the fear of castration and that the situation to which the ego reacts is the state of being forsaken or deserted by the protecting superego which puts an end to security against every danger." (p. 55)

Fenichel (1948) generally supports Freud's position, but also sees death anxiety as representing ". . . a fear of punishment for death wishes against other persons or a fear of one's own excitement." (p. 208) Bromberg and Schilder (1933) also agree with Freud that fear of death is connected with castration anxiety and see death anxiety as "the fear of loss of something positive. . . ." (p. 3)

In opposition to Freud, Stekel (Choron, 1964) sees all fear as the fear of death. "Anxiety is in the last resort anxiety of the annihilation of the ego . . . one can assume that annihilation of the ego does not mean anything else but death." (p. 130) This controversy seems to involve whether fear is over the loss of the superego (castration anxiety) or whether it is over the loss of the ego itself (death anxiety). Stekel (Choron, 1964) also sees death anxiety as being the prototype of the fear of the unknown. Choron (1964), however, protests saying that death is a "known terminator of life." (p. 131) For Otto Rank (1945), the fear of death is related to a fear of losing ones' identity. Rank (1945) feels that this is particularly apparent in the neurotic who punishes himself in order to magically escape death; he "refuses the loan of life in order to escape the payment of his debt, death." (p. 122)

Klein (1948), like Stekel (Choron, 1964), suggests that the fear of death is the primary cause of all anxiety. She disagrees with Freud and states:

> I do not share (his) view because my analytic observations show that there is in the unconscious a fear of the annihilation of death. I would also think that if we assume the existence of a death instinct, we must also assume that in the deepest layers of the mind there is a response to this instinct in the form of fear of annihilation of life. Thus in my view the danger arising from the inner working of the death instinct is the first cause of anxiety." (p. 116)

She further maintains ". . . I would suggest that fear of death enters into and reinforces castration fear and is

not 'analogous' to it." (p. 117) Chadwick (1929) also wonders whether the latter may not, in fact, reflect the fear of death. Rosenthal (1963) also suggests that castration anxiety ". . . stems from the more basic original fear of death." (p. 623) She argues, "Castration is partial loss--death is loss in its totality--everything is cut off." (p. 623) More recently, Feifel (1963) points out that death has been minimized by attempting to see it as a secondary fear, noting that, "Too frequently we occupy ourselves with the symbolic as distinct from the 'real' aspects of death." (p. 18)

Although Jung (1959) doesn't directly attack Freud's position regarding the "meaning" of death anxiety, his description of the fear of death implies that he also sees it as a primary fear:

> Naturally we have on hand for every eventuality one or two suitable banalities about life which we occasionally hand out to the other fellow such as 'everyone must die sometime,' 'one doesn't live forever,' etc. But when one is alone and it is night and so dark and still that one hears nothing and sees nothing but the thoughts which add and subtract the years, and the long row of disagreeable facts which remorselessly indicate how far the hand of the clock has moved forward and the slow irresistible approach of the wall of darkness which will eventually engulf everything you love, possess, wish, strive and hope for--then all our profundities about life slink off to some undiscoverable hiding place, and fear envelops the sleepless one like a smothering blanket. (p. 4)

This review of the literature suggests that although the various theoreticians disagree as to the meaning of the fear

of death, they generally do not see it as a derivative of castration anxiety.

Belief in Immortality

Freud (1915) in Thoughts for Times on War and Death, stated his position regarding mans' belief in immortality as follows:

> Our own death is indeed unimaginable and whenever we make the attempt to imagine it we can perceive that we really survive as spectators. Hence the psychoanalytic school could venture on the same thing in another way, in the unconscious everyone of us is convinced of his own immortality." (Pp 276-277)

Zilboorg (1938, 1943) supports Freud by suggesting that one of the main mechanisms man uses to cope with death anxiety is to deny death and believe in ones' "corporeal immortality."

> We flee from the reality of our eventual deaths with such purpose and persistence and we employ so patently magical and regressive defenses that these would be so ludricously obvious to us if we should employ them to this degree in any other area of human conflict. (p. 178)

Zilboorg (1943) further points out that "our way of life" fosters this belief:

> Life itself, its truths and fantasies supports and feeds this state of mind. For each funeral announced or attended, there are hundreds of moving picture signs and theatre marquees. (Pp 470-471)

Loeser and Bry (1963) suggest that much of our activity is spent in maintaining a belief in immortality:

> Why . . . are nearly all religions concerned with immortality? Why in our ambitions are we so passionately anxious for something of ourselves, a work of art, a scientific contribution, a business, or just a good

> name to survive? Why in short do we strive for immortality, at least immortality by proxy. (p. 243)

Mollenhoff (1939) also discusses how man has maintained his "proud edifice of immortality." (p. 154) Choron (1964) wonders if man's quest for immortality has been increased as a result of ". . . the very real possibility of self annihilation of the human race through the use of atomic weapons. . . ." (p. 18) Choron (1964) predicts:

> The search for certainity and for uncontrovertible proof of survival upon death will continue, for it has proved to be one of the most potent remedies against the fear of death and the haunting sense of the futility of live. (p. 47)

Of the three propositions held by Freud regarding death, this last one, mans' belief in his own immortality, seems to have resulted in the least theoretical controversy, being generally supported in the literature.

EXISTENTIALISM

Although death has been assigned different meanings by the various existential writers, it is generally considered of central importance in existential philosophy. According to Kaufmann (1959), it was Heidegger who "moved death into the center of discussion." (p. 39)

Heidegger (1954) sees death (or nothingness) as always being present for man and as providing a background upon which time and existence can become meaningful. Life becomes meaningful because of mans' inevitable death, and time is perceived as a result of being faced with death.

Heidegger (1954) further contends that accepting ones' death must be accompanied by anxiety and because of this, man often tries to escape from the fact of death. Heidegger (1954) says in this regard, "Even thinking of death is publically considered fear. . . . The One does not allow the courage for anxiety of death to arise." (p. 266) Kaufmann (1956, 1959) sees Heidegger as essentially paraphrasing Freud, but doing so in an ineloquent manner. In contrast, Alexander, Colley and Adlerstein (1957) view Heidegger as being in opposition to Freud, pointing out that Heidegger sees death anxiety as always being present in man and not a derivative fear as has been postulated by Freud.

Sartre (1956) in contrast to Heidegger (1954) perceives death as removing meaning from life and feels that it is the "timing of death" which is of importance. Sartre (1956) states his position as follows:

> We have, in fact, every chance of dying before we have accomplished our task, or on the other hand of outliving it. There is, therefore, a very slim chance that our death will be presented to us as that of Sophocles was, for example, in the manner of a resolved chord. And if it is only chance which describes the character of our death and, therefore, of our life, then even the death which most resembles the end of a melody cannot be waited for as such; luck by determining it for me removes from it any character as a harmonious end. . . . Thus death is never that which gives life its meanings; it is, on the contrary, that which on principle removes all meaning from life. (p. 539)

Kaufmann (1959) notes that Sartre recognizes the importance of making life meaningful before death comes and quotes him as saying, "But once what I am bent on, what is

Holy, my poetry is accomplished; once I have succeeded in achieving--in the face of death--in a race with death that project that is truly mine and not something that anybody else might have done as well if not better then the picture changes; I have won the race and in a sense have triumphed over death. Death and madness comes too late." (p. 59)

Camus (Choron, 1964) relates his disdain of death to his satisfaction with life: "All my horror of dying is contained in my jealous passion for life." (p. 82) Jaspers (1954) emphasizes the "frugility of being" and sees love as triumphing over death. ". . . since the selfhood of you is so deeply imprinted in me, just as mine in yours that the we-ness endures. Only the individual can die, the we-ness remains intact." (p. 23)

Tillick (1959) describes man as attempting to deny death by focusing on the immediate future:

> How do men react to this image of the future with its hope and threat and inescapable end. Probably most of us react by looking at the immediate future, anticipating it, working for it, hoping for it, and being anxious about it, while cutting off from our awareness the future which is farther away and above all by cutting off from our consciousness the end, the last moment of our future. Perhaps we could not live without doing so most of our time. But perhaps we will not be able to die if we <u>always</u> do so. And if one is not able to die, is he really able to live? (p. 32)

Tillick (1959) like Heidegger (1954) sees anxiety as manifesting the "existential awareness of nonbeing. . . ." (p. 31)

Kaufmann (1959) critices the existentialists as not fully grasping what he considers to be the most important variable in facing death, namely self satisfaction. He quotes Nietzche as stating it:

> For one thing is needful, that a human being attain his satisfaction with himself. Whether it be by this way or by that, poetry and art; only then is a human being at all tolerable to behold. . . . Or as Holderlin says: 'The soul that living did not attain its divine Right cannot repose in the neither world.' But he that has made something of his life can face death without anxiety. 'Once I lived like the Gods and more is not needed.' (p. 62)

EMPIRICAL

THE CHILD AND DEATH-Developmental Studies

Chadwick (1927) in one of the first developmental studies of the fear of death, postulated six stages (or types) of death anxiety. The particular ages for these stages, however, were not specified. She related death anxiety to such conditions as separation anxiety, fear of darkness and death wishes, noting in the fourth stage that the child identifies the eye with the ego so that death is portrayed as a shut eye. This has also been cited as a symptom of death anxiety by Rose (1960) in the case of a $3\frac{1}{2}$ year old girl. Chadwick (1927) also points out that "behind every fear there is a wish," and in the final stage, the fear of death is likely to be a defense against the wish to return to the mother. The most intolerable factor in the fear of death, according to Chadwick (1927), is the extinction of the ego:

> The greatest difficulty presented to the mind is to realize a negative condition, a stage of non-existence of the self or the non-continuance of existence in relation to the outside world, which is connected to some extent with the child's early idea that things that are out of sight cease to exist and that objects are created by their sight and exist subjectively. (Pp. 329-330)

Schilder and Wechsler (1934) studied 76 children between the ages of 5-15 and found that children often view death as deprivation and ". . . to the very young child,

death seems to be a reversible fact." (p. 421) This latter finding has also been noted by others (Mollenhoff, 1939; Cousinet, 1940; Nagy, 1948; Wahl, 1955). According to Schilder and Wechsler (1934), death is not seen as final because the "child's own deprivations are usually not of a permanent or lasting kind." (p. 428) Although children deny their own death, they can believe in the death of others. A similar observation has been made by Cousinet (1940), Nagy (1948), and Wahl (1955). Schilder and Wechsler (1934) note that the child seems to project his own death ". . . into a future which is so remote that it has very little reality." (p. 428) Because the child denies his own death, Schilder and Wechsler (1934) concluded that he has little fear of death. Death is viewed by the child as punishment for wrong doing and results from the hostility of others. "It therefore does not fear to die, but does have a fear of being murdered." (p. 449) As a result of his own aggressivity, the child sees death as taking place through violence. Others (Bromberg and Schilder, 1933; Mollenhoff, 1939; Bender, 1953) have also observed that children associate aggression and punishment with death.

Cousinet (1940) and Choron (1964), investigated the idea of death from a genetic point of view and observed three stages. In the first stage, death is denied by the child, in the second stage death is considered a process similar to illness, and in the final stage, death is

considered a peculiar process which takes place in the living. These stages were not delineated according to age or frequency of occurrence; they appear, however, similar to those suggested by Nagy (1948).

Nagy (1948) explored the developmental stages of the child's theories concerning death, using Budapest schoolchildren between the ages of 3-10. The first stage, ages 3-5, was characterized by the child denying death as a final process; death is a transitory occurrence and there are degrees of death. Nagy (1948) noted in this first stage that ". . . the most painful thing about death is just separation itself. To the child, the association, Death= departure, exists also in the inverse sense. If anyone goes away, it thinks him dead." (p. 11) Chadwick (1927) suggested that death anxiety in stage two is based on the child's fear of separation from the mother which is manifested in fear of loneliness and fear of the unknown. Bromberg and Schilder (1933) also found that children view death as separation from the mother. In the early stage, according to Nagy (1948), the child denies his own death:

> In early infancy, under five . . . opposition to death is so strong that the child denies death, as emotionally it cannot accept it. (p. 13)

In the second stage, between 5-9 years of age, death is personified. "Only those die who the death man carries off." (p. 28) There are two concepts of death at this age, the "reaper idea," and that of a death man. In the final stage,

by the age of 9 or 10, "death is recognized as a process which takes place in all of us." (p. 26) At this stage, death is seen as inevitable. Nagy (1948) found these stages often reflected the child's more general picture of the world.

Piaget (1955) observed that children were often preoccupied with thoughts of death. He noted that this was particularly true in the stage of finalism where the child is puzzled by the problems of death, because he sees life regulated according to the "wishes and intentions of its inventor," and because of this death is inexplicable. "Apart from theological ideas which the child of six or seven has not yet incorporated into his mentality, death is the fortuitous and mysterious phenomenon par excellance." (p. 185) Piaget (1955) sees the child's difficulty in explaining death as contributing to his eventual arrival at the next developmental stage:

> And in the questions about plants, animals and the human body, it is those which refer to death which will cause the child to leave behind him the stage of pure finalism, and to acquire the notion of statistical causality of chance. (p. 185)

Piaget (1959) maintained that "child thought starts with an idea of universal life as its primary assumption." (p. 208) To the young child everything is alive that is active, or initially life is defined in terms of activity or function. Later, it is classified according to motion and then this is differentiated into spontaneous motion and that

caused by an external agent. The precausal confusion between movement and life has been described by Piaget (1959) as follows:

> . . . for the child, every activity is comparable to that of life. Henceforth, to appeal to a motive cause is at the same time to appeal to a living cause, i.e., to one mentally based on a mode endowed with spontaneity if not with intentions. We can now understand how a return shock will give rise to curiousity about death, since the fact of death is an obstacle to these habits of thought; and to curiousity about the causes of life . . . since the course of life can be disturbed by death. (p. 211)

When the child's conceptions of death involve causality, the "cause" is often anthromorphic and finalistic. This is similar to the "personification of death" noted by Nagy (1948).

Wahl (1955) is considering the fear of death in children, observed that death anxiety is often associated with different types of family stress such as ". . . intense frustration, rage, anxiety, which may threaten . . . parental loss." (p. 22) Wahl (1955) concludes that the child's conception of death is a composite of many "mutually contradictory paradoxes." (p. 25) In elaborating upon this he says, "First death is not conceived of as a possibility in relationship to the self, but conversely, if strong adults die, how can the weaker child survive? Secondly, death is never conceived of as resulting from chance or natural happening. This is similar to Piaget's (1955) description of the child's early conception of death. Wahl (1955) also contends that the child's interest in causality intensifies his fear of death. Wahl (1955), like Nagy (1948), notes

that causation is personified and ". . . the child feels guilt subsequent to a death as though he were the secret player. Yet paradoxically, he simultaneously experiences rage toward the decedent, as though he had been deliverately abandoned by that person. Consciously these . . . would be mutually exclusive, but . . . in the unconscious these types of paradoxes can endure in juxtoposition without contradiction." (p. 25) Wahl (1955) points out that the young child's death wishes are seldom frightening to him since he views death as reversible. However, with the development of the time sense ". . . the child begins to learn that death is neither casual nor reversible and he then becomes frightened and concerned about his death wishes toward his ambivalently loved, significant persons." (p. 24) Wahl (1955) describes the obsessive symptoms that reflect the child's attempt to undo his death wishes:

> . . . the most ancient and popular of children's prayers, . . . contains a plea against the fear of death 'If I should die before I wake.' And one of the earliest symptoms manifested by the thanatophobic child is his obsessive blessing of persons at the end of his prayer. He will often clearly show his fear that these persons would surely die if he forgot to mention their names in benison or failed to repeat his blessing the proper number of times. (p. 24)

Sylvia Anthony (1940) suggested that the age of the child was an important variable in determining his attitude toward death. However, she also suggested that fear was a common response to death, noting, like Piaget (1955) that thoughts of death are frequent in children's fantasies.

Klein (1948) also found that children react with fear to death, but concluded that this was because death is associated with something fearful. G. Stanley Hall (1915), however, found that ". . . young children . . . like animals never fear death per se but only fear pain." (p. 555)

Mollenhoff (1939) studied some techniques for investigating thoughts of death in children and concluded that an informal interview was the most fruitful source for gathering material. Mollenhoff (1939) found that the child's attitudes toward death were fluctuating and inconsistent, although she concluded that children generally tend to deny the finality of death and to connect death with thoughts of violence, killing, aggression and mutilization. Death wishes toward parents were also frequently found in the responses of her Ss. Mollenhoff (1939) also observed that children saw death as a way of escaping from unpleasant life situations and a way of obtaining love.

Martin Grotjahn (Choron, 1964) relates death anxiety to various psychosexual stages:

> The anxiety of the child at the early oral level is that of annihilation--desertion by the mother would result in the infants death. Annihilation is perceived as being devoured and later stages of death-fear are modeled in this. In the later anal phase, fear of death is connected with 'toilet training' and loss of feces. Still, later, when ego identity has been established, fear of death is equated with loss of identity, or loss of mastery over outer or inner reality. (Pp. 142-143)

One argument which has been cited against Freud's (1955) contention that death anxiety is a derivative of castration

anxiety, is to point out "pre-oedipal" cases of death anxiety. Several studies (Nagy, 1948; Wahl, 1955; Morrissey, 1963) report cases where the fear of death was present in children as early as the third year. Rose (1960) observed a case of a 3½ year old who manifested death anxiety in her fear of "dye eggs."

Bromberg and Schilder (1933) describe three sources for the child acquiring his attitudes toward death. These are: seeing dead humans, reports of adults and seeing dead animals. They contend that when children acquire their knowledge of death primarily from reports of adults, death is conceived of as punitive or destructive:

> These reports indicated in the absence of actual experience in children that death is only a mysterious absence which is in a vague way connected with threats. The threats merge with everything that the child has thus far been threatened with--for instance, castration. The actual early experience of the child in connection with death leads predominantly to a note of destruction and decay in the developing conception of death. (p. 180)

Alexander and Adlerstein (1960) studied the affective responses to death words in a group of 108 male Ss between the ages of 5-16 as measured by reaction time and PGR. The Ss were divided into three age groups: 5-8, 9-12, 13-16. The authors (Alexander and Adlerstein, 1960) found a decrease in skin resistance as measured by the PGR to the death words in the youngest (5-8) and oldest (13-16) age groups, with the middle group (9-12) responding similarly to basal and death words. There was no difference in the three groups,

however, in regard to response time, with all groups having significantly longer reaction times to death words. Alexander and Adlerstein (1960) concluded that the difference in PGR and reaction time reflected the fact that the measures were tapping different levels of functioning. They (Alexander and Adlerstein, 1960) interpret the differences in PGR as being due to greater ego stability in the ages of 9-12 which resulted in less of an affective response to death words. Alexander and Adlerstein (1960) also "speculate" regarding a possible latency period in regard to death anxiety, occurring within this period, ages 9-12. According to Nagy (1948), between the ages of 9-12, death is viewed as the natural end of life and less primitive mechanisms are used to cope with death. Alexander and Alderstein (1960) suggest that a "solution" to death anxiety may occur at this time:

> As a working hypothesis we shall assume that this 'solution' is the critical variable in determining to what extent and under what kinds of conditions death will reappear as a conscious problem in later life. . . . The nature of this solution may be estimated by such factors as the stability of the parents, the parent child relationship, the number of parent substitutes and their characteristics and the strength of their religious beliefs. (p. 82)

Loeser and Bry (1963) have also postulated a possible latency period in regard to death anxiety, a time in which death fears are repressed. Alexander and Adlerstein (1960) conclude from their study that death anxiety should increase during "critical periods of life: puberty, entrance into

adult economic culture, the climacteric, old age, as well as in the imposed conditions of war, famine, and pestilence." (Pp 80-81)

Maurer (1961) investigated the child's knowledge of death and found that life has the meaning of "good" for the child and death is seen as "bad." "The only dichotomy within the child's comprehension in his earliest years is good and evil. 'Good' is life enhancing affect, approval, power. 'Evil' is life depleting, aloneness, punishment, prohibition." (p. 211) Maurer (1961) also feels that fear (particularly regarding death) is the "X factor that limits usable intelligence." (p. 212)

This review of the literature regarding developmental aspects of the fear of death suggests certain general findings: 1. The child, at least the young child, often views death as a transitory process, which is reversible. 2. Death is often perceived as violent and destructive. 3. The child accepts the death of others but denies his own death. 4. Separation is one of the more frightening aspects of death to the child. 5. At some point in his development, death is often personified by the child. 6. A period of latency regarding death anxiety has been postulated as occurring between the ages of 9-12.

THE ADOLSECENT AND DEATH

Maurer (1964) in a study of 172 female high school seniors hypothesized that responses to death would correlate

with academic success. She predicted that the "more successful" adolescents would have found more "adequate and mature" defenses in coping with death. The Ss wrote essays in response to the questions: "What comes to your mind when you think of death. What comes to your mind when you think of love." (p. 78) Maurer's (1964) results supported the hypothesis and responses on the essays about death tended to be associated with degree of maturity and academic success. The Ss with greater fear of death showed poor academic achievement. These Ss typically responded to death in terms of "separation anxiety, remnants of beliefs in ghosts, spirits, haunts, mentions of smells, corpses, accidents, disease and violence. The greater use of euphemisms and similies such as 'sleep' and 'journey' questions as to how the dead 'feel' and degrees of deadness are stigmate of slow minds." (p. 89) It is interesting to note the similarity between these descriptions of death and those cited by Nagy (1948) in her early developmental stages. In contrast to the "low achievement group," Maurer (1964) found "high achievement" Ss manifested acknowledgment of death's inevitability, and also, "more of the effective minds declare that they enjoy and find satisfaction in helping others, in planning a useful life, and in thoughts of betterment of mankind." (p. 90) On the basis of these findings, Maurer (1964) suggests that another stage "finding a suitable sublimation" be added to the list of previously defined ways of facing death (denial, fighting

off, and accepting the inevitable). The 'solution' "finding a suitable sublimation" is reflected in such responses as "living in the memory of friends . . . part of the chain of life." The fact, however, that a relationship was found between academic achievement and responses to death seems to have little meaning per se and suggests many possible interpretations. It seems likely that "death responses" and "academic achievement" also encompass many other variables. For example, it is possible that the low achievement group was primarily represented by Ss from the lower class while the high achievement group, who "accepts death with philosophical resignation," were Ss primarily from the upper socioeconomic classes. Also, as Maurer (1964) points out, "Which is the cart and which is the horse can't be demonstrated, but it seems worthwhile to consider that the ineffectiveness may be the result as well as the cause of inadequate defenses against death anxiety." (p. 90) Maurer (1964) also reported a tendency for her Ss to describe "death in terms of what may have been most threatening in infancy." (p. 88) For example, death was described as "nauseating" by a girl who vomited the first six months of her life, another S described death as a "harsh word," and also recalled that her mother "never had a good word to say." Stacey and Ricken (1954) found that the IQ of adolescent girls was related to their attitudes toward death and future life. The authors used two groups of girls a "normal group" and a "subnormal group"

(with a mean IQ of 65). Attitudes toward death were measured by items from a questionnaire which had been previously used to assess death anxiety. Stacey and Ricken's (1954) results indicate that "The normal adolescent girls think of . . . and imagine their own deaths more frequently and vividly than the subnormal adolescent girls . . . while the subnormal girls think less often of being killed in an accident . . . and more often of dying from a specific fatal disease." (p. 26) The subnormal adolescent girls were also more emotional and fearful in their responses to death. One of the possible implications of these findings is that factors which are related to lower IQ also contribute to more manifest death anxiety.

Kastenbaum (1955) was interested in whether an adolescent's attitude toward death was ". . . part of the structuring principle dominant at this point of his life or whether it belonged to a second, discrete psychic organization." In studying the adolescent's conception of time and death, Kastenbaum (1955) reported that the adolescent focuses on the present and tends to keep the past and the future at a distance. The distant future is particularly given negative implications. On the basis of his Ss responses to a group of words (death, good, real, life, bright, myself), Kastenbaum (1955) concluded that death was a discrete psychic organization and that Ss tended to put as much time as possible between themselves and death. Maurer (1964) interprets

Kastenbaum's (1955) findings in terms of ". . . a difference between the structuring of acceptance and rejection. According to the pleasure principle, the adolescent strives toward good, real, life, bright, and myself, but away from death, which is unpleasant." (p. 76)

Means (1935) in a study of one thousand college women, found that death was among the top fears cited by her Ss, however, fear of death was specified in terms of the death of others. Middleton (1938) investigated the attitudes of college students toward death and found that 62% of the Ss reported "indifference" as their attitude toward death. In part, a response to Middleton's (1938) findings, Alexander, Colley and Adlerstein (1957) undertook a study, Is Death a Matter of Indifference, suggesting that a questionnaire, such as used by Middleton (1938), taps conscious attitudes toward death. Alexander, Colley and Adlerstein (1957) predicted that at a less conscious level, there would be affective responses to death. These authors used 31 male Princeton undergraduates and administered a word association task which included affect words (sex, school, death) and basal words. Death words were found to be "affective" on both measures, reaction time and response on PGR, which suggested that, at a less conscious level, death was a matter of concern to their Ss.

THE AGED AND DEATH

Jung (1955) suggests that concern with death is the problem of old age, but also notes that ". . . those people who most feared life when they were young to suffer later just as much from the same fear of death." (p. 3) Choron (1964) contends that there is a myth that "fear of death . . . is typical of young people whereas old people are not worried about 'not existing' but are afraid of the last struggle." (p. 77) He cites evidence that ". . . old people are afraid of death precisely because it is the end of living." (p. 78)

Crey (1958) studied four operationally defined modes of coping with death (avoidance, acceptance, neutralization and suppression) to see if these differed in frequency between old and young Ss. He used a forced choice projective instrument and found that the older sample used avoidance more than the younger sample, where acceptance and neutralization occurred with equal frequency. Crey (1958) concluded that there was a marked difference in modes of coping with death used by old and young Ss. In contrast, Bromberg and Schilder (1933, 1942) found age was not a relevant variable in determining a Ss response to death.

Feifel (1956) studied physically ill male patients, with a mean age of 67. The Ss were individually seen and interviewed using a questionnaire technique and rating scale. Approximately half of the Ss viewed death as the "end of everything" while the remainder of the Ss, who were religious,

saw death as a "new existence." Feifel (1956) found that many of his Ss had never talked or thought about death before this interview. These elderly patients also extended their own deaths into the distant future. Klopfer (1947) studied attitudes toward death by analyzing responses to 10 TAT cards, concluding that fear of death among people in homes for the aged was lessened by greater activity. Fulton (1958) also investigated the differences in attitudes toward death and aging on the part of the aged as a result of their living conditions. He administered the TAT and a sentence completion task to his Ss and found that apartment residents showed less fear or preoccupation with death than the Ss in institutional residence.

Swenson (1961) investigated the attitudes toward death in an aged population by the use of a check list of death attitudes and written essays concerning death. The MMPI was also used to measure "religiousity and latitude of interest." Three clusters were found in regard to death: a forward looking attitude, an actively evasive attitude, and a passively evasive attitude toward death. Swenson (1961) also found that Ss ". . . with fundamental religious conviction look forward to death more than those with less fundamental religious conviction and less activity; more fearful attitudes toward death were found in persons with little religious activity." (p. 51) Widowed persons seemed to passively evade the issue of death, whereas single, separated and married persons showed a tendency to look forward to death.

Rudick and Dibner (1961) investigated the relationship between death concerns and personality and health variables in a normal aged population. The authors used several measures including the MMPI, TAT and CMI (Cornell Medical Index) with both male and female Ss. The death concern score was derived from responses on the TAT. Rudick and Dibner (1961) found higher death concern scores exhibited by Ss who scored "highly" on the MMPI dimensions of hypochondriasis, hysteria, dependency, and impulsivity. The authors concluded that "the profile of those Ss with high death concerns tends more to be like the neurotic than the psychotic." (p. 48) Christ (1961) did a pilot study using a questionnaire to see how geriatric patients, 60 years and older, felt about the topic of death. "The interviewers felt that all but two of the patients were considerably upset about death and used denial, suppression and repression as defenses. . . ." (p. 57) Christ (1961) then administered a word association task to his Ss to see if this "objective measure" would also indicate that the Ss were afraid of death. There was a longer reaction time to the "death word," than to the other words (food, sleep, water, sickness, hospital, family doctor, to leave, milk) so Christ (1961) concluded that the patients were indeed anxious about death. The Ss were then divided into two groups, those who were more and less afraid of death, using a fear of death scale. Of the six variables studied, health, age, religiousity, schooling, and sex, a significant

relationship was only found between health and fear of death; the patients with better health were less afraid of death than those with poor health. Christ (1961), like Feifel (1956) found that few of his patients had ever talked to anyone about death or dying before this interview. This was particularly noteworthy because 89% of the patients in Christ's (1961) study needed supervision at least at night because of physical illness. Christ (1961) suggests, "One can speculate that at least some of their psychiatric symptoms which included fear of being poisoned, killed, or thrown out of their homes as well as frank somatic delusions may be symptoms of a marked denial of the fear of death." (p. 57)

Jeffers, Nichols, and Eisdorfa (1961) held a two hour interview with their geriatric subjects asking if they were afraid to die, whether they believed in a hereafter life, in an attempt to relate the fear of death to 52 other variables. There were no clear findings, although there was a tendency for those Ss with high fear of death to read the Bible often, to give death a more religious connotation, and to have a higher IQ and give more responses on the Rorschach. These authors conclude, ". . . the fear of death and illness plays an important part in the unconscious psychological life of the individual, but it is clearly evident that further research is needed in this area." (p. 56)

PSYCHOPATHOLOGY AND THE FEAR OF DEATH

Feifel (1955) noted the frequency of thoughts of death in neurotic and psychotic patients. This was also reported by Zilboorg (1943) who stated:

> That this fear is prominant in a number of psychopathological conditions every psychiatrist knows. The anxiety neurosis, the phobic states, even a considerable number of depressive suicidal patients and many schizophrenics amply demonstrate that the ever present fear of death becomes woven into the major conflicts of a given psychopathological condition. (p. 465)

Bromberg and Schilder (1933), however, point out that ". . . neither neurosis nor psychosis produce attitudes towards death which cannot also be found in the so-called normal. But the neurosis and the psychosis bring specific attitudes clearer into the foreground." (p. 2) This is the position taken by Wahl (1955) who views many types of psychopathology as representing attempts to bind death anxiety. Wahl (1955) states in this regard:

> My own psychotherapeutic work with children and adults suggests that many of their anxieties, obsessions, and other neurotic symptom formations are genetically related to the fear of death or its symbolic equivalents and that these symptoms are, just as in the case of sexual repressions symbolic substitutive attempts to bind the death anxiety. (p. 27)

According to Searles (1961), schizophrenia, itself, represents a defense against death. Rosen (1950) also describes the psychotic as responding ". . . to something that he conceives to be a death threatening deprivation." (p. 83) This somewhat primitive conception of death as deprivation was also noted by Schilder and Wechsler (1934) in

their study of children. Searles (1961) contends that the schizophrenic has to fight desperately against death because he has been ". . . unable to experience himself consistently as being alive." (p. 632) Searles (1961) further reflects the schizophrenic's position as being, "One need not fear death as long as one feels dead anyway." (p. 632) A similar stance has been taken by Rank (1948) regarding the neurotic (see p. 3). Feifel (1961) also suggests that schizophrenic denial of reality serves to magically undo the possibility of death. "If living leads inevitably to death, then death can be fended off by not living." (p. 62) Searles (1961) maintains that "A person cannot bear to face the prospect of inevitable death until he has had the experience of fully living and the schizophrenic has not yet fully lived." (p. 633)

Another factor which Searles (1961) cites as contributing to the schizophrenic's intense fear of death is the fact that he has experienced ". . . too many losses too early in his development, and since he is unable to integrate these past losses, he is presently unable to accept his own death." (p. 640) Rosenzweig and Bray (1943) found that schizophrenics had significantly more sibling and parental deaths in their families than did the control group (manic depressives, general paretics, normals). Sixty-one percent of the schizophrenics had one or both of these past experiences. Rosenzweig and Bray (1943) see this early experience as

contributing to the schizophrenic's symptoms of guilt and anxiety. Searles (1961) also relates the schizophrenic's relationship with his mother ". . . which vascilated between intense closeness (life) and estrangement . . . (death)" as contributing to his present defenses against death.

Burton (1960 contends that the schizophrenic is afraid of his own destruction as well as the destruction of those close to him:

> The schizophrenic is at once the most omnipotent and the most helpless of persons. . . . He is never certain whether he will create or destroy or whether he will be created or destroyed. . . . He literally fears not only his own destruction but the destruction of those who love him. (p. 25)

Bromberg and Schilder (1933) describe the schizophrenic as fearing his own destructive impulses, as well as the destruction from others. These authors (Bromberg and Schilder, 1933) interviewed and administered a questionnaire to 70 normal and 10 psychiatric patients and concluded:

> There is no wish of death, but a fear of destruction by others and the tendency to destroy others. There is only hostility and violence. . . . Death is here merely destruction and the destructive tendency is in close relationship with the oral impulses of the patient. (p. 34)

In a study using psychiatric patients, Feifel (1955) found that the degree of mental disturbance per se seemed to have little effect on the patient's attitude toward death, however, he points out that this study primarily tapped conscious, public attitudes. Like Bromberg and Schilder

(1933), Feifel (1955) also concluded that "many of the patients depicted death as occurring through violent means. The conjecture was that this was allied to intense aggressive impulses with which these patients were contending." (p. 380) Schilder and Wechsler (1934) found that in cases of childhood neurosis "death is connected with the fear that violence will be inflicted by a strange and sadistic force." (p. 29)

Bellak (1928) describes the primary symptom of psychosis to be ". . . the fear of disintegration and annihilation." (p. 624) Bettleheim (1955) contends that the schizophrenic child is defending against destruction which is based on the child's early experiences which ". . . created in the children the conviction that they were threatened by total destruction all of the time and that no personal relations offered any relief." (p. 513) Karon (1963) also relates the infantile terror behind schizophrenic symptoms to a fear of abandonment and death:

> The child is the victim of a series of subtle and unsubtle rejections whose end effect is to make him feel worthless, unloveable. But to be literally unloveable means that mother will not love you, that she will abandon you, and to the infant this means pain and death. This is the infantile terror that lurks behind the schizophrenic symptoms. The schizophrenic's whole life is organized around the need to defend himself psychologically against this danger. (p. 29)

Karon (1963) noted that ". . . an overwhelming conscious fear of death often immediately preceded the psychotic break." (p. 30)

Others view the psychotic's response to death as either representing an escape from libidinal impulses (Hoffman and Brody, 1957) or an escape from reality. For example, Menninger (1938) comments:

> This departure from reality enables the psychotic person to destroy himself in a unique way not available to anyone else. He can imagine himself dead, or he can imagine a part of himself to be dead or destroyed. . . they can destroy or have destroyed the world of reality and recreated a world of their own. (p. 212)

A similar position has been proposed by Caprio (1944) who sees the psychotic as dying ". . . in a world which represents to them frustration, discipline, censurship, responsibility and a competitive struggle for existence, and psychologically resurrecting themselves into a world of their own, one in which they can release their inhibitions and express themselves in action and speech as they please." (p. 313) Caprio (1944) sees the mood swings in patients as often expressing the significance of the symptom, fear of death.

Wolff (1932) reviewed the records of 100 hospitalized patients and noted the prominance of ideas of death and tabooed sexuality. He (Wolff, 1932) speculated that catatonia represented a feigned death reaction to fear, or a retreat like death "where tabooed longings are no longer a source of conflict." (p. 504) Feifel (1955) also likened the stupor of the catatonic patient to the death state. Edelson and Warren (1963) conclude ". . . in the schizophrenic illness the catatonic excitement is a distorted, primitive expression

of protest, and the stupor is likewise an expression of the despair and detachment. Caprio (1944) discusses the relationship between death and psychosis by noting historically that ". . . both death and psychotic disorders were attributed to a common cause, namely the work of demons." (p. 320) Caprio (1944) speculates that, "The correlation between the two may account for our theoretical conception of psychosis as a form of living death, particularly in regard to the catatonic stupor phases of the schizophrenic illness." (p. 320)

Rosenthal (1961) found that the paranoid individual viewed death as "an enemy," inasmuch as the paranoid attempts ". . . to suppress their own homicidal tendencies by projecting them onto others, and ultimately into the final enemy death." (p. 626) Klein (1948), however, sees ". . . the root of the persecutory fear of the paranoid individual . . . is the fear of annihilation of the ego . . . ultimately by the death instinct." (p. 118) Klein (1948) explains this in the following manner:

> The frustrating (bad) external breast becomes, owing to projection, the external representative of the death instinct; through introjection it reinforces the primary internal danger situation and this leads to an increased urge on the part of the ego to deflect (project) internal dangers (primarily the activity of the death instinct) into the external world. There is, therefore, constant fluctuation between the death instinct acting within and deflected outwards. (p. 118)

Loeser and Bry (1960) in a study of 29 patients found a relationship between adult phobic attacks and childhood

death fears which had been repressed. Fenichel (1948), however, contends that to understand pathological death phobias, ". . . one has to find out what ideas unconsciously are connected with the concepts of death." (p. 208) Fenichel (1948) also questions whether there is any such thing as normal fear of death ". . . because the idea of one's own death is subjectively inconceivable . . . and so the fear of death covers other unconscious ideas." (p. 208)

According to Choron (1964), the most radical position in assigning death a role in the etiology of psychopathology has been given by a Swiss analyst, Edgar Herzog, who viewed the neurosis as "either a not attempted or not successful coming to terms with the basic elements of the human situation of which death is the most important." (p. 144) Caprio (1944) presents evidence that many of the anxiety symptoms in neurotics can be attributed to traumatic experiences related to death. Fenichel (1948) postulates that the neurotic fear of death ". . . is regularly due to the unconscious conceptions associated with the idea of dying or being dead and to the turning away from active impulses to kill. If such a fear once has been established, it can easily lead to disturbances of sleep by equating sleep and death with each other." (p. 191) Rosenthal (1961) has also cited insomnia as a symptom of death anxiety.

Bromberg and Schilder (1936) used the case history method and studied the responses of psychoneurotics toward

death. These authors (Bromberg and Schilder, 1936) found that in hysteric and anxiety states, death had the meaning of separation from the beloved one. This seems to reflect an early conception of death as suggested by the findings of Chadwick (1927) who found that the very young child was frightened by death because it represented separation from the mother. Fenichel (1948) emphasizes the role of aggression in cases of anxiety hysteria which he also sees as being focused around a "morbid fear of death."

Bellak (1928) described the obsessive compulsive individual's preoccupation with death as serving as a means of self punishment. Schilder and Wechsler (1934) also report that death and life become closely tied to punishment and expiation in obsessional cases, but further contend that the problem of death is also closely related to conceptions of time. Others (Heidegger, 1954; Kastenbaum, 1955; Rubin, 1963) have also focused on the relationship between time and death. Fenichel (1948) sees preoccupation with time as serving as a defense against death:

> Many a fear of death means a fear of a state where the usual conceptions of time are invalid. States in which the orientation in time becomes more difficult, dusk or long evenings, in winter, or even long days in summer are feared by many compulsive neurotics. (p. 285)

THE MEANING OF DEATH

Although Freud (1955) suggested that death anxiety is a derivative of castration anxiety, few studies have

considered the sex of the subject as an important variable in regard to his responses to death. McClelland (1964), however, suggests that the meaning of death may be different for women than men, postulating a "Harlequin complex" for women which is described as follows: ". . . death is seen as a lover . . . a mysterious dark figure who comes and takes a woman away to her death, a theme which with all its variations we call the Harlequin complex." (p. 199) McClelland (1964) suggests that the Harlequin complex accounts for the positive meaning death often has for women. He (McClelland, 1964) cites a study by Greenberger (1961) who collected the fantasies of women dying from cancer and compared them with those of women who were hospitalized for a minor illness. Greenberger (1961) found that women who were fatally ill thought ". . . almost twice as often about punishment and illicit sex as the women who were about to go home from the hospital after a minor illness." (p. 199) The Ss responses did not suggest that the "illicit love partner" was the father, so Greenberger (1961) referred to him as Harlequin ". . . the unknown seducer about whom women who are about to die dream more often than those who are hospitalized for a minor illness." (p. 220) McClelland (1964) notes that a somewhat comparable figure for men, La belle dame sans merci, is a castrating figure and generally quite different from Harlequin. In McClelland's (1964) investigation of the Harlequin complex, he used 40 male and 38 female college

students who ranked the following descriptive metaphors of death: "An understanding doctor, a gay seducer, a grinning butcher, a last adventure, a threatening father, a misty abyss, the end of a song." (p. 201) The only significant difference in the rankings was for the women to rank the Harlequin image, "a gay seducer," more often than men. There was also a trend for men to rank "a grinning butcher," more often than women. McClelland (1964) suggests extending his findings to schizophrenic women who he considers having a heightened concern with death, pointing out that key elements in the Harlequin complex, "a concern with punishment and illicit sexuality" also characterize schizophrenic women. McClelland (1964) says in this regard:

> For death stands for the demon lover--the symbol of a woman's own life urges which is expressed paradoxically in the thought of yielding or dying. He appears in many guises. We have called him Harlequin. . . . But whatever he is called, he has seduced many Columbines, both on the stage and on real life; he comes to comfort middle-aged women who tire of their husbands and to thrill older women nearing death when no mortal lover can take his place; and he has trapped many a wretched woman into a terrifying death while she is yet alive, a state which modern science has labeled schizophrenia. (p. 212)

Bromberg and Schilder (1936) have likewise noted that death represents for certain individuals ". . . an equivalent for the final sexual union with the ideal mate. . . ." McClelland's (1964) findings further suggest the developmental study by Nagy (1948) of the childs' conception of death. Nagy (1948) described an early stage where death is personified by the child and depicted as either "the reaper

idea" or the "death man." Death is also personified in Freud's (1913) essay, The Theme of Three Caskets, a story of a man who has to choose among three women. According to Freud's (1913) interpretation of this folklore, the third woman, the one chosen symbolizes death.

Others (Bromberg and Schilder, 1936; Murphy, 1955; Feifel, 1955; Rosenthal, 1961; Choron, 1964) have focused on the meaning of death anxiety or what is frightening about death for their Ss. The following list has been compiled from the conclusions of these authors:

1. Fear of dying. (Bromberg and Schilder, 1936; Choron, 1964)
2. Fear of what happens after death. (Choron, 1964)
    a. Fear of the hereafter. (Rosenthal, 1961)
3. Fear of ceasing to be. (Choron, 1964)
    a. Death as the end. (Murpny, 1955)
    b. Death as cutting off. (Rosenthal, 1961)
4. Fear of losing consciousness. (Murphy, 1955)
    a. Fear of falling asleep. (Rosenthal, 1961)
5. Fear of loneliness. (Murphy, 1955; Rosenthal, 1961)
6. Fear of the unknown. (Murphy, 1955; Rosenthal, 1961)
7. Fear of punishment. (Murphy, 1955; Rosenthal, 1961)
    a. Self punishment, masochism. (Bromberg and Schilder, 1936)
8. Fear of what happens to ones' family. (Murphy, 1955)
9. Fear of failure. (Feifel, 1963, Murphy, 1955)

Feifel (1963) suggests that death has the meaning of personal failure and loss of identity in our present society, commenting, "Fear of death is no longer so much a fear of judgment as it is the fear of infringement on the right of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness." (p. 64) Feifel (1963) concludes that "Death is a multifaced symbol whose specific importance depends on the nature of the individual's development and his cultural context." (p. 62)

RESPONSES TO DEATH

Choron (1964) reports the three following modes of responding to death: 1. Ignoring it. 2. Focusing on it. 3. Minimizing death and along with this having a diminished interest in life. In regard to "focusing on death," Choron (1964) quotes Thomas Wolff as saying, "Because I have seen and known you so well and have lived so long with loneliness, your brother, I do not fear you any longer friend. . . ." (p. 114) Choron (1964) contends that the most popular response is to deny death. He (Choron, 1964) states in this regard:

> There is no doubt that the denial of the finality of death is the most satisfying solution to the problem of death. The belief in a future life fulfills what Freud readily admitted in the Future of an Illusion to be the 'oldest, strongest, and most insistent wish of mankind.'" (p. 14)

Bromberg and Schilder (1936) found that three-fourths of their Ss believed their own death to be improbable and concluded, "We never die psychologically and belief in

immortality is but the expression of the inherent tendency of our psychic life." (p. 3) Loeser and Bry (1960) also report from their studies of phobic patients that "Whatever the meaning of death to the young child, the fantasy of immortality is consistently found. . . ." (p. 289) Wahl (1955) describes the extent to which man goes to deny his own death:

> Firstly, we do not even refer to death as death, but instead employ cumbersome and elaborate euphremisms such as 'passed away' or 'passed on' or 'departed'. . . . We attempt to preserve and prettify the corpse and endeavor to create the illusion in it of momentary sleep. Moreover the vast majority of us identify ourselves with religious and philosophical systems of belief which assert that death is not death at all, but rather a futive experience, a brief transition between one or more important existence and another. We flee from the reality of our eventual deaths with such purpose and persistence and we employ defenses so patently magical and regressive that these would be ludricously obvious to us if we should employ them to this degree in any other area of human conflict. (p. 19)

Feifel (1963), however, maintains that ". . . there is a need to face death and also a need to face away from it." (p. 74) He (Feifel, 1963) reports in this regard, the case of WW II pilots who were able to keep from breaking down psychologically in times of extreme danger by believing in their own invulnerability.

The following are some of the factors listed by Feifel (1963) as determining an individual's reactions to death: 1. The psychological maturity of the individual. 2. The kinds of coping techniques available to him. 3. The influence of such varying frames of reference as religious orientation,

age, sex. The religious orientation of the subject as a variable in determining his response to death was considered by Kelish (1963) who studied the attitudes toward various methods of destroying life, e.g., euthanasia, abortion, capital punishment, and religious beliefs. He (Kelish, 1963) found that "Fear of death correlated significantly and negatively only with approval of abortion, indicating that those who express overt fear of death are opposed to abortion." (p. 142) No significant difference was found regarding religious groups and fear of death.

Hall (1896) in a study of fears found that a religious orientation generally increased the fear of death. Later, Hall (1915), however, reversed this notion and suggested that Christianity aided in alleviating death anxiety. Alexander and Adlerstein (1960) used a religious and nonreligious group of Princeton undergraduates and found that there was no difference in regard to their affective response to death words as measured by PGR and reaction time on a word association task. These authors (Alexander and Adlerstein, 1960), however, did find that the defenses for these two groups differed, with the religious Ss focusing on thoughts of an after life, and the nonreligious Ss trying to ban the topic of their own death from consciousness. Alexander and Adlerstein (1960) also administered the Semantic Differential to their Ss and found that both groups saw the death words as "bad" and "potent." The religious group, however, considered death words to be "active," while

the nonreligious Ss saw death as "passive." Both the religious and nonreligious Ss felt that their conviction made them less fearful toward death. The religious group held to the position that death was not the end, and the nonreligious group maintained that by accepting death as the end, uncertainty was removed. Related to these beliefs, however, were the aspects of death that were of most concern to them. According to Alexander and Adlerstein (1960), "the religious Ss were troubled about the possibility that an after life may not exist or that they would not be able to attain it, while the nonreligious Ss expressed concern that their lives might end without having accomplished anything of importance." (p. 27) In describing what was most unpleasant about death, both groups contended that "the fear of a painful death" was of the most concern. This fear was followed in importance by the thought of separation from loved ones, the problem of facing death properly and the thought of being buried in the ground. However, both groups said they had little concern or feeling regarding death. Alexander and Adlerstein (1960) conclude that "death anxiety is not dissipated by a religious approach to life . . . that death is a threat to the intact ego and as such must be handled by all humans no matter what their religious conviction . . . finds support in our results." (p. 28)

APPENDIX 1

Q-SORT UNIVERSE

1. I feel uncomfortable while talking with someone.
2. I put on a false front.
3. I am a competitive person
4. I make strong demands on myself.
5. I often kick myself for the things I do.
6. I often feel humiliated.
7. I doubt my sexual powers.
8. I am much like the opposite sex.
9. I have a warm emotional relationship with others.
10. I am an aloof reserved person.
11. I am responsible for my troubles.
12. I am a responsible person.
13. I have a feeling of hopelessness.
14. I live largely by other people's values and standards.
15. I can accept most social values and standards.
16. I have few values and standards of my own.
17. I have a hard time controlling my sexual desires.
18. It's difficult to control my aggression.
19. Self control is no problem to me.
20. I am often down in the dumps.
21. I am really self-centered.
22. I usually like people.

23. I express my emotions freely.

24. Usually in a mob of people I feel a little bit alone.

25. I want to give up trying to cope with the world.

26. I can live comfortably with the people around me.

27. My hardest battles are with myself.

28. I tend to be on my guard with people who are somewhat more friendly than I had expected.

29. I am optimistic.

30. I am just sort of stubborn.

31. I am critical of people.

32. I usually feel driven.

33. I am liked by most people who know me.

34. I have an underlying feeling that I'm not controbuting enough to life.

35. I am sexually attractive.

37. I can usually make up my mind and stick to it.

38. My decisions are not my own.

39. I often feel guilty.

40. I am a hostile person.

41. I am contented.

42. I am disorganized.

43. I feel apathetic.

44. I am poised.

45. I just have to drive myself to get things done.

46. I often feel resentful.

47. I am impulsive.

48. It's important for me to know how I seem to others.

49. I don't trust my emotions.
50. It is pretty tough to be me.
51. I am a rational person.
52. I have the feeling I'm just not facing things.
53. I am tolerant.
54. I try not to think about my problems.
55. I have an attractive personality.
56. I am shy.
57. I need somebody else to push me through on things.
58. I feel inferior.
59. I am no one. Nothing really seems to be me.
60. I am afraid of what other people think about me.
61. I am ambitious.
62. I despise myself.
63. I have initiative.
64. I shrink from facing a crisis or difficulty.
65. I just don't respect myself.
66. I am a dominant person.
67. I take a positive attitude toward myself.
68. I am assertive.
69. I am afraid of a full-fledged disagreement with a person.
70. I can't seem to make up my mind one way or another.
71. I am confused.
72. I am satisfied with myself.
73. I am a failure.
74. I am likeable.

75. My personality is attractive to the opposite sex.
76. I am afraid of sex.
77. I have a horror of failing in anything I want to accomplish.
78. I feel relaxes and nothing really bothers me.
79. I am a hard worker.
80. I feel emotionally mature.
81. I am not accomplishing.
82. I am naturally nervous.
83. I really am disturbed.
84. All you have to do is just insist with me and I give in.
85. I feel insecure within myself.
86. I have to protect myself with excuses, with rationalizing.
87. I am a submissive person.
88. I am intelligent.
89. I feel superior.
90. I feel hopeless.
91. I am self-reliant.
92. I often feel aggressive.
93. I am inhibited.
94. I am different from others.
95. I am unreliable.
96. I understand myself.
97. I am a good mixer.
98. I feel adequate.
99. I am worthless.
100. I dislike my own sexuality.

APPENDIX 2

List of words used in word association task. 3 sex words (romance, lover, maiden), 3 school words (college, scholar, lecture), 3 death words (burial, death, funeral), and 8 basal words.

SUBJECT _____

	WORD	TIME	RESPONSE
A.	Harvest		
B.	Saddle		
C.	Ideal		
D.	Holiday		
E.	Column		
1.	mirror		
2.	college		
3.	burial		
4.	willow		
5.	velvet		
6.	bureau		
7.	autumn		
8.	death		
9.	voyage		
10.	estate		
11.	feather		
12.	funeral		
13.	rabbit		

14.	meadow		
15.	scholar		
16.	ribbon		
17.	romance		
18.	lecture		
19.	lover		
20.	garden		
21.	circle		
22.	ponder		
23.	kettle		
24.	maiden		
25.	insect		
26.	sunset		
27.	napkin		

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