

“CONTROLLED PROJECTION” RESPONSES OF DELINQUENT BOYS

By

J. W. ANDERSON, B.A.
London University Postgraduate Student

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I. INTRODUCTION

THE “Controlled Projection” Test of Raven is a method of collecting and studying the projection responses of children to a standard series of situations (Raven, 1951). In reports so far published, the technique has provided information on differences in the organizations of thought and conduct characteristic of different national, social and clinical groups, and on individual differences within these groups.

This investigation was carried out to establish the normal incidence of responses of delinquent boys, to compare these phantasies with the conventional responses of ordinary children, and to evaluate the type of material elicited by the test. To make the sample as representative of young delinquents as possible, subjects were selected from the whole juvenile range of 8 to 17 years, with degrees of criminal conduct ranging from a first offence to a subject who was on remand for a sixth offence. The sample was divided into two groups on a basis of chronological age: the Junior group consisted of 43 boys aged $11\frac{1}{2} \pm 1\frac{1}{2}$ years, and the Senior group 43 boys aged $14\frac{1}{2} \pm 1\frac{1}{2}$ years. Both age groups had a normal distribution for intelligence. All subjects were resident in a London Remand Home: 9 boys had been charged with their first offence, 9 had a record of three or more previous offences, and the remainder had a record of 1 or 2 previous offences.

II. METHOD OF COMPARISON

1. In the Controlled Projection Test the principles on which responses are classified are determined by the investigator. Raven grouped according to “similar statements occurring in the records”, beginning with the most frequent and ending with those which were unique in the sense that each was given by only one child. A child’s first response was accepted, and other responses in so far as they qualified the first. This is the method followed here, except that similar *ideas* are classed together, because the reply was pursued if the investigator was not satisfied that the boy had understood the question or was ashamed of replying fully.

2. The responses of the whole sample were categorized before Juniors’ and Seniors’ responses were separated. Categories were labelled A, B, C. . . G on a basis of frequency of kind of response. Unique responses which could not be placed in any of these categories were labelled U.

3. No limit was put to the number of categories which might arise from the replies to one question. When standardizing the test with the data of normal children for general comparative purposes, Raven combined categories under a more general heading if “the results of the preliminary grouping produced more

groups than the average number of responses per group" (Raven, *op cit.*). Some of the test questions, however, touch on acutely-felt topics, and a constraint put on the number of categories could result in obscuring the clear way in which the phantasies fall into distinct classes.

III. SUMMARY OF RESULTS

1. ONCE THERE WAS A BOY		Juniors	Seniors	Total
(a) <i>What did he like doing?</i>				
A. Group Outdoor Sports	25	32	57
B. Schoolwork	10	2	12
C. Solitary Outdoor Activities	3	6	9
D. Stealing	2	1	3
E. Cinema	1	1	2
F. Eating	1	1	2
U. Woodwork	1	0	1
(b) <i>When he was playing, who did he like being with?</i>				
A. Friends of the same age and sex	33	35	68
B. Relatives	9	3	12
C. Me	1	1	2
D. Animals	0	2	2
E. Male adult	0	1	1
U. To be alone	0	1	1
(c) <i>Who did he not like being with?</i>				
A. Boys who steal, quarrel, show off, or are dirty, rough, dishonest	34	29	63
B. Girls	2	3	5
C. His friends	3	2	5
D. No-one	2	2	4
E. Relatives	0	4	4
F. The Police or the Vicar	1	3	4
U. Unclassified	1	0	1
2. ONE DAY THIS BOY WENT OUT WITH HIS MOTHER AND FATHER AND THEY GOT CROSS WITH HIM				
(a) <i>What was it about?</i>				
A. Disobedience	23	17	40
B. Being aggressive or disagreeable	9	12	21
C. Accident, e.g. losing money, soiling clothes, getting run over	6	4	10
D. He broke the law	2	6	8
E. He wanted toys	2	4	6
U. He drank dirty water	1	0	1
(b) <i>How did it end?</i>				
A. By forgiveness or atonement	12	14	26
B. Corporal punishment	13	13	26
C. Other punishment, e.g. sent to bed	9	10	19
D. He was sent away, e.g. to a Home	2	4	6
E. He ran away from Home	3	0	3
F. He got injured	1	1	2
U. Unclassified	3	1	4
3. ONE DAY HIS MOTHER AND FATHER WERE CROSS WITH EACH OTHER				
(a) <i>What made them cross?</i>				
A. Father blamed or punished the boy for no stated reason	19	11	30
B. The wages were insufficient, or Father had drunk them, or Mother had spent them unnecessarily	7	9	16
C. Something the boy wants or does	8	7	15
D. Domestic upsets, e.g. the dinner was burned	6	9	15
E. Mother punished or blamed the boy	2	4	6
F. Because Mother leaves Father	0	2	2
U. Unclassified	1	1	2

(b) *What happened then?*

A. Reconciliation	16	19	35
B. The boy is punished, or he runs away from home	10	6	16
C. Fighting between parents	7	5	12
D. Father leaves home	4	6	10
E. Mother leaves home	2	4	6
F. Mother and Father part	2	1	3
U. Unclassified	2	2	4

4. ONE DAY HE SAID TO HIS FRIEND, "I'LL SHOW YOU SOMETHING BUT YOU MUSTN'T TELL ANYONE BECAUSE IT'S A SECRET"

(a) *What did he show him?*

A. Animals, birds' nests	7	15	22
B. Camps, caves, tunnels, hideouts	7	13	20
C. Treasure, jewels, lead, money	13	6	19
D. Useless things; aeroplane parts, farthings	6	3	9
E. Useful things, e.g. knives, toys	5	0	5
F. Food	3	2	5
U. Unclassified	2	4	6

(b) *What did they do?*

A. Played there	16	28	44
B. Stole, damaged, or was informed on	13	7	20
C. Spent money or gave something away	7	3	10
D. Hid or buried something	2	2	4
E. Got frightened or was punished	1	2	3
U. Unclassified	4	1	5

5. ONE DAY HE HAD A FRIGHT. WHAT HAPPENED?

A. He got hurt, or nearly got hurt	23	22	45
B. He was caught stealing, or was informed on	10	6	16
C. Someone else got hurt, or nearly got hurt	3	6	9
D. He lost his camp, cat, dog, or mouse	3	2	5
E. Misfortune to parents	2	3	5
F. He saw something strange or terrifying	2	2	4
G. He lost or saw again the thing he stole	0	2	2

6. HE USED TO MAKE UP THINGS; SOMETIMES THEY WERE TRUE AND SOMETIMES THEY WEREN'T

(a) *He told the other boys one of his stories. What did he tell them?*

A. <i>Boastful stories</i>	12	19	31
That he was given or found money, relics, treasure, bicycles (12)			
That his father or ancestor is a hero and/or gives him gifts (10)			
That he had a treasure hidden away (4)			
That he found useless things (3)			
That he had a hideout (2)			
B. <i>Stealing</i>	11	6	17
He had stolen, would steal, or denied stealing (11)			
Someone else stole (5)			
He knew where stolen stuff was (1)			
C. Boastful or amusing events of everyday life	7	7	14
D. Frightening events	6	6	12
E. Orthodox fairy tales	4	4	8
U. Unclassified	3	1	4

(b) *One day he told his mother and father one of his stories—what did he tell them?*

A. <i>Stealing and Wrongs</i>	13	13	26
He had stolen, or would steal (4)			
He found something which he in fact stole (4)			
Someone else stole (2)			
He did something wrong (2)			
He didn't do or wasn't going to do anything wrong (11)			
Someone else did something wrong (3)			

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B.	<i>Harm</i>	14	9	23
	He got hurt or nearly got hurt (10)			
	A man was poisoning him (1)			
	Someone else got hurt or killed (11)			
	Mother was ill (1)			
C.	<i>Boastful</i> —he had done or would do something			
	brave or clever	4	12	16
D.	Jokes and everyday events	4	5	9
E.	Dramatic events, e.g. fighting between adults ..	4	1	5
F.	He was going to be put away, or he wanted to run			
	away	1	2	3
U.	Unclassified	3	1	4
7. (a) <i>When this boy went to bed, what did he think about?</i>				
A.	<i>Everyday events</i> concerning the	18	25	43
	Past (11)			
	Future (32)			
B.	<i>Guilty thoughts</i>	10	13	23
	Lies, truancy, theft or contemplated theft (12)			
	Regret for unspecified wrongs (8)			
	Regret for masturbation (1)			
	Doing good the next day (2)			
C.	<i>Frightening thoughts</i>	5	3	8
	Loss of a friend or dog (3)			
	Getting hurt or frightened (3)			
	Being put away (1)			
	Of an absent mother (1)			
D.	<i>Family</i>	6	1	7
	Mother and/or father (5)			
	Prayers for relatives (2)			
U.	Unclassified	4	1	5
7. (b) <i>One evening he cried. What was the matter?</i>				
A.	<i>Injuries or ills to himself</i>	16	16	32
	By an accident (17)			
	By someone's intention (15)			
B.	<i>Fearful thoughts</i>	14	11	25
	Burglars, shadows, nightmares (11)			
	Of being sent away (4)			
	Of being reported to police or school (3)			
	Of a parent leaving home (2)			
	Of having no friends left (4)			
	Of losing a pet (1)			
C.	<i>Guilty thoughts</i>	9	8	17
	Injuries to relatives (7)			
	Injuries to others (3)			
	Told his parents lies (5)			
	Been naughty (1)			
	Broke the toy he stole (1)			
D.	Punishment (non-corporal) by parents	2	7	9
E.	He wanted to be away from parents	2	1	3
8. (a) <i>When he fell asleep what did he dream about?</i>				
A.	<i>Attainment</i>	16	22	38
	Of material object or pleasant event (19)			
	Excelling as a boy or man (19)			
B.	<i>Guilty or Frightening Dreams</i>	21	16	37
	Harm to himself (22)			
	Guilt over past or future misdeeds (6)			
	Stealing or lies (3)			
	Disliking his mother (2)			
	Harm to others (4)			
C.	<i>People</i>	2	2	4
	Relative or friend			

D. <i>Sexual dream</i>	1	1	2
U. <i>Unclassified</i>	3	2	5
8. (b) <i>He woke up in the night. What made him wake up?</i>			
A. <i>Guilty dreams or nightmares</i>	16	24	40
Injury to himself (31)			
Injury to relatives (3)			
Injury to others (3)			
His mother forgiving him (1)			
His parents would believe his lies (1)			
Of the Police (1)			
B. <i>Noises, involving fear</i>	15	5	20
Of burglars (3)			
Of an imagined injury (5)			
Over an unspecified cause (5)			
Waking with fear, proving harmless (7)			
C. <i>Noises, harmless</i>	8	11	19
D. <i>Dreams of parent, friend, dog</i>	2	1	3
E. <i>Illness</i>	1	1	2
U. <i>Unclassified</i>	1	1	2
8. (c) <i>If he said what he most wanted it would come true. What did he say he wanted?</i>			
A. <i>Playthings, e.g. bicycles, cars</i>	23	19	42
B. <i>Treasure, e.g. gold, magic lamp, money, sweet shop, orchard</i>	9	4	13
C. <i>Forgiveness, e.g. not to thief, lie, get caught, get sent away; to tell the truth, to be forgiven</i>	5	6	11
D. <i>Happiness and wealth of family</i>	0	5	5
E. <i>Animals</i>	1	3	4
F. <i>Parental re-union</i>	0	3	3
U. <i>Unclassified</i>	5	3	8
8. (d) <i>He was given a thousand pounds. What did he do with it?</i>			
A. <i>Bought things and saved some</i>	33	29	62
B. <i>Reparation</i>	7	11	18
Gave it all to parents (11)			
Repaid parents for their trouble (1)			
Restored stolen property (1)			
Took it to mother at Police Station (1)			
C. <i>Was swindled or robbed</i>	2	0	2
D. <i>Bought cigarettes or went to cinema</i>	0	2	2
U. <i>Unclassified</i>	1	1	2
9. <i>Does he want to grow up? What does he want to do when he grows up? Does he want to stay young?</i>			
A. <i>To grow up</i>	33	29	62
And work (58)			
To do as he liked (2)			
To be popular (1)			
B. <i>To stay young</i>	8	11	19
C. <i>To grow up so as not to commit his crime again</i>	1	1	2
U. <i>Unclassified</i>	1	2	3
10. THAT'S THE END			
(a) <i>What do you like about the boy in the story?</i>			
A. <i>Do like the boy (guilt motive)</i>	15	18	33
For being sorry for past transgressions, for promising not to transgress again, for thinking of Mother and Father first, for not playing with bad boys, for giving all the money to mother back again			
B. <i>Don't like the boy</i>	8	10	18
Anything about him, for his thieving, for his lying, except when he told the truth or gave the money back			

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C. <i>Do like the boy</i>	7	10	17
For his sportsmanship, kindness, generosity, etc.			
D. Question not understood	10	5	15
E. <i>Like him</i> because he told lies	2	0	2
F. The boy is me	1	0	1
(b) <i>What do you dislike about him?</i>			
A. Tells lies	9	16	25
B. Steals, causes "trouble" to parents, robs birds' nests	8	8	16
C. Nothing	10	4	14
D. <i>Normal faults</i> , e.g. bad manners, disobedience, etc.	6	6	12
E. Agressiveness (exaggeratedly so)	5	3	8
F. Question not understood	2	2	4
U. Unclassified	3	4	7
(c) <i>Is he the same as you? In what way? (Or, in what way isn't he?)</i>			
A. <i>Unlike</i> because the boy in the story is <i>less</i> dutiful, truthful, kind, honest	13	17	30
B. <i>Like</i> the same (12), nearly the same but differing by a detail (9), the same except for events occurring in the story (5), like in the face and no difference (1)	12	15	27
C. <i>Unlike</i> in appearance only, or in events occurring in the test questions, or in a particular toy wanted (13), or where he lives or is richer (13)	9	9	18
D. <i>Unlike</i> because the boy in the story is <i>more</i> honest, truthful, kind, or less troublesome	4	1	5
E. Question not asked	2	1	3
F. He is me (2), or, he is another real boy (1)	3	0	3

IV. DISCUSSION OF RESULTS

1. *Interests, Friends, Aspirations.* (Qs. 1, 4, 6a, 6b, 8c, 8d, 9)

The boys' favourite occupation is group sport. A few enjoy school work, but this interest is scarcely present in the seniors. Other categories show the unusual responses given almost equally by both groups.

The boys like to be with others of their own age and sex, and although some juniors (understandably) prefer a relative, this preference is characteristic of recidivists in both age-groups and was not stated by any first offender. In Raven's standardization none of the 12-year old boys made this reply, while in Foulds's comparison of the responses of normal boys and mentally defective delinquents, the latter's preference for a relative was significantly greater than the former's (Foulds, 1950). But ordinary boys generally have frequent access to their relatives, while Foulds's group "is now to be found in an institution which harbours mentally defective juvenile delinquents"; moreover, first offenders are not likely to spend long periods in Remand Homes and Approved Schools. There is thus a tendency for the delinquent character to associate to a relative, but a higher frequency of responses from first offenders and recidivists both living in an institution would be required to establish the connection.

When asked whom they disliked being with, subjects generally responded with the name of an existing playmate (of their district or in the Home); other subjects disliked a group, thus, "those that steal", "the rough boys", or "the boys that get you into trouble" were popular responses. While the apparent simplicity of these replies may be a product of the subject's attitude to the experimenter and an attempt to cut a righteous figure before him, the subject's eagerness to dissociate the boy from his morally inferior playmates becomes, as responses to the final question show, an assertion that the imaginary boy

differs from the subject by reason of the moral superiority of the latter. This item could profitably be amplified by adding "Why?" after the answers; the link between these subsequent responses and the replies at the end of the test where the subject's reasons for disliking the boy are stated would then show first, whether the moral attitude had been retained throughout the conversation, and secondly, by a comparison with the replies to Q.10(c), how characteristic of the subject the attitude was.

The boy shows his friend a secret (Q.4). To the juniors the secret is an object of potential and (to them) inestimable value, such as treasure, jewels, lead or money, but when replies are pursued (Q.4b), the boys would only play with it, have it stolen from them, or be reported to the authorities by their friend. Such responses were given by recidivists of both age-groups; it was given by only one first offender and by the four most persistent offenders of the sample, while the seniors' most popular response (animals, birds and nests) was given by first and occasional offenders of all ages. In Foulds's group of defective delinquents, the response "nests and birds" was given by only 2 per cent. as against 85 per cent. who responded with "real things" or "playthings", while for his normal boys the percentage for the "nests and birds" category was 39, and that for "real things" and "playthings" was 26. From Raven's sample "birds and nests" is the most popular response; it was given by 76 per cent. of his 12-year olds, and none of the remaining 24 per cent. gave a response involving playthings. The data from these three sources therefore suggest that responses involving material things to be played with are associated with younger boys and in particular younger delinquents.

The stories which the boy tells his friends (Q.6a) fall into fairly distinct classes when the subject matter forms the basis of classification rather than, as in Raven's and in Foulds's studies, the kind of narrative. These writers classed the stories as Boastful Stories, Imaginary Stories, Gossip, Expedient Lies, and Raven comments that "whichever way the responses to Q.6 were classified, the groups tended to merge the one into the other". Reference to the subject matter of these stories (in the Summary of Results above) shows that this is hardly surprising; most of the stories could be put into any of the groups; moreover, while the wording of the question makes its meaning clear to an adult, not all the delinquent subjects understand the same thing by "story". The new grouping adopted is according to subject matter, and this has the additional advantage of showing at a glance what kind of stories the boys tell, which is in keeping with the object of the test. Junior boys tend to tales of stealing, while in this and in Q.6c senior boys make up the difference with boastful stories unconnected with stealing. The boastful stories of the juniors mainly concern hidden treasure or variations on the "family romance" theme, while seniors boast of everyday events such as promotion in the school team. Tales of stealing are always purposeful: they imply a boast, a denial, or an accusation; subjects whose story is of stealing invariably make a reference to stealing in their replies to the final question, usually with an assertion that they differ from the imaginary boy in that they do not steal nor do they mix with those who do steal. Replies to Q.6b, "Was it true? Why did he tell them it?" which Raven hoped would elicit the motives for telling stories have not been classified because the reason given was merely that a story had been asked for; thus, "Because he wanted to" was the invariable reply.

The wish which subjects want to come true (Q.8c) is for playthings. The only important difference between juniors' and seniors' wishes is that whereas 5 seniors wish for the welfare of their family and no junior does, 5 more juniors

respond with a "magical" wish for treasure, gold, etc., similar to the secret which they showed their friend. Apart from these categories, the responses of delinquents follow closely the responses of Raven's normal 12-year old boys.

With the sum of money (Q.8d) both juniors and seniors would buy cars, cycles, sweets, etc., and "save the rest". They do not give many presents, as normal boys do, except for treating their friends to sweets or to the pictures. A type of response which does not occur in the normal sample is that under the heading "Reparation", so called because of the guilt motive and the intensity of feeling with which the response was made; this is the desire to give all the money to the parents, "every penny of it"; this category accounts for more than one-fifth of the responses, and not by any first offender.

The attitude to growing up (Q.9) is positive, and, as with normal boys, rather less than a quarter of the sample want to stay young. Four of the 9 first offenders want to stay young; the majority of subjects, including the 9 most persistent offenders, want to grow up to work.

2. *Parents* (Qs. 2a, 2b, 6c)

The boys visualize their parents' getting cross with them because of their disobedience; examples being running into busy streets, taking food from the larder, staying out late, etc. Such is also the disobedience of ordinary boys from whose responses both Raven and Foulds arrive at the same principal category. The second category includes those whose misbehaviour at home has an aggressive tinge, such as throwing stones, bullying, being rude, or defacing something. Although in Raven's and Foulds's studies there is insufficient detail to make a comparison, certain differences between normal boys and the Remand Home sample are apparent: (1) the delinquent boys are not scolded for being destructive; no responses classifiable as deliberate destruction were made, though 20 per cent. of Raven's 12-year olds and 12 per cent. of Foulds's normals were of this type. Parents of delinquent boys may not interdict this form of misbehaviour very strongly. (2) But 10 delinquents are punished for some event beyond their control. Of all the boy's recent memories of home, the parents' anger over an *accident* comes to mind; he anticipates punishment for a misfortune in which he is involved rather than for such misdemeanours as brought him to the Remand Home. (3) Only 8 delinquents suffer because they break the law. This response was made by only two juniors and six seniors, all frequent offenders. It is therefore not widely perceived as a motive for parents' anger. Since the proportion of juniors is so small, the sympathy felt for the detainee may have waned by the time he has become a recidivist senior.

The consequences of the parents' anger (Q.2b) fall mainly into three groups evenly represented by juniors and seniors: (1) Forgiveness, with or without an expiatory act. (2) A smacking or worse, particularly in the case of frequent offenders. (3) Mild, non-corporal punishment, particularly for first and occasional offenders. It is noteworthy that only 6 of the 86 boys visualize being "sent away", while Raven's largest category (36 per cent. of his 12-year olds) make a response classifiable as "banishment". Perhaps for the Remand Home boys the "banishment" has in some sense occurred and is therefore not feared so much.

The stories that boys tell their parents (Q.6c) fall into clearly demarcated groups when classified on the basis of subject matter. The emphases are on stealing and harm. An interesting contrast occurs in the stories boys tell their companions. Boastful stories drop to third place and no longer concern possession or ancestry, but achievement or promise; they are told not to arouse envy but to create pride or promise reparation. Subjects who in Q.6a sought to arouse

the envy of their companions, now want to make their parents proud of them. This applies particularly to the seniors, but if the 11 cases of the sub-grouping "he didn't do or wasn't going to do anything wrong" (which constitutes a kind of boast) are added in, the juniors' and seniors' responses distribute evenly, and replies concerned with evoking the parents' pride in their boy will be numerically the largest category. It is evident that these delinquent boys are much troubled about their parents' good opinion of them, while the answers to Q.6a show that they are also concerned with the approval of their fellows and how they try to obtain it. Boastfulness is only one way of drawing attention to oneself, and the desire for the parents to notice and interest themselves in their child is subtly expressed here. The responses mainly derive from a desire to be wanted, to be protected or to be punished. Responses involving wrongs, harm and running away, which occupy such a small place in the stories the boys tell their fellows, become the most frequently told stories to those whose duty it is to want, protect, or punish them.

3. *Hopes, Fears, Dreams* (Qs. 7a, 7b, 8a, 8b, 5)

When the boy goes to bed (Q.7a) he tends to think about what he will do the next day in school or at play, or to phantasy on his working as a grown man. The responses in this category have no unpleasant flavour; they are concerned with boyish aspirations or future pleasures evoked by pleasant memories or sport, the school, the cinema, and friends. Some juniors think about their parents, which is to be expected from youngsters in an institution. It was necessary to make two categories of responses occasioned by guilt and fear, which previous investigators classed as "difficulties". It is important to know what these difficulties are, whether they concern the consequences of past crimes, anxiety for the future, or the numerous trivial mistakes indicative of a persisting guilt which keeps the boy ever remorseful and defensive. Instances of the latter are provided by the 8 subjects who were remorseful over nothing in particular. Only 4 subjects mention theft, which is the principal cause of all the subjects' remand. In the larger categories, juniors and seniors are fairly evenly represented, and no type of response is related to recidivism.

The boy cries (Q.7b) chiefly because of an injury which he suffers by accident ("he fell and cut himself") or by someone's intention ("his father hit him"). This is also the principal category in Raven's and in Foulds's results. "Fearful thoughts", however, under which could be grouped at least half the responses of all juniors and seniors, are given by only 8 per cent. of Raven's 12-year olds, and by more of Foulds's delinquents than his normals. Various configurations of guilt, aggression and fear account for the remaining responses, and it is difficult with the present data to determine a suitable principle for classifying them. More suitable categories may emerge when larger groups are compared; it is sufficient to note at present that juniors and seniors are about equally represented in the large categories, and that the "fear" response is characteristic of the delinquent sample.

When he falls asleep (Q.8a) he dreams of events which (with a few exceptions) can firstly be classed as "pleasant" or "unpleasant", and secondly according to content. Of Raven's 12-year olds nearly half have nice dreams, while the other half dream of worries or catastrophes. "Nice" dreams account for over half of both Foulds's groups. It is worth finding out what constitutes a "pleasant" dream. For the Remand Home sample it consists in being given a present, being in an exciting situation, being promoted in one's group, or in doing man's work well—in short, in getting something, or in being something

different. In the second category, dreams with an unpleasant flavour have been subdivided into aggression towards or punishment of himself, guilt for past and contemplated misdeeds, and aggression to others. Juniors preponderate in the number of unpleasant dreams, but not significantly so, and in the next question the seniors' deficiency is made up.

What makes the boy wake in the night? (Q.8b). In this question guilty and frightening dreams are the chief category. This item provides a better opportunity for projection. In the previous question the boy is asked for a dream and he replies with a story, while here the cause of a disturbance is asked for and a dream is supplied. These dreams are therefore less forced, and it is highly suggestive that they all involve guilt or fear, which those supplied to the previous question do not. Thus in the last question there are dreams about "getting a new bicycle", while in replies to this question all dreams have a moral or punitive flavour, most are nightmares, and only three are about love-objects. Comparison with responses in the two previous studies is not possible, for they both have "Disturbances" as the chief cause of the boy's awakening in the night, which seems to beg the question. In the Remand Home sample, then, the cause of waking in the night is, for 60 out of 86 boys, a cause involving fear; seniors preponderate in category A, juniors in category B, but the result is the same: a fear response is made by 31 juniors and 29 seniors.

What gave the boy a fright? (Q.5). Nearly all subjects reply, "He got scared". This is the most frequent reply of Raven's normal boys and of Foulds's two groups, so in both these studies "Being scared" is the principal category. But this answer merely restates the question; the delinquent boys' replies were pursued until some cause of being scared was given. The favourite themes then re-emerged, with both age groups evenly represented in each category. Responses concerned with bodily harm to the self or others (59); stealing (18); losing something (5); and the frightening (5).

4. Projection

"That's the end. What do you like about the boy in the story?" (Q.10a). In this and the remaining two questions the subject discusses with the experimenter the story he has just told. The observable reaction on learning that the story is over is the relief of the subject and his eagerness to depart. The subject has vested the boy in the story with certain qualities and attributes, and now has an opportunity of giving his opinion of them. He will be expected to like the imaginary boy for his good qualities, and replies to this question will show the sort of qualities which the subject holds to be of value. The question met with so much resistance or lack of understanding that the interrogation had to be pursued indirectly; first, by asking, "Do you like the boy in the story?" and then introducing the test question only when subjects had had time to formulate their ideas.

Responses were first grouped according to whether subjects liked or disliked the imaginary boy, and secondly according to the reasons given. On this basis, the imaginary boy is chiefly liked, and liked for a negative reason: because he is sorry for his lies, thefts, trancies, or because he promises not to be naughty again. In the second category he is disliked for much the same misdeeds; when these subjects were pressed, "You surely find something to like in him?", they could still persist in their total dislike. Neither of these two categories, in which juniors and seniors are almost equally represented, would apply to the responses of Raven's ordinary children, all of whom liked their "hero", and liked him for such positive qualities as appear in the responses of subjects in

category C, or for other reasons. Similarly with Foulds's two samples: all subjects have some reason for liking their hero, either because of his virtues or because nice things happen to him. The strong guilt motive appears to be peculiar to the Remand Home sample. The severity of subjects' judgments on their creation is a tribute to the frankness with which they have spoken their thoughts and an indication of their moral attitude towards the behaviour which they have described. Aside from the fact that subjects have openly and covertly drawn on their own experiences in telling the story, the extent to which the story constitutes a valid projection record can partially be assessed by responses to this question. Of the 73 subjects who understood the question, none of whom is a first offender, 51 have ascribed to the imaginary boy thoughts and behaviour which they disapprove of, except the thought of his being sorry for that behaviour. Of these 51 subjects, 33 like the boy because in reply to previous test questions he had been sorry for his misdeeds or had tried to make amends. A further 17 subjects, in whose story the boy is characterized by acts of kindness, generosity, sportsmanship, etc., rather than by villainy, state that they like the boy for such acts. Two subjects like the boy because he told lies and "got away with it". One subject says he has been describing himself. In respect of these qualities of experience the subjects have attributed their own thoughts and feelings to the boy in the story.

Of all the test items, this was the most difficult one to get over to subjects. A classification of first replies would not have yielded projection responses. Thus, "I like the boy—because of everything" was not accepted, nor was an answer based on an event described by the test question, such as, "Because he got £1,000" though both Raven and Foulds recorded and classified this kind of answer. The writer pursued the response until the subject gave a reply that was both meaningful and original in the sense that it was not contained in the wording of a test question. If no such response could be elicited the reply was labelled "Question not understood".

Failure to grasp the meaning of this simple question raises a new problem. The writer has noticed, in talks with the boys under different circumstances, that some boys "like" only persons who give them things and not persons whose company they enjoy. When they say that they like their mother or a companion, they spontaneously qualify the utterance with a short inventory of the things she gives them. Their friends, i.e. those whom they play with, do not give them things. Thus they make a distinction between those whom they like on the one hand, and their friends on the other. In the next test item the subject is asked what he dislikes about the boy, and only 4 subjects fail to understand the question. Now if the subject receives things only from a few close relatives, the concept of "dislike" would be more applicable to the imaginary boy than the concept of "like", and a smaller number would fail to understand it. In fact, for those who had difficulty in answering this question, "like" and "dislike" were not contradictories; they merely applied to different fields of interest. Failure to understand Q.10a occurs in both normally and subnormally intelligent subjects, but twice as often in the juniors.

"*What do you dislike about him?*" (Q.10b). Responses under the heading "Tells lies" were grouped apart from "normal faults" partly because of the high incidence of the former and partly because the method of testing may have produced this result. The subjects have been telling a story; they knew that they could answer as they wished. But it emerged that for some subjects there is little or no difference between a story, a joke, a tale and a lie. Thus in Q.6b, where a story is asked for, 16 subjects (8 juniors and 8 seniors) interpret "story"

as "lie" or believe that a lie is being asked for. When Q.10b is presented these same 16 subjects dislike the imaginary boy "because of those lies he told the others". An inability to make distinctions in kinds of narrative is not so characteristic of these subjects as is a confusion in their understanding of the moral issue of the untruth. Even if the subject did understand that a narrative need not be an untruth, particularly when told to the investigator in a testing situation, he might still have intended to tell a lie in his story to the other boys. If so, the "tells lies" response will not have been produced by the method of testing but will be a genuine reason for disliking the imaginary boy. In future testing, first replies to this question should be pursued until a concrete example of the fault causing the dislike is offered. This example can be recorded and compared with the faults attributed to the boy in answers to earlier questions. The superiority of seniors in the principal category and of juniors in category C (subjects who dislike nothing about the boy) may be the result of the upsetting influence of the "lies" response. The question produced almost equally balanced numbers of responses in the other categories. Comparison with other samples is not possible, for most of Raven's group have a "nothing" response, as do Foulds's normal group, while 44 per cent. of his delinquents reply, "He was naughty" without specifying what the naughtiness consisted of.

"Is he the same as you? In what way? (Or, in what way isn't he?)" (Q.10c).

In the final question the subject is invited to compare himself with the imaginary boy he has described. Responses were first classified on the basis of the subject's initial statement, i.e. as to whether he admitted or denied resembling the boy. Of 83 subjects, 53 gave a negative response; when the question was pursued, however, these subjects could find few points of difference. Most subjects stated that they did not steal, lie, or behave so badly as the imaginary boy. This result has something in common with the finding of Jackson from projection responses to a series of drawings designed to elicit children's attitudes to aspects of family life (Jackson, 1950). Of three pictures, the types of responses to which showed significant differences between the normal and delinquent groups (but not between the normal and neurotic), the child was perceived as being "naughty" or "bad" more frequently by the delinquents, a *light* punishment was imagined more frequently by the normals, and the child as playing or being industrious less frequently by the delinquents. "The examination of these data shows that the delinquents exhibit a pronounced trend towards 'bad identification', or, if the child in the picture stands for a sibling or play companion, they project their own feelings of badness on to him" (Jackson, *op. cit.*). The Remand Home boys, category A, emphasize that they are not the same as the boy they have described, and the differences given are moral; in other respects they are the same.

In the third category, 18 subjects also deny their resemblance to the boy, but when points of difference are asked for, small details of clothing or place of residence are given, or the difference is in an event suggested by a test question, and when pressed, they can find no other difference. It is important to note, particularly for this category, that subjects were given ample time and encouragement to state how they resembled and differed from the boy; when asked, the investigator recapitulated the substance of the subject's story.

If, to the 2 responses in category F (in which the subject says he has been describing himself) are added the responses of category B (in which the subject admits his likeness or complete similarity to the boy), and the responses of category C (in which similarity in insignificant details only is denied), a total of 48 out of 83 boys can be classed as admitting directly or indirectly to having ascribed their own phantasies to the imaginary boy.

Only 5 subjects give themselves a position morally inferior to that of their creation, and this is in each case a matter of small degree; the subject is similar to the boy except that he is a little less kind or honest, or does not get into trouble so much. None of these 5 subjects is a first offender, and 2 are of the most persistent offenders' group. Age seems to have a bearing on this kind of response, but as only 5 out of 83 are involved, numbers would have to be augmented to assess its significance for age statistically. The importance of the response lies in its relation to recidivism.

V. CONCLUSIONS

The summary of answers to test questions indicates the kinds of responses elicited by the Controlled Projection Test and their incidence in a sample of juvenile delinquents. All subjects took the test very seriously and "felt themselves" into the standard situations. They drew extensively on their own feelings and experiences for their answers, and at the outset identified with the boy in the story, vesting him with the moral standards they esteem and attributing to him the behaviour they denounce. From the most frequently occurring responses a composite version of the group's stories can be drawn up:

The boy is between 8 and 17 years old, enjoys games and sports with others of his age, and has little interest in schoolwork, especially if he is a senior. He is quick to dissociate himself from "those that steal". At home his parents get cross with him when he is disobedient or disagreeable, whereupon he will more often be punished than not, usually with a smacking or worse. He is perceived as an object for his parents' aggression when domestic upsets occur, and is himself generally the cause of their quarrelling; in both cases the boy suffers. He likes to think of having a pet animal or secret hideout; if a junior he prefers to imagine that he has hidden away jewels or money which will in due course be stolen from him. He is easily frightened by visions of falling and cutting himself or breaking a limb. He arouses the envy of his friends with boastful stories of a possession, of stealing, or of noble ancestry, but the stories to his parents imply his exaggerated need of their approval and protection. In bed he thinks of his future pleasures and prowess, and to a lesser extent of his misconduct. Phantasies of getting hurt or being assaulted could make him cry, as would remorse over his misdeeds or their consequences. When asleep he tends to have nightmares, particularly if he is a junior; to a lesser extent he dreams of pleasant events. Whatever his age, night disturbances are caused by frightening dreams or noises provoking fear. His greatest wish is for a plaything such as a bicycle, and if given a large sum of money he would spend it thus, perhaps saving a little. He emphatically dislikes a boy who behaves as he does, except in so far as he is repentant.

While the group responses show the kind of phantasies nurtured by the subjects, reference can be made to individual records to study the configuration of thoughts operating in a single subject. Whichever way test replies are studied, the projection records for juvenile delinquents give a picture of a boy inevitably getting into trouble, fearing the expected punishment, over-eager to make amends, and preparing for the next repetition of this cycle.

The importance of the material elicited justifies the carrying out of further studies in Controlled Projection using larger numbers of subjects and in different clinical fields.

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