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THE GRADUATE SCHOOL
OF THE
HAHNEMANN MEDICAL COLLEGE AND HOSPITAL

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FAIRY TALES: A MEANS OF EVIDENCING
ADOLESCENT CONFLICTS
A PILOT STUDY

A Thesis
Presented to
the Faculty of the Graduate School
Hahnemann Medical College

In Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Master of Creative Arts in Therapy

by
Karen M. Clark
March, 1977

DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated with love and a sense of relief to my entire family, especially to my father, mother, and grandmother; to my special and dear friends Kathy, Roseanne, and sometimes Michael; and to my co-therapist and buddy, Lynn - all of whom were supportive, patient, and optimistic throughout the ordeal.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to express sincere thanks and appreciation to my thesis committee: Carol Carrino, for her great editing; Dr. Dan Wallace, for his enthusiasm; Dr. Tom Conover for his recommendations concerning my data, and all three for their support, suggestions, and extra time. A special thanks also to my typist, Florence Collins; to my photographer, Michael Savini; and to my German translator, Bill Osteen.

ABSTRACT

Fairy tales are believed to be of therapeutic benefit in that they provide fantasy vehicles for the expression and resolution of intrapsychic concerns.

It was hypothesized that fairy tales read to adolescents who were requested to then draw the scene that most impressed them would reveal the presence of intrapsychic conflict and/or its resolution.

Two populations of adolescent girls (8 girls in all) were read "Little Red Riding Hood", "Snow White", and "Hansel and Gretel" two times within a four month period. The drawings were evaluated as to the manifest content of the items represented within them and were compared to see if any similarities or differences were apparent in the representation of major characters and objects from the stories.

Results indicated that definable areas of conflict were seen in the fairy tale drawings of each of these adolescents and were traceable to objects and themes contained in the fairy tales. Group conflictual phenomena was evident as well as individual.

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I. INTRODUCTION: THE TOPIC AREA

This pilot study explores the use of fairy tales in group art therapy conducted with adolescent girls. Because fairy tales have many aspects and possible meanings, it is hypothesized that fairy tales can be used to express a multitude of conflicts. Conflicts are universal but responses to conflicts may be individual in their meaning.

Bettelheim (1976) and Schuman (1972) feel that fairy tales are of importance. Fairy tales provide wish-fulfillment in fantasy, reassurance and hope for the future, and offer expression of wishes, fears, and ambivalent feelings, providing more complete resolution of intrapsychic problems by offering a means of working through conflicts. Peller (1959) and Todd (1971) add that fairy tales give one a chance to communicate confused feelings and concerns and to share important and personal things that one could not directly express. Fairy tales accomplish the above because they allow the reader to attribute his own feelings to separate characters, each with a distinct trait or role; to substitute permissible vicarious experiences for ones which are impermissible in reality; and to enjoy satisfying solutions to symbolic representations of frustrating and contradictory aspects of life.

Sharpe (1950) feels that an understanding of fairy tales is an essential necessity in acquiring the technique of psychoanalysis. The values intrinsic to fairy tales make a vast realm of therapeutic uses possible.

Art therapy and fairy tales seem to be complementary processes: Both deal with symbolic forms and latent unconscious meanings. Both help the individual to distance himself from the content of his unconscious and to externalize conflict for mastery. Art therapy is based on the premise that individuals are capable of projecting inner conflicts into visual form (Kris, 1964; Naumberg, 1973).

Peller (1959) thinks that the retelling of a story is similar to projective tests: the story is either preserved or changes, based on the individual's conflicts, daydreams, impulses, and psychic values. A drawing of a story is a visual restatement of the story. It provides a concrete representation of the individual's perception of the narration.

This study deals with intrapsychic conflicts as depicted in the themes and drawings of fairy tales. Intrapsychic conflicts are conflicts between opposing forces within the mind. These conflicts begin in childhood and persist throughout life, constituting one of the most important dynamic factors underlying human behavior. Their outcome determines a wide variety

of character traits, both normal and abnormal (Moore and Fine, 1968). It is hypothesized that the drawings of fairy tales by adolescent girls will reveal their intrapsychic conflicts.

This study seeks to answer the following questions: Does this method of using fairy tales in art therapy provide distinct or unique insight into the needs, strivings, and conflicts of the individuals or groups of individuals? Are there definable areas of conflict present in adolescent female's artwork and what, if any, is their relation to fairy tale material? If themes offered are of diagnostic significance, how might they be useful in ongoing therapy with individuals or groups of adolescents? Are there themes which seem characteristic of all the sample, or are themes individual in their selection and emphasis?

II. REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Psychoanalytic theory was formulated by S. Freud in the late 1800's and early 1900's. The basic hypotheses of psychoanalytic theory are the existence of psychic determinism - that each psychic event has causal determinants, and the theory of the existence of an unconscious. Psychoanalytic theory holds that all thoughts and actions are pre-determined and related according to one's unconscious processes (Freud, 1949).

Personality is a structure comprised of three major systems: the id, the ego, and the superego (Freud, 1949). The id operates according to the pleasure principle and uses primary process thinking: immediate gratification of needs is sought without differentiation of reality from fantasy. The ego operates in the reality principle with secondary process thinking. It is the mediator between id drives and strivings and the external world. Ego functions include reality testing, intellect, emotional expression and relations to others (object relations). The ego uses defense mechanisms which are unconscious in attempting to defend against panic and anxiety.

Freud emphasized that one's early years are formative

to the basic personality structure of the individual (Solomon and Patch, 1974). Infantile sexuality is fundamental to Freud's tenets. Sexualized investments have their origins in infancy rather than originating in puberty (Freud, 1949). Freud's psychosexual stages of development are related to pleasures obtained from the gratification of oral, anal, urethral, and genital zones of the body.

In the oral stage (birth to age 1-2) the infant is primarily concerned with the activities of the mouth (Freud, 1949). The mouth is the means of perceiving the world. The earliest objects recognized by the infant are known in parts by their inter-relationship to the child's needs. These are known as part objects. For example, the child, in taking the breast or bottle, perceives that object as a part without recognizing it in relation to the whole, the gestalt of the mother. Gradually the infant learns that the breast is a part of the mother and that he and other objects are separate. With this recognition comes an awareness that he can't magically control everything according to his desires. (Solomon and Patch, 1974).

Because there is no awareness of the role and function of others, the infant is almost totally narcissistic. The oral phase is important in the establishment of a self-image and is significant to the development of a trust of external

realities and of people (Freud, 1966; Erikson, 1963).

The anal stage (age 1-3) is characterized by conflict of libidinal, sexualized energies in concern over two sources of pleasure; the retention and the expulsion of feces (Freud, 1949). These are conflictory with the demands and approval of the mother who is needed and loved. This causes ambivalence (Solomon and Patch, 1974), the existence of strong opposing feelings simultaneously experienced or expressed. Ambivalence begins with the strong desire to expel feces for the mother's approval and the strong desire to retain them as one's product. This appears in mixed feelings later experienced, to love and hate the same person, to deny and affirm, to accept and reject. Through the mechanism of splitting the child seeks to preserve an image of a "good" object from the negative, aggressive feelings that he then attributes to a "bad" object (Solomon and Patch, 1974). Feces are initially viewed as a part of the body and are a treasured object although later they may become objects of disgust. The child learns the ability to control his body through elimination and practices autonomy and controlling his parents through thwarting and yielding to their wishes regarding his products (Erikson, 1963; Kestenberg, 1975). Demands are made on the child to become aware of the regulations and limits placed upon his behavior by his parents. The superego has its

beginnings at this time (Solomon and Patch, 1974), with the awareness of societal dictates which will ultimately become internalized in the child's sense of moral judgements.

The urethral stage (age 3-5) coincides with the late anal and phallic stages. It is characterized by interest in, and concern with, bladder control. "During urethral dominance, the child's body image becomes fluid rather than solid. His body boundaries become uncertain", (Kestenberg, 1975). Pleasures and conflicts of retention and release are similar to those of the anal period. Experiences within this phase further determine the child's ability to delay gratification and to think in terms of the consequences of his acts as opposed to direct translation of his impulses. Urination may contain aggressive or masturbatory elements (Solomon and Patch, 1974).

Freud believed the oedipal stage (age 3-4 to 6-7) to be most important to personality development (1949, 1966). The child develops a sexual interest in the parent of the opposite sex. There is a resultant rivalry with the same sex parent. Despite this rivalry, the child loves both parents and so he again experiences ambivalent feelings.

The child learns that his desires for an exclusive relationship with the opposite sex parent are forbidden. He becomes anxious and guilty and fears retaliation for his

wishes in the form of loss of his autonomy and his capabilities (Solomon and Patch, 1974). The child yields to the same sex rival and renounces his sexual wishes toward the parent of the opposite sex. The ego compensates by means of identifying with characteristics of each parent. In this manner the child seeks to be like his parents rather than to be caught in a rivalry between them. With this internalization, superego (or conscience) develops and the child seeks learning and interaction in socialization (Freud, 1966).

The resolution of the oedipal is more complex for females than for males (Freud, 1966). The oedipal female's original (infantile) attachment is to the mother. She becomes attracted to her father in the oedipal phase. In moving toward a positive resolution of the oedipal phase she must renounce her mother as a love object in order to identify with her (Freud, 1966). She must also renounce her father as a love object to eventually find a male for a heterosexual relationship. A healthy female cannot find a same-sex substitute for her original attachment to mother if she is to form a heterosexual adult identity (Solomon and Patch, 1974).

Poor resolution of the oedipal constellation results in deficient superego formation. Reasons for this may include entering the oedipal phase with failure to resolve pre-oedipal conflicts, absence of a parent or a parent substitute, and/or

defects in the parent's own superego or sexual identity may make it difficult for the child to identify with the parent and to form a stable, reasonable, consistent self and societal differentiation (Solomon and Patch, 1974).

The oedipal phase marks the beginning of the genital phase (Freud, 1966). The genital phase child is less narcissistic. His genital interest are directed toward another who is loved and not toward his self-aggrandizement, as in the phallic phase (Solomon and Patch, 1974). Attainment of the genital stage results in subsequent heterosexual relationships which demonstrate a mature relationship with a loved one.

In latency (age 6-7 to 10-12), infantile sexuality is repressed (Freud, 1966). Latency children tend to interact with others of their same sex and seek learning and mastery in school and society. The latency child is dependable, predictable, and concerned with reality. Interest in the parents is desexualized. The child strives to please himself and others through achievements (Solomon and Patch, 1974). Work becomes differentiated from play in latency.

With the onset of adolescence (age 12-15) there is a renewed increase of libido due to sudden physiologic and endocrinologic changes. At this time there is a resurgence of the earlier oral, anal, and phallic drives; fantasies,

and conflicts, as is sexual interest in and conflict with the parents (from the oedipal phase) (Solomon and Patch, 1974). (The phenomenon of adolescence is further examined on pages 53-62). Psychoanalytic art therapy is now discussed.

Art therapy uses art as a nonverbal means of communication in order to gain insights into a patient's intrapsychic conflicts and to uncover or reinforce defensive structures. The relationship between analytic psychology and art therapy provides important data in understanding diagnostic and therapeutic processes in art therapy. Basic psychoanalytic concepts such as the theory of the unconscious, psychic determinism, psychosexual stages of development and the mechanisms of repression, projection, identification, sublimation, symbolization, and condensation are basic to art therapy. The transference relationship is manifested visually as well as verbally (Levick, 1963; Naumberg, 1966).

Naumberg (1973), Machover (1949), and Fink and Levick (1973) concur that images serve as a more direct means of expression than do words - which can be consciously manipulated, inhibited, and guilt provoking. "'The true use of speech is not so much to express our wants as to conceal them,'" (Goldsmith, in Hammer, 1958). With artwork unconscious elements are evident, regardless of one's attempt to disguise, deny, or to reverse them.

Art therapy may be less threatening than verbal therapy. The artwork allows physical as well as psychical distance between the patient and the therapist; and between the patient and his expressed impulses and anxieties. Distancing is a defense of the ego that projects and translates internal conflicts into a visual image, often maintaining the conflict on an unconscious level (Donnenberg, 1975). Interpretations based on artwork are often better understood and accepted by the patient because he can actually see what he has drawn or done and then relate to it.

"In all art, essential parts remain on the unconscious or preconscious level, and the nursery tale is no exception," (Peller, 1959). Fairy tales may relieve preconscious and unconscious pressures. They allow for the expression of fantasy wishes and hostilities to be displaced, distanced, and worked through, without their coming in to consciousness and thus causing anxiety (Bettelheim, 1976; Todd, 1971).

While projective tests, such as the House-Tree-Person Test, are more standardized and more specifically diagnostic, many of the same characteristics apply to art therapy. Hutt (1951), Hammer (1958), and Waehner (1946) discuss projective techniques as the presentation of an ambiguous stimulus to which a patient is required to respond. Responses gained are indicative of how the patient organizes his responses in

general: what is emotionally meaningful to him, and how he perceives himself and significant others in his environment. Whereas "A projection is an excuse to hide the underlying tendency- a projective technique is a response that reveals the underlying tendency," (Symonds, 1949).

A projective response is similar to a fantasy, as both may be uncontrolled mental products. Waehner (1946) points out that any freely selected reaction is influenced by recent experiences, environmental and cultural factors, as well as one's psychical dynamics. Changes in the level of a patient's integration and disintegration don't take place solely on the paper. Objects drawn reflect intrapsychic processes that are also manifest within the patient's personality and interpersonal contacts (Zierer, 1966).

The content of a projective response is subjective rather than objectively real and it is not a simple, categorizable phenomena; qualitative as well as quantitative elements must be considered. "The interpretation of projective figure drawings (or, for that matter, any technique in natural or social sciences) is without sufficient experimental validation, rarely yields unequivocal information, and frequently misleads the unwary, the naive, the reckless and the impulsive," (Hammer, 1958).

The art therapist looks beyond the manifest art material,

the collection of lines, colors, and shapes in their pictorial content or story. As with manifest dreams, the manifest art represents latent (concealed) unconscious material presented in a disguised form. Hammer states that due to the impact of Freudian thinking, art has become, next to dreams, the "via regia" into the unconscious (1958). Psychodynamic orientation and a background in art enable the art therapist to perceive latent content within the artwork. What the therapist does with these perceptions depends on the status of the patient and the expertise of the therapist.

In the manifest story, events happen in space and time according to a logical constancy even if the story is unrealistic. In the latent story, events are related by their associations to an inner experience through condensation and symbolization. In condensation many ideas or images may be represented or contained in one word or image. Symbolization is one object represented by another; i.e., flowers may represent genitalia. The symbolic language that leads to the latent content "is language in which the world outside is a symbol of the world inside...of our souls and minds", (Fromm, 1951).

Elements and situation derived from fairy tales are frequently found in dreams and daydreams. To understand the language of dreams is to understand the language of

fairy tales. Roheim (1953) speaks of fairy tales and myths as having arisen from dreams. According to Heuscher (1963), "While the dream is a psychic expression of one individual, the fairy tale is the expression of experiences of a whole cultural group". Sullivan (1953) defines the myth or fairy tale as an externalization of a dream that satisfies the needs of many.

Schwartz (1956) lists common factors in dreams and fairy tales. Both: deal in opposites, are illogical and unrealistic, have manifest and latent meanings, use symbolism, expound and expand upon concepts of reality, are a dramatized form of expression, contain sexual and cultural elements, express wishes, have humor, and employ the mechanisms of condensation, substitution, displacement, devaluation, and overevaluation. Schwartz hypothesizes that these factors may be the characteristics of all forms of human thought: art, dreams, normal everyday pathologies, to neuroses and psychoses. Fink (1967) states that in order to understand any artistic production one must understand primary process thinking, the language of the unconscious. Primary process thinking contains the attributes of: simultaneity (inconsistencies co-exist), condensation, distortion (disguises or enhancement of reality), concreteness of symbols (literal, not general or abstract imagery), and timelessness (events exist regardless of when they occurred in reality).

In comparing dreams and fairy tales, Bettelheim (1976) concentrates on their differences rather than their similarities. In dreams wish fulfillment is disguised. Fairy tale wish fulfillment tends to be more openly expressed. Fairy tales have a consistent structure with a satisfying ending. Many dreams are a result of unrelieved inner pressures or unresolved problems but the dreams don't offer a solution. The fairy tale projects a relief of all pressures and offers solutions. The content can be openly talked about. The reader need not feel guilty over enjoying such tales and his feelings about them. The story teller makes the dreams ego syntonic, or acceptable (Peller, 1959).

The dream interpretation technique can be applied to fairy tales (Freud, 1958; Heuscher, 1963; Veszy-Wagner, 1966). All of the objects and characters represent some facet or problem of an individual. The significance of these symbols may become clearer to a therapist via the patients' associations.

Naumberg (1966) utilizes the patient's free associations to the pictures and gradually assists him in recognizing motives and conflicts in the artwork while Vaccaro (1973) cautions against over-using the patient's responses. Patients' responses may mislead the art therapist and succeed in impeding progress toward understanding. The associations

must be considered in reference to the patient's ego strengths which are demonstrated within the construction of a picture as well as in verbal expressions.

The main function of a symbol is to disguise and distort the underlying wish. Symbolism in psychoanalysis designates a "peculiar process whereby an idea or process represents an associated one which is in a state of repression"; (Jones, 1964).

Symbols range from primitive forms of expression to the subtle and complicated forms found in art, literature, dreams, folk-lore, and religion (Hammer, 1958). The number of possible symbols is infinite but the number of unconscious ideas to be symbolized is few. Symbols represent basic concerns of life experience: Immediate relatives, parts of the body, birth, love and death (Goldman, 1967).

In both art and psychology it is ridiculous to ascribe a single meaning to a symbol. Hammer (1958) states that symbols are "chameleon in nature" and may be interchanged when objects to be symbolized share essential qualities. Overdetermination, is the rule; condensation, explains many of the differences between latent and manifest content. A symbol does not have significance in itself, it is a construction of one's individual experience and background. Artwork is helpful in its concretization of symbols. The relationship

of a symbol to the whole or gestalt of the picture, how they are drawn, and the medium used all provide the therapist with information regarding conflict and/or congruency of thinking and affects of the patient(s).

Fairy tales integrate sensations, intuitions, feelings and thoughts, and provide symbols for the child in the form of concrete images of good and bad characterizations (Schwartz, 1956). Jones (1964) asserts that symbolism plays a larger part in the mentality of children than of adults. Children's spontaneously invented and traditional games are often symbolic expressions of infantile sexuality. The same is true of symbolism in fairy tales.

Fairy tales recognize difficulties, anxieties and aspirations; they suggest solutions. Most importantly, they offer hope (Bettelheim, 1976). The message that one must not give up is effective as long as it is disguised or implied and is not a direct command or threat. Modern stories are sometimes too wordy and too realistic, denying relief in imagination. Myths are pessimistic and their divine and superhuman characters are as impossible to live up to as the ideals of a strict superego.

Fairy tales aid the parent in one of the most important and difficult tasks of child rearing: helping a child find meaning to life (Bettelheim, 1976). Heuscher (1963), referring

to Viktor Frankl's views, says "Beyond the wish for security, for love, for achievement, the human being is endowed with a 'will to meaning'...which is one of the strongest forces underlying the creation of the fairy tale".

It is difficult for parents to recognize and accept some of the emotions of which their child is capable. According to Kris, "Adults who look from their point of view at...fairy tales find it difficult to understand that children can enjoy them. Their crude and often openly sadistic content seems repugnant, their symbolism too obvious. All this... appropriately fills an important need in the child's life" (1964).

While fairy tales may actually frighten children, they also give relief. As the child becomes familiar with those same tales, he eventually faces and masters the frightening aspects. Parents who read fairy tales to their children give reassurance that it is acceptable to play with the ideas in fairy tales (Bettelheim, 1976; Peller, 1959).

Those who outlawed traditional folk fairy tales decided that if there were monsters in a story told to children, these must all be friendly--- but they missed the monster a child knows best and is most concerned with: the monster he feels or fears himself to be....Without...fantasies, the child fails to get to know his monster better, nor is he given suggestions as to how he may gain mastery over it. As a result, the child remains helpless with his worst anxieties- much more so than if he had been told fairy tales which give

these anxieties form and body and also show ways to overcome these monsters. (Bettleheim, 1976).

According to Kramer, when children are given the opportunity to paint their monsters they are not only releasing their feelings but are also obtaining a "temporary mastery over their conflicts so that the burden of anxiety and aggression is eased for them", (1958).

The healthy child can tolerate even the worst cruelties in these stories. By watering down and sweetening fairy tales, they become more realistic, and more frightening to the child. Much of the fairy tale's deeper meaning is lost. Schwartz (1956) thinks that one of the reasons that the fairy tale isn't as popular in the United States as elsewhere is because of America's preoccupation with compulsive cleanliness and anality. The fairy tales have been purged of their meaning.

The people in fairy tales are split into heroes and villains. The normal reader will primarily identify with the hero, whether male or female (Veszy-Wagner, 1966). Bettelheim believes that the child doesn't identify with the hero because the hero is good. Rather, identification has to do with the character's condition or position in the story and if that character is good, then the child decides to be good also (1976).

Psychoanalysis, art therapy, and fairy tales offer the same solution to contradictory tendencies: integrate them. Each tale projects (at its happy ending) the integration of some inner conflict. Animalistic love is integrated with spiritual love. The desire for symbiosis is integrated with the desire for independence. Fairy tales help organize the mind because they present an organized form of human experience.

The ambiguity of fairy tales allows the reader to project his own details into the story. Bettelheim (1976), Dready (1916), Heuscher (1963), and Fingarette (in Veszy-Wagner, 1966) agree that the fairy tales have no one ultimate meaning and that many interpretations are merely reflections of the whole. An important point stressed by Heuscher is that explaining fairy tales with just the psychoanalytic approach tends to rob the story of its charm and full meaning(s); let the fairy tale images talk without fitting them into one theory. One begins to notice their multidimensional aspects in this way (1963).

This thesis deals specifically with three fairy tales ("Little Red Riding Hood", "Snow White", and "Hansel and Gretel") and what their possible thematic meanings are in order to aid in the assessment of conflicts in adolescent girls. Each of the following three stories includes comments

from The Uses of Enchantment by B. Bettelheim (1976) and from various other authors who addressed themselves to the individual tales. "Little Red Riding Hood" will subsequently be referred to as "LRRH", "Snow White" as "SW". Before each discussion an annotated version of each story is presented.

Each of the fairy tales used in this study were taken from Grimms' Fairy Tales as translated by E. V. Lucas, L. Crane and M. Edwardes (1945).

"Little Red Riding Hood"

Once upon a time there was a young girl of unspecified age. Because she always wore a red velvet cloak (or cap), a gift from her grandmother, her nickname was Little Red Riding Hood (LRRH). One day LRRH's mother told her to take cake and wine to grandmother, who was sick. Grandmother lived deep in the woods, half an hour from the village. The mother told her daughter not to loiter nor run along the way.

En route, LRRH met a wolf. She told him where she was going and why. The wolf encouraged her to enjoy the sunny day, the birds, and the flowers, While LRRH was wandering off the path, the wolf ran to the grandmother's house, pretended to be LRRH, swallowed the grandmother, and put on the grandmother's nightdress and cap.

Eventually arriving at the house, LRRH found the door open and sensed that something was wrong. She found her grandmother (wolf dressed as grandmother) in bed, looking "strange". LRRH asked about the big ears, eyes, arms, and when she asked about the teeth, the wolf swallowed her and fell asleep.

A huntsman was passing by and heard the wolf snoring. He found him in the grandmother's bed and cut open the wolf's stomach, rescuing LRRH and her grandmother, who

were miraculously restored to life. LRRH filled the wolf's belly with stones, and when he woke up, the weight pulled him down, dead. LRRH promised herself that she would never again do what her mother forbade.

According to Crawford (1955), Fromm (1951), and Veszy-Wagner (1966) the major theme of "LRRH" is oedipal. Crawford (1955) and Veszy-Wagner (1966) also address themselves to primitive oral elements and to pre-oedipal elements. Bettelheim (1976) sees the central theme as the threat of being devoured, related to unconscious oedipal attachments. The authors agree that LRRH has outgrown her oral fixation as she is able to bring food to another. (Fixation is a partial arrest of emotional and instinctual development and may occur at any phase of development where there has been much difficulty and conflict. Fixations may be caused by overfrustration, overgratification, or gross inconsistencies.)

Bettelheim (1976) views the heroine as a pubertal girl struggling with oedipal conflicts. For Fromm (1951), LRRH is a mature young woman, virginal, confronted with the problems of sexuality. He sees "LRRH" as a story based on women's deep antagonism toward man and sex. Veszy-Wagner (1966) and Crawford (1955) agree that LRRH is an oedipal child and therefore pre-menstrual. According to Crawford, LRRH invites her own seduction.

For Fromm (1951), the red cap is a symbol of menstruation and the loss of early childhood (paradise) and adds that the red cap cuts off the material from the spiritual, signifying a turning inward a necessary phase of development. Veszy-Wagner (1966) disagrees. She feels that the color red and the flowers both represent LRRH's self-confident femininity. Gardens and flowers are generally employed in fairy tales to represent or conceal the human sexual organs (Ricklin, 1915). Crawford concurs that red equals femininity (1955).

Bettelheim (1976) views red as symbolizing violent and/or sexual emotions and sees the gift as representing a "premature transfer of sexual attractiveness". The very title of the story implies that LRRH is too little and immature to handle what the red cap indicates.

Crawford (1955) and Veszy-Wanger (1966) believe the mother to be the originator of LRRH's misfortunes, supporting a theme of oedipal conflict. It is the mother who sends her on a dangerous errand and expects her to act sensibly and grownup. The mother carelessly fails to mention wolves, perhaps due to her own repression of the fact that little girls can meet wolves (Crawford, 1955).

Bettelheim agrees that it is a maternal figure who is pushing LRRH to grow up: "Whether it is mother or grandmother...

it is fatal for the young girl if this older woman abdicates her own attractiveness to males and transfers it to the daughter" (1976).

LRRH willingly leaves her protective parental home. According to Bettelheim (1976), grandmother's house equals the parental home but is experienced as threatening because of a change in the psychological situation. There is a consensus of agreement that the path equals the reality principal (virtue, on the straight and narrow) and off the path, into the woods, and flowers indicates the pleasure principle. The conflict and resulting ambivalence deal with what one ought to do versus what one wants to do.

Crawford (1955) and Bettelheim (1976) agree that by explicitly directing the wolf to grandmother's, under the three (oedipal triangle), oak (fertility), trees (masculinity), LRRH sends the wolf off to deal with a more mature woman and also expresses her unconscious wish to rid herself of all experienced oedipal competition. The wolf arrives at grandmother's, swallows her, and because LRRH allowed him to do so (unconsciously), she must be punished (Bettelheim, 1976). The wolf (father) does not eat LRRH until the (grand)mother has been removed. Only then can the oedipal wishes be acted upon.

That the mother must always die first means, as in the language of dreams, that the mother (in

the wish dream of the daughter) is the sexual rival of the daughter and must yield to her (infantilism). (Ricklin, 1915)

Bettelheim (1976) views the wolf as father the seducer, the asocial, violent, and destructive tendencies of the id, of all mankind. The wolf is the externalization of the bad objects (bad mother, bad grandmother, bad father), of the bad self, and of the dangers of over-whelming oedipal feelings. Fromm (1951) also sees the wolf as male, ruthless, and cannibalistic.

Veszy-Wager (1966) sees the wolf as being mother or father on an oedipal level but as pre-oedipally equaling several frightening aspects of the early mother figure. Crawford (1955) combines all of the previous interpretations of wolf: the wolf contains associations of cannibalism, incorporation, protection, nurturing, and the fears and excitement of sexual attraction simultaneously. The wolf in "LRRH" appears:

to represent good and bad; giver and taker; sexual object desired and feared; mother, while the disguise, though a thin one, is operating; father as pleasant seducer and then as danger; and mother-father where a lack of differentiation or discrimination of attributes is related to oral aggression (where hunger means being devoured by grandmother-mother-wolf-father) and sexual reproductive characteristics (with rebirth from father, here from the stomach). (Crawford, 1955)

The bedroom scene between LRRH and the wolf appeals to

one's unconscious child-like fascination with sex, containing elements of both attraction and repulsion. The child unconsciously equates sexual excitement with violence, anxiety, and even death (Bettelheim, 1976).

LRRH questions the wolf about his ears, eyes, hands, and mouth, enumerating the senses a child uses to comprehend the world. LRRH tries to understand why grandmother and everything else seems so strange. Veszy-Wagner (1966) view this series of climatic questions and answers as a form of affectionate abuse; Crawford (1955) calls it flirting.

Bettelheim (1976) points out that the father is present in "LRRH" in two opposing forms (condensation). Generally, in fairy tales as well as in Freudian theory, it is the mother who is "split" as she is the primary caretaker and is indispensable to the young child. A young child is incapable of feeling two ways about the same object for a sustained period while dependent and so he splits that object so that it's either all good or all bad. A child will even split himself so that one part of him is all good. It is in the oedipal stage that a child is able to integrate his thoughts and begins to attribute good and bad qualities to the same person.

An oedipal child strives for the affections of the opposite sex parent, hoping to exclude the parent of the

same sex. Through fairy tales, according to Bettelheim (1976), an oedipal girl can split her mother into two figures: the pre-oedipal good mother and the oedipal, evil stepmother. She can love her true (early) mother all the more because her anger is directed toward the competing, bad mother. Fairy tales permit the child to split while parents don't always allow this, i.e., "You don't really feel that way". Because splitting is employed in fairy tales, the child's eventual realization of our dual nature is greatly helped.

According to Veszy-Wagner (1966), LRRH's hostile feelings toward mother (as a result of being sent on the errand) are unbearable and must be repressed. Mother must be neutralized, therefore her good and bad sides are 'split' and displaced. LRRH has a good grandmother and a bad wolf. For the mother to stay good, she must become the old and ill grandmother; no competition, sexually or otherwise. Kestenberg (1975) says that children play the role of the all-powerful pre-oedipal mother, thereby reducing the real mother (in fantasy) to the status of a helpless baby (in this case, a helpless grandmother). Grandmother and LRRH are both reduced to the same fate as neither could cope with the wolf.

The hunter's rescue represents a little girl's expectations of her father to rescue her from any and all difficulties (Bettelheim, 1976). LRRH plans the death of the wolf with the

stones. If she is to be safe from future seductions she must deal with, and rid herself of, her weakness. Her father can't always do this for her if she is to mature.

In being reborn via caesarean, LRRH's childish innocence dies and she returns to life a wiser young lady. All of the authors agree that rebirth signifies an inner transformation and that a symbolic death in fairy tales indicates that the person wasn't ready to handle what he prematurely undertook.

Fromm (1951) feels that the wolf as male is made to look ridiculous by attempting to play "pregnant". Veszy-Wagner states: "The stones as a substitution for the living contents of the womb seem primarily to be only a revenge-fantasy of the child against the wicked mother-rival" (1966). This revenge-fantasy is oedipal and directed toward the mother. In pre-oedipal fantasies the child believes that both sexes are capable of having babies.

The story of "LRRH" implies that deviating from the straight and narrow (as established by the mother and superego) is sometimes necessary in order to gain a higher level of personality integration.

Through stories such as "LRRH" the child begins to understand- at least on a preconscious level- that only those experiences which overwhelm us arouse in us corresponding inner feelings with which we cannot deal. Once we have mastered those, we need not fear any longer the encounter with the wolf. (Bettelheim, 1976)

Says Crawford (1955), "Only as man knows the wolf within him will he be free." (Which is why the ability to ego-split is important.)

While Bettelheim (1976) stresses the integrating aspects of the story, Veszy-Wagner (1966) sees "LRRH" as a cautionary tale. Cautionary tales may warn against external reality dangers or against the internal dangers of sexual desires and aggressive impulses (Sharpe, 1950). This is in contrast with Fromm, who believes that "LRRH" is a "story of triumph by man-hating women" (1951).

"Snow White"

Once upon a time a queen sat at her window, embroidering. She pricked her finger and three drops of blood fell on the snow. She wished for a daughter "as white as snow, as red as blood, and as black as the wood of the embroidery frame". Soon afterwards, she gave birth to such a daughter, Snow White (SW), and the mother died. SW's father, the king, remarried after a year.

The new queen was beautiful and proud and the fairest in the land according to her magic mirror; until SW turned seven. The queen was so jealous and angry that she ordered a huntsman to take SW into the woods, cut out her heart, and bring it back to her as a token (signifying SW's death). SW was so lovely that the huntsman spared her life and told her to run into the woods. He deceived the queen by bringing her the heart of a wild boar, which she cooked and ate.

SW ran until she arrived at a little house. Inside, she found a table set for seven and, being hungry, she ate a little from each plate. Being tired, she then tried each of the seven beds, until she found one that was right for her. The house belonged to seven dwarfs who, when they found her, agreed to let SW stay, as long as she kept house.

The queen consulted her mirror and discovered that SW still lived as the mirror showed SW to be the fairest in the

land (and thus she could not be dead). Three times, the queen disguised herself and tempted SW: the first time with stay-laces (girdle), then with a poisoned comb, and lastly with a poisoned apple. After the first two attempts the dwarfs were able to revive SW, but there was nothing they could do after she ate the apple.

The dwarfs couldn't bear to bury the beautiful SW so they placed her in a glass coffin where she lay for a long time. A passing prince saw SW and fell in love with her. Carrying her coffin to his castle, he tripped, dislodging the bit of apple caught in SW's throat. She revived.

SW and the prince were married. The wicked queen went to the wedding, was found out, and was forced to dance to her death in red-hot iron shoes.

Bettelheim (1976), Kaplan (1966), and Duff (1934) agree that "SW" is an oedipal tale based on a young girl's struggle in growing up and achieving genital maturity. The main theme of "SW" is the pubertal girl's natural surpassing of the mother and the bittersweet love/hate battle between mother and daughter. The story of "SW" warns of the evil consequences of narcissism for both parent and child.

Bettelheim (1976), Kaplan (1966), and Duff (1934) concur that the opening scene has sexual connotations. Sexual

innocence (whiteness) is contrasted with sexual desire (red). The #3 is the number most closely associated in the unconscious with sex, and the blood (menstruation, initial intercourse, childbirth) is connected with a happy event the birth of SW and the achievement of sexual maturity. The #3 also represents the oedipal triangle, a relationship that involves sexual elements.

Kaplan (1966) speaks of the three drops of blood staining the snow as representing the bloody birth stains of the virgin mother (her first birth). Duff (1934) views the queen's pricking her own finger as a self-impregnation. This refers to the oedipal child's wish that his parents never have/had intercourse (not even to have conceived him).

The queen wishes for a beautiful daughter to satisfy her narcissistic self-love. Kaplan (1966), Duff (1934), and Groddeck (1961) all speak of white, red, and black as being the colors of a beautiful woman. Duff (1934) further sees the colors as expressing the ambivalence of the mother as these same colors also remind one of death, as does blood. The daughter, while a mirror image of the mother's good traits, will also be a competitor and so the mother (unconsciously) wishes her dead.

SW's mother dies in childbirth. According to Duff (1934), this is symbolic of the daughter's (unconscious)

death wish for the mother. Because this wish is fulfilled, SW must go through the punishments that follow.

The father remarries. The idealized mother of infancy disappears and is replaced by a jealous, threatening, abandoning stepmother. "In moving from the negative to the positive oedipal phase SW becomes disenchanted with her stepmother, rejects her as a love object and identifies with her instead", (Kaplan, 1966). The authors agree that the mother and the daughter mirror each other with the same ambivalences: admiration versus death wish. The mother is afraid of her lovely daughter, for her mirror shows that she is aging and can no longer compete successfully.

The mirror is a major symbol in the story. Elkisch (1957) states that the mirror "has been made the screen for man's projections of the mysterious and the uncanny". A mirror is often used to represent projection and to restore self-identify.

Bettelheim (1976) and Kaplan (1966) believe the mirror speaks with the voice of the daughter. "She is 1,000 times more beautiful" is a statement that reflects an adolescent's exaggeration, made to enlarge his advantages and silence his inner voice of doubt. This marks a change in libidinal direction, from object love to self love, which occurs with the onset of puberty and the return of narcissism (Kaplan,

1966; Deutsch, 1967).

Duff (1934) disagrees as he views the mirror as the voice of the father. It is a fulfillment of the daughter's wish when the mirror (father) says she is the most beautiful. Duff (1934) also points to the mirror's ability to know hidden things, in the same way as the small child feels that his parents magically know everything about him.

The conscious hatred, jealousy, and wish to be rid of a rival are feelings that belong only to the wicked step-mother in this story. The authors agree that it is difficult to accept that a child can entertain such thoughts, so they are projected onto the parent. The narcissistic queen ousts her rival. "The narcissistically injured cannot rest until he has blotted out a vaguely experienced offender who dared to oppose him, to disagree with him, or to outshine him", (Kohut, 1973).

Bettelheim (1976), Kaplan (1966) and Duff (1934) equate the huntsman with a father figure. Bettelheim stresses the weakness of the father-huntsman, a symbol usually of protection and rescue (as in "Little Red Riding Hood") as "He neither does his duty to the queen, nor meets his moral obligation to SW to make her safe and secure". The hunter tries to placate both the mother...and the girl. Lasting hatred and jealousy of the mother are the consequences of

the father's ambivalence", (1976). The stepmother is shown as strong and evil and the father as weak because of what the child expects of his parents: The mother is the primary caretaker and necessary for the child's survival, a father's negligence is not as directly experienced. (Until the oedipal, when his presence is crucial.)

Kaplan (1966) stresses the oedipal possibilities when the father draws his knife to pierce (seduce) SW. Duff (1934), referring to Winsterstein (1934), sees traces of primitive puberty rites in fairy tales. One such ritual consists of an older man (a father figure) who deflowers the girl in the woods outside of the village (like the wolf in "Little Red Riding Hood").

The authors agree that the queen is fixated to a primitive narcissism and is arrested on the oral incorporative stage. By eating SW's heart, she hopes to incorporate SW's beauty. The process of being eaten by the parent of the same sex means identification with that parent and introjection of their qualities. According to Sharpe (1950), identification is a magical incorporation of the parents resulting in a magical endowment with their powers and an omnipotent control over them. Duff (1934) points out that in the fairy tale, as well as in the consciousness of the child, the act of being eaten is seen as a terrible danger.

SW escapes this danger. Even the wild animals don't eat her, further emphasizing the evil of the stepmother by making her the sole protagonist.

According to Bettelheim (1976), SW's running away is indicative of a search for an ideal home, a better family, as an escape from her own inner turmoil. She later learns that running doesn't solve anything. The authors agree that being lost in a forest is a symbol of the need to find oneself. The need to survive forces SW to risk the dangers of the forest and make a life of and on her own.

Kaplan (1966) views SW's frightening adventures in the woods as indicative of a struggle with masturbation. The sharp stones represent bony exploring hands, the thorn bushes represent pubic hair, the wild animals equal the strength of the instincts and possibly the parents who forbid the activity. The discovery of the hidden house symbolizes the clitoris and the rest that SW has at the house is the peace that results from instinctual gratification.

When SW arrives at the dwarfs' house she is able to control her oral cravings, sampling a morsel from each plate. She tries out each bed, looking for one that is just right, hinting at some awareness of the sexual risk she is taking (Bettelheim, 1976). Kaplan likens SW's

entering the house, eating, and falling asleep to Lewin's oral triad: the wish to be eaten, the wish to eat, and the wish to fall asleep. (1966)

According to Bettelheim (1976), the dwarfs serve as "friendly helpers". They are permanently arrested on a pre-oedipal level and are conflict free, with no desire to progress. Together they symbolize an immature pre-individual existence which SW must transcend; they serve as "foils to set off the important developments taking place in SW", (Bettelheim, 1976). The fact that there are dwarfs suggests the seven days of the week, all filled with work. SW is seven years old when she meets the dwarfs, the "age of reason".

Bettelheim (1976), Kaplan (1966), Duff (1934) and Groddeck (1961) mention the phallic connotations of the dwarfs' stunted bodies and mining occupations. Duff (1934) view the dwarfs as siblings with whom SW plays house with little cups and plates and tables and beds. He speculates that maybe this points to the longing of the already menstruating girl for the time when what one played at was not so frighteningly real. The play with the dwarfs (as clitoral objects) hints at masturbation and also is a preview of SW's later sex life with the prince (Seven dwarfs equals powerful penis, the oedipal child's belief that bigger is better.)

Time passes peacefully with the dwarfs for awhile, symbolizing SW's escape back into a conflict-free latency period, where adolescent turmoils can be avoided. But SW continues to mature and begins to experience the repressed sexual desires. At this time, the stepmother reappears on the scene. "The readiness with which SW repeatedly permits herself to be tempted by the stepmother, despite the warnings of the dwarfs, suggests how close the stepmother's temptations are to SW's inner desires", (Bettelheim, 1976).

The stay-laces or girdle suggest that SW is now a well-developed girl who wants to be sexually attractive, is concerned about her appearance and other's response. SW's collapse symbolizes that she is overwhelmed by the conflict between her sexual desires and her resultant anxiety (Bettelheim, 1976). This behavior is repeated when she gets and uses the poisoned comb.

Kaplan (1966) points out that the child is washed, dressed, combed, and fed by the mother, forming the basis of the child's early love for the mother. The stepmother's enticements recall these early experiences. Duff (1934) views these enticements as reminiscent of early childhood, only mother's dressing and combing of her child is not always tender, expressing an unconscious sadistic streak.

The apple, the third attempt on SW's life, is a universal

symbol that stands for love, sex and enticement, both loving and endangering, and the mother's breast. Duff (1934) and Bettelheim (1976) view the eating of the apple as a symbol of sexual enjoyment. SW and her mother sharing the apple (the stepmother ate the white half, SW the red) is a symbol of identification (communion); they share their jealousy of each other and their mature sexual desires.

The apple is half red and half white, as is SW, symbolizing sexual and erotic aspects. When SW eats the red half, her innocence dies. The redness of the apple elicits sexual associations: The three drops of blood that started the story, and menstruation, the event that marks the beginning of sexual maturity.

For SW's presumptuous identification with her stepmother, she is punished with a death-like trance until she spits out the apple. According to Duff (1934) the spitting out indicates that when she releases her part of the mother's sexual enjoyment (the father), she no longer needs punishment. Duff (1934), referring to Sachs, sees the impulse to take in the father orally as a regression, a last attempt to hold onto the father fixation, because the impulse to take in can't occur in the as yet unrecognized vagina.

Bettelheim (1976) agrees with Duff and Sachs in that SW's troubles began with oral incorporation (SW projects her's onto

the queen). Only after SW has spit out the bad object she has incorporated (Bettelheim does not specify what this object is) is she free from primitive orality.

SW's eating the red apple (sexual knowledge) was premature. Experiencing sexuality too soon is perceived as destruction and must be followed by a recuperative period (as in "Little Red Riding Hood"). SW's punishments are near-death conditions and her "death" represents the fulfillment of the death wish against the mother and at the same time the punishment of this desire (Duff, 1934). Kaplan (1966) adds that the punishment is also for masturbatory guilt, and, referring to Lewin, Kaplan (1966) views the death as a fusion with the mother, a return of pre-oedipal longings.

Kaplan (1966) sees the glass coffin-container as a reversal in that "a virginal woman has within her a fragile container which is still sexually asleep". Duff (1934) points out that glass alludes to white and therefore to death and that it also recalls the mirror. Bettelheim (1976) says that the time spent in the coffin (womb) is a final preparation for maturity. Growth and time are necessary before old conflicts are integrated. Passivity and contemplation can and often do lead to highest achievements.

As one grows up, one vacillates between being overcome

by the unchecked emotions of the id and the rigidity and control of the superego. The latter are manifested by SW's tight girdle and her enforced immobility in the coffin. True maturity is reached only when red (id) and white (superego) can coexist harmoniously in reality (Bettelheim, 1976).

The prince could see but not touch SW through the coffin. Kaplan (1966) relates this to a father's contentment with looking at his daughter. The admiration of the prince is necessary for her sexual awakening, as it activates the memory of another love, the love she received from her father.

Bettelheim (1976) feels that to a child the greatest riddle of adults is sex. In fairy tales, solving this riddle and eventual understanding of its nature leads to marriage and a kingdom, to becoming a king or a queen. Before the harmonious life can begin, the evil and destructive aspects of the personality must be brought under control. Hence, the death of the vain and jealous queen. Uncontrolled passion is destructive. The child becomes himself after the parent is defeated. Kaplan (1966) sums up his and Duff's (1934) viewpoints in stating "The queen's death makes SW free to engage in the sexual practices that her mother's presence would deny her."

"Hansel and Gretel"

Once upon a time there was a poor family: a woodcutter, his wife, and two children, Hansel and Gretel. Because there was not enough food for all the children's stepmother decided that the children must be abandoned in the woods.

Overhearing the plan, Hansel collected white pebbles to be used for markers. As the children were lead into the woods the next day, he dropped the pebbles along the path. When the moon rose the pebbles "shone like silver" and Hansel and Gretel followed them until they returned home. Again they were taken into the forest, but this time they only had bread crumbs to drop. The birds ate the crumbs and Hansel and Gretel were lost.

On the third day of wandering in the woods they saw a white bird which they followed until it landed on the roof of a house, a candy house. Starving, the children began eating the house. A witch lived in the house and invited them in, made them dinner, and put them to bed.

The next morning the witch put Hansel in a cage and put Gretel to work. Her plan was to fatten up Hansel so she could cook and eat him but when it came time to test the oven, Gretel pushed the witch in and killed her. Gretel then freed Hansel, they stuffed their pockets with the witch's jewels, and set out for home. They came to a lake, which they each crossed on the

back of a duck. In a few hours, they were home again with their father. Their stepmother had died.

Bettelheim (1976) and Roheim (1953) feel that the central theme of "Hansel and Gretel" is the threat of being devoured. Schuman (1972) fails to mention orality in discussing Hansel and Gretel but he concurs that the story is centered around the perceived threat from the mother and hostility toward her.

Bettelheim (1976) and Roheim (1953) view the hostility as related to mother being the source of food and nurturing. In denying these oral demands the stepmother is perceived as being rejecting, unloving, and selfish.

Schuman (1972) interprets the story as a little girl's oedipal fantasy. The mother is the principal object of hostility as in oedipal rivalry, and the lack of food for all represents the feeling of exclusion and neglect that a child feels as a result of the parents' intimate relationship.

A further psychic dilemma is that of finding one's adult identity (Bettelheim, 1976; Schuman, 1972). Abandonment as a consequence of bad behavior is a common prepubertal idea. Thus, the children's banishment from the home represents both the parents' wish for their children's independent maturity as well as the child's fear of becoming autonomous. Roheim (1953) views this as an awakening from a dream sequence in

that the bad mother awakens the children "out of the sleep-house-womb."

Schuman (1972) addresses the issue of gender-identity in stating that Hansel and Gretel may be viewed as siblings or as the masculine and feminine aspects of the same person.

The use of bread crumbs and the attempts to return to the family home are viewed as regressive phenomenon by Bettelheim (1976), who adds that attempts to escape separation and/or death anxiety by attempting to hold onto one's parents will result in being forced out.

Bettelheim (1976) and Roheim (1953) state that Hansel and Gretel manifest orality when they eat the gingerbread house which could afford them shelter. Perhaps the eating of the house is equivalent to devouring the bad mother who rejected them and took away their shelter.

Bettelheim (1976), then, sees both the witch's and the parents' houses as being two aspects of the same home; one, gratifying and the other, frustrating. Roheim (1953) views the house as a hallucinatory (dream-like) wish-fulfillment, as an eatable structure like the breast to a nursling. Such a symbiotic, heavenly state would be regressive for other than an infant.

The witch is initially gratifying but her pretense at being a good caretaker is quickly revealed to Hansel and Gretel.

Whereas the children ate only the symbolic representation of a mother in eating the house, the witch cannibalistically wishes to devour the children. Bettelheim (1976) and Schman (1972) equate this with oedipal ambivalence, anxiety, and frustration.

Bettelheim (1976), Roheim (1953), and Schuman (1972) concur that the children are forced to develop initiative and to plan intelligently to defend themselves from the evil plans of the witch. Goal-directed behavior replaces fantasies which are wish-fulfilling but not life-serving.

The children take action in pushing the witch into the oven like a loaf of bread. Bettelheim (1976) adds that a witch which is created by a child's anxious fantasies will haunt him but a witch who can be destroyed is one a child can believe himself free of. Schuman (1972) views the mother figure as presented within the characterization of the wood-cutter's wife, the stepmother, and the witch. Such a splitting of characterizations is done in childish ambivalence regarding a mother who is at once gratifying and frustrating. That the children discover and take jewels from the witch's home indicates the return of a good, giving, valued mother according to Bettelheim (1976). Both Bettelheim (1976) and Schuman (1972) see this phenomenon as symbolizing the consolidation of a greater wisdom that is beneficial to all.

The return to the family home takes only a few hours whereas the trip to the witch's house took three days. Hansel and Gretel appear to have increased strength and confidence as a result of their experiences. Their return is across a lake which may further indicate a transition to a higher level of intrapsychic development. Aware of their personal uniqueness and individuality, they cross separately. They arrive home bringing treasures which indicate that they will no longer be construed as a burden: they are mature. Their stepmother is dead; their wish for her destruction has been realized. (Bettelheim, 1976; Schuman, 1972).

Hansel's trick of taking pebbles and bread to mark a path initially saves them from abandonment but it is Gretel who outsmarts the witch. Thus Gretel demonstrates that a female may be a rescuer as well as a threat (as the stepmother and witch indicated) (Bettleheim, 1976). Schuman (1972) sees this rescue as a little girl's fantasy of taking over her big brother's role. Gretel also terminates the symbiotic relationship when she suggests that she and Hansel cross the lake separately.

Each of the siblings rescues the other. Dependence upon the parents is presented as being immature and regressive, and the support of siblings and friends (i.e., the duck) is presented as necessary to more mature functioning (Bettelheim,

1976).

Birds are significant to this story and are discussed by Bettelheim (1976) and Schuman (1972). The birds eating the crumbs and the white bird that leads them to the witch force the children to develop the resources necessary to master the threats. The behavior of the birds indicates that the entire adventure was arranged for the children's benefit. Finally, it is a white duck who aids the children in returning home. A white bird is equated with superior benevolent powers (Bettelheim, 1976).

Bettelheim (1976), Schuman (1972), and Roheim (1953) agree that one lesson learned from this story is to be careful of what appears to be attractive. Bettelheim (1976) and Schuman (1972) feel it teaches that mastery of any frustration, conflict, pain, or threat, enriches and increases maturity (as also occurs in "Little Red Riding Hood" and "Snow White"). Roheim (1953) addresses the dream elements in the story: the reversals, projections, condensations, the experience of going to sleep hungry and having a wish-fulfilling dream, and the necessity to awaken from the dream and take action rather than sleep on.

Bettelheim (1973), Pitcher and Prelinger (1963), and Conrad (1966) believe that fantasy makes dealing with reality possible and offers hope for adaption and change. Holland (1968) adds that before one can perform an action one must imagine it. Fantasy is necessary to imaginative problem sloving.

Fantasy does not aim to change reality and it may partially or wholly ignore external reality. It creates imagined and satisfying alternatives to reality. Hartmann (Heuscher, 1963) feels that fantasies may explore internal realities. Symonds (1949) states that fantasy reveals the direction of a personality, its motivations and the dynamics that guide its behavior.

A. Freud (1966) has noted that fantasies may be used to compensate for a self-esteem which is damaged by external events. "Walter Mitty fantasies" preserve the fantasizer from acting upon instinctual impulses while granting him gratification. What one dreams of being one doesn't have to become; and what one is, one doesn't dream of becoming (Symond, 1949).

Although gratification through fantasy is not harmless in an adult (A. Freud, 1966), it still answers certain needs for vicariously experiencing perilous situations and ordeals. Markson (in Veszy-Wagner, 1966) sees stories such as fairy

tales as being useful to adults because they are a means of unconsciously discharging unresolved tension. Freud (1908) states that the writer "puts us into a position in which we can enjoy our own daydreams without reproach or shame. Adults, as well as children, need to know that they aren't the only ones with certain thoughts and feelings (Gardner, 1971; Bettelheim, 1976). The basic fears of abandonment, loss of love, and oedipal retaliation symbolically expressed in fairy tales, aren't restricted to one age or one period of development.

The older person might find it considerably more difficult to admit consciously his fears of being deserted by his parents, or to face his oral greed....even more reason to let the fairy tale speak to the unconscious, give body to his unconscious anxieties, and to relieve them, without this ever coming to consciousness.
(Bettelheim, 1976)

The young child's fantasies are his thoughts (Bettelheim, 1976). They serve to explain the real world that he does not yet understand and to magically control the seemingly hostile parents (Sharpe, 1950). Fantasy plays an important role in the evolution and the resolution of the oedipal. In latency, the child is concerned with material and concrete knowledge (A. Freud, 1966, Heuscher, 1963; Piaget, 1969; Spiegel, 1951).

Fantasy is a function of age (Symonds, 1949). With puberty comes an interest in abstraction and daydreaming. The adolescent

ego often attempts to master instinctual energies by intellectual activity (A. Freud, 1966). Piaget (1969) has shown that the ability to think abstractly, flexibly, and effectively begins at age twelve (Piaget's age of formal operations), with the peak of mental power and ability occurring in the late teens. Yet, emotions, more so than acquired knowledge, tend to prevail, distorting adolescent judgements and influencing their behaviors (Kiell, 1959). The emotions of an adolescent are greatly magnified and he tends to think in absolutes, unable to handle his love and hostility toward the same object (Josselyn, 1952; Kestenberg, 1975).

"Adolescent intellectuality seems merely to minister to daydreams...he evidently derives great gratification from the mere process of thinking, speculating or discussing", (Erikson, 1963). "The adolescent makes reality secondary to possibility", (Piaget, 1969).

Bernfeld (Spiegel, 1951) speculates that many adolescents have creative urges because of the desire to produce a child, which is mobilized by the re-enactment of oedipal conflict. Friedlaender (1942) states that one can see how the oedipal complex has been dealt with through examining the fantasies of adolescents.

"Genuine fairy tales images, absorbed in early childhood, become inner strength and security in the soul of the developing

youth," (Heuscher, 1963). Thompson (1971), in working with pre-adolescent boys, demonstrated that, with the structure of a story situation that she created, the children were able to distance and externalize their inner confusion and turmoil in a drawing. "The finished product never simply represents the fantasy, but rather expresses the child's relationship to his fantasy," (Kramer, 1971).

Bettelheim (1976) argues that a period of magic may be necessary to meet the future challenges of adult life. This accounts for the popularity of gurus, astrology and black magic with adolescents, a last chance to compensate for deficiency in fantasy activity of previous life experiences. Rosner (1972) connects fantasy with drug taking in adolescence. Drugs are associated with visual scenes and excitement for the adolescent, as fairy tales are for the child.

For adolescents daydreaming may present a problem if the fantasies are more rewarding and exciting than real life (Kiell, 1959). The adolescent moves from fantasy to reality when he must sacrifice his private needs to the demands of communicating with others (Spiegel, 1951).

Threatening as the parents may seem at times, the fairy tale makes it clear that it is always the child who wins out in the end. This conviction, when built into the unconscious, gives the adolescent confidence in his future victory

and permits him to feel secure despite all the developmental difficulties he encounters. "Maybe if more of our adolescents had been brought up on fairy tales, they would (unconsciously) remain aware of the fact that their conflict is not with... society, but really only with their parents," (Bettelheim, 1976). The phenomenon of adolescence is now discussed.

Adolescence is less well understood from the viewpoint of psychological and sexual development than childhood. One of the reasons for the insufficiency of scientific literature on this period of life is to be found in the great multiplicity of phenomena in this age...One is tempted to question the validity of classifying all these manifestations under the one heading of adolescence. (Bernfeld, 1923; In Spiegel, 1951)

Adolescence is a time of physical and emotional maturation, a time of being neither a child nor an adult. Adolescence begins at the age of puberty (11-13 years), the climax of sexual development (menarche in girls, the production of sperm in boys), and ends in the late teens when physical growth is relatively completed. Adolescence, psychologically, may extend to the age of 24, depending on when adult responsibilities are assumed. Hilgard (1971) and Stone and Church (1957) view society's ambiguity about who and what the adolescent is as reinforcing the adolescent's ambiguity about himself.

Literature on adolescence is somewhat conflictual. While most parents, educators, and counselors concur that adolescence is a turbulent time of physical and psychical change,

questions arise as to whether adolescent turmoil is beneficial or necessary. In addition, there seems to be no definition as to what constitutes a norm for adolescence.

The psychoanalytic study of adolescence began with Freud's "Three Essays on the Theory of Sexuality" (1905). He described puberty as the time when the unconscious infantile sexual life takes its final, mature form.

Adolescence involves alterations in physical appearance, instinctual drives, object relations, and ego and superego organization. A. Freud (1966) states that there are first quantitative and then qualitative changes in instinctual energy.

Erikson (1963), Deutsch (1967), and Blos (1967, 1968) view emotional fluctuations in adolescence as normal and feel that fluctuations signify that an adult structure of personality takes time and energy to emerge; the absence of upheavals and other external manifestations indicates that there is a delay of normal development. A. Freud (1966) views adolescence as a "developmental disturbance". A. Freud (1958), Spiegel (1951), and Erikson (1963) add that the expectedness of latency is no longer valid in adolescence; many of the battles and questions of the earlier years have to be refought and reanswered in order to establish a final ego identity. Hilgard et al. (1971) and Offer (1969) concur that adolescents can and do make the transition to adult life

smoothly and with few complications; any problems and conflicts occurring in the teens are manifestations of earlier troubles.

Pearson (1958), Jones (1948), Freud (1905), and A. Freud (1966) view adolescence as the recapitulation of the infantile sexual period. Blos (1967) and Kestenberg (1975) concur that earlier separation and individuation phases, as well as the oedipal situation, are reworked in adolescent attempts to consolidate an adult identity. Spiegel (1951) specifies that growing sexual maturity adds a frightening possibility to oedipal fantasies and wishes for the adolescent. Overwhelmed by so many changes, the adolescent may be more clinging and dependent than he has been since infancy (Kiehl, 1959).

Infantile ties to the parents are often loosened so that the genital impulses become less threatening; through distance and reduced physical proximity, guilt and anxiety decrease. The ego becomes more tolerant. Formerly repressed sexual and aggressive wishes surface and are acted upon (A. Freud, 1958), the extent to which depends on ties to new objects; such as, friends, ideals, and goals.

"The closer the tie between child and parent has been, the more violent will be the fight against them in adolescence", (A. Freud, 1971). The growth of object relations in adolescents may be seriously hindered by an excessive

prepubertal attachment to the mother (Deutsch, 1944) or by the lack of a mother figure (A. Freud, 1953).

For the adolescent girl, the mother is both rival and model while the father is the forbidden sexual object- and model for future heterosexual relationships. (Josselyn, 1952). The adolescent girl needs to deny her strong libidinal ties to her mother so she turns from her to a best friend (Sullivan, 1953; Kestenberg, 1975). Feelings of shame and disgust are directed toward sexual and excretory functions as a defense against exhibitionistic desires toward the father (Pearson, 1958). The adolescent girl is afraid of becoming a sexual person for fear of losing parental love and support.

The adolescent vacillates between admiration and contempt of the parents but, according to Deutsch (1967), an actual devaluation of either parent may have a traumatic effect by contributing to an increase of narcissism in adolescence. Deutsch believes there is an increase in narcissistic vulnerability in adolescence and that narcissistic trauma is often the main problem in adolescence. Narcissistic trauma in adolescence can be anything from acne to the death of a parent.

The adolescent struggles with peer group and societal identifications and relationships as well as with parental. According to Spiegel (1951), adolescent object relations are

restitutive. They are narcissistic attempts at regaining object contacts following the renunciation of incestuous wishes. The teenager has a need to conform as well as to be an individual; fads, rebellions, and the telephone are means of separating from the parents and achieving a sense of self and peer group identity (Kiell, 1959; Offer, 1969; Erikson, 1963).

Stage Five of Erikson's eight psychosocial stages is "Identity versus Role Confusion". In this stage occupational and sexual identity consolidation are the major tasks. This occurs in adolescents aged 12 or 13 through 18 to 24. Erikson (1963), Sullivan (1953), Kiell (1959), and Kestenberg (1962) concur that close homosexual friendships are necessary and useful in aiding in the adolescents' knowledge and awareness of themselves and may serve as corrective experiences for reworking earlier deviations. "Adolescent love is an attempt to arrive at a definition of one's identity by projecting one's diffused ego image on another", (Erikson, 1963). Deutsch (1967) believes that the adolescent's object relationships are a measure of his relationship to, and acceptance of, reality. For a mature object relationship the adolescent must turn away from the pleasure principle and insistence on immediate gratification to the reality principle (Deutsch, 1967; Pearson, 1958).

Erikson (1963), Kiell (1958), and Pearson (1958) agree that a danger of adolescence is that of role and identity confusion. According to Blos (1967), a group permits identification through "role tryouts" or role playing. Belonging to a group is a defense against loneliness and the resultant anxiety of having to grow up and be an adult, alone (Deutsch, 1967; Sullivan, 1953).

Through various defense mechanisms including rebellion, ascetism, intellectualism, reversal of affect, denial, negativism, projection and regression the adolescent attempts to delibidinize the external world and thus render it "unimportant" (A. Freud, 1958, 1966). Adolescent behavior is basically self-preservative in nature (Rosner, 1972; Meunsterberger, 1961) and although some actions may seem (and actually be) maladaptive and unrewarding, they are an attempt to organize and to preserve the individual's identity. A. Freud (1966) points out that none of the defenses of adolescence are inherently pathological and if they result in pathology it is because they are over-used, over-stressed, or used in isolation. Kiell (1959) points out that adults often call attention to the adolescent's use of defense mechanisms and thereby render the teenager vulnerable, making him more resentful of parental figures.

According to A. Freud (1958), Pearson (1958), Blos (1968),

Geleerd (1962), and Kestenberg (1975) regression is the defense of choice when intense anxiety is aroused in the adolescent. Regression is adaptive, phase specific, and a developmental aid in adolescence. Blos (1968) suggests that fluidity of the ego is essential during adolescence. Blos (1967), Geleerd (1962), and A. Freud (1936) all feel that the capacity to tolerate regressions is an indication of the adolescent's ego strength and of the psychic restructuring which occurs during adolescence.

A major intrapsychic struggle of adolescence is rebellion against the infantile conscience. Superego fluidity occurs concurrently with the fluidity of the ego and regression. Considerable reorganization of the superego of the oedipal period occurs according to Pearson (1958), A. Freud (1952), Josselyn (1952), and Blos (1967)

While knowledge and understanding of children's art has expanded over the years, the understanding of the art of adolescent has been neglected. Kramer (1971), Lowenfeld (1964), Hurlock, (1943), and Schildkrout et al. (1972) agree that an understanding of adolescent art is difficult to categorize and generalize. "Like adolescent life, adolescent art is characterized by swings between extremes," (Kramer, 1971).

The adolescent is struggling with his past and newly

emerging identities. A conscious critical awareness permeates all that he does including his art productions. He loses the unconscious childish and spontaneous representations of the latency period and he has not yet gained confidence in a conscious approach to self-expression (Lowenfeld, 1964; Kramer, 1971). Many adolescents stop their creative work at this time. "The adolescent is disturbed by the discrepancy between what he produces and what he feels is appropriate for an adult to draw or paint," (Lowenfeld, 1964).

Schildkrout et al. (1972) studied several hundred figure drawings done by adolescents ages 12 to 19. They saw the most common conflicts of adolescents projected onto drawings as being issues of dependence and independence, difficulties with impulse controls, longings for an idealized body, sexual confusion and inadequacies, and masturbatory guilt. Even in "normal adolescent" drawing they found evidences of incomplete resolutions of conflicts from earlier stages.

Schildkrout et al. (1972) compared the stages of adolescent drawings to Blos's three major phases of adolescence. In early adolescence (12-15 years) the dominant feature was a wish for dependency and defenses against this (as a regression). Also involved were intense sexual and aggressive impulses. Midline emphasis, buttons, and belt buckles depicted dependency in adolescent figure drawings and efforts to control the

impulses were seen in designs covering the body, tight waistlines and restricted stance of figures. Sexual anxiety was evident in shading and shaky line qualities, especially in the breast and below the waistline areas. Often the sex of the figure was ambiguous. Profiles were common throughout adolescent artwork and were indicative of turning away, avoidance, and insecurity.

False sentiment and piety, obscene eroticism, saccharine sweetness, empty heroism, and the tendency to ridicule others make their first appearances in early adolescence (Kramer, 1971; Hurlock, 1943). The stereotypic art seen frequently in adolescence may be a step toward organization in a disorganized person and/or it may be a defense against the threat of confusion and chaos.

In the middle phase of adolescence (15-18 years) the most important achievement is the resolution of the oedipal conflict through identification and the establishment of a male or female role. Drawings may appear grandiose: boys tend to portray super-heroes and strong men, while girls draw seductive and attractive females. Intellectualism, a major defense of this period, (A. Freud, 1966) is seen in drawings within idealized symbolism and meticulous detailing. Conflicts over dependency and sexual identity may still persist in artwork of this phase.

In the phase of late adolescence (17-19 years) the ego has regained balance and surety. "There is a greater constancy in both sexual identification and object choice, and stabilization in the mechanisms of defense which protect the psychic integrity," (Schildkrout et al., 1972). Drawings of the late adolescent should be relatively free from earlier indications of anxiety, differentiation between male and female should be present, and artwork should be integrated.

Lowenfeld (1964) addresses the need for art for adolescents. With their constantly shifting and straining social adjustments they need outlets for their emotional interests, for self-expression, and for externalizing their reactions to their environment. Kiell (1959) states that the adolescent is characteristically secretive about himself and his feelings and most of the time has difficulty expressing his feelings. Not only would art offer the adolescent an emotional outlet, but it would contribute to an understanding of himself and his environment.

III. METHODS AND PROCEDURES

Two groups of adolescent girls participated as subjects in this study.

Group A consisted of four girls who resided together in a residential institution which housed 45 "dependent and neglected" females, ages 5 through 17 years of age. Girls are primarily referred to this institution due to a breakdown within their family situation which necessitates a temporary living placement outside of their family.

The subjects in Group A are lettered a., b., c., and d. Subject a. is 14 years old; b. is 16 years old; c. is 15 years old; and d. is 15 years old.

Group B consisted of 4 girls all of whom resided together in a group home. The group home is part of a large social services organization which administers diagnostic evaluations, provides residential treatment, and offers special education classes to "emotionally disabled" and "socially maladjusted" females, ages 12 through 17.

Group B members are lettered e., f., g., and h. Subject e. is 15 years old; f. is 15 years old; g. is 14 years old; and h. is 15 years old.

Group sessions were separately conducted with both groups on a weekly basis for the four month period of this study. The

sessions were conducted with a co-therapist who was also an art therapist.

Group sessions began with either of the co-therapists reading a fairy tale aloud to the members of the group. The group members were then asked to each represent the story in individual drawings. Drawing materials made available at each session were: 12" x 18" manila (tan) drawing paper, magic markers, crayons, oil pastels, and lead and colored pencils.

When the group members had completed the drawing task they either taped their drawings on a wall or the drawings were hung by the therapists. Following this, the drawings were discussed by the group members and the co-therapist as to the scenes represented by the members and individual reasons for having selected the scene or character(s) drawn from the story's content.

Three fairy tales were selected as classic tales which would likely be familiar to the subjects. The tales read were: "Little Red Riding Hood", "Snow White", and "Hansel and Gretel". All three fairy tales were discussed as presenting the opportunity for resolution of intrapsychic conflict within psychoanalytic literature (see Review of the Literature, pp. 22 to 48). "Hansel and Gretel" was specifically selected because the theme deals with abandonment which was an experience

common to the members of Group A and Group B who were all in foster-care placements throughout this study. All members of Group A had been in residential placement for a minimum of three years while the members of Group B had been in the group home for a minimum of one year.

Each of the fairy tales was re-read and re-drawn over the four month period, with a three month's time interim between the retelling and drawing of each tale. The reassigning of the tasks was designed to offer more than one opportunity to gather data regarding each fairy tale and not to assess changes of a therapeutic nature. Data obtained from one drawing might tend to reveal conflict of a situational nature (in response to immediate, personal crises in the environment) rather than of a characterologic nature.

Two drawings were obtained for each of the three stories from every subject except g. and h. who were not in the placement at the time of re-testing (g. had run away and was not present for the second reading of "Snow White" and "Hansel and Gretel"; h. returned to her home and was not present for the second reading of any of the three tales). The data drawn was assessed according to Tables I ("Little Red Riding Hood", p. 69). II ("Snow White", p. 78), and III ("Hansel and Gretel", p. 87) which list major characters and objects within the story plots presented to the subjects. The drawings were

evaluated as to the manifest content of the items represented and were composed by group themes to see what, if any, similarities or differences were manifested in the selection and representation of the objects used on the bases of both early and later responses to the same stimulus (the stories told).

The trends between the groups are examined by their representations and are discussed in their relation to the literature on fairy tales and the histories of the groups tested.

IV. Results

Results in this chapter are presented in Tables I, II, and III and represent data within fairy tale drawings obtained from two groups, Group A (girls a. through d.) and Group B (girls e. through h.). Trends and differences between both groups will be presented and discussed.

Table I (page 69) indicates that the major objects appearing in Group A's drawings were baskets (50%), flowers (63%), birds (50%), woods (as opposed to trees around the house) (50%) and paths (50%). In Group B the major objects drawn were LRRH (57%), the grandmother's house (71%), and the wolf (71%). The results indicate that Groups A and B, while representing different objects in their drawings, did select topics of major importance presented in the literature as phenomena related to a scene.

Table II (page 78) indicates that Group A was not consistent in their choice of objects drawn. The object with the highest score was the magic mirror (38%). Each of the other objects received scores of 25% or less. Group B presented one main object, SW (83%). The remaining objects scored 33% or less. These results indicate that Group A had an individual rather than a consistent group focus while

Group B focused on one major object.

Table III (page 87) indicates that Group A represented the pebbles with the highest frequency (50%). The parental home and the candy house were equally represented (38%). The main objects drawn in Group B were Hansel (50%) and Gretel (67%). Next in frequency was the candy house (33%) and the oven (33%). The results indicate that Group A and Group B represented consistent objects within the group but were different from each other.

TABLE I "LITTLE RED RIDING HOOD"

Objects	Group A		Group B	
	Number of Drawings Including Objects	Total % of Drawings Including Objects	Total No. of Objects Drawn	Total % of Objects Drawn
LRRH	2	25%	4	57%
Basket	4	50%	3	43%
Flowers	5	63%	2	29%
Birds	4	50%	0	0
Woods	4	50%	1	14%
Grand-mother's house	1	13%	5	71%
Grand-mother	1	13%	1	14%
Path	4	50%	0	0
Wolf	2	25%	5	71%
Hunts-man	0	0	0	0

Group A: Total of 8 drawings (2 per member)

Group B: Total of 7 drawings (2 per member except subject h.)

Group A - "LRRH"



Figure 1. a, "LRRH" 1

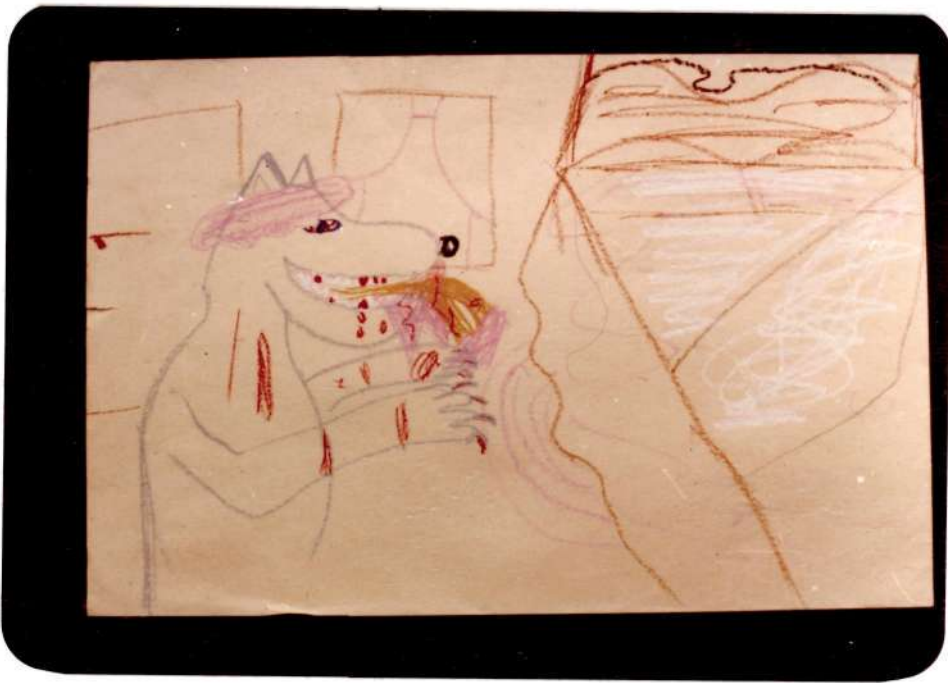


Figure 2. a, "LRRH" 2

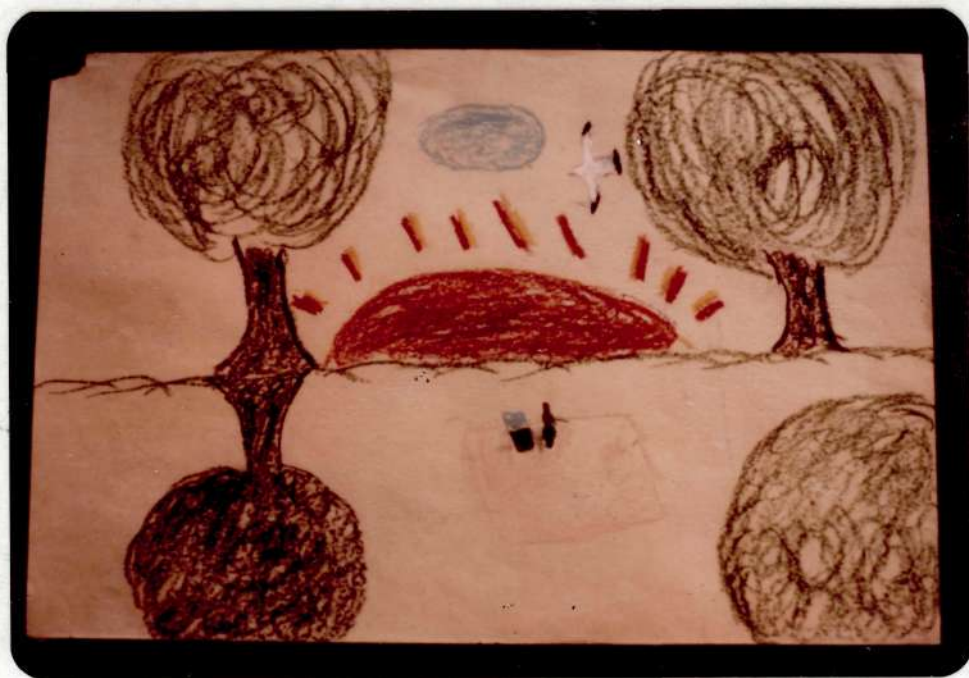


Figure 3. b, "LRRH" 1



Figure 4. b, "LRRH" 2



Figure 5. c, "LRRH" 1



Figure 6. c, "LRRH" 2

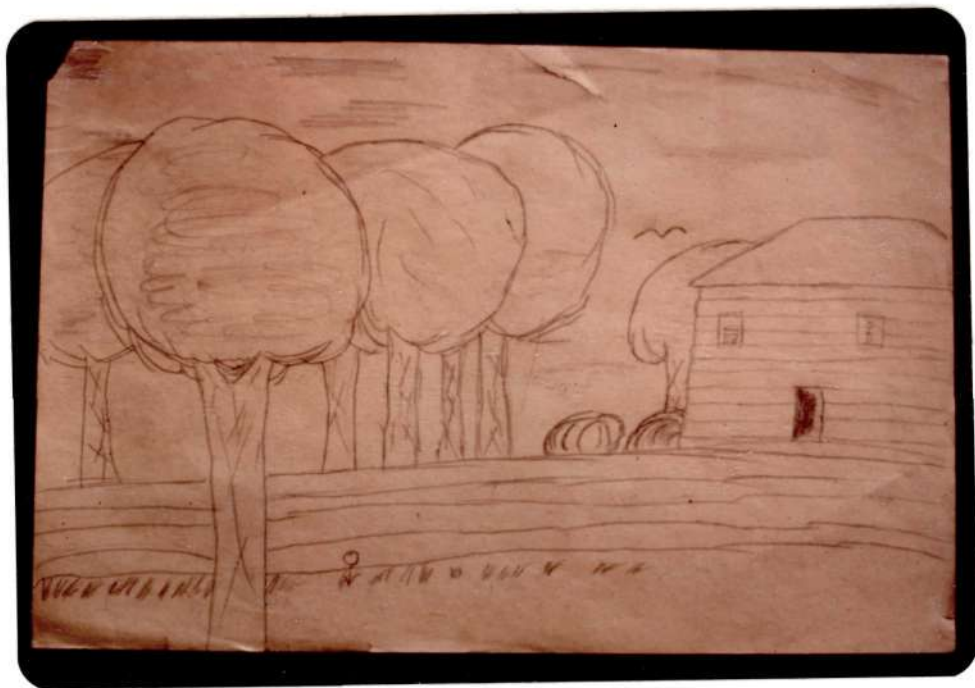


Figure 7. d, "LRRH 1

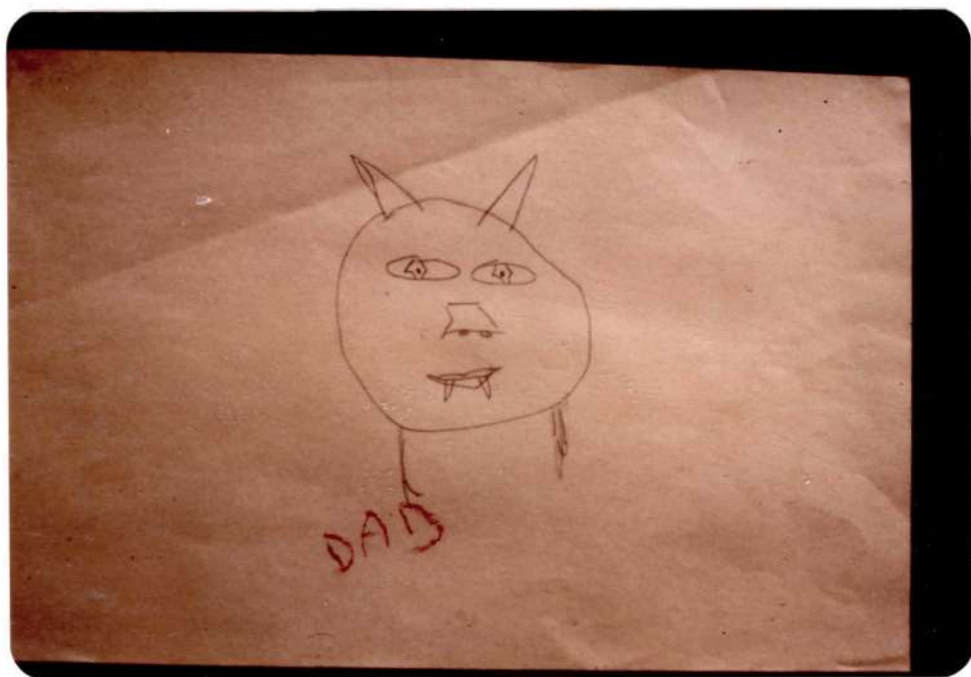


Figure 8. d, "LRRH" 2

Group B - "LRRH"

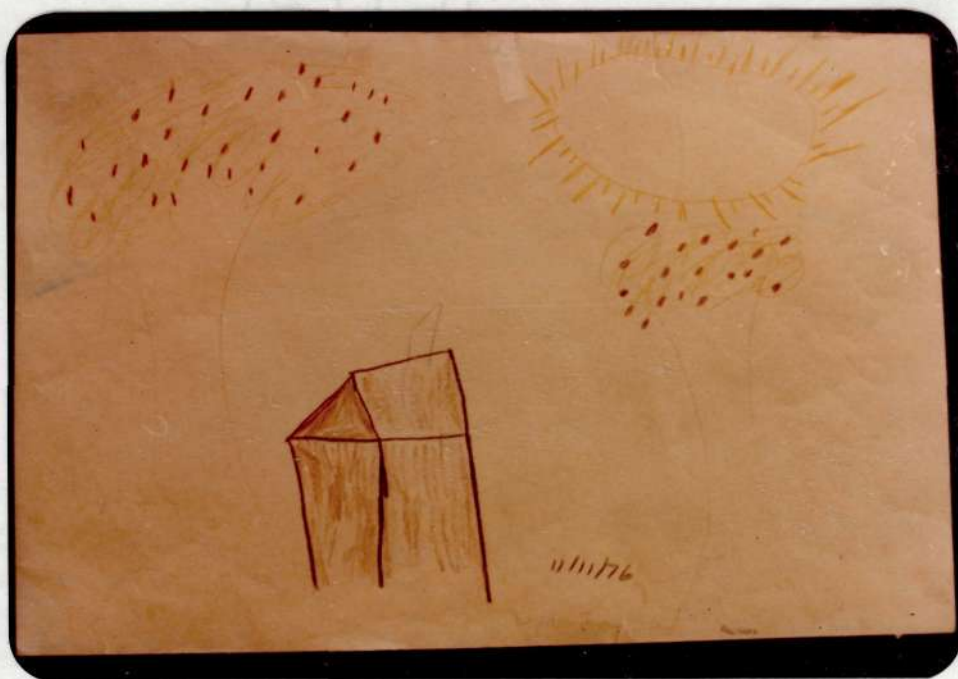


Figure 9. e, "LRRH" 1



Figure 10. e, "LRRH" 2



Figure 11. f, "LRRH" 1



Figure 12. f, "LRRH" 2



Figure 13. g, "LRRH" 1

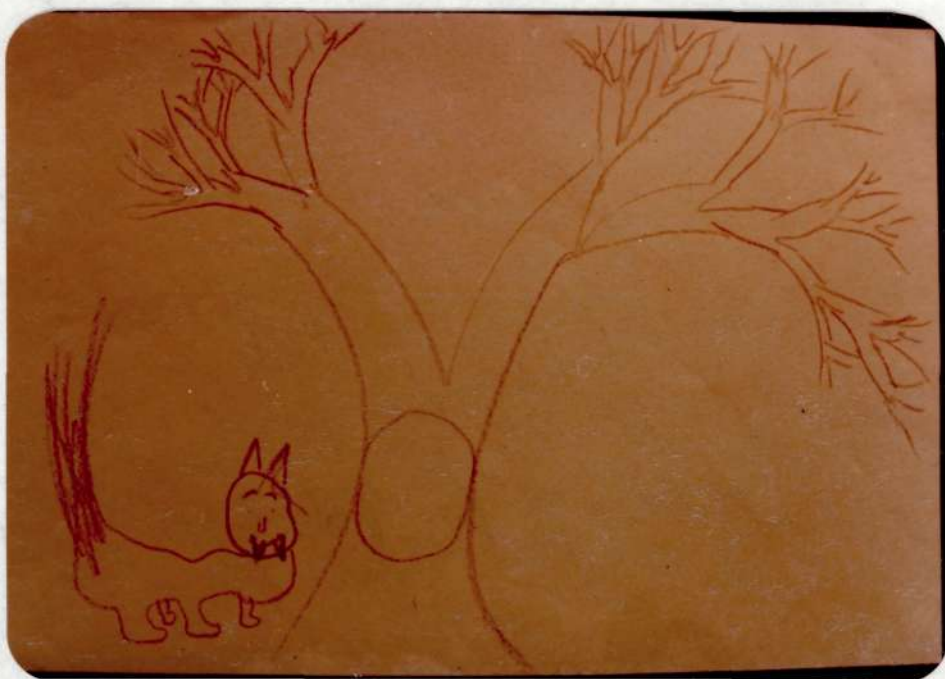


Figure 14. g, "LRRH" 2



Figure 15. h, "LRRH" 1

TABLE II "SNOW WHITE"

Objects	Group A		Group B	
	Number of Drawings Including Objects	Total % of Drawings Including Objects	Number of Drawings Including Objects	Total % of Drawings Including Objects
SW	2	25%	5	83%
Queen	2	25%	1	17%
Mirror	3	38%	0	0
Huntsman	0	0	0	0
Woods	1	13%	0	0
Dwarfs' house	2	25%	1	17%
Dwarfs	0	0	2	33%
Stay-laces	2	25%	0	0
Comb	2	25%	1	17%
Apple	2	25%	0	0
Coffin	1	13%	2	33%
Prince	0	0	2	33%

Group A: Total of 8 drawings (2 per member)

Group B: Total of 6 drawings (2 per member except subject h. and g.)



Figure 16. a, "SW" 1



Figure 17. a, "SW" 2



Figure 18. b, "SW" 1

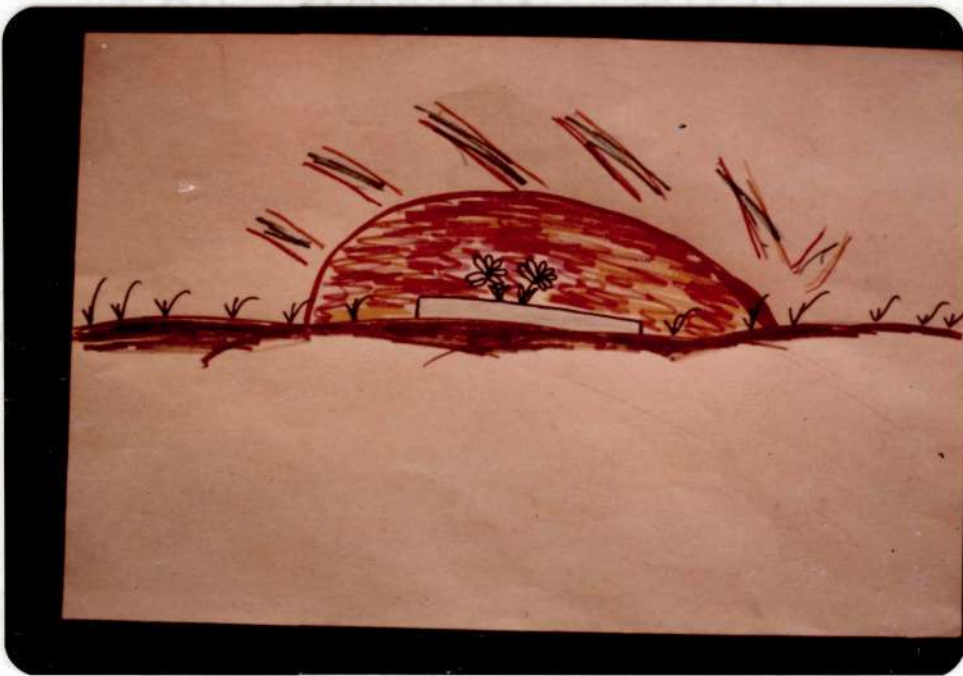


Figure 19. b, "SW" 2



Figure 20. c, "SW" 1



Figure 21, c, "SW" 2

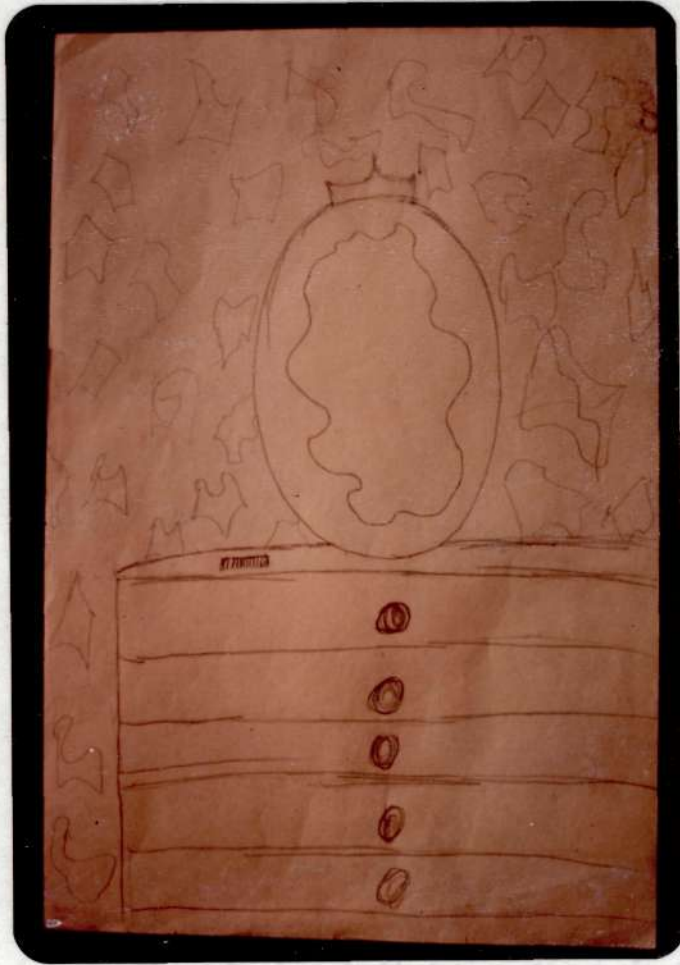


Figure 22. d, "SW" 1



Figure 23. d, "SW" 2

Group B - "SW"



Figure 24. e, "SW" 1



Figure 25. e, "SW" 2



Figure 26. f, "SW" 1



Figure 27. f, "SW" 2



Figure 28. g, "SW" 1

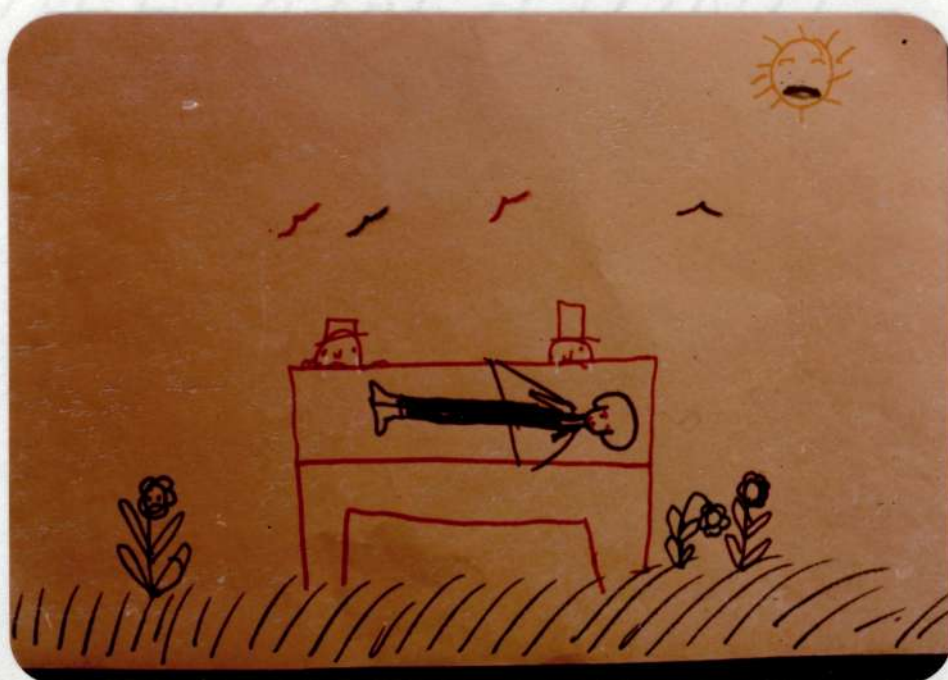


Figure 29. h, "SW" 1

TABLE III "HANSEL AND GRETEL"

Objects	Group A		Group B	
	Number of Drawings Including Objects	Total % of Drawings Including Objects	Number of Drawings Including Objects	Total % of Drawings Including Objects
Hansel	0	0	3	50%
Gretel	0	0	4	67%
Step-mother	0	0	1	17%
Father	0	0	1	17%
Parental home	3	38%	0	0
Woods	2	25%	1	17%
Pebbles	4	50%	0	0
Birds	2	25%	1	17%
Candy House	3	38%	2	33%
Witch	0	0	1	17%
Oven	0	0	2	33%
Cage	0	0	1	17%
Jewels	0	0	1	17%
Lake	1	13%	0	0

Group A: Total of 8 drawings (2 per member)

Group B: Total of 6 drawings (2 per member except subject h. and g.)

Group A - "Hansel and Gretel"



Figure 30. a, "Hansel and Gretel" 1



Figure 31. a, "Hansel and Gretel" 2



Figure 32. b, "Hansel and Gretel" 1



Figure 33. b, "Hansel and Gretel" 2

CHIEFTAIN BOND



Figure 34. c, "Hansel and Gretel" 1



Figure 35. c, "Hansel and Gretel" 2



Figure 36. d, "Hansel and Gretel" 1

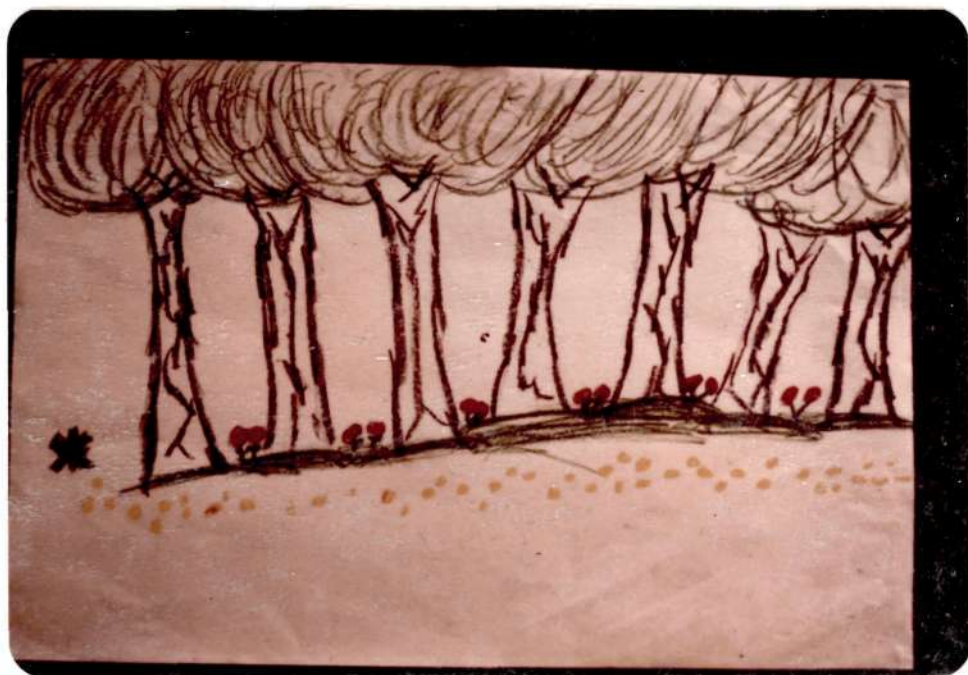


Figure 37. d, "Hansel and Gretel" 2

Group B - "Hansel and Gretel"

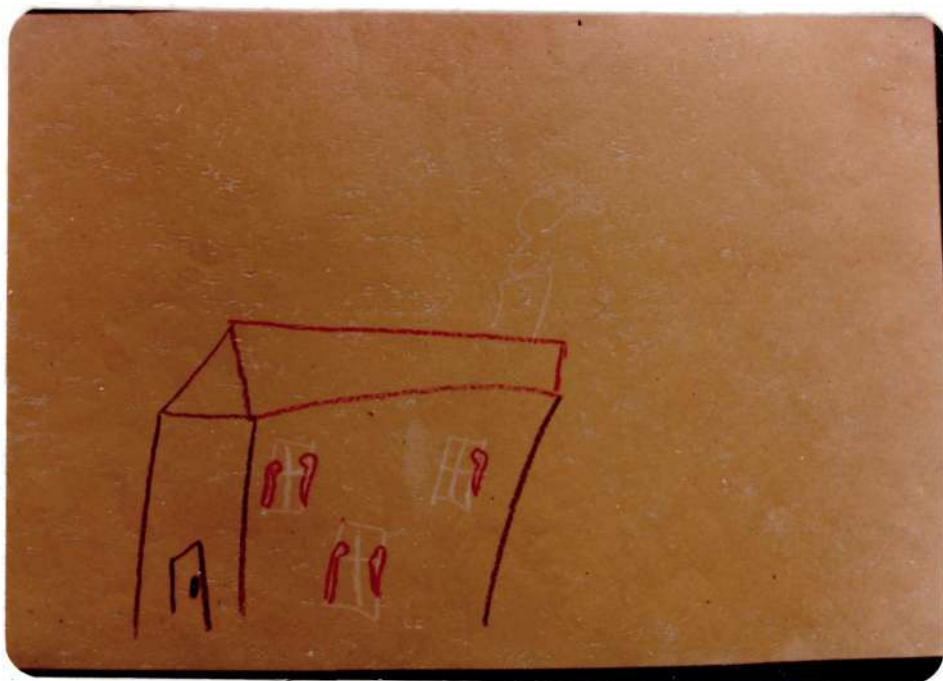


Figure 38. e, "Hansel and Gretel" 1



Figure 39. e, "Hansel and Gretel" 2



Figure 40. f, "Hansel and Gretel" 1



Figure 41. f, "Hansel and Gretel" 2

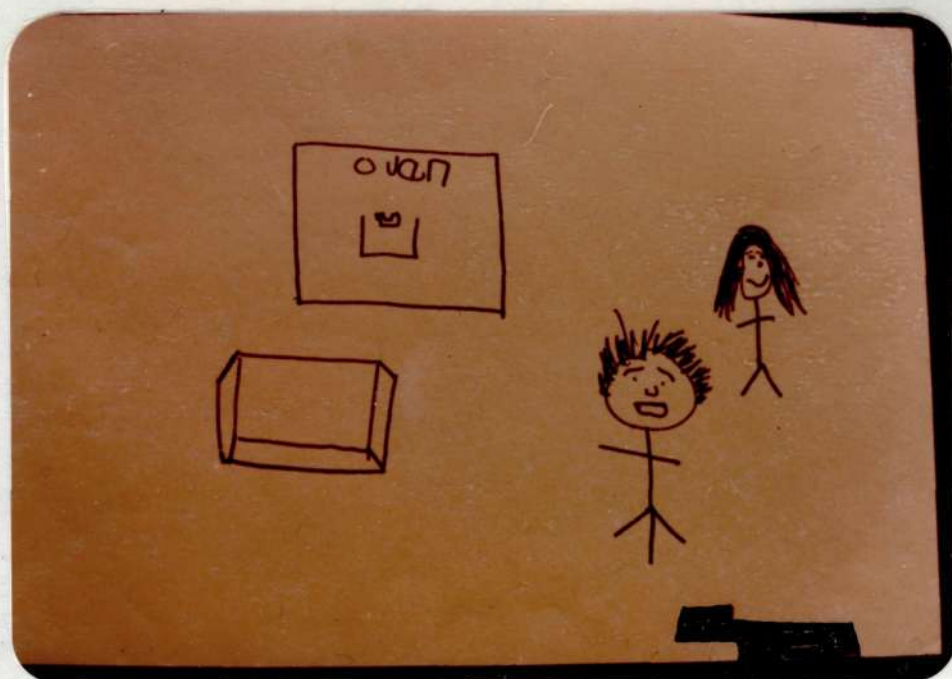


Figure 42. g, "Hansel and Gretel" 1



Figure 43. h, "Hansel and Gretel" 1

V. DISCUSSION

The results of this study are discussed according to data concerning Group A and Group B and includes case histories and the current situations of subjects as applicable. Considerations for the use of fairy tales in a therapeutic setting are presented.

Table I indicates that Group A's members represented the scene from "LRRH" in which she journeyed through the forest (Figures 1, 3, 4, and 6). All major elements drawn (the basket, flowers, birds, woods, and paths) were objects identified as occurring in the process of LRRH's trip. According to Veszy-Wagner (1966) and Crawford (1955) LRRH was angry at her mother for sending her on a dangerous errand and for expecting her to act sensibly and grown up. Veszy-Wagner (1966) adds that LRRH rebelled against the maternal demands and so procrastinated in the woods in a passive aggressive manner, i.e., in a compliant but resistant compliance.

Histories of Group A members tend to support this interpretation in that these individuals may be defending against angry feelings toward their mothers. Each of these subjects' mothers is responsible for her being in foster placements.

Subject a.'s mother is a chronic schizophrenic with frequent psychotic episodes; b.'s mother gave her up at birth due to fears of social stigma because of the illegitimacy of the pregnancy; c.'s mother was an alcoholic who died last spring. D.'s mother preferred to live with her alcoholic and often violent boyfriend rather than to keep her five children, of which d. is the eldest. With the exception of b., all of the girls in Group A were placed in their current residential institution between the ages of 11 and 12.

The path in "LRRH" symbolizes the reality principle and the superego (virtue) while objects off the path or in the woods, such as flowers and birds, indicate the pleasure principle and wish for immediate gratification (off the straight and narrow) according to Veszy-Wagner (1966), Bettelheim (1976), Crawford (1955), and Fromm (1951). "LRRH" implies that sometimes one must stray from the path in order to attain a higher level of personality integration (Bettelheim, 1976).

Superego formation, an internalization of controls, occurs with a resolution of the oedipal phase (Freud, 1966). Group A's drawings of "LRRH", by the inclusion of the path in Figures 1, 4, 6, and 7, show a preoccupation with right and wrong, with what one should do in reality and society (reality principle) as opposed to what one wants to do (pleasure principle). Their representations devalued considerations of straying from the

path for experiences leading to higher personality development. It appears that Group A is more concerned with defining and using structures for their behavior than with experimentation designed to test societal structures before using them. This may be due to their chaotic histories and need to consolidate their experiences.

There are no path scenes with Group B. For these girls, there appears to be no conflict in superego issues, their acting out and impulsive behaviors seem ego-syntonic rather than ego-alien (Blos, 1963). Group B members demonstrate more concern with testing societal limits and gaining immediate gratification. They chose scenes that were not mere representations of the pleasure principle (i.e., in the woods, flowers and birds) but scenes where the climax of gratification occurs (at grandmother's; Figures 9, 10, 12, 13 and 15). By inference, Group B's scenes appear to show that something terrible and exciting is about to happen. This may be sexually related as, to the young child, the idea of sex is both frightening and provocative (Bettelheim, 1976).

Group B depicted wolves in Figures 11 through 15. The wolf may represent asocial, violent and destructive tendencies of the id and an externalization of the bad object (Bettelheim, 1976); the threatening and frightening early mother (Veszy-Wagner, 1966); both mother and father, cannibalism, protection,

nurturing, and the fears and excitement of sexual attraction simultaneously (Crawford, 1955).

In considering the wolf as father, none of the girls in Group B knew her father except for f. (Figures 11 and 12) but a girl may fantasize about her unknown father. According to Bender (In Precker, 1950) aggressive animals were usually drawn by children who were emotionally concerned with the father and the oedipal situation. F. lived with her father for varying periods of time before her present placement. He often beat her and she often ran away. Physical beatings may be aggressive assaults but may be sexualized as they constitute the involvement of a loved one within a sado-masochistic relationship (Solomon & Patch, 1974). F. includes hair on both wolves. Excessive hair on a drawn object may indicate sexual concerns and preoccupations (Hammer, 1958). The wolf, as representative of the fears and excitement of sexual maturity and gratification seems to be consonant with the air of expectancy and arousal within each picture from Group B.

The wolves may demonstrate oedipal material. Figures 12 and 15 include LRRH, grandmother, and wolf- the oedipal triangle. In both pictures, LRRH and the wolf arrive together, as though conspiring against the (grand) mother. E. (Figure 10) stated that the wolf and the grandmother were already in the house. The houses may indicate a curiosity regarding occurrences behind

closed doors, similar to the curiosity to the oedipal child.

Each of the girls in Group B was given to relatives or foster placement by her mother on or before her sixth birthday. These histories would seem to support the possibility that the wolf might represent mother as well as ambivalent feelings toward her. Hammer (1958), referring to Bender, states that ambivalent feelings toward a parent may be displaced onto a drawing of an aggressive animal. Ambivalence may be seen in drawings that incorporate opposing qualities in one object.

The wolves are all drawn with emphasis on the head, mouth and belly areas, as in orality, while the hands, arms and feet, capable of action and therefore more phallic in nature, are de-emphasized. The wolves are ineffectual. They appear more oral aggressive in their ability to bite or incorporate another object than in their phallic, aggressive capabilities. Figures 12, 14 and 15 emphasize the big teeth of the wolf and yet each wolf looks more like a stuffed toy, in this author's perception. Figure 13 looks more startled than ferocious. According to Precker, "Depressed, rejected children who suffer from feelings of inferiority identify with large animals whose aggressiveness is modified" (1950). Wolf portrayals in Group B are frontal and appear as confrontations with the aggressor which may indicate that these

subjects are attempting to master aggressiveness in self and/or others.

In drawing the aggressors, Group B could be displacing their ambivalent feelings toward either parent or they may be identifying with the wolf who then turns on the parent. This could be construed as attempting to overcome the painful situation of living away from the parents. By drawing LRRH (Figures 10, 11, 12 and 15) and the wolf, these girls may be identifying with the characters who act out their impulses in the story, as Group B members have done in their lives.

Group A ignored the wolf (except in Figures 2 and 8) and LRRH (except in Figures 1 and 6). This may indicate a repression of and an inability to deal with sexual and aggressive impulses. The possible anger toward mother is handled in a passive aggressive manner (by procrastinating in the woods) and the preponderance of flowers, which Ricklin (1915) equates with genitalia, may be a well-disguised and therefore safe means of dealing with sexuality. Absence of people in drawings is considered indicative of repression (Hinrichs, 1935).

The houses drawn by Group B members (Figures 9, 10, 12, 13 and 15) may symbolize mother, the womb, and being taken care of (Bettelheim, 1976). The houses are pathetic representations for homes as they appear incomplete (especially Figures 9, 13, and 15) and insubstantial, more like stage props

than three-dimensional structures. This may be indicative of the ineffectual mothering these girls have experienced. The wish to be loved and taken care of, to be devoured and to devour is defended against by drawing the wolf as ineffectual and the home structure as unapproachable and uninviting, in this author's opinion.

The inclusion of the house may indicate Group B's need for external controls attributable to poor oedipal resolutions and defects in superego development which are resultant (Freud, 1966). The external world is the adversary as well as source of control for these socially maladjusted girls. In this, Group B reminds one of the toddler who needs to have mother (house) nearby for "emotional refueling" (Mahler, 1975) while practicing his independence. He struggles to gain autonomy while needing emotional support and controls from another.

According to the literature on adolescence, early adolescence (12-15 years) entails a struggle for independence as a defense against wishes for continued dependence. LRRH's straying off the path may demonstrate an attempt at independent thinking. LRRH's attempt at independence falls short, as does that of these girls. Group A, in Figures 3,4 and 6, depicts the baskets left behind while LRRH goes off to explore. As the basket is filled with food (cake and wine), LRRH could be self-sufficient for a time. In Group A's drawings the LRRH's

carelessly leave their baskets behind, implying a lack of foresight and a need to be taken care of rather than self-sufficiency. Group B includes the house as a possible link to mother and dependence on her.

In Table II there are no distinct patterns common to Group A members in response to "SW" (Figures 16 through 23). One major object occurred throughout Group B's "SW" drawings (Figures 24 through 29) - SW. SW is a beautiful young girl, struggling to grow up despite her threatening (step) mother. SW's real mother died. SW is not totally innocent (Duff, 1934; Bettelheim, 1976; Kaplan, 1963). She is in competition with her (step) mother for her father's love. She succumbs three times to temptations in her attempts to handle adolescence (this may make her all the more likeable to Group B as each member has had difficulty in resisting socially unacceptable temptations, i.e., stealing, running away and sexual promiscuity).

Within both groups there was an individual similarity between the first and second drawings of each subject. According to Kramer, "A child who suffers from persistent inner difficulties is apt to paint many similar pictures expressing his state of mind, " (1971). Recurring themes in dreams or drawings signify a primary concern or conflict and reflect frustration in attempting to resolve it (Bettelheim, 1976;

Symonds, 1949; Machover, 1949; Kramer, 1971). Each subject who completed the task twice (subjects a. through f.) is briefly presented as to her "SW" drawings and her history and one subject (d.) is examined in greater detail to support this writer's opinion that "SW" most appealed to individual concerns.

Subject a.'s first drawing of "SW" (Figure 16) depicts the scene when SW has arrived at the dwarfs' house and is ready to go to sleep. According to Bettelheim (1976) SW's running away was indicative of a search for an ideal home. Kaplan (1966) equates SW's entering the house, eating and falling asleep to the wish to be eaten, to eat, and to fall asleep (Lewin's oral triad).

In the second drawing (Figure 17) SW is outside of the parental castle before she has been cast out and senses that "something is wrong" (a.'s verbal association). This scene does not occur in the story and implies that a. created it due to her own intrapsychic needs.

A.'s mother is a chronic schizophrenic and her father has been in a nursing home for the past two years due to a brain tumor. A. and an older sister were placed together in foster care three years ago. Last summer the sister went to live with a foster family. A. recently went to live in the group home of the residential institution (one week after Figure 17 was drawn). There is no hope of the family reuniting.

A. appears to identify with SW and her plight. Her major concerns as seen in Figures 16 and 17 appear to be the wish to belong and to be taken care of. Figure 16 is similar to the rooms at the institution and her inclusion of the plaque "Home Sweet Home" indicates a denial as well as a wish. In Figures 16 and 17 SW is cut off at the knees and in Figure 17 SW has no hands, conveying a sense of helplessness and dependency (Schildkrout et al., 1972). The lack of hands also indicate impulse control, as does the girdle or binder that a. includes in both drawings. According to Machover, "An excessively tightened waistline, giving a corseted and pent up appearance, suggests precarious control which may find outlet in temperamental outbursts" (1949). A. often has temper tantrums when she doesn't get her own way.

B.'s first drawing (Figure 18) represents SW's journey through the forest. B. stated that SW must go around each mountain before she reaches the dwarfs' house. Bettelheim (1976) views SW's journey as a search for an ideal home and being lost in the woods as a need to find oneself. Kaplan (1966) equates SW's adventures in the woods as indicative of a struggle with masturbation.

In Figure 19, b. drew SW's coffin with the sun rising behind it. Bettelheim (1976) discusses the coffin scene as a recuperative period due to being overwhelmed by adolescent

difficulties. SW's "death" also represents fulfillment of the death wish against the mother and the punishment for this desire (Duff, 1934). Kaplan (1966) adds that the coffin is a restricting punishment for masturbation and, referring to Lewin, he states that the "death" is a fusion with mother, a return of pre-oedipal longings.

B.'s history tends to support each of these interpretations. B. is the only girl in Group A whose mother gave her up at birth. B. was in eight or nine foster placements before she was eight years old, at which time she came to her current placement. B.'s mother would now like to take her home but b. refuses to join her mother, feeling that "it's too late".

In this author's opinion, Figure 18 represents a hopelessness in ever belonging to or finding a home. The footprints suddenly end, as though SW has stopped dead in her tracks, unable to go on. Even if SW is able to circumvent those sharp and pointy mountains, there is a threatening black cloud hanging over the house, which isn't even a whole house. These obstacles may represent b.'s own obstacles in wishing for but never attaining a stable and loving home environment.

Between the ages of 4 and 8-9 b. was openly masturbating. Gardner (1971) believes that a masturbating child is communicating a lack of pleasure and gratification from the parental objects and so turns inward for compensatory pleasure. As an

adolescent, b. is confronted with increased sexual impulses and the struggle between the need for gratification and a strict superego. This may be seen in Figure 19 with the contrast between the agitated line quality of the sun and the outlined, constricting coffin. Ambivalence toward mother may be seen in Figure 19 with the coffin as representative of a self-sufficient and rigid structure and as the womb and fusion with mother.

Subject c. (Figure 20) draws the queen looking into her mirror and holding the poisoned apple. According to the story the queen hates and is jealous of SW, her rival and (step) daughter. The voice of the mirror may be that of the daughter (Kaplan, 1966) or of the father (Duff, 1934), claiming that SW, the daughter, is most fair. Special attention is paid to the apple; c. even labeled it. The apple may symbolize love, sexual knowledge (both loving and endangering), the mother's breast (Bettelheim, 1976) and the object of the mother's sexual enjoyment, the father (Duff, 1934).

In Figure 21 the queen is offering the apple to SW, who is in the dwarfs' house. Again, the emphasis is on the queen and the apple. Now the danger is more threatening; the queen has moved out of her secret room and is confronting SW.

C.'s mother was an alcoholic who died last spring. C. has always been close to her father and is bitter and unforgiving

toward her mother (even after her death), as she blames her for the ruin of the family and her present placement. The two drawings point to c.'s preoccupation with her mother, guilt, and fear of punishment.

The apple may emphasize c.'s ambivalence toward her mother, the regressive and therefore hateful pull toward the longed for, loving maternal breast. The apple also represents the temptations of sexuality (the apple is all red, not half red and half white) and the oedipal feelings toward father.

Now that mother (the oedipal rival) is dead, c. may have father all to herself. It appears as though c. is afraid that her mother is still able to retaliate. Perhaps the change in position and location of the queen indicates c.'s increasing ability to work through and confront her feelings.

Subject d. drew the queen's magic mirror in her secret room in Figures 22 and 23. Mirrors are often symbolically used to restore self-identity (as though one's person can be reflected and thus confirm one's self-identify). Projected impulses and conflicts may also be shown on mirrored self-representation but denied in reality (Elkisch, 1957). In "SW" the mirror speaks with the voice of the narcissistic, yet insecure, adolescent (Kaplan, 1966) and/or the voice of the father (Duff, 1934), offering validation of the daughter's wish to be the fairest in the land (oedipal rivalry).

Subject d. includes the comb (which was the queen's second attempt on SW's life and which is symbolic of penetration) in both drawings. In figure 23, d. added cosmetics, the queen's bed and the queen (who appears more like a doll or a french poodle in d.'s rendition).

The major concern or conflict that drawings 22 and 23 Portray seem to be those of body image or self-image. The mirror, "perched" on the bureau, resembles a large, primitive asexual head and body. The drawers have one central knob, resembling buttons which Schildkrout et al. (1972) equate with a manifestation of dependency. Dependency and the emphasis on the mirror as a large head or mouth indicate oral conflicts. D. is obese, has a poor body image and takes little interest in her appearance. Often d. walks around in a bathrobe or with her coat on.

Concurrent with pre-oedipal themes in d.'s two drawings is an oedipal theme. D. is the oldest of five children and her mother, whom d. describes as "irresponsible" and "immature", relied heavily on d. to care for the younger children. D.'s father engaged d. in an incestuous relationship from the time she was 4 through 8 years of age at which time he left the home forever.

D. first revealed this history in January of this year. She drew Figure 8 (the wolf) a few hours after revealing her

experiences with her father to her social worker and mother. She did not label the drawing "Dad" (another girl did). D. is still dealing with oedipal concerns. Due to the constant sexual stimulation during latency she did not have the opportunity to repress the oedipal constellation. D.'s oedipal fantasies unfortunately became a reality for her.

D.'s oedipal concerns regarding her father may be seen in Figures 22 and 23 by her inclusion of the mirror and the comb. The asexual body image presented may be an attempt to deny and conceal her sexuality.

In figure 23, d. included the queen, the threatening and hostile object in "SW". However, d. rendered her ineffectual and doll-like. Kestenberg (1975) states that children playing the role of the all-powerful mother (as d. did in reality) reduce the mother (in fantasy) to the status of a helpless baby in a seeming role-reversal.

When d. came to her present foster placement at age 12 she was preoccupied with sexual fantasies. She acted them out by means of play with male and female dolls. According to Schreiber (1974) playing with a male doll may be associated with the fantasy of having the father's child; a fantasy intensified by the absence of the mother.

In Figure 22 the background appears fragmented. In Figure 23 the perspective and proportions are distorted.

According to Buck (1948) fragmentation and spatial and size distortion may point to functional interferences due to emotional factors. "SW" appears to have had the most emotional impact on d. of the three stories. Figure 7 is an example of d.'s ability to handle space, size and distance.

Subject e. drew SW and her prince in Figures 24 and 25, the adolescent dream of true love and eventual marriage. Kaplan (1966) states that the admiration of the prince activates the love SW received from her father and is necessary for her sexual awakening. Bettelheim (1976) believes that solving the riddle of sex leads to marriage and a kingdom.

E.'s father died before her birth and her mother died of cancer when e. was 5 years old. She then went to live with her grandmother, who was an alcoholic and beat her. E. would run away and quit school. When her grandmother died (when e. was 12 years old) e. was placed with other relatives until her placement at the group home.

The prince and SW are not relating in Figures 24 and 25, perhaps because e. had no father figure at any point in her life to use as a model for a mature, heterosexual relationship. The prince may represent a dream of a rescuing father rather than a peer. E.'s own sexual activity may be a means of returning to the pre-oedipal mother via a substitute partner. In this writer's opinion, this pseudoheterosexuality is

evident in e.'s figure drawings, which have no or primitive attempts (i.e., the two dots for breasts) at gender identity. In Figure 25, e. includes the prince's castle, the kingdom, the home that she may be searching for through sex. The lack of hands, the restrictions in the figures' stance and the fact that the figures are neither touching nor relating reflects concern for controls over expression of impulses (Schildkrout et al., 1972). E. is the only subject in both groups who drew a rescuing figure. These drawings may be an example of gratification through fantasy.

F. depicts SW in her coffin (Figure 26) with a dwarf standing guard who is celebrating her "death" by smoking a "joint" (f.'s verbal association). The coffin represents containment, and as such, control of the impulses. It indicates a need for external controls (Bettelheim, 1976) as does the tight waist and long neck of SW and the designs covering the bodies (Schildkrout et al., 1972). F.'s father is currently in prison for murder. An interpretation could be that f. (SW) identified with her father (the dwarf) by drawing them both in striped clothing, with herself imprisoned. Both are being punished for their impulses. F. has a history of stealing, running away and having temper tantrums.

As previously mentioned, f.'s father used to beat her. Now that he's in prison, there is no possibility of aggressive

and/or incestuous acting out. While SW is in the coffin she can be looked at but not touched (note the emphasis on the eyes). By drawing the dwarf rather than the prince, f. desexualizes her father, renders him ineffectual and may resolve and master the situation through fantasy.

In Figure 27, f. again draws SW with a threatening object, now it's the queen. The comb (the second attempt on SW's life and an object of penetration, not unlike a phallus) that the queen is holding is similar to the "joint" that the dwarf is holding in Figure 26. In this drawing f. moves SW out of a protective structure into a direct confrontation with the aggressor. Figure 27 may represent f.'s negotiating with her mother and dealing with perceived threats from as well as with her own aggressive feelings toward the mother. When f. was two years old her mother was sent to jail for assaulting a man with a bottle. Since then f. has been sent to or run away from her maternal grandmother down South, and her mother, father, and paternal grandmother in Philadelphia. F.'s mother currently lives with a boyfriend and six children (one of whom is f.'s full brother).

Table III demonstrates that the most frequently represented object by Group A members in response to "Hansel and Gretel" are the pebbles (Figures 30, 32, 34, 35 and 37), the objects that successfully lead Hansel and Gretel home.

The pebbles may indicate a wish or a solution to return home for Group A. Bettelheim (1976) view the wish to return home as regressive, an attempt to escape separation anxiety by trying to hold onto one's parents that will result in one's ultimately being forced out. These girls were all forced to leave their homes due to familial circumstances. They are likely to still be coming to terms with their abandonments, their wishes for dependency and their (age appropriate) struggles against dependency in attempting to consolidate adult, autonomous identifications, as their drawings appear to reflect.

The pebbles create a path through the woods. In "LRRH" the path was viewed as the reality principle and virtue, guarding against impulsive actions. Abandonment, as a consequence of bad behavior, is a common prepubertal idea (Bettelheim, 1976) and the mother's absence may be viewed as indicating her disapproval. Abandonment was dealt with in Figures 30, 32, 34 and 37.

Perhaps the pebbles and/or path are employed by these girls as a check against impulsive (bad) behavior in the hope of ensuring restoration to their homes. This would indicate that the pebbles or paths are attempts at internalized controls. Figure 35 represents the return home as Hansel and Gretel are crossing the lake but the scene drawn includes the pebbles,

perhaps as the fantasized stipulation (i.e., impulse control) that will result in no longer being abandoned.

Only two scenes from Group B members contain references to abandonment. In Figure 39, Hansel and Gretel are in the woods but they don't realize that their parents have left them (f.'s verbal association, indicating a denial in fantasy). In Figure 41, the parents are discussing plans for their children's abandonment which the children overhear. While eminent abandonment is the essential theme of this scene, there are blatant oedipal and sexual aspects: the parents are in bed, under transparent blankets; the children are in bed, under blankets that contain agitation in the line quality used.

The parental home (Figures 30,34 and 35) and the candy house (Figures 31,33 and 36) were equally represented by Group A members. According to Bettelheim (1976) both the parents' house and the candy house are the frustrating and gratifying aspects of the same house. Subjects a. (Figure 31), b. (Figure 33) and d. (Figure 36) each represented the candy house one time, perhaps signifying the wish for a gratifying and nurturing mother or home. Subject c. depicted the return to the parental house (Figure 35) which is also a gratifying house in that the children bring with them increased strength and confidence, and because the hostile, threatening (step) mother is dead (as is c.'s mother, in reality).

The majority of the scenes drawn by Group B members include either the exterior or the interior of the candy house. Subject h. is the only member of Group B to represent the candy house in a scene occurring before Hansel and Gretel's arrival. Subject h. had been "staffed" the day previous to drawing Figure 43 and had found out that she was to return to her mother's home within two weeks. H. stipulated that the witch was inside. This would indicate both a gratifying and frightening nature for her candy house which, in this author's opinion, appears to be made of tears and band-aids rather than candy and is perhaps indicative of h.'s feelings of ambivalence about returning to her home.

Figure 40 and 42 are scenes occurring inside the candy house; the scenes in the story that are filled with action, excitement, and danger. Both Figures 40 and 42 include the oven and Gretel, the rescuer. Goal-directed behavior must replace fantasy and dreams if one is to confront and deal with adversaries and act as a rescuer. But the drawings do not appear goal-directed to this author. In Figure 40, Gretel has no hands with which to rescue Hansel and in Figure 42 she is a tiny stick figure. The oven in both drawings and the cage in Figure 40 may be equated with womb and being taken care of (Roheim, 1953). The inclusion of these objects and the appearance of Gretel points to a

dependency conflict with a defensive attempt to appear independent and ready to take initiative.

Bettelheim (1976) points out that a witch who can be destroyed is a witch a child can be rid of thus these drawings may indicate attempts at mastery and constructive channeling of aggressive tendencies or a means of avoidance (possibly of having been abandoned). Blos (1963) states that acting out behavior is not a mastery by repetition but a means of avoidance of some larger conflict (i.e., dependency).

Group B members tended to include Hansel and/or Gretel in their drawings. Hansel and Gretel may be viewed as siblings, or as masculine and feminine aspects of the same person (Schuman, 1974). As the gender identity of the figures drawn is barely discernable, the girls' association were especially necessary with this story in order to tell who was depicted. In Figure 39, Gretel has black hair, Hansel has brown; in Figure 40 Hansel is in the cage, Gretel is in front of it; in Figure 41, from left to right: mother, father, Hansel, Gretel; in Figure 42 Gretel is chasing the "three-legged" witch. Poor gender identity demonstrates conflicts of a pre-oedipal nature, but according to Schildkrout et al. (1972), the sex of a figure drawn by an early adolescent is often primitive and ambiguous due to concerns over sexuality as well as the adolescent girl's body being "boyish" in early adolescent years.

Groups A and B consistently represented different objects and scenes in their drawn responses to the three fairy tales. "LRRH" and "Hansel and Gretel" elicited common responses within each group. Group A, the "dependent-neglected" adolescents, tended to choose passive scenes revolving around inanimate objects (i.e., the path and the pebbles) whereas Group B, the "delinquent" population, tended to choose active scenes involving the main characters. Responses obtained from "SW" were not consistent with those from the other two stories.

In both "LRRH" and "Hansel and Gretel" Group A's major concerns were those of impulse control in issues of rightness or wrongness of actions. The wish to be taken care of and to be dependent was contrasted with their wishes to be independent (which could be a defense against regressive dependency on others). The majority of the scenes in "LRRH" and "Hansel and Gretel" from Group A dealt with anger at the mother for abandonment but the anger is passive and not specifically directed. Rebellion is one means of separating from parental identity (Kiell, 1959; Offer, 1969). Based on the drawings, it appears that Group A is not ready to rebel and confront their aggressive feelings and aggressors.

Of the total of twenty-four drawings obtained from Group A, three may be said to be dealing with a confrontation with an aggressive or threatening object (Figures 2, 8 and 21).

Figure 20 began as a frontally drawn figure but c. reversed the position of the queen, perhaps she was not ready to confront her feelings toward her mother. In Figure 21 (c.'s second drawing from "SW"), a confrontation is more apparent. Each of these three drawings entailing confrontation was a second drawing done in response to a fairy tale. This may indicate that there was an increased ability to utilize the fairy tale as a means of dealing with hostile feelings in a controlled, distanced and safe manner in subjects a., c., and d. .

Group B represented more active scenes with more evidences of sexuality and/or aggression in response to the fairy tales "LRRH" and "Hansel and Gretel". Group B's drawings were generally of those scenes in which action and excitement central to the stories occurred (i.e., at grandmother's in "LRRH" or at the witch's in "Hansel and Gretel"). They have a rebellious quality to them in the frontal depictions of the characters who were destructive (i.e., the wolf).

Blos (1963) cites action and rebelliousness as often being a denial of helplessness and an affirmation of an exaggerated independence from the early mother (as seen in toddlers). A toddler is at the peak of his delusion of omnipotence and is therefore most vulnerable to narcissistic deflation (Mahler, 1972) as is the adolescent. Action and seeming independence

are necessary to counteract the regressive appeals of passivity and dependency in the adolescent's experience of overwhelming physical and psychical changes (Kiell, 1959).

The primitive (pre-oedipal) themes of "LRRH" and "Hansel and Gretel" may have caused Group A to remain well-defended and repressed while Group B identified with the more instinctual elements in these tales.

In Group A there was no common group response to "SW". Each girl had her own concern and repeated the conflict of the first picture in her second picture. More sexual and aggressive conflicts seemed projected in the drawings done in response to this story than to any done in representing either of the other fairy tales. In both "LRRH" and "Hansel and Gretel" Group A members tended to include the path or a representation of the path (the pebbles). "SW" is the only fairy tale of the three used that makes no reference to a path or to returning home (regardless, Figures 18 and 21 include a path).

Repression, as evidenced in Group A's lack of sexual and aggressive material in their drawings from "LRRH" and "Hansel and Gretel", requires constant psychic energy (Schrieber, 1974). If repressed memories and contents could be allowed to reach consciousness via displacement, then relief is obtained and such memories and contents can be worked through in imagina-

tion (Bettelheim, 1976). Psychic energies are then freed to deal with other tasks. Fairy tales provide substitutive images and distance. Perhaps Group A's response to "SW" is an example of repression being somewhat freed through fantasy.

In Group B, the major shift was from instinctual gratification and action in the drawings of "LRRH" and "Hansel and Gretel" to representations of controls over impulses as represented in the execution of coffins, lack of hands, stiff postures and tight waistlines in response to "SW". Figures 24, 25, 26 and 29 depict SW after temptation when she is in a state of punishment and recuperation (Figures 26 and 29) or a state of resolution (Figures 24 and 25). "SW" seemingly offered Group B as a whole the most controls of the fairy tales used.

Based on the changes that occurred within both groups in response to "SW", this fairy tale appears to be the one of the three that had the most intrapsychic importance to all subjects. Revisions in themes are believed to indicate changes occurring on an unconscious level (Despert and Potter, 1936; Gardner, 1971). A shift in significant objects or themes can be an indication of anxiety (Sullivan, 1953). Perhaps this is attributable to the story of "SW", which specifically deals with adolescent turmoils, concerns and strivings. The sexualized resolution of the story, while a romantic wish, may also be

threatening to adolescents.

"SW" is the most humanly dramatic of the three stories. For these girls this story may symbolically represent the reality of living in a foster placement. Todd (1971) points out that SW's arrival at a house with seven dwarfs may equal the arrival of these girls in a foster home or institution. The seven dwarfs (siblings and/or peers) are friendly and well-meaning but unable to truly understand SW nor save her from her (step) mother. Perhaps this aspect of the story influenced the groups' fear of relying on others and caused each individual to retreat into her own resources.

Other aspects of the story that may have been threatening to these girls are the (step) mother's visits and continued enticements in the form of poisoned gifts. This may parallel visiting days in foster placements (Todd, 1971) as perceived by these girls. SW's "death" may be anxiety-provoking as it results in total helplessness and dependence on others. While "LRRH" also involves a "death", most of the girls tended to refuse to believe that LRRH got swallowed and insisted that a version where LRRH and her grandmother hide in a closet and avoid getting devoured is the "true" version.

Subject g. (Figure 28) was apparently unable to deal with any aspect of the story. Perhaps the themes of rivalry, sexuality and temptations were too threatening to g. Intellec-

tualism is a major defense against impulses in adolescence (A. Freud, 1966) and is seen in drawings within idealized symbolism and stylized detailing (Schildkrout et al., 1972), of which g.'s drawing is an example.

The drawings of subjects e. and f. evidenced the most improvement in response to this story. Contrasting Figure 24 and Figure 25, the latter contains more intact body image, attempts at elaboration and the presence of an environment. In Figures 26 and 27, the latter contains two figures relating, with the aggressor being confronted within the picture. The profiles used are typical for adolescent use (Schildkrout et al., 1972) and there is an attempt at elaboration and an environment which is grounded in space.

Children deprived of the most essential factors of development - loving and consistent contact with a primary caretaker, suffer a distortion of psychic structure (Beres and Obers, 1950; Mahler, 1975). The fairy tale drawings of these two groups indicated that each group had an intrapsychic constellation common to its members and thus each group perceived situations differently and dealt with them with some commonality. The girls in both groups have had histories of unstable and traumatic development but both groups have had distinctly different behavioral characteristics. Group B's histories include truancy, running away, theft and sexual

activity while Group A's do not.

The drawings of Group A tended to be more imaginative, more elaborated, more fluid, more substantial and more colorful. Details are believed to represent environmental contact and an awareness of, and an interest in, the fundamentals of every day life (Buck, 1948).

The drawings of Group B are more primitive and immature, indicating similar qualities in the personality structures of its members. Group B's drawings were the more static, as though evidencing a "this is the way it is" quality and that nothing could effect any change. This would indicate an impoverishment in their fantasy lives and fantasy is necessary to problem solving in its anticipation of alternatives (A. Freud, 1966; Holland, 1963; Bettelheim, 1976). If one cannot imagine his future optimistically development is arrested (Bettelheim, 1976). According to Blos (1963) the adolescent who is unable to delay or replace action in thought and fantasy has no recourse but to use action in attempting to come to terms with the external world.

Fairy tales strengthen the emotions, develop the imagination, train the memory and exercise the reason (Kready, 1916). Blos (1963) points to a deficient and unorganized memory as a precursor to acting upon impulses rather than thinking of or imagining other possible and more adaptive solutions. Based

on these premises, fairy tales as therapy would be beneficial to individuals such as those in Group B.

A further and major difference which occurred in the drawings was Group A's relative lack of people and Group B's adherence to portraying the major story characters. Group B's inclusion of the characters was static and might be evidence of their rigid adherence to fact in concretely representing the figures rather than using fantasy. It may further reflect Group B's narcissistic concerns with self-image and identification problems; problems with which Group A had more fluidity in portraying and better early life experiences to draw upon.

According to Hurlock (1943) and Hinrichs (1935) the presence of the human form diminishes in adolescent drawings while landscapes are increased. The lack of figure drawings by adolescents may be evidence of instinctual repression as a defense against closeness (Hinrichs, 1935). Lack of figures also reflects adolescent concerns as to the accuracy of his drawing and criticism of it, especially in drawing people (Kramer, 1971; Lowenfeld, 1964). The artist in painting a portrait has two subjects - the sitter and himself (Hammer, 1958) and the adolescent's reference to his body is influenced by physical and intrapsychic concerns. Group B is less mature and shows less ability to repress conflictual material than

does Group A, in this author's perception.

While the absence of human figures may be a phenomenon not uncharacteristic of adolescence, I believe that in the case of these subjects, as with most adults' drawings, the lack of human representation indicates poor object relations in the subjects. None of the girls in Group A can be said to have any close friends in the institution or their schools. The Group B members are better friends with each other, partially as a result of their residing together in a small, home-like environment. They also have other friends (male and female) with whom they are in frequent contact, directly or by phone.

Erikson (1963), Sullivan (1953), Kiell (1959) and Kestenberg (1962) believe friends are necessary and useful at this age for increasing the adolescent's knowledge and awareness of himself and they may serve as corrective examples for reworking earlier deviations. Group A appears to be more concerned with maintaining a balance between a rigid super-ego and demands or wishes for immediate gratification of their needs. Deutsch (1967) and Pearson (1958) maintain that the adolescent must be able to delay gratification if he is to have mature object relationships; therefore, Group B is not at this point. However, having friends is a first step in learning to share and consider another's feelings and point

of view.

A major intrapsychic struggle of adolescence is the rebellion against the infantile conscience (Pearson, 1958; Josselyn, 1952; Blos, 1967; A. Freud, 1952). Superego fluidity aids the intrapsychic attempt to balance the strict "black and white" superego of the oedipal constellation with impulsive gratification. Fairy tales may aid in this adolescent process as they offer a solution to contradictory tendencies - through integration and through projection and identification with fictitious characters.

By reading the stories to the girls, their emotional impact was fresh when the subjects were asked to draw any aspect of the stories that impressed them. Fairy tales are meant to be heard (Schwartz, 1956) and reading aloud adds to an empathic, stimulating and sharing atmosphere (Heuscher, 1963; Starbuck, 1929). I believe that the girls favorably responded to the readings because they were attentive and responsive according to their facial expressions and shared remembrances of plots, events and endings, as though being read to perhaps filled a void from previous childhood experiences.

As being read to may be regressive, causing a lack of repression and therefore undermining attempts at mastery, I would not read a fairy tale to a psychotic population.

A. Freud (1958), Blos (1967, 1968), Geleerd (1962), Kestenberg (1975) and Pearson (1958) believe that regression is a phase-specific, adaptive and developmental aid in adolescence. The reading of fairy tales to adolescents may be a developmental aid incorporated into the adolescent's ability to tolerate regressions as an indication of ego strength.

I believed that by reading three different fairy tales twice over a period of time a more complete picture of adolescent conflicts would emerge, thereby forming a pattern or a gestalt. The adolescent is constantly undergoing changes, modifications and re-evaluations and "at one time one component of the inner struggle has the greatest impact on the adolescent's personality, at another time another component" (Deutsch, 1967).

A single drawing is not representative of an individual (Hammer, 1958; Machover, 1949). More than one drawing enables the art therapist to determine what aspects of the drawings are related to personality structure, as more than one drawing of a theme permits more awareness of an individual's immediate and long-range conflicts and concerns. Pictures produced over a period of time show developmental changes (see Figures 24 through 27) and may provide a means of checking progress in psychotherapeutic treatment.

Hammer (1958) and Symonds (1949) state that projective

drawings, fantasies and dreams all deal with unresolved intrapsychic conflicts; with feelings, experiences and relationships that the individual longs for or that fill him with anxiety or dread. Settings in a fairy tale are ambiguous and suggested and so facilitate projection, providing a natural "thematic apperception test" (Markson, In Veszy-Wagner, 1966). Distortions and spontaneous changes of the story that may occur would indicate variations necessary to meet an individual's personal needs (i.e., subject c. in Figure 17 and subject f. in Figure 26 represents scenes that do not occur in "SW") and thus must be considered distortion resulting from the individual's unconscious.

Fairy tales gave the girls opportunities to express disturbing feelings and conflicts (i.e., anger at mother) in disguised, peripheral areas. The content of the story could be openly talked about as it provided distance. Through a fairy tale, an individual could tell others important and personal things about herself that she couldn't say outright. The fairy tales offered the girls a chance to see how SW or LRRH or Hansel and Gretel handled their struggles and offered empathy, solutions and opportunities for group discussion of how the members saw such solutions.

Combining art therapy with fairy tales appears to have potential as a beneficial technique. Being able to paint or

draw a scene expressive of a conflict affords a release of feelings as well as a temporary mastery over those conflicts (Kramer, 1958). Bender points out that in a group art therapy experience the "experience of one becomes the experience of all", (1937). The fairy tale as a therapeutic technique would be especially helpful with adolescents and adults who may have a hard time admitting to various "babyish" fears and manifestations of them but could gain from another's representation of the conflicts.

When one individual produces an aggressive or threatening picture it may express the fantasies and conflicts of the other group members. In Group A, the second time "LRRH" was read, subjects a. (Figure 2) and d. (Figure 8) included the wolf. While other members had continued to avoid the wolf, they were able to talk about his possible symbolic meanings within the context of the story. It is important for individuals to know that they are not alone in their feelings, fears, confusions and guilts. Perhaps this caused c. to label d.'s Figure 8, "Dad". The pictures presented visual statements of the stories and concrete representations of perceptions and have diagnostic and therapeutic implications.

Fairy tales may help adolescents to master their private monsters (i.e., rivalry, hatred or anger toward a parent, fears of growing up) by offering support and solutions.

Drawings of fairy tales aid the art therapist in identifying conflicts projected in individual and group themes. The expression of these themes in relationship to fairy tale content permits fantasized relief of conflictual concerns; provides group exchange and a sharing of views beneficial to those who are reluctant to portray a conflict but can gain from another's externalization or verbalization of its content.

The process of fairy tales, art therapy and the group experience with a therapeutic relationship over a period of time seems to support its use and to require further examination of this technique.

VI. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

It was hypothesized that the drawings of fairy tales by adolescent girls would reveal their intrapsychic conflicts. Drawings of fairy tales by adolescent girls in two different populations revealed intrapsychic conflicts of both individuals and groups. The high percentages of certain objects drawn within the groups as well as individual and group thematic consistency indicated key conflictual concerns and supported the use of fairy tales in revealing these areas.

There was no control for copying within the groups but I believe that if a member was influenced by another member's comments or drawing it was due to their having similar areas of conflict (Bender, 1937). One responds to stimuli according to personal concerns, regardless of peer pressure.

Does this method of using fairy tales in art therapy provide distinct or unique insight into the needs, strivings and conflicts of the individuals or groups of individuals? Based on this study, I believe the answer is "yes". Because a fairy tale is a drama in and of itself, an individual's response can be viewed in accordance with the actual story. Attention can be paid to what is omitted, stressed, or added.

More than one wish or one conflict is revealed with this technique. The drawings indicate the nature of an individual's

identifications, the strength of his aggressive and libidinal tendencies and to whom they are directed, and whether he is passive or aggressive. The presence, nature and extent of anxiety, guilt, inferiority and inadequacy; the nature of the subject's oedipal relationship; unresolved infantile needs, wishes, interests and attitudes are accessible within the individual's choice and presentation of subject matter contained within the fairy tales.

Are there definable areas of conflict present in adolescent female's artwork and what, if any, is their relation to fairy tale material? Definable areas of conflict that I found in adolescent females' artwork in relation to this study included issues of: dependence and independence, self-image and identity, oedipal rivalry, sexuality, impulse control (or lack thereof) and were traceable to objects and themes contained in the fairy tales, emphasized according to the interpersonal struggles of the subjects. Conflicts and their resolution are embodied within the stories. A specific theme as well as how it is drawn aid in giving insight to the conflicts being dealt with and the drawing indicates one's anxiety as well as comfort within the theme.

If themes offered are of diagnostic significance, how might they be useful in ongoing therapy with individuals or groups of adolescents? Differences that occurred between the

groups were of diagnostic importance as supported by the histories of the group members. As a therapeutic task, a fairy tale provides a familiar structure, distance and a series of objects, characters and interactions to project upon. A structured story offers a group focus, permits some distance from recognizable, personal conflicts and is thus less threatening and may produce less resistance in the subject's ability to portray and discuss such material. The drawings provide a concrete documentation of current conflicts as well as more deep-seated concerns. Thus a sequence of drawings may provide a means of checking therapeutic progress or set backs within a group ego or within an individual.

"SW" appeared to be the most emotionally charged story with the adolescent girls in this study. Clinical applications would include the use of "SW" to "stir up" adolescent conflicts while still maintaining distance. "SW" resulted in a reversal of responses in both groups when compared with the other two stories. While repeated or similar responses indicate a conflictual area, so does a reversal of characteristic responses.

Were there themes which seemed characteristic of all the samples, or were themes individual in their selection and emphasis? Group A and Group B consistently dealt with dissimilar themes in their drawings, indicating group themes of diagnostic importance. Group A depicted themes that dealt

with dependency and sexual and aggressive repression. The inclusion of paths and representations of paths may indicate a wish for a return home. Group B depicted themes that dealt with sex and aggression and an exaggerated independence. The lack of paths drawn within this group may indicate a hopelessness or inability to go forward or backward in resolving conflicts.

The scenes drawn appeared the most individualized in relation to "SW". It is necessary to further test whether the impact of "SW" was due to the subjects' adolescence, foster living placements, or a result of both conditions.

This study showed that literature on fairy tales alone is not sufficient to assess an individual's (or group's) conflicts. Fairy tales have multidimensional aspects and limiting their interpretations to any one approach is difficult, if not impossible. Literature on fairy tale character interpretations often indicates interpretation of both sides of an ambivalent struggle in which histories and qualitative factors must be taken into account in order not to overlook data of diagnostic or prognostic importance.

Implications for future study include further exploration of the use of fairy tales with other adolescent, child, and adult populations. Fairy tales may be used advantageously with psychiatric populations who, like adolescents,

are struggling with infantile conflicts and impulses. If certain populations respond to a fairy tale conflict in a particular way, the fairy tale may serve as a diagnostic tool or at least grant insight based on group trends. A larger sample of so-called "normal" adolescents is indicated in order to establish what would constitute a drawing and/or interpretation of the fairy tale themes by a majority of adolescents.

Longitudinal study of a population might yield data on whether fairy tales aid in the resolution of conflict as the literature suggests. This phenomenon could be examined by means of repeating the format of this study with a long-term population as well as providing stories read aloud to a control group whose art productions were used only as pretest and post-test measures. In addition, other methods for evaluation of conflicts and their resolution such as psychological testing or problem-solving evaluations might be used in assessing the effects of these techniques and their effective or regressive qualities with a variety of populations.

Previous to this study I used fairy tales as a therapeutic technique with an adult psychiatric population. I gave the patients the option to draw any fairy tale scene that they chose. A difficulty with this fairy tale method is that the therapist must be familiar with all fairy tales used

and all versions of them in order to fully assess the patients' responses. The therapist's subjective view of the chosen fairy tales may interfere with an objective, general view. An implication for future study is to compare drawings in response to the therapist's imposed fairy tale stimulus versus remembered, non-imposed fairy tale themes selected by patients.

Because fairy tales deal with pre-oedipal and oedipal concerns common to adolescents and those under the age of seven, the application of this technique with children aged 4-7 might be valuable in fostering expression and mastery of these same conflicts at an earlier point in their development. This would be beneficial to conflict resolution and to the individual's consolidation of his ego-functioning before the onslaught of adolescent identity crises and role confusion.

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